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SECOND YEAR

PAPER-II



BA

HISTORY OF INDIA UPTO 1526 AD



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HISTORY OF INDIA UPTO 1526 AD

BA

Second Year

Paper II



RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY

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About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

History of India upto 1526 AD

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Mapping In Book

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- (a) Sources: Archaeological and Literary
- (b) Indus Valley Civilisation: Extent, Basic Features and Decline
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Unit 1: Early India
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Unit 3: Early States
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Unit IV-Delhi Sultanate

- (a) Mamluks: Qutub-uddin-Aibak, Iltutmish and Balban
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- (c) Tughlaqs: Muhammed-bin-Tughlaq, Firoz Shah Tughlaq
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INTRODUCTION

NOTES

India is recognized as having a unique and intriguing history and culture. Historical records trace the beginning of Indian civilization to the ancient Indus Valley Civilization. It is also called the Harappan Civilization as Harappa was the first site to be excavated. The sources of evidence about this civilization are the artefacts, pottery, tools, ornaments and ruins of towns. Man began to use metals which continued into the Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic Ages. This was followed by the arrival of the Vedic Age which occupies an important place in Indian history. The religion, philosophy and social customs of the Hindus who constitute the majority of our country have their principal source in the Vedic culture. However, with the passage of time, Vedic religion had become quite ritualistic and the caste system had become predominant. This resulted in regional dissent among the masses, which led to the emergence of new classes and the rise of Jainism and Buddhism. Jainism and Buddhism represent a remarkable phase in the religious and cultural development of India. This was followed by the emergence of cities and territorial states, especially the Magadha Empire and the Nandas.

Further, the small cities and territorial states were brought under the control of Chandragupta Maurya who laid the foundation of the Mauryan Empire. The decline of the Mauryan Empire led to the arrival and emergence of Indo-Greeks, Shungas, Kharavelas, Kushanas and Satvahanas. India was once again politically united in the Gupta Period. The Gupta Age is marked as an era of unprecedented progress in all aspects of polity, religion, art and literature. The disintegration of the Gupta Period led to the emergence of regional kingdoms. This was followed by the arrival of Arabs and Turks in India. Later, India was plundered and invaded repeatedly by foreign rulers such as Timur and Mahmud Ghazni. These invasions laid the foundation for the establishment of Muslim rule in India by Qutub-din-Aibak. He was the first ruler of the Delhi Sultanate and also the founder of the Slave dynasty. This dynasty was followed by the Sayyid and Lodhi dynasties. However, none of them could hold on to power for long and eventually Babur – the first Mughul emperor of India – defeated and conquered them.

This book, *History of India upto 1526 AD*, has been designed keeping in mind the self-instruction mode (SIM) format and follows a simple pattern, wherein each unit of the book begins with the *Introduction* followed by the *Unit Objectives* for the topic. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with '*Check Your Progress*' questions to reinforce the student's understanding of the topic. A list of *Questions and Exercises* is also provided at the end of each unit. The *Summary* and *Key Terms* further act as useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

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UNIT 1 EARLY INDIA

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NOTES

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Information about the past is based on several sources, each contributing a part in our attempt to visualize the complete picture. There are two primary source materials for studying ancient Indian history, namely literary and archaeological. For a comprehensive understanding of historical events, it is essential to analyse both literary and archaeological sources, wherever possible. These sources will help you analyse various facets of the Indus Valley Civilization. It is also called the Harappan civilization as Harappa was the first site to be excavated. The sources of evidence about this civilization are the artefacts, pottery, tools, ornaments and ruins of towns. Some tablets and seals of this civilization have certain symbols engraved on them. However, these symbols have not been deciphered till now. Therefore, the main evidences of this civilization are the archaeological excavations.

Vedic culture occupies the most prominent place in the Indian history. Its impact on modern India is widely prevalent. The religion, philosophy and social customs of the Hindus who constitute a majority of India have their principal source in Vedic culture. The contribution of Vedic culture to human progress has far exceeded that of the Indus Valley culture and this factor alone is sufficient to justify its superiority. The authors of this culture were the Indo-Aryans, an anglicized version of the original word Aryan.

The Aryans settled down in tribes, led a semi-nomadic life and fought among themselves and with other non-Aryan tribes for cows, sheep and green pastures. By the Later Vedic Age, the Aryans had moved further into the Ganga Valley, a process facilitated by the use of iron implements, which helped them to clear the thick forests with greater ease. Gradually, many of the Aryan groups further evolved into larger political entities by capturing more and more land. These came to be known as *Mahajanapadas*.

NOTES

During the second half of the 6th century BC, the Persian Emperor Cyrus became successful in capturing all the land between the Indus and Kabul rivers. One of his successors, Darius I, however, annexed Gandhara and the Indus Valley. The Indus Valley or 'India' as they called it paid a tribute of gold to the Persian Empire. During the rule of Mahapadma Nanda, India was invaded by the Greek conqueror Alexander. Alexander set out to conquer the world after having conquered Greece. Alexander defeated the Persian ruler. Next, he overran the Afghanistan and entered India through the Khyber Pass in 326 BC. At this time, north-west India was divided into small kingdoms. By destroying the small kingdoms of the north-west, Alexander paved the way for the establishment of Maurya dynasty's rule. Alexander's army was tired and reluctant to move further ahead and face the fierce army of Chandragupta Maurya. They turned back and headed for Babylon, where Alexander breathed his last in 323 BC. Chandragupta Maurya, thus, was able to lay the foundation of the empire that ultimately changed the course of ancient Indian history.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the characteristic features of the people of the Indus Valley Civilization
- Assess the settlement patterns and town planning of the people belonging to the civilization
- Describe the religious beliefs and practices of the Indus Valley Civilization
- Discuss the Early Vedic polity
- Analyse the technological and economic development prevalent during the Early Vedic times

1.2 SOURCES: ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY

There are many 'sources' through which we come to know about our past. They can be divided into:

- Archaeological evidence
- Literary evidence

Archaeological Evidence

Archaeologists and historians study the remains of past civilizations. Archaeology is the study of the remains of our past like monuments, tools, pottery, coins, weapons, paintings and other artefacts. Thus, archaeology provides us direct evidence from the past, which serves as clues to reconstruct the past.

Most of our information about pre-historic man, the Indus Valley people and other ancient civilizations is based upon archaeological findings.

Archaeological findings usually have the following forms:

- Inscriptions
- Coins
- Monuments
- Artefacts

Inscriptions

In ancient times, rulers engraved important messages for people on rocks, pillars, stone walls, clay tablets and copper plates. These writings are known as inscriptions. The study of inscriptions is called epigraphy. A study of these inscriptions throws light upon the language of the people, names of the rulers, the years they ruled, their military achievements, the religious and social conditions of the people and many other details. For example, the edicts of Ashoka are a collection of 33 inscriptions on the Pillars of the Emperor Ashoka of the Mauryan dynasty (269 BC to 231 BC). An edict was a formal announcement of the ruler to inform the public. The Ashokan edicts on pillars give us information about the extent of his empire.

Coins

The study of coins is called numismatics. Coins are made of metals like gold, silver and copper and are therefore not easily destroyed. They have the names and images of rulers stamped upon them. They give information such as the date of accession and death of the ruler. For example, Roman coins discovered in India gives us an idea about the existence of contacts with the Roman empire. The principal source of information of the Bactrian; Indo-Greeks and Indo-Parthian dynasty is numismatics. The coins of these dynasties throw light on the improvement in the coin artistry of India. Portraits and figures, Hellenistic art and dates on the coins of the western satraps of Saurashtra are remarkable sources for reconstructing the history of this period. The history of the Satavahanas is ascertained from the Jogalthambi hoard of coins. The circulation of coins in gold and silver during the Gupta empire provides a fair idea of the economic condition during the rule of the Guptas.

Monuments

Ancient buildings like temples, palaces and forts are known as monuments. They give us information about the life and times of the people. For example, the carvings on the panels of Qutub Minar tell us about the reign of the early Delhi Sultans, and the carved panels on the walls and railings of the Sanchi Stupa tell stories from the life of the Buddha.

Artefacts

An artefact is something made or given shape by man, such as a tool or a work of art, specially an object of archaeological interest. The ancient artefacts help historians form a picture of cultural and religious life of ancient societies. For example, the artefacts of Harappan civilization with motifs relating to asceticism and fertility rites suggest that these concepts entered Hinduism from the earlier civilization. The stone tools, pottery, buttons, jewellery and clothing found at various sites provide information about the life of early man.

NOTES

Literary Evidence

It took humans a long time to develop the art of writing. Before paper was invented, people wrote on palm leaves and the bark of birch trees. These written records which include both religious and secular literature, are called manuscripts.

The Vedas, the oldest recorded text of the Aryans, and the Buddhist texts are written sources, which tell us about the past. But since these scripts are associated with rituals or religious practices of the past, these are called religious sources. Other examples are the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Gita* and the *Puranas*. However, there could be books written in the past, e.g., accounts of foreign travellers who came to India and wrote about Indian society. The literature not connected with the religion of the times is called 'secular'. For example, the *Arthashastra*, which was written by Kantilya.

1.3 INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION: EXTENT, BASIC FEATURES AND DECLINE

Up to 1920, nothing was known about the Indus Valley Civilization. Construction workers at a railway track near Harappa were using the bricks from a nearby ruin, when it was realized that the bricks probably belonged to a very old civilization. The railway authorities Sahani and Rakhal Das Bannerjee carried out excavations at Mohenjodaro in Sind and at European had flourished in India. This generated great enthusiasm, not only in India but in other countries as well. Further excavations at Lothal, Ropar and Kalibangan revealed that the Indus Valley Civilization flourished beyond the River Indus. The area that it covered at that time was approximately 1.3 million square kilometres.

Figure 1.1 shows us some of the important sites of the Indus Valley Civilization. It is estimated that the Indus Valley Civilization existed between 2500 and 1500 BC almost at the same time as the Egyptian, Sumerian and Chinese civilizations.

It is true that all the civilizations of the world have originated and developed in the valleys of rivers. A common feature of all civilizations is the river, which provided fertile soil for the civilizations to develop in its valley. When rivers flooded the banks, the water left deposits of fine silt, which made it possible for farmers to produce abundant crops. Floodwater was used to irrigate fields in the dry season. Rivers provided humans with additional source of food in the form of fish. Rivers also served as waterways for the transport of people and goods from one place to another. The Sumerian, Babylonian and Asirian civilizations developed on the banks of Dajla-Farat, the Egyptian civilization on the banks of the river Nile and the Harappan civilization on the banks of the Indus.

Check Your Progress

1. What are the two main sources of ancient Indian history?
2. On what did people write before the invention of paper?

Self-Instructional
Material

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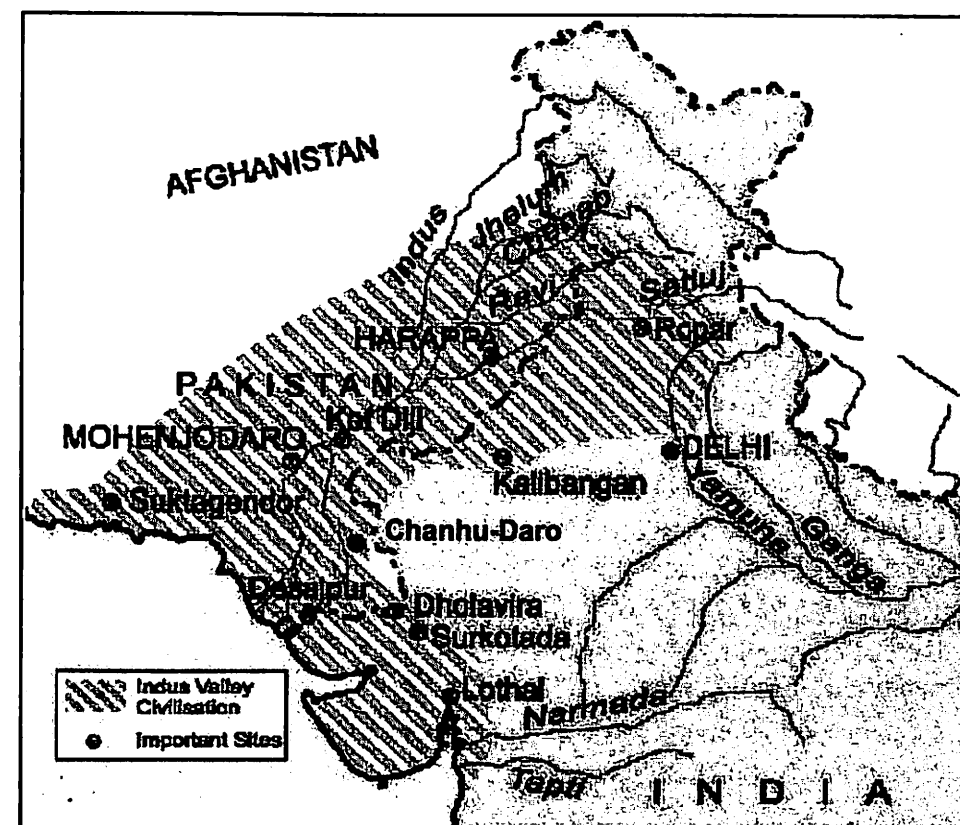


Fig. 1.1 Important Sites of the Indus Valley Civilization

The Indus Valley Civilization was an ancient civilization that had disappeared hundreds of years ago leaving its ruins. Most of the remains of the Indus Valley Civilization have been found in the valley of river Indus, from where the civilization derives its name. The city of Mohenjodaro was 640 km away from Harappa. The term 'Mohenjodaro' means 'the mound of the dead, which was a local name of a high mountain located on the fields of Larkana. In the context of the Indus Valley Civilization, author and historian Ramashankar Tripathi states, 'Till so far our way has been full of obstacles but now we can see the horizons of the Indian Civilization.' It has been established by the remains of the Indus Valley Civilization that hundreds of years before the Aryans there was a pre-established civilization in India.

1.3.1 Extent

According to the Australian archaeologist and Philologist Vere Gordon Childe, 'The geographical area of the Indus Civilization was much more expanded than the ancient Mesopotamian, Egyptian and Persian Civilizations.'

The remains of the expansion of this Civilization have been found in North India from Ropar of Ambala district to Rangpur district in Kathiawad; from Ahmednagar district in Maharashtra to Ghazipur, Varanasi, Buxar and Patna in the east. This proves that the Harappan Civilization was spread across Punjab and Sindh, in the valleys of north-western frontiers mainly Kathiawad, Rajasthan and Doab. The following are the chief regions of the Indus Valley Civilization:

1. **Baluchistan:** This region was important from the perspective of trade and commerce. The main places that were extremely important include Sukagendor (at the origin of river Dashak), Sotakakoh (at the beginning of Shadi Kaur) and Balakot (in the east of Son Miyani at the origin of river Vindar).

Self-Instructional
Material

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2. **North-Western Border:** Significant artifacts have been discovered from this area in the Gomol valley.
3. **Sindhu:** Several remains have been found in the Sindhu region, but many sites have been destroyed on the banks of this river. Several remains have been found at the sites of Mohenjo-daro, Chanhudaro, Judein-jo-daro, Amri, and so on.
4. **Western Punjab:** This area has the most important Harappan site which is located on the river Ravi.
5. **Eastern Punjab:** An important site of this area is Ropar. In recent excavations, remains have been found in Sanghol.
6. **Haryana:** In Hisar and Banawali, important remains of the Indus Civilization have been found.
7. **Doab of Ganga and Yamuna:** The remains of the Indus Valley Civilization are spread across from Meerut to Alamgirpur. Recently, remains have also been found at Hulas, in Saharanpur.
8. **Gujarat:** There are several Indus Valley Civilization sites at the peninsula of Kutch and Kathiawad and the mainlands of Gujarat. Important sites at these peninsula are Surkotada and Lothal, respectively.
9. **Other sites:** Important remains have also been found at the sites of Bahawalpur, Jammu and Northern Afghanistan.

1.3.2 Basic Features

The cities belonging to Indus Valley Civilization were divided into a lower town area and the citadel. Historians believe that there was some kind of difference between people who lived in the lower town area and those who lived near the citadel. Occupational groups lived in the lower town area and the nobility comprising the king and his nobles lived in the citadel. Nevertheless, there must have been some controlling authority, otherwise the uniformity of the town plan, standardization of weights and measures, collection of taxes and grains would have been impossible. One would probably get a better idea about the social and political life of the Indus Valley Civilization once the script is deciphered.

Dress and Ornaments

The spindles found in the excavations reveal that the Indus Valley people knew the art of spinning and weaving. They were perhaps the first people to cultivate cotton to make clothes. Besides cotton, they wore woollen clothes. Men wore a piece of cloth round their waists and a shawl over their shoulders, while women wore a skirt and do not seem to have worn blouses. Archaeologists have unearthed an idol of a man covered with a shawl (see Figure 1.2). The shawl was tied under the right arm and went across the left shoulder, which left the right hand free. A cloth similar to the *dhuti* worn in rural India was worn at the bottom.

The discovery of needles at the excavation site points towards the fact that the people of this civilization were familiar with sewing. Both men and women wore ornaments. These were made of metal, bone, shell and beads. The Indus people loved ornaments. The chief ornaments worn by women included necklaces, armlets, bangles, earrings, nose-rings, rings and waistlets.

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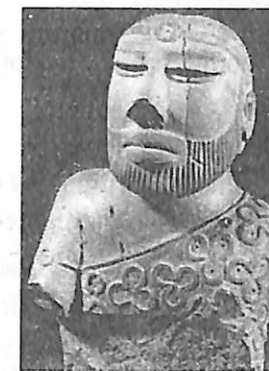


Fig. 1.2 Man Covered with a Shawl

The ornaments of rich people were made of gold, silver and precious stones whereas the ornaments of poor people were made of bones, copper and baked clay. Sir John Hubert Marshall who was the Director General of Archaeology in India stated, 'seeing the shine and design of gold ornaments it seems that they are brought from an ornament shop of Bond Street (London) and not from a pre-historical house of five thousand years ago.' Figure 1.3 illustrates a bronze dancing girl.



Fig. 1.3 Bronze Idol of Dancing Girl

Farming and Cattle Rearing

Agriculture was the chief occupation of the people of the Indus valley. The climate and seasons were conducive for farming and annual flooding of the rivers made the land fertile. This facilitated the growth of crops. The chief crops that were grown were wheat, barley, cotton, maize and millet. They also grew fruits and vegetables. Different methods of irrigation were in use. Channels and embankments were also built to control the flow of water into the fields. Ploughs and sickles were commonly used agricultural tools.

According to Dr Basham, the people did not know how to cultivate rice but the remains of rice at Lothal and Rangpur have proved this conception wrong. Similarly Dr Lal has said that the cultivation of cotton was the specialty of Indus people. Grinding

machines of wheat, barley and crushing machines and storehouses reflect their proficiency in agriculture. Adequate irrigation facilities were developed for agriculture.

Domestication of animals

Agriculture being the chief occupation the Indus people used to domesticate buffaloes, cows, sheep, pigs, dogs, oxen, etc. The people also earned their living by domestication of animals, which were also helpful in agriculture.

Pottery and Trade

Next to agriculture, pottery seems to have been the most popular industry of the people. They were skilled in the use of the potter's wheel. Reddish-brown clay was baked, glazed and decorated with various designs in black. Some broken bits of pottery found in the excavation sites have geometric designs and animal motifs. They speak of the excellent craftsmanship and artistic skills of the Harappan people.

Trade, both by land and by sea, thrived in the Harappan society. A number of seals of Indus origin have been found at various sites in Mesopotamia (Sumer). This indicates that trade flourished between the two civilizations. In order to measure articles, they used a stick with markings on it. They also used various kinds of weights and measures. Figure 1.4 shows samples of the ornaments, pottery and seals prevalent during the Indus Valley Civilization.

More than 2000 seals have been found at various sites. The seals were made of terracotta and steatite, a soft stone. Most of the seals are rectangular but some are circular in shape. Some of them have a knob at the back, which contains a hole. It is believed that different guilds or individual **merchants** and traders used these seals for stamping their consignments. They have a carved picture with some inscription on the other side. These seals throw light on the religion, customs and economic activities of the society. The animal shown in the seal may be a sacred bull. Small-scale industries were also chief sources of living.

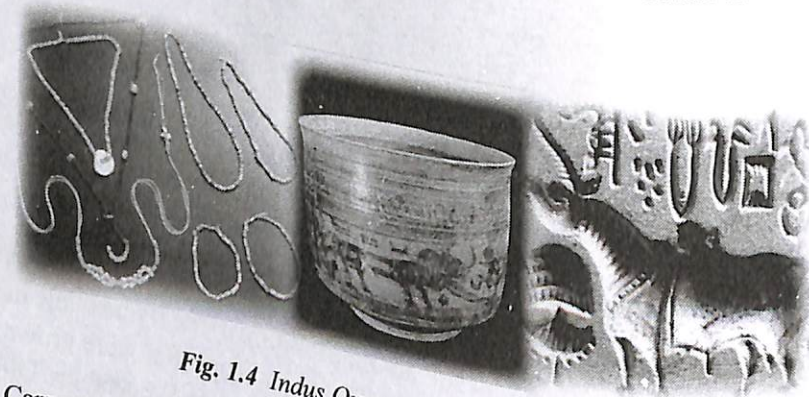


Fig. 1.4 Indus Ornaments, Pottery and Seal

Carpenters, potters, weavers, goldsmiths, connoisseurs, sculptors, etc., constitute the different professions of the time. Potters made a good living by making earthen toys. The Indus Valley Civilization's economy appears to have depended significantly on trade, which was facilitated by major advances in transport by bullock-driven carts as well as boats. Most of these boats were probably small and had flat-bottoms, perhaps driven by sail, similar to those one can see on the Indus River today. Archaeologists have discovered a big canal and docking facility at the coastal city of Lothal. The artefacts of this civilization found at the sites of other ancient civilizations suggest trade links with portions of Afghanistan, the coastal regions of Persia, Northern and Central India, and Mesopotamia.

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Social Life in Indus Civilization

On the basis of things found during excavation, it can be said that social conditions during the Indus Valley civilization were excellent. The people of this civilization were resourceful and affluent. The following are certain characteristics of the people belonging to the Indus Valley Civilization:

- 1. Social organization:** The social organization of the people was divided chiefly into four sections. The first section consisted of the intellectuals, brahmins, astrologers and doctors. The second section included warriors or soldiers. Industrialists, traders, sculptors and artists belonged to the third section. The fourth section comprised labourers, farmers, servants, etc. The society was matriarchal, and the people of this civilization led a comfortable and prosperous life.
- 2. Food:** The chief food items included wheat, barley, meat, rice, peas, milk, vegetables and fruits. People were vegetarian as well as non-vegetarian.
- 3. Cosmetics:** Both men and women had great interest in cosmetics. Women used to apply lipstick, perfumes, soot, powder, etc., and made different kinds of buns and plaits. Men preferred to keep their hair long and were clean shaven. Combs and dressing boxes were made of elephant's tusk and brass. The amount of goods and services common man used here seem to be better than the other places of the contemporary civilized world.
- 4. Sources of entertainment:** This civilization had developed several sources of entertainment. Chess was the favourite game of its citizens. Discovery of rattles, whistles, sound-creating elephant and clay toys points towards the presence of several varieties of toys. Hunting, cock fighting and music were the chief sources of entertainment. The citizens took special care in the physical development and entertainment of their children.
- 5. Scientific knowledge:** The citizens used a script, which was primarily pictorial. Unfortunately, it has not been deciphered. Stone weights were usually of hexagonal shape but the heavier ones were spherical and sharp. After examining the authenticity of weights and measures, it can be concluded that the citizens were familiar with algebra, the decimal system and geometry.
- 6. Medicine:** Indus people had a knowledge of medicinal plants and they used natural medicinal plants for treating human diseases. The evidences of surgery have also been found.
- 7. Tools of household:** Several earthen pots, knives, chisels, axes, pitchers, plates and glasses have been found from the excavation sites. Pots were beautified by ornamentation.
- 8. Last rites:** Evidences show that three techniques were used to perform the last rites for the dead. These are as follows:
 - (i) Absolute meditation:** As per this technique, the dead were buried in the earth.
 - (ii) Partial meditation:** As per this technique, the dead bodies were left in open so that they became food for birds and animals. The leftovers were then buried.
 - (iii) Cremation:** In this technique, the dead bodies were burnt and the ashes were collected in pots and buried.

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Settlement Patterns and Town Planning

One of the most remarkable features of the Indus Valley Civilization was its meticulous town planning. This is especially evident in the city of Mohenjodaro.

Architecture in the Indus Valley Civilization

Evidence of town management of this time is found from the remains of Harappa, Mohenjodaro, Kalibanga, Lothal, etc. Towns were so well managed and organized that it is still a matter of wonder. The roads were very broad. The drainage system was very fine. Figure 1.5 illustrates the citadel, the Great Bath and the city of Mohenjodaro. The remains of Mohenjodaro are proof of the unparalleled art of the ancient cities, their cleanliness and construction. It is quite clear from studies that cleanliness was given a lot of importance.

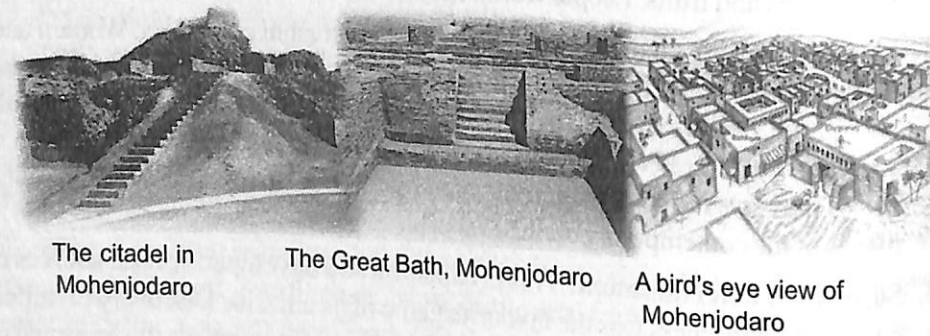


Fig. 1.5 Mohenjodaro

The shape of the city was rectangular. The roads cut each other at right angles and divided the city into large blocks. Within each block, there was a network of narrow lanes. The drainage system was magnificent and lights were arranged on roads. It seems that the town planning was the work of efficient engineers.

Art of Making Buildings

The houses, built of burnt bricks, were constructed on both sides of the roads. There were covered drains along the roads, in which sewage from the houses flowed. Some houses had only one or two rooms while others had several, indicating different living quarters for the rich and the poor. The Indus people were excellent constructors. There are other things related to architecture and idol making, which are living examples of their efficiency. The interiors of these buildings prove that the Indus people were definitely aesthetically inclined. Of all the remains of the Indus Civilization, the best is the Great Bath. Its walls are cemented. There are stairs on the corners. In order to keep the water safe and the foundations strong, the masons worked cleverly. The system of filling and emptying the water tank was no doubt extraordinary. There was also a system for hot water, which was probably used by the priests. The biggest proof of the durability of the bath is that it was constructed in 5000BC and is till today totally intact.

Town Planning

Excavations at Harappa and Mohenjodaro reveal that all these cities were similarly planned. They were divided into two parts—a raised area with large buildings called the citadel at the western end and a lower town. The roads ran at right angles, bringing out the grid pattern of the township. The citadel was built on a raised platform, constructed with bricks and stones, about 12 metre high and rectangular in shape, and surrounded by

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a huge brick wall with watchtowers. This protected the buildings and the people from the recurrent flooding of the river Indus. The citadel was probably the seat of the government and overlooked the lower town. The ruler or the administrator lived here along with the nobles. It also had public buildings such as the granaries, the assembly or town hall and important workshops. At Mohenjodaro, which means 'mound of the dead' in Sindhi, the most remarkable feature was the Great Bath. It was situated within the citadel. It resembled a large swimming pool measuring 55 by 33 metres. A flight of steps led down to the pool at two ends. Broad corridors on four sides with a number of rooms surrounded the pool. It is the finest specimen of the engineering skill of the Harappan people.

In Harappa, archaeologists found the Great Granary located in the citadel. It measured 61.5 by 15.5 metres and consisted of two similar blocks with a wide passageway between them. Each block had six halls further divided into smaller rooms and compartments with openings for ventilation. The largest granary was found in Mohenjodaro. Close to the granaries at Harappa, circular brick platforms have been found. According to archaeologists, these were used for threshing grain. Grain was brought by boats along the rivers. The grain collected as tax was safely stored to be used in times of crises like floods or famine. The granaries prove that the land was fertile.

Town hall

A huge structure almost 70 metres long and over 23 metres wide with walls about 1.5 metres thick has been excavated in Mohenjodaro. It has twenty pillars made of burnt bricks, arranged in four rows of five each. Archaeologists believe that this great hall may have been used as an assembly hall, a prayer hall or as a hall for cultural shows.

Residential area and houses

Below the citadel was the residential area of the town where the merchants, artisans and craftsmen lived. The whole area was divided into blocks by wide roads, which formed a grid. Sun-dried and baked bricks were used for construction of houses. They were single or double storeyed. All houses had a courtyard around which there were rooms. Every house had a well and a hearth for cooking. The main entrances opened onto the lanes or side alleys instead of the main street in order to keep out dust and to ensure privacy. Within the houses, the rooms were built around a central courtyard. Some houses also had wells to supply water. Several *pukka-kutchra* and big-small buildings have been found during the excavations of the remains. Houses were well ventilated. The roofs of the houses were flat and made of wood. Each house had its own bathroom with drains, which were connected to the drains in the street.

Streets

The streets and lanes ran straight from north to south and east to west, cutting each other at right angles. They were 4 to 10 metres wide. Roads were paved and suitable for movement of bullock carts. Ruins of lamp posts suggest that there were street lights. Dustbins were provided at regular intervals to keep the roads clean.

Drainage system

Another striking feature of the Indus towns was their drainage system. It was the best drainage system known to the world in ancient times. Drains were constructed on either side of the roads connected to a drain from each house. They were lined with bricks and

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were covered with slabs of stone, which could be removed in order to clean them. This shows that the dwellers had great concern for health and sanitation.

Religious Beliefs and Practices

No temples or shrines of the Harappan Civilization have been found. Our knowledge of the religious beliefs of the Harappans is based on the information derived from the seals and the terracotta and bronze figures. Seals engraved with the figures of animals like the humped bull, elephant and rhinoceros suggest that these animals were probably considered sacred. The image of a three-headed male God sitting cross-legged and surrounded by animals, like the lion, the rhinoceros, the buffalo and the elephant with two deer under his seat is found on many seals. There is evidence that the peepul tree and the serpent were also worshipped. The terracotta figure of a female deity has been identified as that of the Mother Goddess who represented fertility and prosperity. Some statues also bear soot marks at the base, indicating that incense was burnt as part of the ritual. These evidences show that Harappan people worshipped images.

Like their contemporaries—the Mesopotamian and Egyptian people—the people of the Indus Valley used a script, which consisted of picture-like signs called pictographs. Each sign stood for a specific sound or idea. Examples of this script are found on the seals, most of which bear an inscription. Figure 1.6 shows the idol of the Mother Goddess.



Fig. 1.6 Mother Goddess

Although, the Indus Valley Civilization has declined and disappeared, its influence on the Indian culture remains. The worship of the Mother Goddess in image form as the symbol of female power or *shakti* was introduced in the Later Vedic Age. The bullock carts still seen in Indian villages today are similar to the carts of the Harappan cities. The realistic carving of animals on the seals can also be seen on Ashoka's Lion Capital at Sarnath.

The religious knowledge of the people of the Indus is based on the findings of seals, inscriptions on copper plate, and the idols. We do not have any knowledge of their philosophy due to lack of clear and readable written material. According to most historians,

the Mother Goddess and Lord Shiva were the most important deities. The primary features of their religion are as follows:

- **The worship of mother goddess:** Mother Goddess or Nature Goddess was the main religious deity of the time. In one of the idols, a plant is seen coming from a woman's abdomen and, in another, a woman is sitting with legs crossed. Sacrifices were also in vogue to please the Mother Goddess.
- **The worship of Lord Shiva:** The tradition of praying to Lord Shiva was also much prevalent. In one of the seals, a yogi is surrounded by animals and has three faces with a crown of two horns. This image is considered to be that of Lord Shiva. Historians accept Shaivism as the oldest religion after finding its origin in the Indus Valley Civilization.
- **The worship of the womb:** Along with the worship of Shiva, the worship of the *lingas* or the womb was also in practice. Several rings have been found during excavations, which were made of shell, stone, clay, etc. Structures in the shape of female organs of reproduction have been found from the Indus area as well as in Baluchistan.
- **The worship of trees or nature:** Coins reveal that worship of trees was also in practice. It had two forms—(i) worshipping trees in their natural form (ii) worshipping trees in the symbolic form, i.e., worshipping trees while considering them to be a place of residence of God. The Banyan tree was considered to be a sacred tree by the people of the Indus Valley Civilization.
- **The worship of animals:** Animal worship was a popular practice of the Indus people. They considered the ox, bull, snake, sheep, buffalo and lion as holy animals.
- **Other traditions:** There are evidences, which prove the worship of rivers and the sun. Idol worship was practised but historians have differences with regard to the existence of temples. Most probably prayers were offered at sites consisting of pillars and the sign of the swastik. From the discovery of an idol depicting a naked woman, it is assumed that the devadasi system was in practice.

The religious beliefs of the Indus civilization had a lot in common with modern Hinduism. This proves that the Hindu religion is very ancient and is till today practised with little changes. The Indus Valley Civilization is one of the oldest civilizations of the world. Its affinity to peace is till today the central character of our culture. The tradition of Indian culture which was started by the Indus Valley civilization is till today constantly flowing. Indian culture is indebted to the Indus Civilization especially in the field of religion and art.

1.3.3 Decline

Like other unanswered questions about the Indus Valley Civilization, the question of its devastation, of how, when, and why it disappeared, is unanswered. Many historians have given their own opinion. Seven layers have been found during excavations at different sites, which inform us that the Indus Valley Civilization would have been established and devastated a number of times. The chief reason being the floods in the Indus river. The Indus time and again changed its normal course, which was a frequent cause of devastation.

Another opinion regarding the decline of the Indus Valley civilization is geographical in nature including scarcity of rainfall, change in the course of the river, drought and earthquake, which may have devastated this developed civilization. In the opinion of a

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few scholars, this civilization was devastated due to the attack of the Aryans. Religious books clarify that there is mention of forts and towns of non-Aryans in the Rigveda which were probably ravaged in these attacks. The use of horses and chariots made these attacks successful. However, it has not been completely clarified as to how this civilization met its end.

The Indus Valley Civilization flourished for about 1000 years with very few changes in lifestyle, customs and habits. Though this civilization began to decline by 1500BC, the exact causes of the decline are not known. However, historians have made various suggestions based on evidence, and they can be summed up as follows:

- The most commonly accepted theory is that natural calamities like earthquakes and floods or changes in the course of the river Indus may have destroyed the cities or led to mass migration.
- Some historians are of the opinion that epidemics or fire destroyed the cities.
- Others believe that foreign invasions (probably of the Aryans) led to its decline.
- Yet another theory is that ecological changes due to deforestation led to the land becoming dry and uninhabitable.

1.4 EARLY VEDIC CULTURES: POLITY, SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

The Aryans first settled in the area around the seven rivers, the Indus and her tributaries known as the *Sapta Sindhu* (seven rivers), between 1500BC and 1000BC.

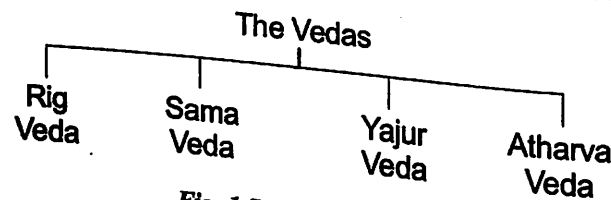


Fig. 1.7 The Four Vedas

They named this place as *Brahmavarta* or 'Land of the Vedic Period Gods'. As their number increased, they began to move eastward and settled in the Ganga-Yamuna plains which now came to be called *Aryavarta* or 'Land of the Aryans'. Gradually, they occupied the whole of northern and western India up to the Vindhya mountains. Our information about the early Aryans is based on the excavations at Bhagwanpura in Haryana and three other sites in Punjab, which have revealed many pottery pieces dating from 1500BC to 1000BC. However, our chief source of information is the Rig Veda, which was composed in 1500BC. The Vedas are the earliest literary records of the Aryans. Since, our main source of information about the Aryans is Vedic literature, this period is also called the Vedic Age. The Early Vedic period extends from 1500BC to 1000BC. There are four Vedas—Rig Veda, Yajur Veda, Sama Veda and Atharva Veda (Figure 1.7). The word 'veda' means knowledge. The Rig Veda is the oldest of the Vedic literature. It was composed in about 1500BC. It consists of 1,028 slokas, which are divided into ten books. At first it was transferred orally from one generation to the

other along with the other Vedas and is therefore called *Sruti* or 'that which is heard'. Many centuries later, it was written down. The Rig Veda gives us an insight into the political, social, economic and religious life of the Early Vedic period. The Early Vedic polity was structured as follows:

- **The King:** The highest officer of the nation was the king. The morality of the king was very high. Kingship was hereditary. The chief work of the king was to safeguard his nation and citizens. He had to be proficient in the management of soldiers and very just. There were many officers for assisting the king in his administrative work. He had many functionaries, including the *purohita* and *Senani*. The main job of *purohita* was to give advice to the king and practice spells and charms for success in war where as *senanis* fought for him in the war.
- **The ministers of the king:** The king appointed various ministers for running the administration efficiently. The foremost among them was the *Senani*, the supreme commander of the armed forces.
- **Warriors:** The chief warrior in the army was the second highest officer. He was appointed by the king himself. His work was to take care of the warriors' organization and to lead the army in the absence of the king. Apart from the warriors, the *Gramani* was also an important officer. He used to be the chief of villages. Apart from these office bearers, the diplomats and secret agents also played very important roles in the Early Vedic polity.
- **Organizations and committees:** Organizations and committees were very important in that age. They were created to check the despotism of the king and to discuss the problems of the nation. There were two bodies the 'sabha' and the 'samiti'. The Atharv Veda refers to them as the two daughters of *Prajapati* or *Brahma*. Earlier the *sabha* was responsible for performing only judicial functions. However, historians came to believe that it served as a centre for social gathering. Some considered it to be the village assembly while some considered this as a committee of selected seniors or elders. The *samiti* on the other hand was probably the bigger or central assembly.
- **Judiciary:** Only assumptions can be made regarding the judicial system due to non-availability of proof. The chief justice was the king himself.

The administrative system of the Vedic period continued with little changes. In the later Vedic period several strong monarchies evolved, which developed a feeling of imperialism. Slowly, the powers of the king increased and his post became hereditary. He even increased his officials and ministers.

The Aryans first settled in the region of Punjab. This is proved by the fact that the rivers Kuruman, Kabul and other western tributaries of the Indus are mentioned in the Rig Veda. The Indo-Aryans settled in the region of the waning Indus Valley Civilization, i.e., across the river Indus. Gradually they moved eastwards along the river Ganga. The Aryans brought with them horses and chariots. They subjugated the original inhabitants of the Ganga-Yamuna doab, and reduced them to the status of slaves or *dasyus* who performed all the menial jobs.

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1.4.1 Technological and Economic Development

Agriculture and cattle rearing were the main occupations of the early Aryans. They grew barley, wheat, rice, fruits and vegetables. Agriculture was the basis of the economy in the Vedic age. The land where two crops could grow in a year was considered fertile and was coveted for.

Agriculture had developed greatly in the later Vedic period. By then, the Aryans had started using new tools, manure and seeds. Irrigation was done with the help of canals and the plough was also in use. They ploughed their fields with the help of wooden ploughs drawn by oxen. Agriculture being the chief occupation, rearing of animals was necessary. Oxen, horses, dogs, goats and sheep were mainly domesticated. The cow was considered to be pious and important. It was a source of valuation and exchange and it was regarded as a sign of prosperity.

The Aryans introduced the horse in India from Central Asia. They were used to draw chariots and to ride during battles as well as during peacetime by the *rajan* and the nobles and therefore, greatly valued. Hunting, pottery, spinning, weaving, carpentry, metallurgy (copper and bronze) and leatherwork were other important occupations. Shipping was limited to the navigation of rivers for the inland trade. Gold and oxen were used as money during trading. Figure 1.8 illustrates various artifacts of the Early Vedic period.

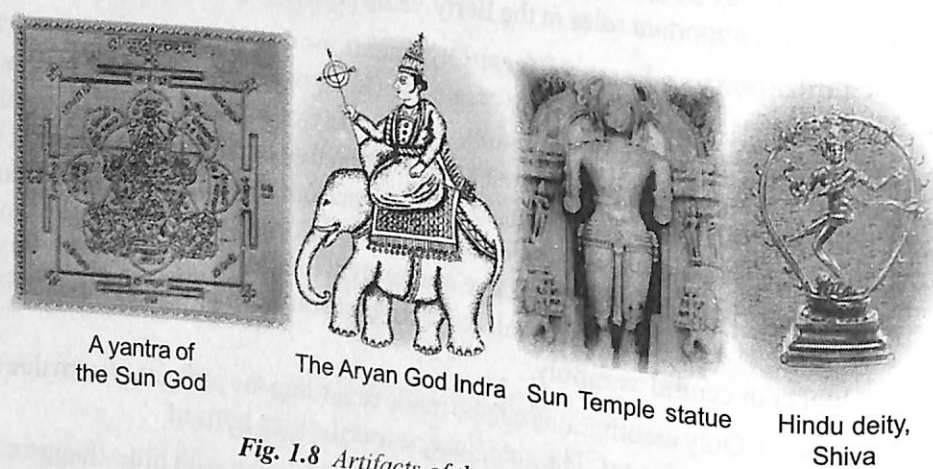


Fig. 1.8 Artifacts of the Early Vedic Period

The most important thing of Vedic period was that no profession was considered to be small except fishing and hair cutting, which were looked down upon.

In the later Vedic period carpentry, metallurgy, tanning, pottery, weaving, etc. started developing. They proficiently started using gold, iron, silver etc. after the spread of knowledge of metals, which made life more prosperous.

Both imports as well as exports were carried on during the Vedic period. The traders are known as '*Pani*'. Clothes, bed sheets, leather, etc., were mainly traded. Trading was done on bullock carts.

1.4.2 Political Relations

The Aryans gave up their nomadic life and settled down in the north-western parts of the Indian subcontinent in the form of different tribal settlements known as *janas* and the land where they settled was called *janapada*. These tribes were constantly involved in battle with one another, either to protect their cattle or their land. A village or *grama*

was the smallest unit of the *jana*. A *grama* would comprise a number of families. Each tribe had a chieftain called *rajan*, who was chosen for his wisdom and courage and he ruled each tribe. His chief function was to protect the tribe from the external attacks and maintain law and order. For his service, the people made voluntary contributions of gifts. A *rajan* could be removed from power if he was inefficient or cruel. He was helped by a number of officials in the work of administration. There is also a reference to two tribal assemblies – namely the *Sabha* and the *Samiti* (as mentioned in the previous section) which checked the power of the king and also advised him on all-important matters. The *senani* or commander-in-chief assisted him in warfare.

A *raj purohit* or high priest performed religious ceremonies and also acted as an adviser. The *gramani* or the village headman looked after the village. Figure 1.9 illustrates the political structure of the Early Vedic period.

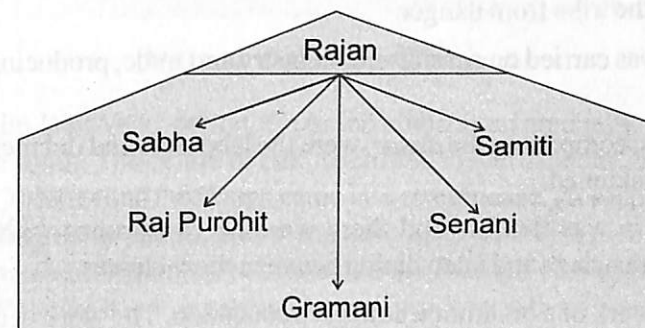


Fig. 1.9 Political Structure of the Early Vedic Period

The political life of the Vedic age was classified as follows:

- **Family:** The smallest unit of the administration was the family, which was headed by the oldest person in the home. The tradition was to have a joint family.
- **Village:** Several families made a village. The head of the village was called the '*Gramani*'. The root of the village administrative system was the *Gramani* but the Rig Veda is silent on the matter of its election system.
- **Vish:** Several villages made a *Vish*. The highest officer of the *Vish* was called *Vishpati*.
- **Jan:** Several *Vish*s made a *Jan*. The highest officer of the *Jan* was called *Gop*. Usually, the king himself would be a *Gop*.
- **Nation:** The highest political unit was the nation. A country was called nation or *rashtra* (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1 Political Life of the Vedic Age

Unit	Head
Rashtra	Rajan/Gopa/Samrat
Janas/janapada	Jyeshta
Vish	Vishpati
Gram	Gramani

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1.4.3 Social Stratification and Emergence of the Caste System

The early Vedic society consisted of four *varnas*—Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. There was no complication in the *varna* system. The basis of *varna* was perhaps work rather than birth. It is mentioned in the Rig Veda that, 'I am a sculptor, my father is a doctor and my mother grinds cereals in the house.' The early Aryans differentiated between themselves according to the occupations each followed. The word 'varna' was later used to refer to the social division, dividing society into the following four occupational groups:

- The brahmins or the priests performed religious ceremonies and prayers and imparted education.
- The kshatriyas or warrior class (to which the king also belonged) fought wars and protected the tribe from danger.
- The vaishyas carried on agriculture, industry and trade, producing goods for the society.
- The sudras, comprising the *dasas*, were the labourers and did menial jobs. They were dark-skinned.

This system was flexible and there were no restrictions with regard to the occupation, intermarriage and inter-dining between these classes.

Thus, the work of a brahmin was to give education. The work of a kshatriya was to save and defend. The work of a vaishya was to trade and the work of a shudra was to serve. But, till the later Vedic period, the *varna* system had become complex. By now, the basis of *varna* changed to birth from work or profession.

The Ashrama system was established keeping in mind the age of man to be 100 years. It was said that 100 years were required for all round development and to achieve the goal of religion, material pleasure and salvation in life. During the first twenty-five years, a student acquired knowledge with much hardship in the ashram of his guru. This was known as the *Brahmacharya* Ashram. From the age of twenty-five to fifty years (in adulthood) *Brahmacharya* he observed family life, which was called *Grihastha* Ashram. From fifty to seventy-five years of age, he observed Vanprastha Ashram while denouncing family life. From seventy-five to hundred years, he left all worldly pleasures and attained salvation in the devotion of god, which was called *Sanyas*.

1.5 LATER VEDIC CULTURES: POLITY, SOCIETY, ECONOMY AND RELIGION

The history of the later Vedic period is based mainly on the Vedic texts, which were compiled after the age of the Rig Veda. The collections of Vedic hymns or mantras are known as the Samhitas. The Rig Veda were set to tune, and this modified collection was known as the Samaveda. In the post Rig Vedic times, two other collections, the Yajurveda Samhita and the *Atharvaveda* Samhita were composed. We have to depend upon the Samhitas of the Yajurveda, Samaveda, *Atharvaveda*, the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas, and the Upanishads, all religious works for the later Vedic period which, roughly speaking, comes down to about 600BC. Figure 1.10 illustrates the later Vedic Civilization.

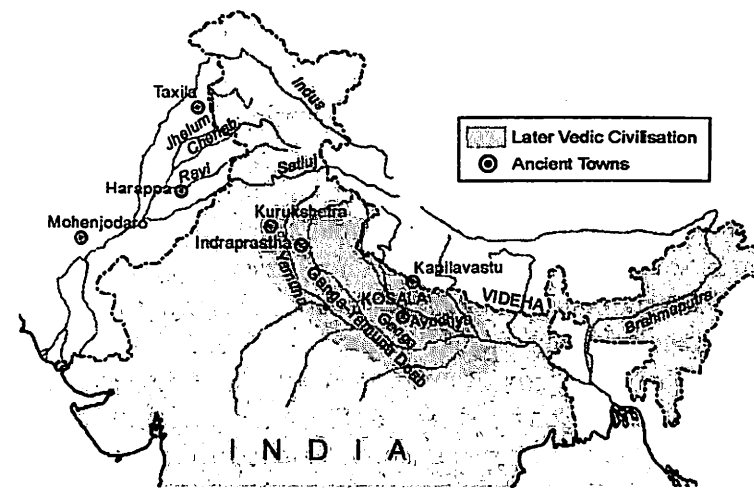


Fig. 1.10 Later Vedic Civilizations

During the later Vedic period, the Aryan civilization gradually extended towards the east and the south. The centre of culture shifted to Kurukshetra, and Madhyadesa. The land of the Yamuna and the Ganga came into prominence. Kosala, Kasi, Videha and Ayodhya rose as great urban centres in the east. Literature also mentions the Andhras for the first time and other outcaste tribes like the Pundras of Bengal, the Sabaras of Orissa and the Pulindas of south western India. Thus, nearly the whole of northern India from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas and perhaps even beyond had come within the rule of the Aryans.

Settlement Patterns

As mentioned earlier, between 1000BC and 600BC, the Aryans had moved eastward from the land of the seven rivers into the Gangetic plain. Some crossed the Vindhya mountains into the southern region of India. The Aryans moved eastward probably because of an increase in population. Some of the chieftains carved out kingdoms for themselves and their tribes were called the *janapadas*. The Kurus occupied the region around Delhi and called it Kurukshetra. Hastinapur was their capital. The Kurus combined with the Panchalas (ruled over the region of Bareilly, Badaun and Farukhabad) to establish their authority over Delhi and the Doab region. The Kauravas and the Pandavas belonged to the Kuru tribe. The battle of Kurukshetra is believed to have been fought in about 950BC. Towards the end of 600 BC, the Aryans had spread further eastward. A number of *janapadas* combined to form large independent kingdoms called *mahajanapadas*. By the sixth century BC, sixteen *mahajanapadas* were established. These sixteen kingdoms were engaged in the war to capture each other's territory. Kosala, Vatsa, Avanti and Magadha were the four most important ones, which eventually remained and reigned. Finally, Magadha established its stronghold over the whole of the Gangetic plain from 500–300BC.

Technological and Economic Development

The Vedic Aryans were well known for their technology related to the tanning of leather, fermentation of grains and fruits, and dyed scale production of copper, iron and steel, brass, silver and gold and their alloys. Indian steel was believed to be of very high quality in the ancient world and it was exported in large quantities. Tin and mercury were imported from the 7th century. Alchemy was also referred to in literature. They made a special kind of polished grey pottery (known as P.G ware). Radio-carbon dating dates it

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back to 1000–800BC. Other varieties of pottery, for example, red or *black-polished* pottery were also made by them.

Farming remained the most important occupation. Taxes were collected by the king, which earned him revenue. Wheat, rice, vegetables, cotton and oil seeds were grown. Besides agriculture, many crafts like weaving, leatherwork, pottery, jewellery designing and carpentry developed. Apart from gold, silver, copper, lead and tin, they had discovered the use of iron. Many agricultural implements and weapons of war were made of iron. Artisans and craftsmen produced goods of fine quality. They were organized into guilds which regulated the prices. These professions became hereditary with time and constituted subcastes or *jatis*. Many more towns started emerging during these times. Trade also flourished. Goods were sent as far as Taxila, Central Asia and European countries. The barter system was discontinued and money in the form of gold and silver was used. In other words, the economic activities became more complex. The earliest coins of India are commonly known as punch-marked coins. As the name suggests, these coins bear symbols of various types punched on pieces of silver of specific weight. The earliest Indian coins have no defined shapes and were mostly uniface. Secondly, these coins lack any inscriptions. Two well known numismatists, D.B. Spooner and D.R. Bhandarkar, independently concluded that the punching of various symbols representing animals, hills, trees and human figures followed a definite pattern and these coins were issued by the royal authority.

Both literary and archaeological evidences confirm that the Indians invented coinage somewhere between the 5th and the 6th centuries BC. A hoard of coins discovered at Chaman Huzuri in 1933 contained forty-three silver punch-marked coins (the earliest coins of India) with Athenian (coins minted by Athens, a city of Greece) and Achaemenian (Persian) coins. The Bhir (Taxila) hoard discovered in 1924 contained 1055 punch-marked coins in a very worn out condition and two minted coins of Alexander. This archaeological evidence clearly indicates that the coins were minted in India long before the fourth century BC, i.e., before the Greeks advanced towards India (Alexander's invasion of Persia and India). There is also a strong belief that silver as a metal, which was not available in Vedic India, became abundantly available by 500–600 BC. Most of the silver came from Afghanistan and Persia as a result of international trade.

Social Stratification

During the Later Vedic period, the earlier distinctions in society based on varna or occupation became rigid and hereditary. A person's birth became more important than his skill or merit. Each caste had its own code of laws and marriage outside the caste was forbidden. Brahmins occupied a very high position in society as they were learned. They alone could perform the rituals and sacrifices. Only the select few amongst them could advise the king. The common people held them in high esteem.

The position of women also began to deteriorate and they were thought to be inferior to men. They were not allowed to read Vedic literature. Their main duty was to look after the house.

The family shows the increasing power of the father who could even disinherit his son. Women were generally given a lower position. Although some women theologians took part in philosophical discussions and a few queens participated in rituals, women were considered to be inferior and subordinate to men.

There is a mention of the *Ashramas* or the four stages of life—that of *brahmacharya* or bachelor student, *grihastha* or householder, *vanaprastha* or hermit and *sanyasi* or ascetic who completely renounces worldly life. Only the first three were clearly defined in the later Vedic texts; the last or the fourth stage was not well-established, though, ascetic life was not unknown.

1.6 SUMMARY

- There are two primary types of sources of history: literary and archaeological.
- Literary sources refer to written accounts. Archaeological sources refer to concrete objects from the past which have survived over the years. These include ruins of buildings, bits of pottery, jewellery or pieces of stone.
- The Indus Valley Civilization also called Harappan Civilization, flourished from about 3,000BC to 1,500BC.
- Harappa, Mohenjodaro, Lothal and Ropar were some of the important sites of the Indus Valley Civilization.
- In 1921, two archaeologists, Dayaram Sahani and Rakhaladas Bannerjee carried out excavations at Mohenjodaro in Sind and Harappa, which revealed that a very advanced civilization far older and superior to the European had flourished in India.
- Maximum remains of the Indus Valley Civilization have been found in the valley of the river Indus, from where the civilization derives its name.
- The Harappan Civilization was spread across Punjab and Sindh, in the valleys of North-western frontiers mainly Kathiawad, Rajasthan and Doab.
- The spindles found in the excavations reveal that the Indus Valley people knew the art of spinning and weaving. They were perhaps the first people to cultivate cotton. They wore cotton and woollen clothes.
- Agriculture being the chief occupation, the Indus people used to domesticate buffaloes, cows, sheep, pigs, dogs, oxen, etc. The people also earned their living by domestication of animals, which were also helpful in agriculture.
- Next to agriculture, pottery seems to have been the most popular industry of the people. They were skilled in the use of the potter's wheel.
- The shape of the city was rectangular. The roads crossed each other at right angles and divided the city into large blocks. Within each block, there was a network of narrow lanes.
- At Mohenjodaro, which means 'mound of the dead' in Sindhi, the most remarkable feature was the Great Bath. It was situated within the citadel. It resembled a large swimming pool measuring 55 by 33 metres.
- Like their contemporaries, the Mesopotamian and Egyptian people, the people of the Indus Valley used a script, which consisted of picture-like signs called pictographs. Each sign stood for a specific sound or idea.
- Although the Indus Valley Civilization declined and disappeared, its influence on the Indian culture remains.
- The worship of the Mother Goddess in image form as the symbol of female power or *shakti* was introduced in the Later Vedic Age.

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Check Your Progress

9. What is the history of the later Vedic period based upon?
10. What changes were seen in the position of women in the later Vedic period?

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- The Indus Valley Civilization flourished for about 1000 years with very few changes in lifestyle, customs and habits. Though this civilization began to decline by 1500BC, the exact causes of the decline are not known. The most commonly accepted theory is that natural calamities like earthquakes and floods or changes in the course of the river Indus may have destroyed the cities or led to mass migration.
- The information about the early Aryans is based on the excavations at Bhagwanpura in Haryana and three other sites in Punjab, which have revealed many pottery pieces dating from 1,500BC to 1,000BC.
- Since the main source of information about the Aryans is the Vedic literature, this period is also called the Vedic Age.
- The Early Vedic period extends from 1,500BC to 1,000BC.
- The Aryans first settled in the region of Punjab. This is proved by the fact that the rivers Kuruman, Kabul and the other western tributaries of the Indus are mentioned in the Rig Veda.
- The Indo-Aryans settled in the region of the waning Indus Valley Civilization, i.e., across the river Indus.
- The agriculture was the chief occupation of the Aryans. They also reared animals. Oxen, horses, dogs, goats and sheep were mainly domesticated. By them and they considered cow to be pious and important.
- The early Vedic society consisted of four varnas—Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. There was no complication in the varna system. The basis of varna was occupation rather than birth in the beginning.
- The earliest evidence of iron covering a time span of 1300–1000BC is from southern Rajasthan, marking the advent of iron. This age was associated with specific culture traits, particularly painted grey ware, black and red ware and megalithic graves.
- During the Later Vedic period, the Aryan civilization gradually extended towards the east and the south. The centre of culture shifted to Kurukshetra, and Madhyadesa. The land of the Yamuna and the Ganga came into prominence.
- The Vedic Aryans were well known for their technology related to tanning of leather, fermentation of grains and fruits, and dyed scale production of copper, iron and steel, brass, silver and gold and their alloys.
- During this period most of the agricultural implements and weapons of war were made of iron. Artisans and craftsmen produced goods of fine quality. They were organized into guilds. The guilds regulated the prices. These professions became hereditary with time and constituted subcastes or *jatis*.

1.7 KEY TERMS

- **Citadel:** It is a raised part of a city surrounded by walls for protection
- **Seal:** It is an engraved piece of metal used as a stamp for identification
- **Pictograph:** It is a picture representing a word or phrase
- **Varna system:** It refers to the system of division of the society on the basis of occupation

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- **Janas:** They are different tribal settlements of the Indian subcontinent in the Vedic age
- **Grama:** It is a village or the smallest unit of the *jana* comprising a number of families

1.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

- The two main sources of ancient Indian history are:
 - Archaeological evidences
 - Literary evidences
- Before paper was invented, people wrote on palm leaves and the bark of birch trees.
- The cities belonging to the Indus Valley Civilization were divided into a lower town area and the citadel.
- Agriculture was the chief occupation of the people of the Indus Valley.
- The most commonly accepted theory among historians as to the reason why the Indus Valley Civilization declined is that natural calamities like earthquakes and floods or changes in the course of the river Indus may have destroyed the cities or led to mass migration.
- Agriculture and cattle rearing were the main occupations of the early Aryans.
- The Aryans gave up their nomadic life and settled down in the north-western parts of the Indian subcontinent in the form of different tribal settlements known as *janas* and the land where they settled was called *Janapada*.
- A village or *grama* was the smallest unit of the *jana*. A *frama* would comprise a number of families. Each tribe had a chieftain called a *rajan*, whose chief function was to protect the tribe from external attacks and maintain law and order.
- The history of the later Vedic period is based mainly on the Vedic texts, which were compiled after the age of the Rig Veda.
- The position of women also began to deteriorate and they were thought to be inferior to men. They were not allowed to read Vedic literature. Their main duty was to look after the house. The family shows the increasing power of the father who could even disinherit his son. Women were generally given a lower position. Although some women theologians took part in philosophical discussions and a few queens participated in rituals, women were considered to be inferior and subordinate to men.

1.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

- Discuss the different sources of ancient Indian history.
- What was the geographical expanse of the Indus Valley Civilization?
- What are the varnas? How are they classified?
- How was the Vedic polity structured?
- What is the earliest source of information about the Aryans?

UNIT 2 SIXTH CENTURY BC AND RISE OF HETERODOX SECTS

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Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Unit Objectives
- 2.2 Buddhism
- 2.3 Jainism
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.5 Key Terms
- 2.6 Answers to 'Check your Progress'
- 2.7 Questions and Exercises
- 2.8 Further Reading

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Great thinkers like Buddha, Mahavira, Heraclitus, Zoroaster, Confucius and Lao Tzu lived and preached their ideas in the sixth century BC. In India, the republican institutions were solidified in the 6th century BC.

Due to this the rise of heterodox sects emerged against the orthodox religion dominated by rites and rituals. Among them the most successful were Jainism and Buddhism whose impact on the Indian society was significant.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the rise of heterodox sects
- Understand the preaching of Jainism and Buddhism

2.2 BUDDHISM

Another great religious reformation movement of sixth century BC was Buddhism, which gave the biggest challenge to Brahmanism. Gautama Buddha, a contemporary of Mahavira, was the founder of Buddhism. He was the son of Suddhodan, the chief of the kshetraya clan of Shakyas and the Raja of Kapilavastu in the Nepal *terai*. His mother was Mahamaya. Gautama was born in 563 BC.

The *Jatakas* contain the Buddhist traditions about the birth of Buddha. They tell us that Buddha's life did not begin with his birth in the Lumbini Garden. On the other hand, Buddha was the product of an infinitely long evolution through various form of life. Before he descended into this world, he lived in the Tusita heaven. He was then a Bodhisattava and his name was Sumedha. He was greatly touched by Buddha Dipankar, the Buddha of the previous world, and wanted to become like him. He therefore left Tusita heaven and decided to be reborn through Mahamaya.

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Jatakas tell us that before the birth of Buddha, Mahamaya had a dream of white elephant with six tusks entering into her body. The astrologers were called to interpret the dream and they told Suddhodan that according to this dream, his wife would give birth to a very great man, a prophet or an emperor. In 563 BC, when she was returning from her father's house to Kapilavastu, Mahamaya gave birth to Buddha under a sala tree in the village of Lumbini. Later on in 250 BC, Ashoka set up a commemorative pillar there and in the inscription he stated 'Here, Buddha was born, the sage of the Sakyas' (*'Hida Budhe jate sakya muniti'*). However, unfortunately after seven days, Buddha's mother Mahamaya died and his stepmother and aunt, Prajapati Gautami, then brought up Siddhartha (Buddha's childhood name).

From his childhood days, Siddhartha exhibited signs of a contemplative frame of mind. The royal pleasure and amusements failed to attract his mind. He was married at an early age to a beautiful girl Yasodhara, the daughter of a Shakya noble. However, the pleasures of the palace did not bind him to the worldly life. He led a happy married life for some time and even got a son Rahul from his union with his wife. A few incidents, which Buddhists call four great signs, occurred and they exercised tremendous influence on the future of Gautama. One evening, his charioteer Channa drove him in the city and he came across an old man. Next, he saw a man suffering from disease; however, it was the sight of a dead man, which touched the deepest chord of Gautam's heart. The fourth sign was that of a mendicant, who had renounced the world and was moving about in search of truth.

Great renunciation

Gautama decided to find out the cause of all suffering and wanted to know the truth. His hatred towards the world was intensified and he realized the hollowness of worldly pleasure. After the birth of his son, Rahul, he made up his mind and decided to leave his palace and his family. One night, accompanied by the charioteer Channa and his favourite horse Kanthaka, he left home at the age of 29. This is called *Maha-Bhinishkramana* or the great renunciation; thereafter, Gautama became a wandering ascetic looking for the supreme truth.

Enlightenment

For six continuous years, he lived as a homeless ascetic and sought instructions from Alara Kalama. His next teacher was Udraka Ramaputra. His new teachers failed to satisfy him. He spent some time in the caves near Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha. From Rajagriha, he went to the forest of Uruvela and spent a few years in self-mortification. He then meditated with five ascetics named Kondana, Vappa, Bhadiya, Mahanama and Assagi.

Gautama practised continuous fasting until he was reduced to a mere skeleton. He then realized that mere suffering and sacrifice could not lead to truth. He thought that he had wasted six years. The five disciples also left him alone. At last, one day he sat under a Peepul tree (*Ashvattha*) on the banks of river Niranjana (the modern Phalgu) at Gaya and took a vow, 'I will not leave this place till I attain the peace of mind, which I have been trying for all these years.' Finally, Gautama attained supreme knowledge and insight. He found out the truth and the means of salvation from human sufferings. He got the highest knowledge or *bodhi*. Gautama thus became the Buddha, 'the enlightened one' or Tathagata.

The turning of the wheel of law

After attaining supreme knowledge, Buddha decided to impart the knowledge to the common people. From Gaya he went to Sarnath near Banaras and gave his first sermon to his five disciples in the deer park. These five disciples were once his comrades when he was doing penance and fasting. They hated Buddha because he had left the path of suffering. They are known as the five elders. This first sermon by which, he started converting people to his faith is known as turning of the wheel of law or '*dharma Chakra pravartana*', which formed the nucleus of all Buddhist teachings.

For the next 45 years, he preached his gospel and message of salvation to the common people. He visited different parts of the country, spoke to the people in their local languages and illustrated his teachings. He made large conversions at *Rajagriha*, the capital of Magadha. He also converted his father, his son and other relatives at Kapilavastu. Kings like Prasenjit of Kosala, Bimbisara and Ajatashatru of Magadha became his followers. He died in 483 BC at Kushinagar in the district of Gorakhpur at the age of 80. Thus, Buddha attained *Parinirvana*. After his death, his remains were divided into eight parts and distributed among his followers who were spread in different parts of the country. *Stupas* or mounds were built on these remains to preserve them.

Buddha realized the truth by following a life of purity and discipline and asked his followers to follow the same path. His teachings were simple and he explained them in simple ordinary man's language, illustrating them with common tales. He never tried to establish a new religion but he propounded a new way of life free from dogmas and rituals.

Buddha pointed out various paths by which one could attain *Nirvana* or salvation from the cycle of birth and death. He denied the authority of Vedas and denounced the method of sacrifice and hegemony of priestly class. Unlike the Brahminical religion, he did not consider Sanskrit as a sacred language, nor rituals an essential part of religion. He was not in support of offering of prayer to god to win his favour. The philosophy of Buddha was rational in its nature. Like Jainism, Buddha denied the infallibility of the Vedas. He rejected the supremacy of the priestly class. Buddhism dislodged the principles of social immobility, inequality and injustice. It upheld the sanctity of human intellect and freedom; people irrespective of their position, caste and colour, were allowed to embrace the new religion.

Four Noble Truths

After attaining enlightenment at Bodhgaya, Buddha held that there was misery and sorrow all around. Man turned to god and religion to find a cure or an escape from such sorrow and trouble. To escape from the sorrow and miseries of life, he discovered the truth and its cure. His teachings begin with the four great truths relating to sorrow, the causes of sorrow, the remedy for sorrow and the ways for the removal of sorrow. These four truths are; first, there is suffering and sorrow in the world namely old age, disease and death. This sorrow or suffering is due to the existence in the world. Secondly, everything has a cause and the cause of all types of sorrow is *Trishna*, i.e., desires and cravings. Man is a bundle of cravings and desires and so long as he is a slave to these desires, he cannot escape from pain and sorrow. Third is the remedy or cessation of sorrow. This pain of sorrow can be removed by suppressing desires and yearning for possession. Fourth and the last is the true way to conquer desires and removal of sorrow. Buddha says that the desire or *Trishna* cannot be conquered in an ordinary manner. It requires a disciplined life, which he called the middle path or the noble eight-fold path.

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Eight-fold path

Buddha prescribed the noble eight-fold paths or the '*Astangamarga*', which every Buddhist is to follow in order to get deliverance from sufferings. These values included in the eight-fold path are as follows:

- (i) Right views
- (ii) Right aspirations
- (iii) Right speech
- (iv) Right action
- (v) Right living
- (vi) Right efforts
- (vii) Right mindfulness
- (viii) Right contemplation or meditation

According to the eight-fold path, the first step is the proper vision leading to the realization that the world is full of sorrow, the basis of life is sorrow and sorrow can end by controlling desires. Second step is right aspiration where one must resolve to abstain from material pleasure. Right speech is the third step and it implies the practice of truthfulness. The fourth step is right action, which means one should be vigilant while acting in life and it must ensure that nobody gets hurt mentally or physically by our actions. Right living is the fifth step, which means to earn by pure and honest means. Right efforts is the sixth step which indicates mental exercise to avoid evil thoughts and in their place to cultivate good thoughts. The seventh step is right mindfulness or correct vigilance. According to this, by self-examination and self-study, control over mind is to be acquired. The last step is right contemplation or meditation. According to this, Buddha says one can still not attain salvation without meditation. Thus, right contemplation is the final and the crown of the eight-fold path. Anyone who would follow this noble eight-fold path would attain *Nirvana* or salvation, which meant freedom from the cycle of birth and death irrespective of its social origin.

Ahimsa

One of the cardinal beliefs of Buddha was *Ahimsa*. He held that violence and cruelty against animate beings was a sin. He condemned religious sacrifices and eating of animal flesh. He said that one should cultivate love for all beings. He was opposed to all types of violence because it was against the principle of law. However, unlike Mahavira, he did not carry the *Ahimsa* principle to an extreme.

Law of Karma

Buddha however accepted the Hindu doctrine of *Karma*. He believed in the law of *Karma*, its working and transmigration of soul. He held that one of the key features of the universal law of *dharma* is 'as a man acts so shall he be', i.e., man gets the reward of its own action. The *Karma* doctrine implies that thoughts, actions and feelings of the past have determined our present and our present deeds will determine the future when we are reborn. No person can escape the consequences of his or her deeds. The deliverance from rebirth can be attained through good *Karma*, which again requires a strict moral life. According to his doctrine, not only man, but animals and supernatural spirits like angels, gods are subject to the great law of *Karma*.

Morality

Buddha laid out some principles for practical morality. He gave emphasis on purity of conduct, truthfulness, love and benevolence, respect for older and service to the humanity. Buddha considered non-violence and non-injury towards life in thought, words and deed as an integral principle of morality. Therefore, Buddhism was primarily a religion of conduct and not a religion of observances, rituals and sacrifices. This was the principal reason for the rapid spread of his teachings.

Denounced Caste System

Like Mahavira, Gautama Buddha also denounced the caste system existing in the society. He denied the caste distinctions and by that raised the status of the lower class people of the society. Therefore, Buddhism spread to different parts of India and the world. In the subsequent period, the common people came closer towards this religion and, due to this; it got patronization from various liberal emperors like Ashoka, Harsha, etc.

The teachings of Buddha reveal that he originally did not establish any new religion. All what he taught was contained in the Hindu Upanishads but the difficulty was that these were written in Sanskrit and its philosophy was not followed by the masses. Buddha's greatness lies in simplifying the Upanishadic philosophy and presenting it before the common men in the language they understood and placed practical examples before them from his own life. He organized a monastic order to carry out his teaching to the different corners of the country. The monks who carried the message of Buddha to the masses led the life of a Hindu Brahmana and in course of time a new set of rules were evolved for the Buddhists and at that point, eventually, Buddhism became a separate religion.

Religious texts

Buddhist religious texts were written in Pali and are collectively known as *Tripitika* (three baskets). The first part is *Vinayapitaka*, which lays down rules for the guidance of the monks and the general management of the Buddhist place of worship. The second part is *Suttapitakas*, a collection of the religious discourses of Buddha and the third is the *Abhidhammapitaka*, which contains an exposition of the philosophical principles of Buddhism. Later, the Mahayana sect of Buddhism, created its own texts. Besides authoritative commentaries on the sacred texts, the Jatakas or the stories relating to different births of Buddha also added much to the religious literature of Buddhism.

The Main Buddhist Sects

After the demise of Buddha, Buddhism was sharply divided into two sects, namely Hinayana and Mahayana. The followers of Hinayana Buddhism believed in the original teachings of Gautama Buddha and did not want any relaxation. This sect was also known as the lesser vehicle; whereas, the beliefs of Mahayanism were different from the former. The one basic belief of Mahayanism is acceptance of many Bodhisattavas, i.e., persons who were in the process of attaining Buddha-hood. The belief in the Bodhisattavas and their prayers, which has been regarded as the basic features of Mahayanism, had developed much earlier than its formal establishment during the period of Kanishka in the first century AD. However, it became a completely different sect after the fourth general council of Buddhism and the credit for the establishment of this sect goes to Nagarjuna. There was no difference between the followers of Hinayanism and Mahayanism with regard to the rules of Sangha and code of conduct or morality.

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Both lived together in the same Sanghas. However, there were differences in philosophy and principles among them.

Hinayanism did not regard Buddha as a god free from the cycle of birth and rebirth while Mahayanism regarded Buddha as god and believed in his different incarnations to be all free from the cycle of birth. Hinayana regarded *Nirvana* as a state of permanent peace free from cycle of birth while Mahayanism regarded it as the union with *Adi Buddha*. The religious texts of Hinayanism were written in Pali; whereas, the text of Mahayanism was written in Sanskrit. The Mahayanism remained closer to the concept of Hinduism with regard to *Nirvana*, Brahman, incarnation of god, faith, etc., while Hinayanism was distinct from Hinduism.

Let us discuss the causes of rise and fall of Buddhism.

Causes of the Rise of Buddhism

Buddhism started as a protest movement against the complex system of Hinduism. It tried to reform the existing religious practices, social systems and dislodged the principles of social immobility, inequality and injustice. Moreover, it upheld the sanctity of human belief and its freedom. For its simplicity and people friendly principles, Buddhism spread all over India in a very short span of time.

Various causes are responsible for the spectacular rise of Buddhism in India and abroad. Due to the magnetic personality of Gautama Buddha, his simple and uncomplicated doctrine attracted many followers. During the emergence of Buddhism, the Brahminical religion had more or less stagnated with superstitions, sacrifices and predominance of priestly class. Buddha, with his simple preaching, freed the religion from all expensive and complicated rituals and enabled the poor to observe their religion with proper spirit.

His life was a living example of all that he preached and thus the rational philosophy of Buddha not only appealed to the masses, but the ruling class and the upper strata of the society as well.

Second, during that time, Hinduism had lost its appeal and people failed to understand the religion due to its complexities. Hence, the masses found an alternative in Buddhism. Buddha prescribed a middle path for the attainment of *Nirvana* by observing simple rules of morality, which did not exist in Hinduism.

Third, Buddhism did not believe in caste system. It rejected the supremacy of the priestly class. It prescribed social equality and even women got their desired position in the Buddhist ashram system as nuns. People irrespective of their position, caste and colour were allowed to embrace the new religion. This acceptance of social equality attracted a large number of Hindus into the fold of Buddhism.

Fourth, Buddha preached in the language of the common man. During that period, Sanskrit was the medium and the common man had no idea of Sanskrit language. In contrast, Buddha preached his doctrine in Pali and Magadhi languages, a method that was easily accepted by the lower strata of the society.

Fifth, Buddhism enjoyed the royal patronage of the kings like Ashoka and Kanishka and many royal families. Ashoka elevated the religion to occupy the position of state religion during his reign. He sent Buddhist missionaries to different parts of the world to spread the message of Buddha. Even he sent his son Mahendra and daughter Sanghamitra to Ceylon with the message of Buddha. He engraved the teachings of Buddha in various pillars and rock inscriptions in different part of his empire. Powerful kings like Kanishka,

Harsha, Bimbisara and Ajatasatru of Magadh, Prasnit of Koshala and many other patronized Buddhism for which it spread in all directions during their reign.

Sixth, Buddhist Sanghas proved to be the best instruments in the propagation of Buddhism. The sanghas were also the centres of Buddhist activities, learning and spiritual exchange for the monks. They also prepared religious preachers or monks who worked for the propagation of Buddhism in India and abroad.

Seventh, after the demise of Buddha, host of Buddhist scholars and monks worked for the propagation of the teachings of Buddha. In addition, various scholars like Nagarjuna, Asanga, Basumitra, Basubandhu, Dinang, Dharamakirti, Chandrakirti etc., produced vast literature of Buddhism, which provided the base for its rise.

Apart from this, the relaxation of strict rules for masses, absence of any rival sect and lastly the great centres of higher learning like Taxila and Nalanda Universities and several other institutions played a vital role in the progress of Buddhism and established it as a global religion.

Causes of the Fall of Buddhism

For many centuries, Buddhism remained as one of the foremost religions not only in India, but also in many parts of Asia. However, slowly and steadily it lost its hold and became non-existent in the place of its origin, India. Many factors were responsible for the decline of Buddhism.

First, the Buddhist Sanghas, which were created as the centres of learning activity for the nuns and monks, became centres of moral corruption. Huge wealth donated by the ruling class, and women found their entry into the Sanghas. The wealth and women completely ruined the moral character of monks.

Second, the Mahayanism, a sect of Buddhism, which introduced image worship, prayers, religious festivals and processions, brought in ritualism. Thus, effective use and display of wealth was possible. This led to the loss of moral, intellectual and spiritual strength of Buddhism. These were the primary source of strength of Buddhism and when these were lost, its very basis was lost and the entire structure crumbled.

Third, Buddhism was divided into various sects even prior to its great split into Mahayanism and Hinayanism. Each of these sects preached different philosophies and different codes of conduct, which created confusion among its followers and the rivalry between these sects destroyed the image of Buddha among the masses.

Fourth, in contrast to the practice of Buddha, the Buddhist religious texts of the Mahayanism were written in Sanskrit. As Sanskrit was not the language of common people, Buddhism lost its popular contact with the masses.

Fifth, the moral corruption of monks and nuns led to intellectual bankruptcy in Buddhism and resulted in its decline.

Sixth, after facing challenges from both Jainism and Buddhism, the great revival of Hinduism started under the protection of Sunga dynasty, and the efforts of Gupta rulers led the religion to its former glory. Scholars like Shankaracharya, Kumaril Bhatta and many others scholars of the time established the philosophical and intellectual supremacy of Hinduism. The emergence of the Puranic traditions in Hinduism, its tolerant and liberal spirit proved its greatest asset. Even when Buddhism created the cult of Buddha, they failed to create a parallel to the God or *Brahma* of Hinduism.

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Seventh, apart from these developments, many Hindu scholars simplified the language of the Hindu religious texts, reformed the society and it got the attention from the ruling dynasties. With these attractions in Hinduism, there hardly remained any difference between Buddhism and Hinduism. Therefore, Hinduism attracted the masses to its fold and once again became the principal religion in India.

Finally, the successors Ashoka did not support Buddhism and other dynasties like Sungas, Guptas and Rajputs strongly supported Hinduism. Invaders like Hunas and Turks destroyed Buddhist sanghas, monasteries, libraries, etc., and thus gave a serious blow to Buddhism. Buddhism thus lost its hold over its country of birth. The foreign invaders were only partly responsible for it but primarily its own weakness and the great revival of Hinduism were responsible for its dramatic fall.

2.3 JAINISM

Jainism had left an indelible impact on the social and cultural development of India. The general belief among the common people is that the founder of Jainism is Mahavira. However, Jains believe that their religion is the product of teachings of 24 *Tirthankaras* (a saviour who has succeeded in crossing over life's stream of rebirths and has made a path for others to follow). There is no detailed information available about the first 22 *Tirthankaras*. The Jains believe that their religion is as old as the Rig Veda and their first *Tirthankara* Rishabha was the father of Bharata, the first Vedic *Chakravartin* king of India. Rishabha was followed by 23 *Tirthankaras*. Very little is known about these *Tirthankaras* except the last two.

The 23rd *Tirthankara* was a historical figure known as Parsavanath. Parsavanath probably lived in eighth century BC, and probably died 250 years before the death of Mahavira. He was a Kshatriya and the son of king Ashvasena of Vanaras. For thirty years, he led the life of an ordinary householder and then became an ascetic. He meditated for 84 days continuously and attained the highest knowledge. The next seventy years of his life were spent in spreading the highest knowledge to the people. His main four principles were as follows:

- Non-injury to life
- Truthfulness
- Non-stealing
- Non-possession

Parsava's teachings were not that rigid as that of his successor, Mahavira. He permitted his followers to lead a married life and allowed them to wear clothes to cover their body.

Early life of Mahavira

The real founder of Jainism was its 24th *Tirthankara*, Vardhamana Mahavira. His childhood name was Vardhamana. According to one tradition, Mahavira was born in Kundagrama about 540 BC. He was the son of Siddhartha, who was the chief of a Kshatriya clan called Jnatikas. His mother Trishala was the sister of Chetaka, an eminent Lichchhavi prince of Vaisali. Vardhamana was given education in all branches of knowledge, was married to Yasoda and had a daughter called Priyadrasana. After the death of his parents, he renounced the worldly life and became a monk at the age of 30. He left worldly life with the permission of his elder brother Nandivardhana and became an ascetic.

Check Your Progress

- State the values included in the eight-fold path.
- What are the two major Buddhist sects?

Life of Asceticism

According to followers of the Jain religion, for twelve years, Mahavira roamed about as a naked monk doing all types of penances. During this period, he fully subdued his senses. He was attacked and ridiculed; however, he never lost his patience, nor indulged in feelings of hatred and revenge against his enemies. Within these twelve years of penance, meditation and severe asceticism, he prepared himself for the attainment of highest spiritual knowledge.

During this period, he met an ascetic called Gosala Makkhaliputta at Nalanda. For six years, Makkhaliputta lived with Mahavira practising severe asceticism after which he separated himself from Mahavira and set up a new religious order called Ajivikas.

In the 13th year on the 10th *Vaisakh*, Mahavira acquired what Jains believe is the ultimate spiritual knowledge (Kevalya) under a sala tree on the bank of river Rijupalika near the village Jrimbikagrama, whose identification is uncertain. Mahavira now possessed the four infinities, which were as follows:

- Infinite knowledge
- Infinite power
- Infinite perception
- Infinite joy

Thus, he became a 'Jina' (a conqueror) or Mahavira (a great hero) at the age of 42 and began his career as a religious reformer. Since then, he entered upon a new stage of life. He became a religious teacher and the head of a sect called *Nirgranthas* (free from all bonds) or 'Jains'.

Later he met the king of Magadha, Ajatashatru, and is said to have converted him. However, the Buddhists say that the king of Magadha followed Buddhism and not Jainism. Mahavira did not have many followers because of the rigorous form of life he recommended to his followers. He asked his followers to remain naked, and said that the noblest act in the life of a Jaina was death by starvation. It is known from *Kalpasutra* that he spent his time at Champa, Mithila, Sravasti, Vaisali, etc. and after 30 years of preaching, he died at Pawa near Rajagriha. We do not know the exact date of passing away of Mahavira. However, Professor Jacobi and some other eminent historians have proved that his death occurred probably in 468 BC.

The religious texts written in Pali language do not recognize Mahavira as the originator of a new religion, but as a reformer. Mahavira accepted most of the religious doctrines of Parsavanath though he made some alterations and additions. Parsavanath emphasized self-control and penance and advised his followers to observe the following four principles:

- Satya* (truth)
- Ahimsa* (non-violence)
- Aparigraha* (non-possession of property)
- Astheya* (not to receive anything, which is not freely given)

To these Mahavira added one more, i.e., *brahmacharya* (celibacy).

The Jaina philosophy shows a close affinity to Hindu Samkhya Darshana (or Samkhya philosophy). They ignored the idea of God, accepted that the world is full of

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sorrows and believed in the theories of Karma (action) and transmigration of souls. According to Mahavira, salvation can be achieved by freeing the soul from earthly bondage. This can be achieved by means of right faith, right knowledge and right action. These are called *Ratnatraya* or three jewels of Jaina religion.

Mahavira advocated a dualistic philosophy, according to which man has two-fold nature, earthly and spiritual or *Ajiva* (matter) and *Jiva* (soul). While *Ajiva* is destructible, *Jiva* is indestructible and salvation is possible through the progress of *Jiva*.

Jaina philosophy states that if one desires to attain Nirvana or salvation, it is necessary for him to destroy Karma. One can do so gradually by avoiding evil Karmas. For this, one must observe the five principles, namely:

1. *Satya*
2. *Ahimsa*
3. *Aprigraha*
4. *Astheya*
5. *Brahmacharya*

Through this process, one could attain final liberation of the soul.

Mahavira did not believe in the supreme creator or God. He believed that no deity has created, maintains or destroys the world; however, it functions only according to universal law of development and decay. He advocated a holy ethical code, rigorous asceticism and extreme penance for the attainment of highest spiritual state. He regarded the highest state of the soul as God. He believed man is the architect of its own destiny and could attain salvation by leading a life of purity, virtue and renunciation.

He also rejected the infallibility of the Vedas and objected to the Vedic rituals and Brahminical supremacy. He denounced the caste system.

Principle of non-injury

The Jaina philosophy believes that not only man and animals but plants also possess souls (*Jiva*) endowed with various degree of consciousness. Jains believe that the plants possess life and feel pain and thus lay great emphasis on the doctrine of *Ahimsa* or non-injury to any kind of living beings. The vow of non-violence (*Ahimsa*) was practiced to the point of irrationality. Even an unconscious killing of an insect while walking was against Jain morals. The Jains would not drink water without straining it for fear of killing an insect. They also wore muslin mask over the mouth to save any life floating in the air. They had forbidden not only the practice of war, but also of agriculture, as both involve the killing of living beings.

Commenting on this extreme form of non-injury, eminent historian V. Smith said, 'The strange doctrine affirming the existence of Jivas in objects commonly called inanimate extends the Jain idea of *Ahimsa* far beyond the Brahminical and Buddhist notions.'

Jain sects

The main sects of Jainism are Svetambaras and Digambaras. The Svetambaras wear white robes whereas the Digambaras use no clothes. The Svetambaras are the followers of the 23rd Tirthankara Parsavanath while the Digambaras are followers of the 24th Tirthankara Mahavira.

Religious texts

Original texts of Jains were called Purvas and were 14 in number. In the third century BC, a Jain council was held at Pataliputra and arranged these Purvas in 12 parts, and named them *Angas*. The last *Anga* was lost and a Jain council held at Balabhi in the fifth century AD rearranged the remaining 11 *Angas*. These books were written in Prakrit language. However, the Digambara sect of Jainism did not recognize the *Angas* and constituted its own sacred texts.

There were several causes, which led to the rise, spread and decline of Jainism. The main ones are as follows:

Causes of the Rise of Jainism

During the time of Mahavira, there arose a discontent amongst the common people against the traditional Vedic religion, as a number of weaknesses and shortcomings had crept in the latter. The Vedic religion or Hinduism had become quite ritualistic and the caste system had become predominant. Therefore, the people were disgusted and started working hard to save the society and culture from these evils. At that time, Jainism came as an alternative to the Vedic religion. It tried to clean the society and religion by introducing a number of reforms. Therefore, common people showed interest in adopting its principles.

Secondly, it has also proved to be closer to the more popular religion Hinduism and with the passage of time, the Jains also adored Jaina *Tirthankaras* in temples and by the middle ages, their worship was very near to the Hindus with offering of flowers, incense, lamps, etc. Thus, Jainism proved more accommodating to Hinduism and did not offer any serious hostility.

Thirdly, Jainism possesses a tolerant spirit of accommodation with other religions, which helped in its progress and was responsible for its rise. Apart from it, the charismatic personality of Mahavira, simple philosophy of the religion, acceptance of common spoken language of that time as the medium of propagation and patronization of influential rulers were the major factors responsible for the rise of Jainism.

Spread of Jainism

Jainism never spread all over India or beyond its boundaries, yet it became a popular religion at that time, and still exists in many parts of the country. During the life time of Mahavira, it spread in Magadha, Vaisali and its nearby areas, but later, the chief activity of Jainism was shifted to Gujarat, Malwa, Rajputana and Karnataka where they are still an influential Jain community. The members of this community have also played an important role in the early literary development of South India.

Causes of the decline of Jainism

Various factors were responsible for the dramatic decline of Jainism in India. After the demise of Mahavira, Gautama Buddha emerged as a great socio-religious reformer of that period. The teachings of Buddha were simpler and people friendly. Therefore, Buddhism posed a great challenge for the existence of Jainism.

Second, Jainism was divided into two sects i.e. Svetambaras and Digambaras, which weakened the religion from its core.

Third, the most important cause of its decline was the great revival of Hinduism. Under the Guptas, Cholas, Chalukyas and Rajput kings, Hinduism got much needed

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attention and patronization of the ruling class. Reforms came in Hinduism and it became the most popular religion in India. That was the main reason due to which Jainism was confined to some pockets of India.

Apart from it, the absence of popular religious preachers after the demise of Mahavira, the absence of protection by the later rulers and its hard principles led to the decline of Jainism.

Jainism could not occupy the position of a main religion in India or outside India. However, it has contributed enormously in the field of art, architecture, literature and philosophy and has made valuable contributions to the Indian culture.

2.4 SUMMARY

- Another great religious reformation movement of sixth century BC was Buddhism, which gave the biggest challenge to Brahmanism.
- The *Jatakas* contain the Buddhist traditions about the birth of Buddha. They tell us that Buddha's life did not begin with his birth in the Lumbini Garden. On the other hand, Buddha was the product of an infinitely long evolution through various form of life.
- Gautama decided to find out the cause of all suffering and wanted to know the truth. His hatred towards the world was intensified and he realized the hollowness of worldly pleasure.
- Gautama attained supreme knowledge and insight and after he found out the truth and the means of salvation from human sufferings. He got the highest knowledge or *bodhi*. Gautama thus became the Buddha, 'the enlightened one' or Tathagata.
- Buddha pointed out various paths by which one could attain *Nirvana* or salvation from the cycle of birth and death. He denied the authority of Vedas and denounced the method of sacrifice and hegemony of priestly class.
- After the demise of Buddha, Buddhism was sharply divided into two sects, namely Hinayana and Mahayana. The followers of Hinayana Buddhism believed in the original teachings of Gautama Buddha and did not want any relaxation. This sect was also known as the lesser vehicle; whereas, the beliefs of Mahayanism were different from the former.
- The 23rd Tirthankara was Parsavanath, who was a historical figure. Parsavanath probably lived in eight century BC, and probably died 250 years before the death of Mahavira.
- Parsava's teachings were not that rigid as that of his successor, Mahavira. He permitted his followers to lead a married life and allowed them to wear clothes to cover their body.
- The real founder of Jainism was its 24th Tirthankara, Vardhamana Mahavira. His childhood name was Vardhamana.
- After the death of his parents, he renounced the worldly life and became a monk at the age of 30. He left worldly life with the permission of his elder brother Nandivardhana and became an ascetic.

Check Your Progress

3. According to Jainism, who was the 23rd Tirthankara?
4. Which four infinities were possessed by Mahavira?

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- In the 13th year on the 10th *Vaisakh*, Mahavira acquired what Jains believe is the ultimate spiritual knowledge (Kevalya) under a sala tree on the bank of river Rijupalika near the village Jrimbikagrama, whose identification is uncertain.
- The religious texts written in Pali language do not recognize Mahavira as the originator of a new religion, but as a reformer. Mahavira accepted most of the religious doctrines of Parsavanath though he made some alterations and additions.
- Jainism never spread all over India or beyond its boundaries, yet it became a popular religion at that time, and still exists in many parts of the country.
- Jainism could not occupy the position of a main religion in India or outside India. However, it has contributed enormously in the field of art, architecture, literature and philosophy and has made valuable contributions to the Indian culture.

2.5 KEY TERMS

- **Stupa:** A mound-like structure containing Buddhist relics, typically the remains of Buddha.
- **Moamoria rebellion:** The 18th century conflict between the Morans, adherents of the Moamara Sattr, and the Ahom kings.
- **Borbarua:** One of the five patra mantris (councilors) in the Ahom kingdom, a position created by the Ahom king Pratap Singha.
- **Rebel:** A person who rises in armed resistance against an established government or ruler.

2.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The values included in the eight folded path are:
 - (i) Right views
 - (ii) Right aspirations
 - (iii) Right speech
 - (iv) Right action
 - (v) Right living
 - (vi) Right efforts
 - (vii) Right mindfulness
 - (viii) Right contemplation or meditation
2. After the demise of Buddha, Buddhism was sharply divided into two sects, namely Hinayana and Mahayana.
3. The 23rd Tirthankara was a historical figure known as Parsavanath.
4. Mahavira possessed four infinities, which were as follows:
 - Infinite knowledge
 - Infinite power
 - Infinite perception
 - Infinite joy

2.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. State the concept of the turning of the wheel law.
2. What do you understand by the principle of non-injury?

Long-Answer Questions

1. What were the main causes of the rise and the fall of Buddha Empire? Discuss.
2. Discuss the life and teachings of Mahavira.

2.8 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3 EARLY STATES

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 Early State Formation
 - 3.2.1 Rise of Mahajanapadas, Republics and Monarchies
- 3.3 The Mauryas: Chandragupta Maurya and Ashoka
 - 3.3.1 Chandragupta Maurya
 - 3.3.2 Ashoka (269–232BC)
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- 3.5 The Sungas, Indo-Greeks and the Kushanas
 - 3.5.1 Indo-Greeks
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 - 3.6.4 Art and Architecture
- 3.7 The Pallavas and the Chalukyas
- 3.8 Summary
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- 3.10 Answers to 'Check your Progress'
- 3.11 Questions and Exercises
- 3.12 Further Reading

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3.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit will discuss the rise and the achievements of the great Mauryan kings, Chandragupta Maurya and Ashoka. The Mauryan Empire successfully conquered all the small, warring kingdoms and practically brought under its wake a huge portion of South Asia also. However, the foundation of the Empire was laid in a war-ridden north India, which was under constant threat of foreign attacks.

Around 326 BC, Alexander set out to conquer the world after having conquered Greece. Alexander defeated the Persian ruler. Next, he overran Afghanistan and entered India through the Khyber Pass. At this time, North-West India was divided into small kingdoms. By destroying the small kingdoms of the north-west, Alexander paved the way for the establishment of Mauryan dynasty's rule. Alexander's army was tired and reluctant to move further ahead and face the fierce army of Chandragupta Maurya. Chandragupta was not only a great conqueror but also a great administrator. They turned back and headed for Babylon, where Alexander breathed his last in 323 BC. Chandragupta Maurya, thus, was able to lay the foundation of the Empire that would ultimately change the course of the ancient Indian history.

Ashoka was another great king not only in the history of India but also across the whole world. A lot of information about him is available through his inscriptions and the Buddhist literature. He was the son of Bindusara and the grandson of Chandragupta Maurya. In his later life after he saw the bloodshed in the Kalinga war, he renounced violence and adopted Buddhism.

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With the beginning of the Mauryan Empire in around 321 BC, Indian history entered a new era as for the first time India attained political unity and administrative uniformity. The Mauryan administration was the most well-organized and efficient in ancient India. This may be corroborated by the fact that even the Gupta Empire continued to follow their patterns in administration despite themselves being brilliant in all spheres of life. The Mauryan Empire had brought to the forefront amazing dexterity in managing the vast kingdom they had. For the first time in ancient India, a dynasty managed to subjugate and control a major portion of South Asia with much élan.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Examine the characteristic features of Mauryan Administration
- Discuss the various aspects of the rule of Chandragupta Maurya
- Discuss the various aspects of the rule of Ashoka, including his Dhamma and the Battle of Kalinga
- Evaluate the reasons that led to the downfall of the Mauryan Empire
- Analyse the emergence of Indo-Greeks
- Discuss the reign of Samudragupta
- Evaluate the reign of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya
- Analyse the development of art, architecture and sculpture during Gupta period
- Describe the administration, art and literature of the Pallava era
- Discuss the achievements of the Chalukya period

3.2 EARLY STATE FORMATION

By the Later Vedic Age, the Aryans had moved further into the Ganga Valley, a process facilitated by use of iron implements, which helped them to clear the thick forests with greater ease. In time, some of these *janas* (In ancient India, the groups of villages belonged to a clan or *vis*. Many clans made a community called *jana*) grew in size and power and came to be known as *janapadas* (literally meaning foothold of tribe). Gradually, many of these *janapadas* further evolved into larger political entities by capturing more and more land. These came to be known as *mahajanapadas* (from Sanskrit *maha* = great). By the 600BC, there were sixteen *mahajanapadas*. The kings or groups of *Kashatriyas*, the chiefs of which called themselves *rajas* or kings, ruled over *Janapadas* or *Mahajanapadas*.

3.2.1 Rise of Mahajanapadas, Republics and Monarchies

Ancient Buddhist texts make frequent reference to the sixteen great kingdoms (*mahajanapadas*) and republics which had evolved and flourished in the northern/north-western parts of the Indian subcontinent before the rise of Buddhism in India. Of the sixteen *mahajanapadas*, four were prominent monarchies—Kosala, Vatsa, Avanti and Magadha. They were constantly fighting with each other. Ultimately, Magadha emerged supreme.

Republics and monarchies

The *mahajanapadas* had two kinds of political systems. They were either republics or monarchies. A republican *mahajanapada* was ruled by a group of people elected by the people of that tribe. There was no hereditary ruler. Decisions were taken on the basis of majority consent. So, it was a kind of a democratic system where the people of the tribe had a say in their political system. The Sakya *mahajanapada*, for example, was an important republic.

Most of the *mahajanapadas* had a monarchical system. The king ruled according to his own wish. After his death, his son succeeded to the throne. Magadha, for example, was a monarchical *mahajanapada*.

The Aryans slowly and steadily expanded their civilization and culture. They expanded rapidly in northern India. Many strong Aryan centres were established till the 6th century BC and the states were being called on the basis of caste. None had full control over whole India, which divided into many smaller states. In order to expand the states, the *janapadas* were extended and changed into *mahajanapadas* later.

Emergence of Cities and Territorial States

Although there has not been enough evidence concerning *mahajanapadas*, important Buddhist and Jaina books provide the following information about the sixteen major *mahajanapadas*:

1. **Anga:** This was situated near modern Bhagalpur (located on the borders of modern Bihar and Bengal). Champa was its capital. Champa has been considered one of the six great cities in the sixth century BC. It was famous for its trade and commerce. Anga was an enemy of Magadha. It was defeated by Magadha by mid-sixth century BC.
2. **Magadha:** It was situated where modern Patna and Gaya districts of Bihar are located. Its capital was at Rajagriha. Rajagriha was an impenetrable place surrounded by five hills. The remains of the walls of Rajagriha provide the earliest evidence of fortification in the history of India. In the fifth century BC, the capital was shifted to Pataliputra, which was the seat of the early Magadha kings. Magadha rose to prominence because its fertile agricultural tracts were best suited for the cultivation of wet rice. Further, it had iron ore deposits of south Bihar (modern Jharkhand) were under its control. Last but not the least, the open social system of the Magadhan empire made it the most important monarchy in the years to come.
3. **Kashi:** Of the sixteen *mahajanapadas*, Kashi was the most powerful in the beginning. It was located in and around modern Varanasi. Its capital Varanasi was the foremost city of India situated on the confluence of the Ganges and the Gomati river and in the middle of the most fertile agricultural areas. It emerged as a leading centre of textile manufacture and horse trade in the time of the Buddha. However, by the time of the Buddha, the Kashi *mahajanapada* had been taken over by Kosala and this led to a war between Magadha and Kosala kingdoms.
4. **Kosala:** Kosala was bound on the west by the river Gomati, on the south by the Sarpika, on the east by the river Sadarvira (Gandak) and on the north by the Nepal hills. Kosala *mahajanapada* emerged out of an assimilation of many smaller principalities and lineages. Hiranyanabha, Mahakosala Prasenjita and Suddhodhana have been named as rulers of Kosala in the sixth century BC. Saketa, Shravasti

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(modern Sahet-Mahet) and Bahraich districts of Uttar Pradesh were three important Kosala cities. The capital of Kosala was Shravasti. King Prasenjita was a contemporary and friend of the Buddha. Later, Kosala emerged as one of the most powerful rivals to the emergent Magadha Empire.

5. **Vajji:** This was located in contemporary Bihar. This mahajanpada came into existence by the coming together of several castes. Its capital was Vaishali.
6. **Malla:** There were two branches of the Mallas, namely Kushinagar and Pava. This was a federal democracy.
7. **Vatsa:** Vatsa was one of the most powerful mahajanapadas with its capital at Kaushambi (near modern Allahabad) on the bank of the Yamuna. This means that the Vatsas were settled around modern Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh. Bhasa, one of the greatest Sanskrit dramatists in ancient India, has immortalized Udayana, a Vatsa king, in his plays. These plays are based on the story of the love affair between Udayana and Vasavadatta, the Princess of Avanti. These plays also point to the conflict among the powerful kingdoms of Magadha, Vatsa and Avanti. Vatsa lost its significance in the ensuing struggle because the later texts do not refer to them with great importance.
8. **Chedi:** Contemporary Bundelkhand and its nearby landmass came under Chedi. Its capital was Shaktimati or Sandhivati.
9. **Kuru:** This mahajanpada covered the regions of Thaneshwar, Delhi and Meerut. Its capital was Indraprastha.
10. **Surasena:** This was located to the south of Matsya state. Its capital was Mathura.
11. **Panchal:** This was located in the territory between rivers Ganga and Yamuna. It also had two branches. The capital of northern Panchal was Ahichatrapur, while that of southern Panchal was Kampilya.
12. **Matsya (Maccha):** This was located in modern Jaipur, Alwar and Bharatpur regions of Rajasthan. Its capital was Viratnagara.
13. **Avanti:** Avanti was one of the most powerful mahajanapadas in the sixth century BC. The central area of this mahajanapada or kingdom roughly corresponds to Ujjain district of Madhya Pradesh. The kingdom was divided into two parts. Its southern capital was Mahasmati, while its northern capital was Ujjain. The latter was more important. The kingdom controlled the trade with the south. According to a legend, from an enemy he became father-in-law of Udayana who ruled over Vatsa kingdom.
14. **Ashmak:** This region was located in south India. Its capital was Paudanya (Potan).
15. **Gandhara:** The states of contemporary Taxila and Kashmir came under this region. It had two capitals, namely Pushkalavati and Taxila. Taxila was a famous centre of learning.
16. **Kambhoj:** This janapad was located to the north of Gandhar at Pamir and Badakhshan. Its capital was Rajpur.

Republics

We get the knowledge about the republics of the sixth century BC from Buddhist books. These republics were as follows:

1. **Shakyas of Kapilvastu:** It was located on the border of Nepal on the foothills of the Himalayas. This republic was located in the western part of contemporary

Gorakhpur. Gautama Buddha was born in this state. Its capital was Kapilavastu. The people of this area considered themselves to be the descendants of Eshvak. This was a major site of learning.

2. **Bulis of Allakappa:** This area was located between the contemporary districts of Shahabad and Muzaffarpur. According to *Dhammapada*, this area was situated near the Veth Island.
3. **Kalamas of Kesputta:** The spiritual guru of Buddha, Aalar Kalam, belonged to this dynasty. This dynasty is related to the Panchal Keshis as described in *Shatapatha Brahman*.
4. **Bhaggas of Susamagiri:** According to *Sanyuttamkaya*, this area was situated in Bhargadisa. Contemporary Mirzapur was located near this area.
5. **Kolis of Ramgram:** This republic was situated in the east of Shakyas of Kapilavastu.
6. **Mallas of Pava:** This dynasty was ruled by the kshatriyas of the Vashistha gotra. The Mallas were settled in contemporary Padrauna in Uttar Pradesh.
7. **Mallas of Kushinagar:** They were the second branch of Mallas. Buddha attained *Parinirvana* here.
8. **Moris of Pippalivan:** According to *Mahavansh*, the Moris were earlier known as the Shakyas. However, later they shifted to a hilly region of the Himalayas due to the brutality of Vidudabh where they established the Pippalivan city. This city has always been famous for the sound of peacocks and, as a result, is referred to as 'Moris'.
9. **Videhas of Mithila:** Mithila was a renowned learning centre.
10. **Lichchavis of Vaishali:** The Lichchavis belonged to the Kshatriya clan.
11. **Naga of Vaishali:** The combination of the Videhas and the Lichchavis led to the establishment of the federation of Vajji. There was also a federation of Lichchavis and Nagas which was called Asthakul in which Videhas, Yangyik, Lichchavi and Vajji were included.

Thus, the powerful republics of this period included the Shakya, Lichchavi, Videha, Vajji and Malla. According to D.R. Bhandarkar, an authority on the ancient history of India from 650BC – 325BC, 'The meaning of republic and federation was a group of well decided and well organized men.' However, it seems that a unit of a federation was usually called a republic. Several republics made a federation. Thus, many *grihas* made a *kul* and a group of *kulas* formed a republic.

3.3 THE MAURYAS: CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA AND ASHOKA

In 322BC, Magadha, under the rule of Chandragupta Maurya, began to assert its power over neighbouring areas. Situated on rich alluvial soil and near mineral deposits, especially iron, Magadha was the centre of bustling commerce and trade. The primary source of our knowledge about the Mauryan empire is based on the *Arthashastra* by Chanakya or Kautiliya, which is a treatise on statecraft. It gives us a picture of the administration, society and the economy of the country. In the book, he explains how a strong and an efficient government should be organized and what the duties of a ruler are. Chanakya was Chandragupta's Chief Minister and mentor. The Sanskrit play *Mudrarakshasa* by

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Visakadatta is a political literature revealing the struggle undertaken by Chandragupta Maurya with the help of Chanakya to overthrow the Nandas. It is also an insight into Chandragupta's life. The *Jataka* tales of the Buddhist literature and the *Indica* written by Megasthenes, the Greek traveller to Chandragupta's court, gives an account of the Mauryan capital, its administrative system and social life. The Ceylonese chronicles, the *Dipavamsa* and the *Mahavamsa*, give the accounts of the conversion of Ceylon to Buddhism. They have also helped in reconstructing the history of Ashoka. The rock edicts of Ashoka provide information about the Mauryan rule. According to them, India constructed a new world on the basis of peace, brotherhood and cultural unity under the rule of the Mauryans.

The arrival of the Mauryans was an important incident in the Indian history. Considering the unfavourable conditions in which the foundations of this dynasty were laid down and became strong, it can be said that its place was really very high. The Mauryan empire marked a new epoch in the history of India. It was a period of unification of the territories, which were fragmented kingdoms under different rulers. Moreover, trade routes between Europe and India over land and sea paved the way for contact with the outside world. It was a period when politics, art, trade and commerce flourished.

3.3.1 Chandragupta Maurya

Chandragupta Maurya was the founder of the Mauryan empire. After establishing himself firmly on the throne of Magadha, Chandragupta set out to expand his empire. He conquered the whole of northern India up to the river Indus. Chandragupta had vast resources; hence he could maintain a huge army. In 305BC, he defeated Seleucus Nikator and north-western India was liberated from Greek control. Seleucus surrendered Afghanistan and Baluchistan and also gave his daughter Helen's hand in marriage to Chandragupta. In return, Chandragupta presented Seleucus with 500 war elephants. Seleucus sent Megasthenes as an ambassador to the court of Chandragupta.

Megasthenes stayed with Chandragupta for over five years, travelling through the Mauryan empire and wrote an account of his travels in the book *Indica*. Chandragupta, who ruled from 324 to 297BC, was the architect of the first Indian imperial power whose capital was Pataliputra, near modern-day Patna in Bihar. The rule of this remarkable king came to an end in 297BC. After ruling for twenty-four years, Chandragupta abdicated the throne in favour of his son, Bindusara, and became a Jain ascetic. According to a Jain text, he starved himself to death in order to attain *nirvana*. His son, Bindusara, extended the empire into central India and parts of southern India. Only the kingdom of Kalinga was unconquered at the time of his death. His son, Ashoka, succeeded him in 273BC.

Early Life of Chandragupta Maurya

Though much is not known about the earlier life of Chandragupta, inscriptions suggest that he was born in 345BC in a Kshatriya family residing between present Gorakhpur and the Terai in Nepal. A number of Indian historians are of the view that Chandragupta was the illegitimate son of a king from the Nanda dynasty of Magadha from a maid named 'Mura'. The dynasty was named after Chandragupta's mother. Chanakya, a teacher in the Takshasila University found him playing with his friends, where he pretended to be their king. The devout wisdom in the boy impressed Chanakya who was amazed at his leadership skills and decided to make him a disciple. Chanakya trained Chandragupta in warfare and statecraft. They conquered Magadha and established a new rule in Gandhara.

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Chandragupta was a great commander and an efficient warrior. The talent and ambitious attitude of Chandragupta combined with the shrewd politics of Chanakya were enough to face any opposition efficiently. Chandragupta fought many battles during his reign. He took over Magadha, fought against the Greeks, the Nanda dynasty of the east. By the time he was twenty years' old, his kingdom stretched from the Bay of Bengal in the east to River Indus in the west to the Arabian Sea in the south. Under Chandragupta Maurya, many kingdoms freed from barbaric administration on one hand and on the other hand also released from the clutches of foreign slavery. His political and soldierly achievements were great. He accepted Jainism and relinquished the throne for his son Bindusara in 320BC.

Economy under Chandragupta Maurya

Under the Mauryan empire, India was an agricultural country. According to Megasthenes, majority of the population consisted of agriculturists. They neither participated in warfare nor did they participate in the state affairs. They were not harmed during wars. The tillers of the soil carried on their work uninterrupted. The land was rich and fertile. The means of irrigation were simple. Therefore, people never saw disasters caused by famines. There were two seasonal rainfalls in India, and farmers reaped harvest twice a year. Besides, there were orchards of myriad kinds. Kautilya has given a description of ploughed, fallow and rocky lands. The land was tilled with the help of oxen. The state paid special attention towards the methods of irrigation. Many officials were appointed for inspecting the towns. According to the Junagarh inscription, Pushpagupta, an official of Chandragupta got Sudarshana Lake constructed for irrigation in Saurashtra.

The following were the means of irrigation as given in *Arthashastra*:

- Canals, tanks, wells, ponds and rivers bullocks
- Water was drawn from the wells with the help of buckets, and big leather bags
- Building dams over the river

Kautilya also refers to manure made of the mixtures of ghee, honey, fats, cow dung and powdered fish. It was used in order to increase the fertility of the soil. Wheat, sugar, maize, rice, barley, sugarcane, mustard, peanuts, cotton, tobacco, potatoes, watermelons, etc., were the main crops of the Mauryan times. Fruits like mangoes, grapes, lemons were aplenty.

Occupations

During the Mauryan times, the cloth industry had greatly developed. The main clothes centres were Kashi, Vatsa, Madura, Vanga, Apranta, etc. Spinning was done by the spinning wheels and big looms were used for weaving clothes. According to *Arthashastra* and Megasthenes, cotton was produced in great quantity the weavers of cotton clothes worked round the clock. Jute too, was utilized for weaving. Magadha and Kashi were well known towns for jute productions.

During those days clothes were prepared out of the leaves and bark of the trees and the fibres of many kinds. *Arthashastra* presents an elaborate description of woollen clothes and blankets. They were made in different ways. The woollen garments were made of wool of many colours and with strong threads. Nepal was the main centre of blanket trade. Megasthenes has pointed out that the Indians dressed in costly and beautiful attires. The people of Bengal had the chief occupation of producing muslin cloth, which was in great demand for making clothes. While cotton was grown in the country, silk clothes were imported from China.

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Metallurgy

According to Megasthenes, during the Mauryan age, there was an enormous quantity of gold and silver in India. Iron, copper and brass was also available in large quantities. Iron was used for manufacture of arms. Ordinarily, the work of mining was done by the state officials. The state representative who was in-charge of the mines was known as Akradhayaksha. During the Mauryan times, ornaments were worn by members of both the sexes. The wealthy section of the society wore ornaments made of ivory.

Diving and finding pearls, jewels, shells, diamonds from the sea was the most difficult task. Ornaments studded with pearls and beads were in much demand. The Mauryans wore clothes embroidered with golden threads. The utensils were made of metal; the process of making pots out of metal, its casting and softening is also given in the Arthashastra.

Forests, in this period, constituted the property of the state. There were efficient methods of cutting and loading the wood. Bamboo, leaves and bark was used for making a number of everyday things. Wood of an excellent quality was required for making ships. Arthashastra gives a description of skins of different animals used for manufacturing things. During the Mauryan Age, a brisk wine trade flourished too. There is a mention of six types of wine in Arthashastra. Wine trade was under the complete control of Suradhyabha.

The state paid avid attention to the progress of every trade and occupation and traders enjoyed the security of the state. People blinding or chopping off the hands of any sculptor or craftsman was given life sentence. Traders had the privilege of enjoying feasible profit but anyone who indulged in making graft money, cheating, gaining undue profit and adulterating everyday products was severely punished. Kautilya followed the middle path in state affairs and a mutual one in professional sphere.

The external and internal trade had developed sufficiently during the Mauryan period. The internal trade was carried through safe land routes. The roads going from Pataliputra to western India was 1,500 miles long. In southern India there were important busy land routes. According to Kautilya, the southern roads going through the mines were very significant. They involved less exertion and labour. Another road ran from Pataliputra to the east. Besides these major routes there existed many minor land routes that connected the small cities with the main roads. On the main roads there were milestones at a distance of every half kilometer.

Judges were appointed for the regular inspection and supervision of these roads. The internal trade was also carried through rivers. Small boats and vessels were used for this purpose. In the entire Kingdom every town was known for its particular products. Nepal was famous for woollen clothes, the Himalayan area for skin industries, Magadha for tree bark and clothes, Kashi for all types of clothes, Bengal for fine muslin, Kerala for pearls. The people of the professional class travelled to far off lands to sell their wares.

According to Arthashastra, during the Mauryan times active trade was carried on by sea routes in big ships known as Pravana. There were ports and harbours. The management of the ports was under a port official. The person in charge of the port had to rescue ships caught in the stormy waves of perilous seas. Pearls were imported from China. There were good commercial relations between Egypt and India. Sikandria was the chief port of Egypt and three land routes connected it with India. The existence of a special assembly for receiving the foreign ambassadors in the royal court of Mauryas indicates that there existed close relations between India and countries abroad. Thus, during the Mauryan times, kings had to maintain foreign relations and formulate the appropriate external policies.

Coinage

The following were the Mauryan coins:

- Gold coins known as *Sauvamik*
- Silver coins called *Kashaparna*
- Copper coins called *Mashaka*
- *Kakni* was also a copper coin which was less valuable to *Mashaka*

Kautilya has divided the Mauryan coinage into two parts. These are as follows:

1. **Legal tender:** In this category were the coins collected in the state treasury. They were used for state taxation and export and import or exchange.
2. **Token money:** This was a token currency used by the people or their daily transactions. Such coins were not deposited in the royal treasury. The coins were made by the state foundries. But anyone could cast the coins at his own cost. There was no paper currency. The chief of the foundry was called *Suvarnika* or *Lakshanadhyaksha*.

Chandragupta Maurya started his career from a very humble position and there are differences of opinion regarding his family. It is now the accepted view of a majority of scholars that Chandragupta belonged to the Kshatriya clan called the Moriyas originally ruling over Pippalivana, which probably lay in modern Uttar Pradesh.

After the death of her husband, the mother of Chandragupta shifted to Pataliputra for safety where she gave birth to her illustrious son. Chandragupta was first brought up by a cowherd and then by a hunter. Chanakya, his mentor marked out Chandragupta for the twin tasks of winning the entire India and killing Dhana Nand. It is now generally believed that Chanakya and Kautilya, the author of *Arthashastra*, were the names of the same person.

The classical writers have described that Chandragupta had visited Alexander who felt offended by his behaviour and gave orders to kill him. However, Chandragupta managed to escape. After the return of Alexander, he with the help of Chanakya, raised an army by recruiting soldiers mostly from the warlike people of the republican states of Punjab who had given fierce resistance to Alexander. He kept before the people the idea of turning the foreign Greek invaders out of the country and succeeded. He was supported by Parvataka—a hill-tribe chief who became his friend. Probably, Chandragupta started his war of liberation in the lower Indus Valley, before 321 or even before 323 BC and finally succeeded. By 317 BC, no Greek governor remained in India and Punjab and Sindh were occupied by Chandragupta. The desire of the Greek *Satrap* and their soldiers to go back to their own country, their mutual conflicts, the revolt of the Indian *Satrap*s and the assassination of Philippos of the Upper Indus Valley in 325 BC and the death of Alexander in 323 BC facilitated the work of Chandragupta of turning the Greeks out of the Indian Territory.

The next task of Chandragupta was to conquer Magadha. He failed to achieve this objective probably once or twice but ultimately grabbed the throne of Pataliputra and killed Dhana Nand. The incompetence of Dhana Nand, his unpopularity amongst his subjects, the astute diplomacy of Chanakya and the bravery and military skill of Chandragupta were mainly responsible for the downfall of the Nanda dynasty. Chandragupta also kept Pataliputra as his capital.

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Extension of the Empire

When Chandragupta was busy in the extension and consolidation of his empire, Seleucus, one of the able generals of Alexander who had obtained possession of the Eastern Empire of his master, proceeded towards India to recover the lost possession of the late emperor. He reached India in around 305 BC where Chandragupta faced him in a battle. The Greek writers do not give the details of the conflict. It is also not certain whether a decisive battle took place between the two or not. But, in view of the terms of peace between the two, it is definite that Seleucus failed miserably in his expedition. He had not only to abandon the idea of re-conquering Punjab but had to surrender to Chandragupta a part of his territories in the East with its capital cities Herat, Kandahar and Kabul and also the territories of Baluchistan.

Thus, this settlement between the two extended the territories of Chandragupta in the North-West up to the borders of Persia and also secured his frontiers in that direction.

No written record is available of the other conquests of Chandragupta, yet it is certain that he ruled over a vast empire. Bindusara, his successor is not known to history as a conqueror while Ashoka conquered only Kalinga.

Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that the empire of the Mauryas, (which is believed to have extended from the border of Persia in the North-West to Bengal in the East and from Kashmir in the North to Mysore in the South), was mostly built up by Chandragupta.

In his last days, Chandragupta went South with the Jain monk Bhadrabahu. The hill where he lived during the last days of his life is known as Chandragiri where a temple known as Chandragupta Basti was also erected by his grandson, Ashoka. It is in Mysore.

Chandragupta an an Administrator

Chandragupta was not only a great conqueror but also a capable administrator. The way he carried on the administration of his empire was pursued by his successors and no change was felt necessary except that Ashoka tried to liberalize it further and elaborated the public duties of the state officials. The basic principles of the administration of the Mauryas remained the same as established by Chandragupta till subsequently the weaker Mauryas lost their hold over it. Primarily, Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and the description of Megasthenes give us a fair idea of the administration of Chandragupta.

The polity

By the time of the Mauryas, the office of the king had become hereditary and the divine origin of monarchy had attained maturity and had given the king wide powers. But, strictly speaking, as Hindu political theory vests sovereignty in the dharma or law in the widest sense of the term and the state is separated from the king who is a part of it, no king could be tyrannical or a wielder of absolute personal powers. Of course, the necessity of a strong king was stressed but it was equally emphasized that he had to rule according to the dharma and for the establishment of the dharma, which was conducive to the highest good.

The dharma actually upheld an ideal that elevated the soul to the loftiest heights and, therefore, the function of the state was to create those conditions of life which would help every citizen attain this goal. It also meant that the state would enjoy all the embracing powers. Therefore, its scope of activities was unlimited and no distinction

was made between the personal and the civic rights and duties, or between the moral principles and positive law. Everything that had any bearing upon the moral, spiritual or material condition of a citizen came within the scope of the state activities. The state had the right to regulate the family life of the citizens, to promote true religion and control all professions and occupations as well. Thus, the state held the ring for the interplay of social forces, intellectual influences, economic enterprises and above all the spiritual tradition. But in no case, the extensive activities of the state and the divine origin of the monarchy meant to support the divine right of the king. Therefore, the power of the king has increased but not without an increase in his corresponding duties. No wicked son of a king was allowed to become the successor and, consequently, the right of the people to rebel against a wicked and tyrannical king was also recognized. For the same purpose, special care was taken to impart sound education and moral training to the future king and if the prince failed to reach a requisite standard, he forfeited his right to the throne.

Regarding the inter-state relations, the *Arthashastra* states that the normal relations between the states can only be that of mutual hostility and material interests alone should guide the relations of one state with another. A ruler should adopt the policy which is calculated to increase the power and wealth of his state, irrespective of any legal justice or moral consideration and for this purpose; he should adopt any or all the four instruments, viz. *Sama* (conciliation), *Dama* (gift), *Danda* (aggressive action) and *Bheda* (sowing dimensions in a hostile state or among different enemy states).

The king

Sometimes, the king could be elected but hereditary kingship was the established practice. Females were not excluded from the right of kingship but in practice it was rarely to be found. The king was the supreme head of the state and performed military, judicial, executive and legislative functions. His permanent duty was to protect the people and seek their welfare. In *Arthashastra*, it is mentioned that the happiness of the king lies in the welfare and the ultimate good of his subjects. Therefore, the king was the busiest person in the kingdom. The twenty-four hours of each day and night were divided into eight parts and in each part he performed different duties punctually. Chandragupta could sleep hardly for six hours. Even when he was dressed and his hair being combed, he used to listen to the reports of his spies and assign them their duties. Besides, he was easily accessible to his subjects. The king was paid in the form of taxes by his subjects in return for his services to the kingdom. He lived in a large and comfortable palace, which was highly praised by Megasthenes. He was protected by lady bodyguards and every precaution was taken to protect his life from treachery and poisoning.

The council of ministers and the state council

According to Kautilya, there were two committees to assist the king in the administration. He says, 'Sovereignty is possible only with assistance.' It implied that these committees were not only necessary but also effective in administration as well. The council of ministers was a small body consisting of 3-12 members. Each of them was the head of one or a few of the administrative departments and sometimes, one of them could be appointed as the chief or prime minister. All of them were appointed by the king on merit and could also be dismissed by him. All the administrative measures were preceded by deliberations in the council of ministers. Each minister had free access to the king but in policy matters they advised the king as a body. The State Council was a large body and the number of its members varied between 12, 16 or 20 and, according to Kautilya, it could include as many members as the need of the state required. These councils played

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an effective role in the administration of the kingdom. Kautilya has clearly distinguished the two and has given pre-eminence to the Council of Ministers as compared to the State Council. Of course, the king had the legal power to refuse to work on their advice but, in practice, he hardly did so.

3.3.2 Ashoka (269–232BC)

Ashoka has an unmatched place in the history of ancient India. He is not only famous for the vastness of his empire but also for his personal character, aims and ideals. He was an able ruler and an ideal human being. Not every age and every country can give birth to such a king. Ashoka cannot be compared even today with any other ruler from the history of the world.

Ashoka's Reign

Ashoka was a great king not only in the history of India but also across the whole world. We possess a lot of information about him from his inscriptions and the Buddhist literature. According to the Buddhist tradition, Bindusara had sixteen wives and 101 sons. Sumana or Susima was the eldest son, Ashoka the second and Tishya the youngest son. In the northern tradition, the name of Ashoka's mother is mentioned as Subhadrangi, but in the southern tradition she is named Dharma. When Ashoka was only eighteen, he was appointed by his father the Viceroy of Rashtra with its capital at Ujjayini. It was there that Ashoka married Mahadevi and his son Mahendra and daughter Sanghamitra were born.

There was a rebellion in Taxila and Ashoka was sent to suppress the same. There was another rebellion at Taxila which its Viceroy Susima failed to suppress. It is stated that when Bindusara died Ashoka captured the throne with the help of the Ministers headed by Khallataka or Radhagupta. That led to a war of succession between Ashoka and Susima. Yuvaraja Susima, was helped by his other 98 brothers except Tishya. The story is that Ashoka killed all his 99 brothers and waded through blood to the throne and thereby got the notorious title of *ChandAshoka*. There are many stories giving details of the cruelty of Ashoka before he ultimately ascended the throne.

While it is conceded that there might have been a struggle for power, it is not admitted that Ashoka was responsible for the murder of all of his brothers except Tishya. Dr. Smith regards the story of the slaughter of his brothers as something absurd and false. He points out that even the inscriptions of Ashoka prove that his brothers and sisters were alive in the 17th and 18th years of his reign and their households were the object of his anxious care. It is pointed out that the fifth rock edict refers to the family establishments of his brothers as existing. This does not necessarily mean that his brothers were also alive. But there is nothing to show that his brothers were dead.

It is difficult to settle the controversy regarding Ashoka. However, it is certain that

Ashoka took up the title of *Samrat* after his accession to the throne. It is difficult to settle the controversy regarding the first four years of the reign of Ashoka. However, it is certain that Ashoka was consecrated after four years after his accession to the throne.

Ashoka took up the title of Devanampiya Piyadasi or the beloved of the gods and was of an amiable nature. The name Ashoka is found in literature and also in the Maurya Edict of Ashoka and the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman I. The name Dharmashoka is found on the Sarnath inscription of Kumaradevi. Not much is known about the early years of the reign of Ashoka. His personal reminiscences shows that he lived the life of his predecessors, consuming food freely, enjoying the pleasures, and encouraging festive assemblies accompanied by dancing and drinking. During his first thirteen years, he

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carried on the traditional policy of expansion within India and maintained friendly relations with foreign powers. He was aggressive at home but a pacifist abroad. He exchanged embassies with the foreign countries. He employed Yavana officials like Tushaspa.

The Editcs of Ashoka

King Ashoka, the third monarch of the Indian Mauryan dynasty, has come to be regarded as one of the most exemplary rulers in world history. The British historian H.G. Wells has written: 'Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history ... the name of Ashoka shines, and shines almost alone, a star.' Although Buddhist literature preserved the legend of this ruler — the story of a cruel and ruthless king who converted to Buddhism and thereafter established a reign of virtue — definitive historical records of his reign were lacking. Then in the nineteenth century there came to light a large number of edicts, in India, Nepal, Pakistan and Afghanistan. These edicts, inscribed on rocks and pillars, proclaim Ashoka's reforms and policies and promulgate his advice to his subjects. The present rendering of these edicts, based on earlier translations, offers us insights into a powerful and capable ruler's attempt to establish an empire on the foundation of righteousness, a reign which makes the moral and spiritual welfare of his subjects its primary concern. The Australian Ven. S. Dhammika, the compiler of the present work, is the spiritual director of the Buddha Dhamma Mandala Society in Singapore.

The extent of the Ashoka's empire

Ashoka himself has given quite an explicit list of the places which were under his rule. These include Magadha, Pataliputra, Barabar hills, Kaushambi, Lumbini-gama, Kalinga, Atavi (the forest tract of mid India), Suvarnagiri, Isila, Ujjaini and Taxila. Even beyond Taxila, Ashoka's kingdom included the areas around Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra, which were adjacent to the eastern boundaries of the realm of Amityako Yonaraja (Antiochos II Theos of Syria). Exact location of this Yona country has now been confirmed as Arachosia. Apart from this, the north-west frontier of Ashoka's Empire also included Kamboja, which corresponds to Rajapur or Rajaur near Punch in Kashmir, and also Gandhara, territory now west of Indus with its capital Pushkaravati. The inclusion of Kashmir in the dominions of Ashoka has been confirmed both by Hiuen-Tsang and also by Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini*. Kalhana mentions a number of stupas and viharas built by Ashoka. Ashoka also founded the city of Srinagara.

Apart from this, we have a clear proof that Gangaridai, i.e., the area of Bengal was under Ashoka but Kamarupa was out of his dominions. In south India, the areas up to the river Pennar near Nellore formed the frontier of Ashoka's kingdom. There is a mention of some Tamil kingdoms beyond this, which are explicitly addressed as the neighbouring states.

Early life

Though Ashoka is known as the greatest king of India, historians learned about him only in the nineteenth century. In 1837, a British scholar named James Prinsep deciphered the inscriptions on the pillars and rocks that are found in many parts of India. It was in the Brahmi script. From these inscriptions, it was concluded that Ashoka and the ruler named *Devanampiya Priyadarsi* were one and the same person. An inscription discovered by Prinsep in 1915 used the name Ashoka along with the other name. These inscriptions gave historians valuable information about Ashoka's rule and the extent and condition of his empire. The land he ruled stretched from the Himalayas in Nepal and Kashmir to

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Mysore in the south, from Afghanistan in the northwest to the banks of the River Brahmaputra in the east. In the west his territory covered Saurashtra and Junagarh. Kalinga was one of the kingdoms, which remained unconquered and hostile when Ashoka succeeded to the throne. It was important to Ashoka from a geographical point of view, since the route to south India both by land and by sea passed through it. It would also bring added prosperity to the Mauryan Empire. It was for these reasons that Ashoka attacked Kalinga.

Battle of Kalinga

Kalinga was a prosperous little kingdom lying between the river Godavari and Mahanadi, close to the Bay of Bengal. It had an infantry of 60,000 men, 10,000 horsemen and 600 elephants. Ashoka wanted to capture this fertile land, and so had it surrounded. A fierce battle followed in which an enormous amount of life and property was lost. Kalinga surrendered and, for the first time in the Indian history, almost the whole sub continent except the extreme south was under a single ruler. However, this battle affected the king deeply.

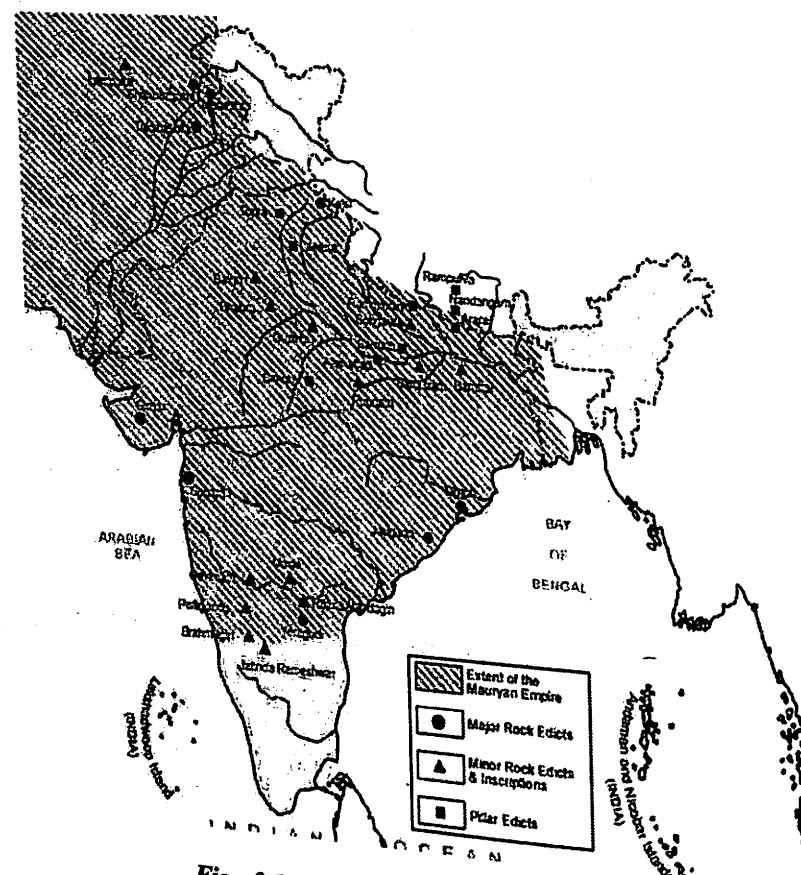


Fig. 3.1 Mauryan Empire under Ashoka

In the midst of the battlefield, Ashoka stood with the wounded, crippled and the dead all around him. The sight of the terrible carnage and the miseries of war filled Ashoka with remorse. He vowed never to make war again. The war drums (*Bherighosh*) were silenced forever and henceforth were heard only the reverberations of the *Dhammaghosh* (the call to non-violence and universal peace).

Ashoka's Dhamma

The word 'dhamma' was derived from the Sanskrit word 'dharma.' Ashoka followed the principles of Buddhism—that of truth, charity, kindness, purity and goodness. He

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wanted his people to lead pure and virtuous lives, irrespective of their religion or culture. He considered all subjects his children. He explained his ideas in his edicts by engraving his principles on pillars throughout his kingdom. The edicts were written in Prakrit, which was the language of the common people, so that they could understand and follow them. Some of the edicts such as those in Afghanistan were composed in Greek for the same reason. The purpose of the edicts was to inform the people of Ashoka's reforms and to encourage them to be more generous, kind and moral. He strictly prohibited animal slaughtering in the kingdom and asked people to be respectful of each other. People should respect nature, their parents, everything living as well as non-living. Brahmins should be treated with respect and servants should be treated as equals. Donating alms to the poor and the needy was practiced and advised by the state. He preached harmony and peace and advised people to get rid of anger, jealousy, cruelty and arrogance. According to Romila Thapar, an Indian historian whose principal area of study is ancient India, 'Dhamma was a way of life which was based on the social and moral responsibilities.'

Ashoka was an able administrator, an intelligent human being and a devout Buddhist. He attempted to spread this religion to Syria, Egypt and Macedonia, and also sent his son Mahendra and daughter Sanghamitra to Sri Lanka. The Buddhist *Sangha* of the time decided to send missionaries to many places, like modern day Burma and Sri Lanka.

Following are the important aspects of Dhamma through the study of the scripts:

- Earliest signals of Dhammalipi are seen in the Minor Rock Edict I and II (MREI and II).
- The core of Ashoka's Dhamma is enshrined in the first and the second Minor Rock Edict. Minor Rock Edicts (now onwards MREI and II) refer to following important points:
 - o Gujarra version of MRE-I mentions that both rich and poor should be encouraged to practice Dhamma.
 - o Brahmagiri version of MRE-II has the following points. Beloved of the god (Ashoka) said that:
 - (a) Mother and father should be obeyed and likewise the elders.
 - (b) Steadfastness (in kindness) should be shown towards the living beings.
 - (c) The truth must be spoken.
 - (d) Teachers should be honoured by the pupil.
 - (e) Relatives should be respected.

These principles have been engraved just after the mention of Ashoka's Dhammayatra and form the core of his Dhamma.

- The concept of Dhamma was based upon the ancient values and customs. They have been repeated and stressed a number of times. There is a special stress on the following:
 - o Abstention from slaughter of life (lives) (*Arambho prananam*).
 - o Avoidance of injury to the creatures (*Avihisa Bhutanam*).
- In REIII the Government officials are asked to preach the following:
 - o Obedience to father and mother is an excellent thing.
 - o Liberty to friends, acquaintances and relatives and to Brahmins and Sramanas is an excellent thing.

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- o The abstention from slaughter of living creatures is an excellent thing.
- o Tendency towards spending little and storing little is an excellent thing.
- o RE IX and XI advocate a proper courtesy even towards the slaves and servants. RE VII speaks to show courtesy to miserable and wretched (*Kapanivalakesu*).

Now, dealing with the important part, let us understand the constituents of the Dhamma policy. Dhamma is clearly defined in PEII as consisting of the following:

- Freedom from sins (or few sins): *Apasinave*
- Many virtuous deeds: *Vahukayane*
- Compassion: *Daya*
- Liberality (or making gifts): *Dana*
- Truthfulness: *Satya*
- Purity (of mind): *Sochye*

PEVII adds gentleness (*Sadhve*) to the mentioned list.

According to PE VII, people of all sects should be obliged to have the following:

- Self control (*Sayame*)
- Mental purity (*Bhava shuddhi*)
- Gratefulness (*Kilanala*)
- Firm devotion (*Didhabhalila*)

PE III says that man should guard himself against those passions which lead to sin. These are as follows:

- Fierceness (*Chamdiye*)
- Cruelty (*Nilhuliye*)
- Anger (*Kodhe*)
- Pride (*Mane*)
- Jealously (*Irshiya*)

Though in the conduct of *Dhamma* (Law of Piety) the renouncement of killing, non violence, non-injury, self-control was a prominent part but that does not suggest that Ashoka totally renounced war.

Ashoka's *Dhammayatra* was initiated with Ashoka's visit to Sambodhi when he had been consecrated for ten years. He, in course of *Dhammayatas* or *Dharmayatra* visited *Brahmanas* and *Sramanas* and offered gifts. He visited elders and offered gifts of gold and made contact with the people of countryside and instructed them in *Dhamma*.

Nature of Dhamma

Scholars are not totally unanimous about the exact explanation of the nature of *Dhamma*. Rhys Davids understands it, as a whole, as the duty of laymen while Smith says that the character of Ashoka's teaching is purely human and severely practical. He also identifies the ethics in the edicts as Buddhist rather than Brahmanical. Dr. C. Sircar says that *Dhamma* was a code of morals preached by Ashoka. It was basically extracted from the teachings of Buddha. According to K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, Ashoka's *Dhamma* embraced all the living beings as it was based upon the ethics of benevolence.

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In the light of this comparative analysis you may infer that the crux or core of Ashoka's *Dhamma* was to enhance the ethics and moral standards of people by preaching non-violence, respect for other sects, and respect for people in general, etc. What also seems pertinent to note here is that *Dhamma* was also driven by political and geographical compulsions. It was rather a political philosophy based upon the ancient customs to maintain peace, tranquillity and harmony in such a vast empire. This seems to be an important reason for creating an administrative machinery for the dissemination of the concept amongst the people.

Foreign Policy After Kalinga

After Kalinga, Ashoka renounced the path of warfare, and this is amply evident by the fact that he made no attempt to annex his neighbouring countries namely, Chola, Pandya, Satiyaputra, Kerelaputra, Ceylon and the realm of Amtiyako Yonaraja, who is identified with Antiochos II Theos, king of Syria and western Asia. The concept of *Digvijaya* was replaced by the concept of *Dhammavijaya*.

Dhamma of Ashoka brought him in contact with the Hellenistic powers. Ashoka looked towards these countries for the expansion of *Dhamma* through *Dhammavijaya*. He says, 'My neighbours too, should learn this lesson.' The text of the Rock Edict XIII says, 'Conquest of the Law of Piety... has been won by his sacred Majesty ...among all his neighbours as far as six hundred leagues, where the king of Greeks named Antiochos dwells, and beyond (the realm) of that Antiochos (where dwell) the four kings severally Ptolemy (*Turamayo*), Antigonus (*Amekina*), Magas (*Maga*), and Alexander (*Alikasudara*) (like wise) in the south (*micha*), the Cholas and the Pandyas as far as Tambapani... Even where the duties of his sacred Majesty do not penetrate, those people, too are hearing his sacred Majesty's ordinance based upon the Law of Piety and his instruction in the law, practice and will practice the law.'

Due to such serious efforts undertaken by Ashoka, Buddhism did make a progression in the region around west Asia. Ceylonese chronicles also mention that envoys were sent to Ceylon and Suvarnabhumi (lower Burma and Sumatra). Mahendra, perhaps the younger brother or son of Ashoka along with his sister Sangamitra, went to Ceylon and successfully secured the conversion of *Devanampiya Tissa* and many more people.

The last major recorded event in the life of Ashoka is the issuance of seven Pillar Edicts in around 242 BC. The council of Pataliputra may be placed around 240 BC. The main purpose of the council was to stop heresy, and supervise publication of special edicts to stop the schisms in the *sangha*. Some sources tell us that during his old age, Ashoka wasted huge resources of the empire to give charity to the monks and the *Sanghas*. Some others tell us that he abdicated to pursue devotion but it is not corroborated through evidence.

Though the exact knowledge as to where and how he died is not available but he died sometime around 232 BC after a reign of almost forty years. A Tibetan source tells us that he left for his heavenly abode at Taxila.

The Junagadh rock contains inscriptions by Ashoka (fourteen of the Edicts of Ashoka), Rudradaman I and Skandagupta.

Ashoka ruled for an estimated forty years. After his death, the Mauryan dynasty lasted just fifty more years. Ashoka had many wives and children, but many of their names are lost to time. Mahindra and Sanghamitra were twins born by his 2nd wife, Devi, in the city of Ujjain. He had entrusted to them the job of making his state religion, Buddhism,

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more popular across the known and the unknown world. Mahindra and Sanghamitra went to Sri Lanka and converted the King, the Queen and their people to Buddhism. They were naturally not handling state affairs after him.

In his old age, he seems to have come under the spell of his youngest wife Tishyaraksha. It is said that she had got his son Kunala, the regent in Takshashila, blinded by a wily stratagem. The official executioners spared Kunala and he became a wandering singer accompanied by his favourite wife Kanchanmala. In Pataliputra, Ashoka hears Kunala's song, and realizes that Kunala's misfortune may have been a punishment for some past sin of the emperor himself and condemns Tishyaraksha to death, restoring Kunala to the court. Kunala was succeeded by his son, Samprati, but his rule did not last long after Ashoka's death.

The reign of Ashoka could easily have disappeared into history as the ages passed by, and would have had not left behind a record of his trials. The testimony of this wise king was discovered in the form of magnificently sculpted pillars and boulders with a variety of actions and teachings he wished to be published etched on stone. What Ashoka left behind was the first written language in India since the ancient city of Harappa. The language used for inscription was the then current spoken form called Prakrit.

In the year 185 BC, about fifty years after Ashoka's death, the last Maurya ruler, Brhadrata, was assassinated by the commander-in-chief of the Mauryan armed forces, Pusyamitra Sunga, while he was taking the Guard of Honor of his forces. Pusyamitra Sunga founded the Sunga dynasty (185 BC–78 BC) and ruled just a fragmented part of the Mauryan Empire. Many of the northwestern territories of the Mauryan Empire (modern-day Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan) became the Indo-Greek Kingdom.

In 1992, Ashoka was ranked 53 on Michael H. Hart's list of the most influential figures in history. In 2001, a semi-fictionalized portrayal of Ashoka's life was produced as a motion picture under the title *Ashoka*. King Ashoka, the third monarch of the Indian Mauryan dynasty, has come to be regarded as one of the most exemplary rulers in world history. The British historian H.G. Wells has written: 'Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Ashoka shines, and shines, almost alone, a star.'

Buddhist Kingship

One of the more enduring legacies of Ashoka Maurya was the model that he provided for the relationship between Buddhism and the state. Throughout Theravada Southeastern Asia, the model of rulership embodied by Ashoka replaced the notion of divine kingship that had previously dominated (in the Angkor kingdom, for instance). Under this model of 'Buddhist kingship', the king sought to legitimize his rule not through descent from a divine source, but by supporting and earning the approval of the Buddhist *sangha*. Following Ashoka's example, kings established monasteries, funded the construction of stupas, and supported the ordination of monks in their kingdom. Many rulers also took an active role in resolving disputes over the status and regulation of the *sangha*, as Ashoka had in calling a conclave to settle a number of contentious issues during his reign. This development ultimately led to a close association in many Southeast Asian countries between the monarchy and the religious hierarchy, an association that can still be seen today in the state-supported Buddhism of Thailand and the traditional role of the Thai king as both a religious and secular leader. Ashoka also said that all his courtiers were true to their self and governed the people in a moral manner.

Ashoka Chakra

The Ashoka Chakra (the wheel of Ashoka) is a depiction of the Dharmachakra or Dhammachakka in Pali, the Wheel of Dharma (Sanskrit: Chakra means wheel). The wheel has 24 spokes. The Ashoka Chakra has been widely inscribed on many relics of the Mauryan Emperor, most prominent among which is the Lion Capital of Sarnath and the Ashoka Pillar. The most visible use of the Ashoka Chakra today is at the centre of the National flag of the Republic of India (adopted on 22 July 1947), where it is rendered in a Navy-blue colour on a white background, by replacing the symbol of Charkha (spinning wheel) of the pre-independence versions of the flag. Ashoka Chakra can also be seen on the base of Lion Capital of Ashoka which has been adopted as the National Emblem of India.

The Ashoka Chakra was built by Ashoka during his reign. Chakra is a Sanskrit word which also means cycle or self repeating process. The process it signifies is the cycle of time and how the world changes with time.

A few days before India became independent on August 1947, the specially constituted Constituent Assembly decided that the flag of India must be acceptable to all parties and communities. A flag with three colours, saffron, white and green with the Ashoka Chakra was selected.

3.4 DECLINE OF THE MAURYAN EMPIRE

In 184 BC, the last Mauryan king Brihadratha was killed by his commander Pushyamitra Shunga, who then established the Shunga dynasty in Magadha. Several reasons were responsible for the decline of the Mauryan empire. Some of them are discussed as follows:

- **Monarchical type of government:** Monarchical type of government in itself is a great weakness. A day is bound to come when strong kings will be followed by weak ones and the empire will inevitably decline. Dr J.N. Sarkar, a prominent historian, has pointed out, 'If we turn the pages of Indian history we shall not come across even a single dynasty which might have produced more than five powerful kings. So, a day is bound to come when strong kings will be followed by weak kings and the empire would decay.' Ashoka too was succeeded by weak kings who neither possessed the same personality nor the same prowess, so the empire followed the path of disintegration.
- **Ashoka's propagation of ahimsa:** Some writers ascribe the downfall of the Mauryas to Ashoka's policy of ahimsa. Ashoka, after the Kalinga war, did not wage war and instead of conquest of territories, he began with the conquest of dharma. As a result of which, the military strength of the Mauryan empire declined, the militant attitudes also began to be absent from the minds of the people. Ashoka's successors too followed the path of ahimsa which further rendered the empire militarily impotent. It was due to this reason that Mauryan empire could not survive long after Ashoka's death.
- **Oppressive attitude of the official:** In the outlying provinces of the Mauryan empire, the governors tyrannized and oppressed the people due to which revolts were a common occurrence. During the reign of Bindusara, the people of Takshashila rose into rebellion against the maladministration and the oppressive rule of the governors. Such revolts were there even during the reign of Ashoka. After the

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Check Your Progress

1. What is the primary source of our knowledge on the Mauryan Empire?
2. What were the main centres of clothes under the Mauryan Empire?
3. List the various coins that were minted under the Mauryan Empire?

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death of Ashoka, Takshasila was the first province to declare its independence.

- **Wide extent of empire:** The Mauryan empire had become sufficiently vast which could only be controlled by a strong hand like Ashoka or Chandragupta Maurya. Ashoka's successors, as weak they were, could not control such a vast empire. Moreover, the lack of the means of transportation and communication also loosened the hold of central authority on far-off cities. The result was the disintegration of the entire empire.
- **Division of empire:** Ashoka's death was followed by the division of empire amongst his sons and grandsons. While Jalauka became the ruler of Kashmir, Virasena established his sway over Gandhara. The remaining empire was divided between Samprati and Dasharatha. This division sounded the death knell of the Mauryan empire.
- **Lack of law of succession:** There existed no definite law of succession in the Mauryan empire, as a result of which there followed a war of succession amongst the sons and grandsons of Ashoka. The palace had become a virtual centre of conspiracies. It is believed that as a result of such conspiracy, Kunala was blinded by his stepmother.
- **Disloyalty of the officials:** During the later Mauryan kings, the court and the palace had become centres of conspiracies and the officials had become disloyal. The example of Pushyamitra is a testimony to this belief.
- **Deterioration in financial conditions:** Now it is also believed that proper care was not taken to collect the revenues as a result of which the later Mauryan kings had to face a financial crisis. The internal rebellions too emptied the treasury. The administration also suffered and so the empire became weak.
- **Ambition of Pushyamitra:** Pushyamitra Sunga was the Commander-in-Chief of the last Mauryan king, Brihadratha. He was an ambitious man. He took full advantage of the weak position of the king and killed him, thereby becoming the ruler. He also laid the foundation of the Sunga empire in Magadha.

Shastri's theory of the Mauryan decline

In 1910, Haraprasad Shastri, a Bengali historiographer and academician, propounded this theory of the Mauryan decline according to which Brahminical reaction sapped the vitality of Mauryan authority and shattered its very foundations. Shastri has advanced the following arguments in support of his theory:

- The first and the foremost cause of the alienation of the Brahmins was Ashoka's edicts against the animal sacrifice. Shastri maintains that these edicts were directed against Brahmins as animal sacrifice formed an important part of Brahminical rituals. As a result of which, the Brahmin felt offended and revolted against the Mauryas.
- Having referred to the prohibition of animal sacrifices, Shastri goes on to say 'This was followed by another edict in which Ashoka boasted that those who were regarded as gods on earth have been reduced by him into false gods. If it means anything, it means that the Brahmin who were regarded as Bhudevas or gods on earth had been shown up by him.'
- The appointment of *Dharma-Mahamatras*, i.e., Superintendent of Morals was a direct invasion on the rights and privileges of Brahmins, which the Brahmins could not tolerate.

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- Another cause of the alienation of Brahmins was a passage where Ashoka insisted upon his officers strictly observing the principles of Danda-Samata and Vyavahara-Samata. Shastri takes his expressions to mean equality of punishment and equality in law-suits irrespective of caste, colour and creed, and adds that this order, was very offensive to the Brahmins who claimed many privileges including immunity from capital punishment.
- In conclusion, Pandit Shastri refers to the assassination of the last Maurya king Brihadratha by Pushyamitra Sunga. He says, 'We clearly see the hands of the Brahmins in the great revolution.' Pushyamitra killed Brihadratha because he was a Brahmin.

Raychaudhri's objections

Dr Hem Chandra Raychaudhri has not accepted the arguments advanced by Haraprasad Shastri in support of his theory. He has criticized all the arguments in the following manner:

- As regards the first point, Dr Raychaudhri has pointed out that prohibition of animal sacrifices did not necessarily imply hostilities towards the Brahmins. Long before Ashoka, the Sruti literature contain references against sacrifices and in favour of ahimsa. In the *Chandogya Upanishad*, Ghora Angirasa lays great stress on Ahimsa and non-killing of animal. If Ashoka prohibited animal sacrifice, there was no question of the alienation of Brahmins.
- As regards the second argument advanced by Pandit Shastri, Raychaudhri says that the former has not followed the correct interpretation. The meaning of the entire passage is 'during that time the men in India who had been unassociated with the gods became associated with them.' There is thus no question of 'showing up' anybody.
- The appointment of *Dharma-Mahamatras* was not a direct invasion upon the privilege of the Brahmins. First of all, they were not simply superintendents of morals, they also had other enormous duties. Moreover, there is nothing to show that the *Dharma-Mahamatras* were wholly recruited from non-Brahmins.
- By *Danda-Samata* or *Vyavahara Samata* (equality of treatment or punishment), Ashoka did not want to infringe the rights and privileges of the Brahmins; rather, he was desirous of introducing uniformity in judicial procedure in his empire. It is to be understood in connection with the general principles of decentralization. It did not necessarily infringe on the alleged immunity of the Brahmins from capital punishment.
- As regards the fifth argument advanced by Pandit Shastri, there is no denying the fact that the last Mauryan king Brihadratha was put to death by Pushyamitra who was a Brahmin, but we must not forget that Pushyamitra was also the Commander-in-chief of the forces of Mauryas, and he took advantage of his position. Such rebellions are numerous in history. Moreover, if the relations of the Mauryas and the Brahmins would not have been cordial, how could it be possible that a Brahmin might assume the office of the Commander-in-chief?

Check Your Progress

4. How does the division of empire led to the decline of the Mauryan Empire?
5. Write a note on the deterioration in financial conditions which resulted in Mauryan downfall.

3.5 THE SUNGAS, INDO-GREEKS AND THE KUSHANAS

The great Mauryan Empire did not last long after the death of Ashoka and ended in 185 BC. Weak successors of Ashoka and the unmanageability of a vast empire caused the rapid decline of the Mauryas. Pushyamitra Shunga, a Brahmin general, usurped the throne after slaying the last Maurya king and presided over a loosely federal polity. The post-Mauryan period saw the emergence of a number of kingdoms all over the Indian subcontinent. A number of foreigners came to India in successive waves of migrations between 200 BC and AD 100. These people settled down in different parts of India. They brought with them their own distinct cultural flavour, which, after mixing with the local cultures, enriched the cultural ethos of India.

3.5.1 Indo-Greeks

Following Alexander the Great, the Greek Seleukidan dynasty of Persia continued their hold on the trans-Indus region. In 303 BC, Chandragupta Maurya overpowered Seleukos Nikator and brought the trans-Indus region under his control.

In Iran, the Parthians became independent and were succeeded by the Sassanians in AD 226. Similarly, the Greeks of Bactria rose in revolt under the leadership of Diodotus. These Greeks were later known as the Indo-Greeks when they gained a foothold in the Indian subcontinent.

Bactria was a fertile area situated between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus. It had control over the trade routes from Gandhara to the West. The Greek settlements in Bactria took shape in the fifth century BC when Persian emperors allowed the Greek exiles to settle in that area. In history, Bactria finds mention due to Diodotus' revolt against the Seleukidan king Antiochus. However, the relationship was restored by the Seleukidans in 200 BC by offering a Seleukidan bride to Enthymemes, the grandson of Diodotus. Around the same time, King Subhagasena met with defeat at the hands of the Seleukidan king who crossed the Hindu Kush in 206 BC, taking advantage of the unguarded northwestern region of India.

From here begins the history of the Indo-Greek, which is primarily gathered from the coins of their time. The evidence is quite confusing in places because there were many kings with similar, even identical, names.

Demetrios, the son of Euthydemus, not only conquered what is present southern Afghanistan and Makran but also took over some portions of Punjab. Another Bactrian, Eukratides began ruling the homeland of the Bactrians around 175 BC. His son Demetrios-II went along the river Indus and deeper into Punjab till Kutch.

The name most well known in Indo-Greek history is that of Menander who is responsible for the work, *The Questions of King Milinda*, a Buddhist treatise on the discussion between Menander and Nagasena, the Buddhist philosopher. Menander continued his reign of Punjab from 160 to 140 BC.

Menander managed to stabilize his power and also expand his boundaries. His coins are found in the areas extending from Kabul to Mathura near Delhi. Although he tried to conquer the Ganga valley, he did not succeed and is said to have been defeated by the Sungas.

Strato is said to have succeeded Menander at a time when Bactria was under the reign of a different group of Bactrians. Probably Mithridates - I of Persia annexed Taxila during the third quarter of the second century BC.

Later, Antialkidas took over as the inscriptions of Besnagar and Bhhilsa. This inscription is said to have been ordered by Heliodoros, an envoy of Antialkidas in the court of Besnagar. Heliodoros ordered the construction of a monolithic column in the honour of Vasudeva. This laid the foundations of the Bhakti cult of Vasudeva.

Hippostratos and Hermaeus were the last of the Greek kings known about. While the former was overpowered by Kadphises, the latter met defeat at the hands of Moga, the first Saka king.

Indo-Greek impact began to wane when the Scythians, nomads from Central Asia, attacked Bactria.

Ancient Indian government, society, literature, art and religion was deeply influenced by the arrival of the Indo-Greeks and by the penetration of the Sakas, Pallavas and Kushanas. India was able to easily absorb these foreign influences because of the youthfulness of its civilization. Greek impact on India occurred following Alexander's invasion of the Greek settlements in the Bactrian areas. It is not right to hold Alexander alone responsible for bringing Greek heritage and influence. When Alexander and his soldiers proceeded towards the east, Greek culture was already on the wane. Even though Alexander and his men were not the actual torch bearers of Greek culture in the east, traces of Greek influence were definitely present in the Indian civilization.

Alexander's invasion did not affect the Indian civilization too much. Indian rulers continued practising their military tactics without adopting Alexander's tactics. Whatever little Greek influence that was there was felt beyond the Hindu Kush in the Mauryan period but not anywhere in interior India.

Greek influence is seen in the use of stone in buildings and sculptures during the Mauryan age. Constructions in Taxila definitely carry Greek influence in the columns.

Even before the power of the Indo-Greek rulers was established in India, the services of the Greeks were utilized. In fact, Ashoka had employed a Greek as a viceroy of his province; a Greek was looking after engineering work during the period of the Kushanas. Many Greeks are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Karle caves. Greek hair style and the practice of eating in a reclining posture became common. Indo-Greeks who settled in India became traders and wealthy merchants. Tamil literature mentions Greek ships arriving with cargo and the wealthy Greek settlements of Kaveripatnam. Some Tamil kings even employed Greeks as bodyguards.

The high level of knowledge possessed by Greek scientists is acknowledged by modern scientists also. According to the Gargi Samhita, Greeks were like gods in science. Varahmihira is known to have used several Greek terms in his works during the Gupta age. Even Charaka, it is said, was deeply influenced by Hippocrates, who is considered the 'father of medicine.' With no concrete proof, it is not easy to establish the extent to which the Greeks influenced scientific knowledge in India.

Influence on Art and Religion

Influence on Art

- The Indo-Greeks made significant contribution to the art of die cutting.
- They were skilled at making portraits of rulers.

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- Greek kings promoted some indigenous methods of minting coins. Greek influence on Indian coins is very evident.
- The art of striking coins with two dies (obverse and reverse side) was a Greek technique adopted by Indians.
- Open air theatres found in India are also a Greek legacy.
- The term 'Yavanika' used for 'curtain' also shows Greek influence.
- The Gandhara art form of the Kushana period is the best example of Greek influence on sculpture. The Gandhara school began in the Kabul valley where Greek influence was said to be the maximum.
- Terracotta toys and plaques also reflected Greek influence.

Influence on Religion

Various inscriptions and studies reveal Greek influence in the field of religion in India. It changed Hindu iconography significantly. Several Iranian and Babylonian gods were incorporated in Hinduism. There were also many deities adopted by the Kushanas and the Parthians. However, it is difficult to specifically name the gods and goddesses that were adopted in the Indian pantheon of gods.

Greek influence gave a boost to Mahayana Buddhism and made the Bhakti aspect of religion (led by the Vasudeva cult) popular.

All said and done, art was greatly influenced by the Greeks.

The Hellenistic impact on Indian art and architecture was evident in the form of the Gandhara school of Art. This influence moved on from Taxila to Mathura and Sarnath. This art was mainly centred around Gandhara.

Emergence of schools of art

After Alexander's invasion of India in 326 BC, the Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Kushana kings ruled over its north-western territories. They promoted a distinct style of sculpture called the Graeco-Buddhist or Gandhara art or Hellenistic art. It combined Hellenistic, West Asiatic and native features. Modifications were made to Greek and Roman techniques to suit Indian requirements. This period lasted from the fourth century BC to 1st century AD.

The symbolic representation of Buddha gave way to the representation of Buddha in human form. Henceforth, the main element of sculpture was the image which later came to be worshipped by the Buddhists.

Mahayana Buddhism helped the growth of this art which was found predominantly in Gandhara. This province was the meeting ground for Indian, Chinese, Iranian and Graeco-Roman cultures. Therefore, the art of Gandhara was influenced by these foreign cultures, especially the Graeco-Roman culture. This art originated in Bactria and Parthia under Greek rulers. In this art, the statues and images of Lord Buddha were made according to the Greek technique. However, the idea, spirit and personalities were Indian. Hence, the name Graeco-Buddhist art or Indo-Greek art or Hellenistic art.

Main features

1. The statues of Buddha and Bodhisattvas were made to resemble Greek Gods.
2. The images were realistic with accurate anatomical features.
3. Refinement and polish were emphasized.
4. Grey stone and slate were commonly used.

5. Greek-style ornaments were highlighted.
6. Gandhara images seem to resemble the Greek god, Apollo. Most images show Buddha seated in a typical Yogic posture.

In addition to Gandhara, Mathura, another school of art also developed simultaneously during this period. Artists at Mathura chose red sand stone to sculpt their statues and images. The headless statue of Kanishka is an important creation of the Mathura school of art.

Art work belonging to the Gandhara school has been found at Bimaran, Hastanagar, Sakra, Dheri, Hadda and various parts of Taxila. Most specimens are placed in the museum of Peshawar. The images of Buddha are the most notable among these. This school also affected the art and sculpture of China and central Asia.

3.5.2 Shunga and Kharavela

The Mauryas were succeeded by the Sungas who ruled for 112 years from about 185 – 73 BC. Pushyamitra, the Mauryan Commander-in-Chief, killed the last Mauryan king, Brihadratha and ruled the kingdom for thirty-six years. Pushyamitra was successful in usurping the throne on account of a general feeling of dissatisfaction against the weak Mauryan rulers who had failed to protect the people against the Greek invaders. These invaders had succeeded in penetrating the kingdom up to Pataliputra.

Origin of Sungas

There are many theories with regard to the origin of the Sungas. The Sungas appear to have been Brahmins. The celebrated grammarian, Panini, connects them with the Bharadvaja family, and in the *Asvalyana Srautasutra* the Sungas are known as teachers. They were Brahmins who occupied a high position in the theological world. Pushyamitra belonged to a family of the royal chaplain or *Purohita*. The later Mauryas were politically weak and Pushyamitra was forced to kill Brihadratha in the interest of the empire which was threatened by foreign invaders.

Pushyamitra Sunga

Pushyamitra (see Figure 3.2), according to historians, ruled for thirty-six years. There are references not only to his son, but also to his grandson taking part in the administration of the country.



Fig. 3.2 Pushyamitra Sunga

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War and Vidarbha

The first major event during Pushyamitra's reign was his conflict with Vidarbha. According to the *Malvikagnimitram* (a play in Sanskrit by Kalidasa), the kingdom had been newly established and its ruler Yajnasena, who was related to the minister of the fallen Maurya, is described as a 'natural enemy' of the Sungas. Perhaps, the former had made himself independent in Vidarbha in the confusion following Brihadratha's murder, and as soon as Pushyamitra felt his position secure on the throne he demanded Yajnasena's allegiance. The course of the tussle is obscure but it seems Agnimitra, who was Pushyamitra's son and responsible for the victory at Vidisa, carried on hostilities. He won over to his side Yajnasena's cousin, Madhavsena and when the struggle ended, Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins.

Yavana incursions

The throne which Pushyamitra ascended was not a bed of roses. He had to meet difficulties from various quarters. It is contended that there were two Yavana wars close of his reign. The invasion of the Yavanas—which is mentioned in the *Gargi Samhita*—was a formidable one wherein it is stated that after conquering Saketa, Panchala and Mathura, the Yavanas reached Kusumadhvaja or Pataliputra and retired without fighting. There is no mention in literature that Pushyamitra lost his capital to the foreign invaders. Demetrios, the leader of the foreign invaders who reached as far as Pataliputra is mentioned in the *Gargi Samhita*. Demetrios had to retire from India on account of troubles at home. Eukratides had revolted in Bactria and Demetrios had to go back to fight him.

There is a reference to the second conflict with the Yavanas in the *Malvikagnimitram* written by Kalidasa. By this time, Pushyamitra had grown old. Vasumitra, the grandson of Pushyamitra fought against the Yavana invaders. The battle was fought on the river Sindhu, Menander, in which the Yavana leader was defeated. It is pointed out that Menander is credited to have conquered more nations than Alexander. He was also the person who came after Demetrios. Coins from this period show that his territory extended up to Mathura. Buddhist accounts maintain that Menander converted to Buddhism and his court at Sakala or Salkot became a refuge for Buddhist monks.

Asvamedha sacrifice

The performance of the *Asvamedha Yajna* was one of the notable events of Pushyamitra's reign. It is referred to in the *Malvikagnimitra*. In fact, Patanjali, the sage who is considered the father of Yoga officiated as priest in this sacrifice. The Ayodhya inscription further informs us that Pushyamitra performed not one, but two horse sacrifices.

Extents of the kingdom

Pushyamitra's jurisdiction extended to Jalandhara and Sakala in Punjab according to accepted testimony of the Tibetan historian Taranatha and the Buddhist text, *Divyavadana*. The latter also indicates that Pataliputra continued to be the royal residence. Pushyamitra's sway over Ayodhya is proved by an inscription found there. According to the *Malvikagnimitra*, however, his dominion comprised Vidisha and the southern region as far as the Narmada. Pushyamitra appears to have virtually made a feudal division of his extensive territories, as one version of the *Vayu Puranas* states that all eight sons of Pushyamitra ruled simultaneously.

Pushyamitra's persecutions

According to the *Divyavadana*, Pushyamitra was a persecutor of Buddhists. He is said to have made the notorious declaration at Sakala setting a price of one hundred gold dinars on the head of every Buddhist monk. Taranath also affirms that Pushyamitra was the ally of non-believers and participated in burning monasteries and slaying monks.

Pushyamitra's successor

Pushyamitra passed away in about 148 BC and was succeeded by his son Agnimitra who was then the viceroy at Vidisa. He had ample experience of the methods of administration followed by his father. He ruled for a brief period of eight years and was followed by Sujyestha or Jethamitra (as mentioned in contemporary coins) who was perhaps his brother. Jethamitra was succeeded by Agnimitra's son Vasumitra. In his earlier days, he defeated the Yavanas who had tried to obstruct the progress of the Ashwamedha Yagna. The Sunga dynasty consisted of ten rulers but history has not condescended to record anything of note about the others.

Kharavela

Kharavela was the warrior king of Kalinga and was contemporary of the Sungas. The Kharavelas ruled from second century BC to seventh century BC. The Kalinga Kingdom was located in central-eastern India. Ashoka brought this kingdom under his control in middle of fourth century BC. In Post-Mauryan period this kingdom was ruled by Cheta or Chaitra dynasty. The Kharavelas belonged to the Chaitra dynasty. Kharavela became prince after completing his 15th year and obtained the King status as soon as he completed his 24th year.

Details about the Kharavelas are available in the Indian history only from the inscription found at Hathigumpha. Hathigumpha is a Jain cave contributed by Kharavela which contained the inscription about them in Prakrit Language. This has been dexterously prepared for publication by K.P. Jayaswal and R.D. Banerjee. This inscription gives an account of the history of Kharavela based on the years they ruled. However, it provides information only about thirteen regnal years.

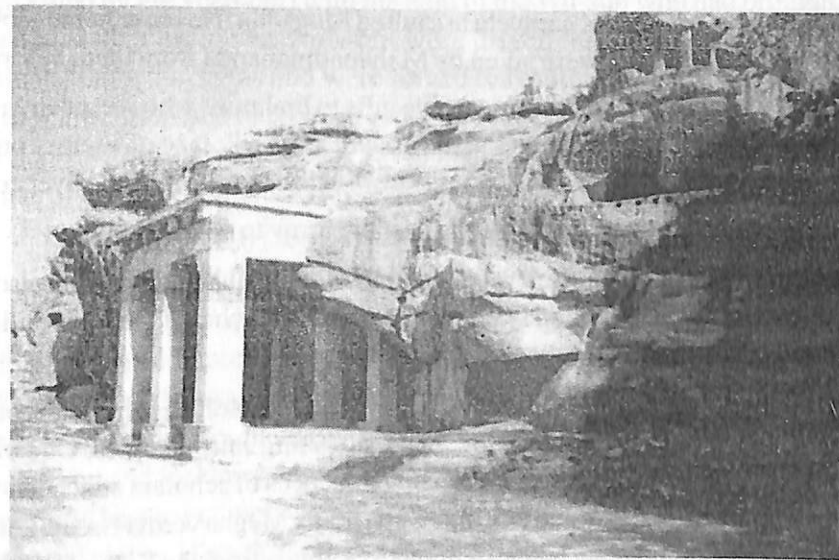


Fig. 3.3 Hathigumpha, Jain cave on Udayagiri Hills, Bhubaneswar, Orissa

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Kadphises I

The leader of the Kushans then was Kadphises I. He adopted the title of *Wang* or king. He also invaded and captured the kingdom of Parthia, Kabul and Kafistan. Kujala Kadphises or Kadphises I died at a mature age of 80. On the basis of contemporary sources it is also believed that he also embraced Buddhism at the end of his reign. He also sued a number of coins which were directly imitated from the coins of Augustus (27 BC-AD 14). Tiberius Kadphises, who died at the ripe old age of more than eighty, may be assigned roughly to the period AD 15-55.

Vima Kadphises or Kadphises II

Kadphises II (AD 78-120) extended his kingdom over a good portion of northern India and governed the Indian provinces through military deputies. He had trade relations with China and the Roman Empire. He issued both gold and silver coins on which life-like representation of the king was inscribed. From these coins it appears that he was the worshipper of Shiva.

Kanishka

After a brief interregnum Vima was succeeded by Kanishka, whose relationship with the two preceding kings is uncertain. The Kushana dynasty flourished under him. The date of his accession is a matter of inconclusive debate, but AD 78 seems to be the most probable of the dates suggested so far. This year marks the beginning of an era which came to be known as the Shaka Era. Under Kanishka the Kushana Empire reached the height of its power and became a mighty force in the world of its day. He was a capable administrator. He kept his vast empire intact during his lifetime. He himself ruled the territories around his capital Purushpura (Peshawar) while his *Kshatrapas* (governors) ruled over distant provinces under his directions. These provincial governors enjoyed vast powers in relation to their territories, yet there is no evidence of any revolt against the emperor.

Kanishka was undoubtedly the most striking figure from the Kushana dynasty. A great conqueror and a patron of Buddhism, he combined in himself the military abilities of Chandragupta Maurya and the religious zeal of Ashoka. However, there is no unanimity among scholars regarding the date of his accession to the throne even though most of them believe that Kanishka was the founder of the Saka era, which started in AD 78. He ascended to the throne in the same year.

Kanishka's public works

Like Ashoka, Kanishka was a great builder of Stupas and cities. He erected in his capital a monastery and a huge wooden tower in which he placed some relics of the Buddha. An important relic of this period is a statue of Kanishka with a missing head. Besides the Shah-j-i-ki dheri at Peshawar, his important buildings and works of art are found in Peshawar, Mathura, Kanishkapura and Takshasila. Mathura became an important centre of art during the time of Kanishka. Kanishka beautified the city with a large number of monasteries, statues and sculptures.

Kanishka's religion

The question of Kanishka's religion is a controversial one. He helped in the spread of Buddhism, many old monasteries were repaired and many new ones were also built. Kanishka invited scholars for the fourth Buddhist Council, which was attended by five hundred monks. The truth is that before his conversion to Buddhism, he believed in

many gods, which is clearly reflected in his earlier coins. However, he ultimately embraced Buddhism and promoted it as the state religion. Figure 3.5 shows the expanse of the Kushana Empire.

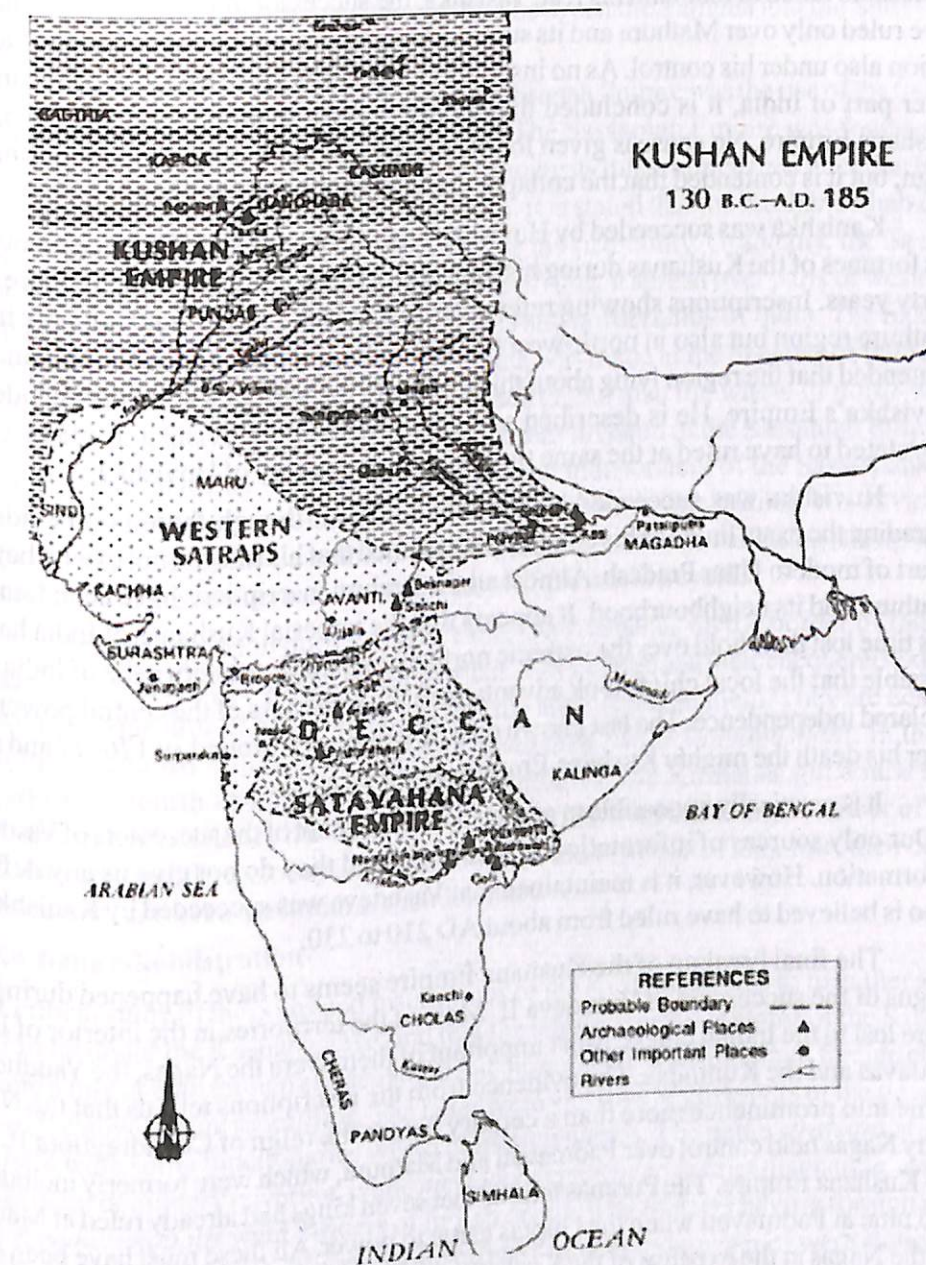


Fig. 3.5 Expanse of the Kushana Empire

Kanishka's estimate as a ruler

Kanishka was undoubtedly one of the greatest kings of ancient India. He was an excellent warrior, an efficient empire-builder and a brilliant patron of art and learning. No Indian ruled over such a vast empire as was done by Kanishka. He was the only Indo-Asiatic king whose territories extended beyond the Pamirs.

Kanishka occupied a unique position in Indian history. He was not only a great conqueror, but also a great administrator. It is worthy of note here that not a single revolt was reported during his reign.

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Downfall of the Kushana Empire

The mighty Kushana Empire reached its zenith during the time of Kanishka I. Under him, the Kushanas were feared not only in India, but also in Central Asia. However, his successors failed to maintain his feat. Vasishka, the successor of Kanishka I, is stated to have ruled only over Mathura and its surrounding regions. Probably, he had the Sanchi region also under his control. As no inscription of Vasishka has been discovered in any other part of India, it is concluded that he lost control over the distant parts of the Kushana Empire. No cause is given for the collapse of the Kushana power during his reign, but it is contended that the collapse was merely a temporary one.

Kanishka was succeeded by Huvishka and the latter is stated to have recovered the fortunes of the Kushanas during his long and prosperous rule lasting for more than thirty years. Inscriptions showing references to Kanishka were found not only in the Mathura region but also in north-west frontier India and in eastern Afghanistan. It is contended that the region lying about thirty miles to the west of Kabul was included in Huvishka's Empire. He is described as *Maharajadhiraja* Huvishka. Kanishka II is also stated to have ruled at the same time as a contemporary of Huvishka.

Huvishka was succeeded by Vasudeva I. Even though there is no evidence regarding the exact limits of his empire, it is assumed that his rule did not extend beyond a part of modern Uttar Pradesh. Almost all the Brahmi inscriptions have been found in Mathura and its neighbourhood. It appears that the imperial Kushanas of India had by this time lost their hold over the extreme northern and north-western parts of India. It is possible that the local chiefs took advantage of the weakness of the central power and declared independence. The last known date of Vasudeva is around AD 176–77 and soon after his death the mighty Kushana Empire dissolved away.

It is practically impossible to give an orderly account of the successors of Vasudeva I. Our only sources of information are the coins and they do not give us any definite information. However, it is maintained that Vasudeva was succeeded by Kanishka III who is believed to have ruled from about AD 210 to 230.

The final breakup of the Kushana Empire seems to have happened during the reigns of the successors of Vasudeva II. Most of the territories in the interior of India were lost to the Indian chiefs. Most important of them were the Nagas, the Yaudheyas, Malavas and the Kunindas. The evidence from the inscriptions tells us that the Nagas came into prominence more than a century before the reign of Chandragupta II. The early Nagas held control over Padmavati and Mathura, which were formerly included in the Kushana Empire. The Puranas tell us that seven kings had already ruled at Mathura and nine at Padmavati when the Guptas came to power. All these must have been done by the Nagas at the expense of the Kushanas and that partly explains the disappearance of the Kushana Empire.

The Yaugheyas, a martial tribe, also had a significant role in the destruction of the Kushana Empire. Their rule over the areas on the banks of the Sutlej as far as the borders of Bahawalpur lasted for more than a century. The copper coins of the Yaudheyas are similar to those of Kushanas. It appears that the Yaudheyas made these coins after the Kushanas were overthrown.

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The Malavas and the Kunindas became independent after successfully revolting against the authority of the Kushanas. They divided between themselves the territories formerly held by the Kushanas. While the Malavas made Malvanagar in Rajputana their capital, the Kunindas occupied the territory between the Yamuna and the Sutlej as well as the upper courses of Beas and Sutlej.

Another cause of the downfall of the Kushana Empire was the rise of the Sassanian Satraps and the Satavahana power in Iran. The Sassanian Empire was founded in AD 225–26 by Ardeshir I and from the very beginning its rulers turned their attention towards the east. Ardeshir I came as far as Khorasan. It is stated that the Kushana Shah or ruler sent his envoy to Ardeshir I to acknowledge his suzerainty. Gradually, the Sassanian power extended towards Seeistan. In course of time, it spread over parts of western and central India and the north-western regions and borderlands of India. The Sassanian expansion towards western and central India was made at the expense of the Western Satraps and the Satavahanas. Not only Bactria, but also the whole of north-western India became important provinces in the eastern division of the Sassanian Empire. An attempt was made by the Kushanas to become independent of the Sassanians in the time of Emperor Varhram II (AD 276–93) but this seems to have failed. It is obvious that the rising power of the Sassanians dealt a severe blow to the declining strength of the Kushanas in the northern and western parts of India and beyond.

It appears that in due course of time, the Kushanas on the border of India and also in Punjab intermingled with other tribes. They continued their chequered existence even up to the time of Samudra Gupta and the latter subdued them. They are described in the Allahabad Pillar inscription as *Daivaputra Shahi Shahanushahi*. In the later part of the fourth century and early fifth centuries, the Kushanas got a new title—*Kidara*. Their existence has been proved by the discovery of a large number of coins. However, it is difficult to say anything about the exact period of their rule, their order of succession and even the limits of their territory.

Kushana administration

A critical study of the coins and inscriptions of the Kushanas helps us to gather an idea of India under the Kushanas. We find that the administrative systems of the Kushanas were a mix of both foreign elements and Indian elements. The important foreign element was the government by *satraps*. The latter were viceroys or governors of the provinces. There were some functionaries who had foreign names. The name *strategos* stood for a general or military governor, while *meridach* represented district magistrate. *Amatyas* and *mahasenapatis* were officers of Indian origin. The officers having foreign names were stationed in the north-west, while officers having Indian names were stationed in the interiors.

Kingship was the prevailing type of polity, although there are references to republics also. The Kushana rulers took up such titles as *Mahisvara*, *Devaputra*, *Kaiser* and *Shahi-Sahanushahi*. There was a tendency to deify the ancestral kings. The Mathura inscription of Huvishka refers to a *devakula* or a shrine where the statue 'the grand father of Kanishka' was installed. A strange system of two kings ruling at the same time also prevailed during the Kushana period. It is also known that Kanishka II and Huvishka ruled jointly. It is possible that this institution was borrowed from the Indo-Greeks.

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The Kushana kings are said to have had unfettered powers. Although there is a reference to an advisory body to assist the king in Buddhist literature, it is not safe to assert that such a council existed in the Kushana period as there is no reference to such a body in the Kushana records.

The satraps in India were called *mahakshatrapas* and *kshatrapas*. Some of them are mentioned as *rajan mahakshatrapas*. These officials had powers to issue coins. The assumption of the title points its conferment by some overlord. The term *kshatrapas* in Sanskrit literature is used in the sense of dominion, rule and power, as exercised by gods and men. It is used in the sense of a ruler in the Rig Veda. Even before the Kushanas, there were *Kshatrapas* of Kapisa and Abhisara Prastha and of Mathura. The Kushana rulers followed the system of their predecessors. Kanishka's *kshatrapas* enjoyed a position different from that of the western *kshatrapas*. It is pointed out that if the *kshatrapas* had been independent, their names would have occurred in the inscriptions and not those of Kanishka or Huvishka alone.

The terms *dandamayaka* and *maha dandamayaka* formed a link in the Kushana administrative machinery. These terms occur for the first time in the Kushana records. The term *dandamayaka* has been translated as 'magistrate', 'the leader of the four forces of the army', a fortunate general, 'commander of force', a 'judge', 'administrator of punishment', 'criminal magistrate', 'the great leader of the forces', 'prefect of police' and 'Commissioner of Police'. It is maintained that *dandamayakas* were feudatory chiefs who were appointed by the king. They owed allegiance to the king and were required to render civil and military service. The civil aid was in the form of personal service for maintaining law and order. The Kushanas were the first to introduce this system which was later followed by the Guptas. The names of all the *kshatrapas*, *mahakshatrapas* and *mahadandamayakas* appear to be foreign and that explains the absence of Indian official heads at the higher level.

There are references to *gramikas* and *padrapalas*. The term *gramika* was used for the head of the village while *padrapala* was a local head. Some historians hold the view that the Kushana administration must have ensured safety as there are references to people coming to Mathura from Abhisara, Nagara, Odayana and even Wokhana or Badakshan. The administration was responsible for the safety and security of the common people that helped in the progress and prosperity of the country. This was evident from the life of people in general and a large number of welfare schemes that were initiated by the rulers of the state.

Wars and conquests of Kanishka

Kanishka was a doughty warrior and a great conqueror. Figure 3.6 shows an image of Kanishka embossed in a coin. He believed in the policy of aggression and aggrandizement and in this respect, he may be compared to Akbar and Samudragupta. He conquered many states in India as well as abroad and incorporated them into his empire. At the time of his accession Afghanistan, Bactria, Parthia, Sindh and Punjab were included in his empire. He extended his empire by the following wars:

• **Kashmir:** First of all Kanishka conquered Kashmir where he built many monuments. He laid the foundation of a town Kanispura. He too, like Jahangir, liked the Kashmir valley very much. The natural scenery of the valley was a great attraction for him. It is also said that he wished that after his death he should be buried in Kashmir. Kallhan the author of *Rajatarangini* writes that Kanishka was a ruler under Kanishka and he used to spend his summer there. It was Kashmir where he called the fourth Buddhist Council.

Kanishka and Buddhism

Kanishka was a great warrior and conqueror. There can be no two opinions about it; at the same time he was a great devotee and a patron of Buddhism.

Today, his fame rests upon his being a Buddhist. Like Ashoka the great he, too, took up the task of spreading Buddhism both in and outside the country. About this time two sects arose in the Buddhist religious philosophy, (1) Hinayans which wanted to retain the simple creed of Buddha, and (2) the Mahayans, which preferred to worship the image of Buddha and preached personal devotion to him.

Kanishka built a remarkable tower over the relics of Buddha. Its fourteen storey carved timber surmounted by an iron column rose to a total height of 194 metres. Both by him and Peshawar became a great centre of Buddhist culture during his time. The Hiuen Tsang and Alberuni have stated that the great monastery of Peshawar was built by him and Peshawar became a great centre of Buddhist culture during his time. The fourth Buddhist council, which was not recognized by the followers of the Hinayana

His other wars

• **Magadha:** Secondly, Kanishka invaded Magadha and conquered it. It is said that after the conquest he demanded from the Magadhan king the compensation for the war. The Magadhan ruler gave Ashvaghosh, a great scholar, as compensation and Kanishka brought Ashvaghosh with him.

Fig. 3.6 Image of Kanishka embossed on a Coin



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sect, was held during the age of the famous author Vasumitra either in Kashmir or in Gandhara or Jalandhara. Limited excavations at Peshawar have succeeded in providing a plan of the stupa, the location of the Vihara, a few examples of figurative sculptures in stone and the celebrated Kanishka reliquary.

Several Buddhist theologians are associated with Kanishka such as Ashvaghosha, Vasumitra, Parshva, Sangharaksha, Dharamatrata and Matricheta. But Kanishka's patronage of Buddhism seems to have been essentially political. Legends apart, there is little evidence to suggest that his conversion to Buddhism was a profound experience. Buddhist emblems appear on his coins but they are very few and are outnumbered by other types.

- **Building Activities:** Kanishka was a great builder. He got constructed many cities and beautiful buildings. He constructed a 600 ft. high citadel in his capital Purushpur. It had fourteen storeys. Its top was made of iron. All round the citadel many statues of Buddha were erected. After conquering Kashmir he constructed the city of Kanishkapura near Srinagar, which exists even today as a big village. He constructed many stupas, monastries and shrines in Mathura as well. Gandhara school of Art attained popularity mainly due to Kanishka's efforts. Kanishka was a great builder and a patron of art, who patronized architecture and sculpture.
- **A Patron of Learning:** Kanishka was a lover of knowledge. He patronized many scholars. Buddhist scholar Ashvaghosha was a great poet, play-wright and musician. Nagarjuna and Vasumitra were great Buddhist philosophers of the time of Kanishka. It not only caused the collection of Mahabhash but also of the Ayurvedic book *Charak Samhita*.

Causes for Kanishka being called the Second Ashoka

Similarities between Ashoka and Kanishka

- Kanishka was also like Ashoka in many of his qualities and personality.
- Like Ashoka, Kanishka had embraced Buddhism after his accession to the throne.
- Like Ashoka he not only caused the spread of Buddhism in the neighbouring areas of his vast empire but sent missionaries in some foreign countries also.
- Like Ashoka, Kanishka also desired the welfare of his people and he also carried many related activities.
- Like Ashoka, Kanishka also patronized literature, art and extended patronage to many scholars.
- Like Ashoka, Kanishka was blood thirsty before he came to throne, and like Ashoka he was touched by the bloodshed and suffering caused by wars.
- Ashoka called the Third Buddhist Council at Pataliputra whereas Kanishka called the Fourth Buddhist Council at Kashmir.
- Like Ashoka, Kanishka also built monastries, stupas and vihars.

Dissimilarities between Kanishka and Ashoka

- Kanishka propagated Buddha's faith through art forms mainly the images and status of Buddha whereas Ashoka built pillars and inscribed the main teachings of Buddha on these pillars and rocks.

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- Kanishka belonged to the Mahayana sect whereas Ashoka belonged to the Hinayana sect of Buddhism.
- Kanishka continued to wage wars against his neighbours even after his conversion to Buddhism whereas Ashoka gave up wars and embraced non-violence after his conversion.

Successors of Kanishka and the Fall of Kushan Empire

If we accept AD 78 as the year of accession, then Kanishka's rule ended about AD 101. He was succeeded by Vasishka, who possibly ruled jointly with Huvishka. Though the latter ruled from his capital Mathura, his rule still extended in the north-west over Afghanistan. The last great king of the line in India was Vasudeva (AD 145-76). By the time of his reign, the Kushans had probably lost their hold on the northwestern part of their kingdom. The Kushan empire lasted till about AD 220. It ended about the same time as the Satavahanas kingdom in Andhra disappeared. It suffered a loss of territory and influence as a consequence of various political factors operating in India and abroad.

Art and Architecture under Kushanas

Gandhara style of Buddhist art is a consequence of merger of Greek, Syrian, Persian and Indian art traditions. The development of this form of art started in Parthian Period (50BC-75AD) and achieved its peak during the Kushana period. Mathura School of art is regarded as a centre of Indian ancient art. The period of Mathura School of art coincided with the rule of the Kushanas. This school also reached the zenith of success during the reign of the Kushanas and expanded further in the Gupta period. The artists of Mathura school of Art created sculptures which are immortal in the history of art in India. Amaravati School of art and sculpture evolved during the Satavahana period. Amaravati School is credited with depicting Buddha in the human form for the first time.

1. Mathura School of Art

Mathura art form originated in the second century BC and within a short span of time, it had become one of the chief centres of art. The art pieces of this school became so popular that they were in demand even in far off places. Within four hundred years, this school prepared a variety of sculptures and many other pieces of art for the followers of Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism. Apart from producing sculptures related to various faiths, they also produced images of kings and other notable personalities. This indicates that Mathura artists had knowledge about a variety of art activities of that period. This helped them to cater to the needs of various social groups of Indian as well as non-Indian origin. The use of local red stone in making sculptures and art piece was a unique characteristic of Mathura school of art.

Another remarkable attribute of this school was the representation of various patterns of life on votive pillars. Many scenes were created on these pillars such as men and women collecting flowers from forests; women offering fruits to birds and women playing in gardens. The votive pillars from 'Kankali Tila' represent the feminine beauty in a remarkable manner. In fact, a wide variety of themes have been used by the artists of Mathura. For instance, in Sanchi and Pharhut, elements from nature have been used by the artist. The sculptures were carved out of red sandstone, which was easily accessible in the nearby areas. Thematic details of the sculpture belonging to the Mathura school are as follows.

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The Buddha idols

Many archaeologists believe that the idols of Bodhisattvas and Buddha were prepared at Mathura and were sent to other regions. The Samath image, established in the period of Kanishka-I, was made at Mathura. This idol of Bodhisattvas is in the standing posture. Mainly, Buddha images are found in two postures- one is sitting and the other is standing. The idol of Buddha found at Katra (in sitting posture) is among the oldest idols. In this idol, Buddha is sitting under a Bodhi tree, his right hand is in abhaya posture and he is holding Dharma chakra and tri-ratna in his palms and at the bottom of the feet.

Some of the unique features of the idols of Buddha are as follows (see Figure 3.7):

- They are carved out of red stone which has white spots on it.
- The idols are in round shape so that they are visible from every side.
- The face as well as head is shaven.
- The right hand is in abhaya posture.
- Forehead does not have any mark.
- They are wearing a tight-fitted dress.
- There is a frill on the left hand of the idol.



Fig. 3.7 Idol of Buddha

Jaina specimens

Mathura was as much a sacred centre for the Jains as it was for the followers of Buddhist and Brahmanical faiths. There are a number of inscriptions of Jainism in Mathura. For example, in the middle of the second century BC, a dedication by a Jaina Sravaka was named Uttaradasaka. Kankali Tila was the chief Jaina site at Mathura as there were a large number of monuments, ayaqapatas or stone slabs with Jaina figures in the centre. Jaina Stupas found in Mathura were objects of worship. A wide variety of architectural fragments like pillars, crossbars, capitals and railing - posts have also been found in Mathura.

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Fig. 3.8 Seated Tirthankar

The images of the Jainas or the Tirthankaras on the ayaqapatas (see Figure 3.8) existed even before the Kushana period but regular images of Jainas became common from Kushana period onward. Some of the Tirthankara images are quite difficult to identify. However, Parsvanatha is identifiable due to his canopy of snake hoods and Rishabhanatha due to hair falling on his shoulders.

Brahmanical images

Brahmanical images have also been found in Mathura.

Some of the representations are of Siva, Surya, Lakshmi and Sankarshana or Balarma. During Kushana period, Kartikeya, Kubera, Sarasvati, Vishnu, and some other gods, such as Naga images, were carved in sculpture. Images of this period have some of iconographical features that differentiate deities from one another. Figure 3.9 shows the Hindu Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh.



Fig. 3.9 The Hindu Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh

For instance, Shiva represented in the 'linga' was carved in the form of Chaturmukha linga. The word 'Chaturmukha' means four faces, thus it denotes that the linga had four human faces of Shiva in all the four sides. Figure 3.10 shows the picture of a Shiva linga.

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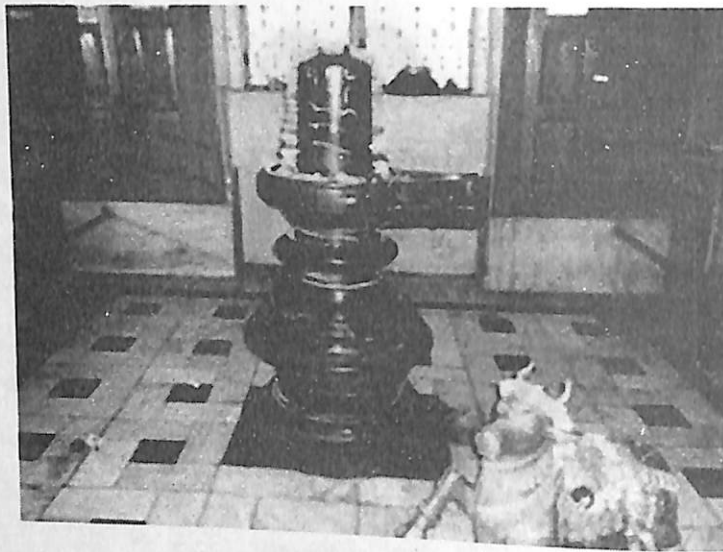


Fig. 3.10 Shiva Linga

The idol of surya in the Kushana period is shown riding a beautiful chariot, which is driven by two horses. In this idol, he is wearing a heavy coat on the upper body and a salwar-like dress in the lower half of the body. He has a lotus in one hand and a sword in the other. One of the images of Surya in Kushana period is shown in Figure 3.11.



Fig. 3.11 Surya Stone Sculpture from Mathura

The image of Balarama has a turban on the head

Saraswati is shown in a sitting posture with a heavy manuscript in her hands. She is not adorned with ornaments and there are two more figures along with the figure of Saraswati.

Durga is represented as the killer of buffalo demon. This form is also known as Mahisha-mardini form of Durga (see Figure 3.12). Images of Yakshas and Yakshinis have also been found in Mathura. Such images are associated with all the three religions popular in Mathura-Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism. The image of Kubera has also been found which is shown as a deity with bulging belly and is associated with wine. He looks like Bacchus and Dionysius who are Roman and Greek gods of wine respectively.

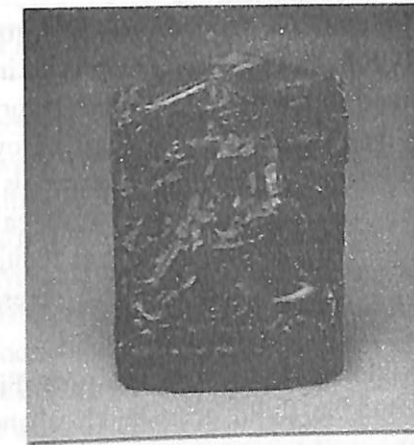


Fig. 3.12 Durga Slaying the Buffalo

The images of rulers

Mat village in Mathura had large images of Kushana Kings (see Figure 3.13) and other notables like Kanishka and Chastana. Some of the historians believe that the idea of building structures for housing portrait-statues of rulers and other notables of the state came from Central Asia. It is because many of the dresses worn by dignitaries in these statues are of Central Asian origin. Large portrait-statutes of rulers were made to give them a divine status.



Fig. 3.13 A Kushana King

The fact that many heads of Scythian notables have been found at Mat shows that Mathura was the one of the most significant centres of Kushana Empire especially in the eastern part. They forcefully suggest contact between art forms of Gandhara and Mathura. In due course of time, Mathura art forms also contributed considerably to the growth of Gupta art forms.

2. Gandhara School of Art

Gandhara, which integrated the valley of Peshawar, Svata, Buner and Bajjora, is located in the north-west part of the Indian sub-continent and covers the area of both the banks of Indus river. As a result, this place has a mixed culture. Mainly, its art form was Buddhist but due to the mixed culture, it was highly influenced by Hellenistic art. Shakas and the Kushanas were the chief patrons of Gandhara art.

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Art pieces of Gandhara School have mainly been found from Jalalabad, Begram, Bamaran, Hadda and Taxila. Gandhara art may be categorized into two schools- early and later. The early school existed during first and second century AD and schist stone of blue-grey colour was used to make idols during this period. However, the later school used mud, lime, pilaster and stucco to make the idols. These idols show limbs and other organs of the body very clearly, thus, they are known to be realistic in nature. They depict features of human body with anatomical accuracy. In addition to the idols, reliefs and bas-reliefs have also been carved beautifully and these represent the life of Buddha and Bodhisattvas.

For example: At Shah-ji-kidheri, a bronze reliquary (see Figure 3.14) was found from the Stupa. It represents Buddha, flying geese and Kushana kings (all these are symbolic of wandering monks).



Fig. 3.14 A bronze Reliquary

The Gandhara art had many other attributes. For example, in Bamaran, a gold reliquary has been found which has a number of figures enclosed within an arcade. Figure 3.15 shows the Gandhara image of Buddha.



Fig. 3.15 Gandhara Image of Buddha

Check Your Progress

6. Where was Bactria situated?
7. State the dissimilarities between Kanishka and Ashoka.

3.6 THE GUPTAS

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The Guptas came to the center of the political stage, as it were, by the will of God. They were not among the powers that challenged the Kushanas; they did not come up in consequence of their decline. Among their contemporaries, they were undoubtedly the only power determined to restore to the country its lost political unity. They brought the region between 'the Godavari and the Sutlej' under their direct authority and also indirectly ruled over most of other parts of the country. They commanded respect for their powerful war machine, military process and political acumen. They massacred the Huns. No one else could do it anywhere in the contemporary world. Their government was based on the accepted principle of centralization and progressive decentralization. The central government was powerful, yet in 'the district headquarters, the officials of the Central Government were assisted and controlled by popular councils, whose sanction was necessary even if the state wanted to sell its own wasteland. Villages had their own popular councils which administered almost all the branches of administration, including collection of taxes and settlement of village disputes.' The local opinion was given due cognizance, laws were effective and humane. Public welfare was attended to; poor and sick were provided relief. Roads were well protected. 'Gupta peace' brought in its wake all-round prosperity. Agriculture improved, industry progressed, commerce expanded, shipbuilding and foreign trade gained new dimensions. Gold and silver flowed into the country from abroad. Coins of precious metals were in circulation; people lived in comfort. As evidenced by the contemporary literature and paintings, they used fine clothes and ornaments.

The improved means of communication and transport, movement of men and ideas and the enrichment of urban life stimulated de-linking of varna and vocation, ideas and the enrichment of urban life stimulated de-linking of varna and vocation, encouraged caste mobility, brought about the transformation of tribes into castes and the assimilation of the foreign racial stocks into the social whole. The position of women remained distinct. The emphasis on the concept of 'ideal wife' inculcated deeper and there was a wider sense of family correspondence and social intercourse.

The orthodox and heterodox religions existed side by side everywhere, at all levels and even in the individual families. Freedom of belief and expression was valued and cherished. Thinkers and writers, debaters and preachers by their erudite postulation of dogmas and theories presented a feast of intellectuality and rationality to the interested. Conflict of views was assumed. Mutuality and harmony among the believers in the rival dogmas prevailed as a measure unknown anywhere in human civilization. It was accepted as part of the social order. The harmony of beliefs stimulated bhakti. It developed as the concomitant of people's religious belief. Religion was understood to be for the good of all. Preachers carried this message to the people beyond the heights of mountains and the expanses of the oceanic waters.

Education received full attention. The endowment of Agrahara villages made the local institutions financially independent. Scholars discussed the contributions of other people in learning. They looked out for new ideas, appreciated others' points of view and were completely free from 'self-complacency and narrowness of the outlook'. The intellectual urge of the age strengthened the rational attitude in matters that were ecclesiastical and temporal.

Sanskrit language was the vehicle of this great intellectual efflorescence. Immense literature was produced on numerous disciplines. This language was adopted as the

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medium of expression in quarters where Prakrits had all along held the sway. It became the link language between India beyond the frontiers and the people here.

Art touched a high standard; *sundaram* and *roopam* characterized it. It was worshipped in order to deepen the consciousness of the soul and awaken it to a new sense of spiritual joy and nobility. Kalidasa, the supreme genius and poet of this age, has expressed this attitude of life devoted to beauty in a sentence addressed to *Parvati*, the goddess of personal charm, by her consort *Shiva*: 'O fair damsel, the popular saying that beauty does not lead to sin is full of unexceptional truth.' The path of virtue is the path of beauty—this appeared to be the guiding impulse of life in the Gupta age. 'To create lovely forms and harness them to the needs of higher life—this was the golden harmony that made Gupta art a thing of such perpetual and inexhaustible attraction.'

All over the country, there developed a peculiar uniformity of social pattern, domestic order and of individual role in a particular situation; of religious practices and social ethics; ritual and ceremony and of manners and behaviour. People acquired a spirit of oneness and a sense of belonging—the hallmark of heritage. They impressed this on everything they touched and carried it along wherever they went.

The origin and the early history of the Guptas are not clear. The locality they ruled remains unspecified. The first two kings of the dynasty, Sri Gupta and his son Sri Ghatotkacha are called *Maharaja*. It has made several historians say that they might have been feudatories; but, their paramount ruler is not mentioned. It is, therefore, held that they may have been petty rulers, and like some of that class, assumed the title *Maharaja*. The son of Maharaja Sri Ghatotkacha, however, assumed a higher title of *Maharajadhiraja*, implying, obviously, that he was more powerful ruler than his predecessors. He may have given extension to his patrimony, gained greater authority and thus assumed a higher title.

J.N. Singh, who travelled to this country during 671–695AD, referred to a king Sri Gupta who happened to have raised a temple for Chinese pilgrims in Magadha. Some scholars identified him with the founder of the dynasty of the same name, traced the temple in Magadha and consequently, placed his kingdom in Magadha. There is, however, no justification for the view that the temple which this king built for the Chinese was situated in Magadha. 'The bearing and the distance given by the Chinese Pilgrim place it in the western borders of northern or central Bengal and this is corroborated by some other details mentioned by him. We may, therefore, hold that Sri Gupta's kingdom comprised a portion of Bengal.'

Sources of information

The sources of information for the Gupta period comprise both literary and archaeological. These are found all over the country from Bengal to Kathiawar. They are comparatively richer and fuller in content and character and have proved very helpful in reconstructing the main outline of the history and chronology with greater degree of certainty.

Literary sources: The Puranas, especially the *Vayu*, *Brahmanda*, *Matsya*, *Vishnu* and the *Bhagavata Purana* are a rich source of information. They indicate the extent of the domination of Chandragupta I, make a distinction between the territory that the Guptas had under their direct control and over which they exercised paramount control and provide information on the princes subordinate to them and on their contemporaries. The Puranas, in fact, received their touch during this period. The *Smritis* of Vyasa, Pitamaha, Pulastya and of Harita though assigned to this period are available

only in the quotations found in the Dharmasastras. Among the Dharmasastras, those of Katyayana, Narad and of Brihaspati belong to this period. They provide rich information on the social and religious conditions of the people.

Some dramatic works with political bearing on the Gupta period are obviously helpful. Thus, the *Kaumudi Mahotsava* depicts the political condition of Magadha during the beginning of this period. It is of considerable importance for the origin and the rise of the Gupta power. The *Devichandraguptam* by Vishakhadatta throws light on the manner in which Chandragupta II came to the throne and married Dhruvadevi. It is available, however, only in quotations. Another work of the same author, the *Mudrarakshas*, though an important source of information on the rise of Chandragupta to power, mentions people and tribes such as the Yavanas, Sakas, Kiratas, Cambojas, Bhalikas, Parasikas, Khasas, Gandharas, Cinas, Kaulutas, Maghas and others who existed during the reign of Chandra Gupta II. The *Kamandaka Nitisara*, said to have been the work of Sikhara, the chancellor of Chandragupta II, upholds the murder of the Saka king through disguise.

The accounts left by the Chinese travellers are a rich source of information. Fa-Hien travelled across this country in the reign of Chandragupta II and his record and *Fo-Kuo-ki or Record of Buddhist Kingdom* throws considerable light on the condition of the country during the period.

Archaeological sources: Numerous archaeological source materials on the Gupta period are available. The numerous types of coins that the Guptas issued throw great light on their rise and fall and on the economic condition of the people. The coins both of the early and of the later Guptas have been listed in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. In the book of Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty, you can see a systematic study of the coins.

The epigraphic evidence available from the Allahabad Pillar Inscription and the Eran Stone Inscription throws light on the military strength and the territorial expansion of Samundragupta. The Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscription refers to one king Chandra, who defeated a confederacy of enemies, conquered the Vanga countries and defeated Vahlakas across the seven mouths of river Sindhu. He thus achieved sole supremacy in the world.

The Mathura Stone Inscription, the Sanchi Stone Inscription, the Gadhwa Stone Inscription and the Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II give ample information on several aspects of his polity. Some details about Kumaragupta I are available from the Gadhwa Stone Inscription, the Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription, the Kahaum Stone Pillar Stone image Inscription. The Junagadh Rock Inscription, the Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription, the Indore Copper Plate Inscription, the Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription refer to Skandagupta. The Bhitari Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta records his fight with Pushyamitra and probably also with the Huns during the reign of his father Kumaragupta I.

A large number of seals recovered at Vaishali (in the Muzaffarpur district) give an idea of the provincial and local administration of the period and provide a nomenclature of the officers.

Of the Gupta architecture and art, whatever has come down to us remains a rich source of information. The temples at Udayagiri, Pathari, Deogarh and Aihole reveal much about the evolution of temple architecture and point to the popular gods and goddesses. The sculptural remains are indicative of both their artistic richness and aesthetic appeals and hence of cultural maturity.

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The Gupta Dynasty, famed as the 'Golden Age' of ancient India, has a special importance in the history of India. The Gupta rulers re-established the political unity that existed during the Mauryan period, and ruled over a large principality of northern India. The Gupta Age is marked as an era of unprecedented progress in all aspects of polity, religion, art and literature. Indian history is proud of the Gupta emperors who nurtured Indian culture and protected Indian nationalism.

In this section, you will learn about the rise of the Gupta Empire, the reign of Chandragupta I, Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya, Skandagupta and the downfall of the Gupta Empire.

3.6.1 Chandragupta I

Chandragupta I (AD 319–324) was the first independent ruler of this dynasty as the previous Gupta rulers were feudatories/vassals. He adopted the title of 'Maharajadhiraja'. He was an imperialist and an important ruler than his predecessors. Chandra of Maharauli is also equated with Chandragupta I, but unfortunately, not much information is available about him.

The main event of the age of Chandragupta was to enter into marital alliance with the Licchavi, who were very powerful during that time. He strengthened his position by establishing matrimonial relationship with the Licchavi and expanded his empire from Awadha and Magadha to Prayaga in the coastal areas of the Ganges. Chandragupta married Licchavi princess Kumar Devi. This marriage had political importance. There are several evidences of this marriage. This marriage not only increased immensely the power and grandeur of the Guptas but it also made Kumar Devi the princess of the Licchavi kingdom which she inherited from her father. As a result, the entire Licchavi kingdom came under the control of Chandragupta I.

Chandragupta not only received Vaishali on account of his marriage but also expanded his kingdom. Maharauli pillar informs that he, having crossed Sindh, fought a severe battle with Bactria and conquered it. On one side its boundary touched Bengal while on the other side it touched Central India and Punjab. This victory over the Northwest and Balkh took Chandragupta from Indus to Saurashtra.

Chandragupta started a new era, known as Gupta Samvata. Although, controversial, it is believed that Chandragupta began his accession to the throne by founding a samvata, the first year of which was AD 319–320.

3.6.2 Samudragupta

After Chandragupta I, his son Samudragupta (AD 325–375) became king of the Gupta dynasty. He established a vast kingdom by conquering different battles and strengthened the Gupta dynasty for centuries. On account of his immense talent, Chandragupta chose his successor in his own life. Samudragupta was an able emperor, skilled commander and a man of great personality. He was a great conqueror; hence, he is compared with Napoleon. It is popularly said that Ashoka is famous for his peace and non-violence, while Samudragupta is famous because of his victories.

Conquests of Samudragupta

Samudragupta, having established political unity, united entire India under one umbrella. He not only conquered North India, but also hoisted his flag of victory over South India, including some principalities of abroad. His victories are described as follows:

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First expedition of Aryavarta: The land between the Himalayas and Vindhya was called Aryavarta. It is known that Samudragupta launched victorious expedition twice over Aryavarta. In his first expedition, he vanquished the following kings:

- **Achyuta:** The first king Samudragupta defeated in Aryavarta was Achyuta. He was the king of Ahichchhatra. His kingdom was around modern Ram Nagar in Bareilly.
- **Nagasena:** It is known from the coins of Naga dynasty of Narwar, situated in Gwalior that he was the king of Naga dynasty and his capital was Padmavati. In Prayaga, Prashasti, the letter before 'ga' has been destroyed but the letter 'ga' is readable. Perhaps he might have been the ruler Ganapati Nagar.
- **Kotakulaja:** Samudragupta defeated this Kota king as well. However, several scholars have expressed their views regarding the first Aryavarta expedition. Some scholars consider that the first Aryavarta battle was not his expedition of victory, but a defensive battle.

Second expedition of Aryavarta: In his second expedition, he defeated many kings. Some of them are described as follows:

- **Rudradeva:** King Rudradeva was king Rudrasena I of Kaushambi.
- **Matila:** A coin has been found in Bulandashahara, which contains the symbol of Matil and Naga. Probably he was a king of the Naga dynasty.
- **Nagadatta:** He was a king of Mathura and belonged to the Naga dynasty.
- **Chandraverma:** There is a dispute regarding this entry. Some consider him the king of Puskarana while others consider him the king of Eastern Punjab.
- **Ganapatinaga:** He was a ruler of Vidisha and belonged to the Naga dynasty.
- **Balaverma:** He was a predecessor of king Bhaskarverma of Kamrupa.
- **Nandi:** It is mentioned in the Puranas that Shishunanda Shivanandi was the King of Central India and belonged to the Naga dynasty.

It is mentioned that Samudragupta defeated all the dynasties of North India. He annexed all these kingdoms to his empire.

He made all the kings of *vana* (forest) his slaves. When he proceeded to conquer South India after his conquest of North India, he subjugated all Atavika kings lying on his way to southern conquest. It is assumed that Atavika state was spread from Gazipur to Jabalpur.

South expedition

Samudragupta conquered south after his first expedition of Aryavarta. He defeated twelve kings of the south and thereafter he returned their kingdoms and made them his loyalists. Thus, on the one hand, these kings were independent while on the other, they accepted the suzerainty of Samudragupta. Samudragupta's conquest had three features: to imprison enemies, to free them and to return the kingdoms of the defeated king after the acceptance of conqueror's suzerainty. These kings were as follows:

- **Mahendra of Kaushal:** Mahendra was the king of Kaushal. Modern districts of Raipur, Sambhalpur and Vilaspur were included in it.
- **Vyaghraraja of Mahakantara:** Vyaghraraja was the king of Mahakantara, which was the forest area of Orissa.

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- **Mantaraja of Koral:** It was the central part of Orissa and Tamil Nadu and the king of this area was Mantaraja.
- **Mahendragiri of Pishtapur:** Pishtapur in Godavari district is modern Pithapurama.
- **Swamidatta of Kottura:** Kottura is equated with Coimbatore.
- **Daman of Erandapalla:** Erandapalla is considered as Erandola of Khanadesh. Its relationship is also established with Erandapalla near Chinkokole on the coast of Orissa.
- **Vishnugopa of Kanchi:** It was the capital of Pallava. Modern Kanjeevaram near Madras is Kanchi.
- **Nilaraja of Avamukta:** It was a small kingdom in the neighbourhood of Kanchi and Vengi states. Its king Nilaraja was a member of the Pallava confederacy.
- **Hastivarman of Vengi:** It was in existence near Peduvengi in Ellore. Its king belonged to Shalankayana dynasty.
- **Ugrasena of Palakka:** It was near Palakollu on the coast of Godavari.
- **Dhananjaya of Kusthalapur:** Kusthalur, situated in Arakar district, was Kusthalapur.
- **Kubera of Devarashtra:** It was Yellamanchili in Andhra Pradesh. Some historians believe that southern rulers formed a confederation against Samudragupta and halted Samudragupta near a famous lake, known as Kolkha. Samudragupta conquered this confederation.

Subjugation of frontier states: It is clear that the frontier states, having seen the conquest-expedition of Samudragupta, accepted his suzerainty. These states were: Samatata, Davaka, Kamrupa, Nepal, Karttripur.

There were nine republics on western frontier which accepted the suzerainty of Samudragupta. These were Malava, Arjunayana, Yodheya, Madraka, Abhira, Prarjuna, Sanakanika, Kaka, Kharaparika.

Policy towards the frontier states: Samudragupta adopted three kinds of policy against these states, such as *Sarvakara*, i.e., these states accepted to pay all types of tributes, *Ajnakarana*, i.e., these states carried out the order of Samudragupta, and *Pranamakarana*, i.e., they appeared individually and greeted the king.

Conquest of foreign states

Some of the foreign states, such as Daivaputra, Shahi, Shanushahi, Shaka, Murunda, Saimhal, etc were also conquered by Samudragupta. They accepted defeat and offered their daughters to him.

Extent of Samudragupta's kingdom

Samudragupta's empire extended from the Himalayas in the north to Vindhya in the south and from Bay of Bengal in the east to Eastern Malwa in the west. He had indirect influence over Gujarat, Sindh, Western Rajputana, West Punjab and the frontier states of Kashmir, and he had friendly relations with Saimhala and the other islands. Samudragupta's adopted the policy of expansion of his empire. The main aim of his conquest was to hoist his flag of victory.

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Horse-sacrifice

Samudragupta performed horse-sacrifice in the beginning of his reign. His coins also carry depiction of horse sacrifice.

Estimate of Samudragupta's reign

Samudragupta's name is lettered in golden ink in Indian history for his talent and conquests. He was an extraordinary warrior, victor of thousands of battles and emerged invincible during his time. He was a valiant and brave king; able politician and warrior; famous musician; and well-versed and a good-hearted poet. Although he inherited a very small kingdom from his father, he expanded the boundaries of his kingdom beyond India by his talent and valour. He is regarded as the first Indian king who defeated southern and foreign rulers by his prowess. He was considered as a unique emperor. The strength of his arms was his only companion in the different battles he ably fought. He was famous for his valour and his body was adorned with several wounds and was immensely beautiful.



Fig. 3.16 Samudragupta's Gold Coins

3.6.3 Chandragupta II

Ramagupta ascended to the throne after the death of Samudragupta but he could not hold on to his Empire. Therefore, Chandragupta II (AD 380–412) ascended to the Gupta throne in AD 380. Like his father he proved to be a brave, valiant, invincible and able emperor. He was adorned in his coins with the titles of Devashri Vikramanka, Simha-chandra Apratiratha, etc. Although Vikramaditya, Simha, Vikrama, Ajivikram, Simha-chandra Apratiratha, etc. Although there is no unanimity regarding the date of accession of Chandragupta II, his reign is considered from AD 380 to 412.

Matrimonial alliances

Chandragupta II adopted both the policies of matrimonial relationship as well as war for strengthening his empire. His contemporary Naga dynasty was very strong and had influence over several regions of North India. Establishment of matrimonial relationship with the Nagas helped him much in strengthening his sovereignty over the newly established empire. Matrimonial alliances with Vakatakas helped him a lot. Therefore, Chandragupta II gave his daughter Prabhavatigupta in marriage to Vakataka king Rudrasen II. Vakataka King had control over such geographical region wherefrom he could have assisted or opposed the Northern aggressor against the Shaka vassals of Saurashtra. This matrimonial alliance proved much important for him. It is evident from the Talgund inscription that the princess of Kuntal, King Kakustha Verma was married in the Gupta dynasty.

Conquests of Chandragupta II

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Like his father, Chandragupta II expanded his empire by conquering many states. The most important victory of Chandragupta II was over the Shaka. The kingdom of the Shakas was spread in Gujarat, Malwa and Saurashtra. Having defeated the great Shaka vassal Rudrasimha III, Chandragupta II took the title of Shakari. Chandragupta II's war minister has written in the Udayagiri cave inscription that he came to Eastern Malwa along with his master (Chandragupta II) who aspired to conquer the whole world. With this victory, he not only ousted the foreigners from India but also ensured its monopoly over western trade by extending his empire upto the western coastal ports.

There were several small republics such as Madra, Kharapatika, etc. He conquered them and ended their existence by annexing them into his empire. It is known from the Maharauli iron pillar that Chandragupta II conquered Vahlikas by crossing over five mouths of Indus: Bengal and other eastern states formed a confederation due to the inability of Ramagupta. Chandragupta II conquered this confederation.

Horse-sacrifice

Several evidences maintain that Chandragupta II performed horse-sacrifice. A stone-horse has been discovered from Varanasi on which the word Chandraguh (Chandragupta) is inscribed. Besides, Punadanapatra referred to the donation of several cows and thousands of coins (*aneka gau hiranya koti sahasra padah*) by Chandragupta II from which it seems that Chandragupta might have organized horse-sacrifice after his conquests.



Fig. 3.17 Chandragupta II on Horseback as Depicted on a Coin

Extent of Chandragupta II's empire

The empire of Chandragupta Vikramaditya was larger than that of Samudragupta. His empire expanded from the Himalaya in the north to river Narmada in the south, and from Bengal in the east to Arabian Sea in the west. Many famous trading cities and ports were included in his vast empire. Because of the expansion of his empire, he made Ujjain his second capital.

Estimate of Chandragupta II

Chandragupta II was one of the greatest rulers of India. Under him, the government, expansion of empire, art, economic or social aspects of life were at its zenith. 'Chandragupta tested the sharpness of his sword against the wicked and unrighteous Shakas and defeating them, he expanded his empire immensely and by conquering the unconquered states, he increased the extent of his empire more than the extent of his father's empire. He destroyed the Shakas and restored the glory of Hindu civilization and culture. The reign of Chandragupta II is also considered as the golden age of the Gupta period. Chandragupta II took his empire to a new era of maturity of political greatness and cultural revival. The governance of India had never been better than the rule of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya.

3.6.4 Art and Architecture

The foundation of the Gupta Empire in the fourth century AD describes the beginning of another era. The Gupta monarchs had power up to the sixth century in North India. Art, science and literature thrived greatly during this time. The iconographic canons of Brahmanical, Jain and Buddhist divinities were perfected and standardized. It served as ideal models of artistic expression for later centuries, not only in India but also beyond its border. It was an age of all round perfection in domestic life, administration, literature, as seen in the works of Kalidasa, in art creations and in religion and philosophy, as exemplified in the widespread Bhagavata cult, which recognized itself with a rigorous cult of beauty.

The Gupta Period (AD fourth–seventh) is usually called as the golden age of art and architecture in India. During this period, Sarnath came up as a school similar in quality as the Buddhist art. Some of the most stunning images of Buddha are creations of this school. One of the finest sculptures from Sarnath portrays Buddha giving his first sermon. The images of the Buddhist pantheon comprise the following:

- Indra
- Yakshas
- Dwarapalas
- Winged horses
- Surya
- Yakshis
- Mithuna couples

Gupta Temples

This period saw a huge resurrection of Hinduism when it became the official religion of the Gupta Empire. As a result, this era was also marked by the appearance of countless images of popular Hindu Gods and Goddesses. Images of Lord Vishnu, Lord Shiva, Lord Krishna, Surya and Durga were created in this period. The Udaigiri caves in Madhya Pradesh had a huge image of Lord Vishnu. Other statues of this period found in various temples and museums are analytic of the various aspects of early Hindu art and sculpture. During the Gupta period, when basic elements of the Indian temple comprising a square sanctum and pillared porch emerged, a solid foundation of temple architecture was laid.

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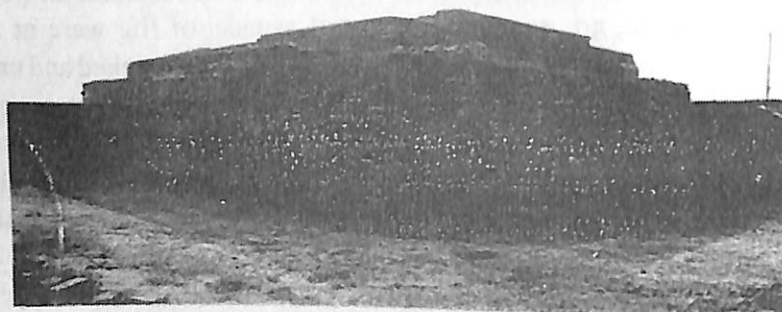


Fig. 3.18 First Brick Temple of Gupta Period at Pawaya

The evolved Gupta temple also had a covered processional path for circumambulation that outlined a part of the worship-ritual. Former temples of the period had a flat slab-roof, often monumental, but the later temples in brick and stone developed a shikhara. The unhurried development of the Gupta style can be traced by growth of the plan and the decoration on the pillars and door-frame. The frames were decorated with goblins, couples, flying angels and door-keepers.

Sculptures of deities and their consorts, heavenly beings, couples, directional deities, composite animals and decorative motifs consisted of the majority of images which firmly according to religious cannons and were fixed by carrying out a unique sanctification ritual. The brilliance of the Indian sculptor rested in his mental picture of the deities' ideal proportions, youthful bodies and kind appearances. Temple sculptures were not essentially religious. Many drew on worldly subject matters and ornamental designs. The scenes of everyday life consisted of military parades, royal court scenes, musicians, dancers, acrobats and passionate couples. Another group of non-religious figures were the apsaras or devanganas (celestial women) and vyālas (composite animals). The Parvati temple at Nachana, the temple of Bhitargaon, the Vishnu temple at Tigawa, the Shiva temple at Bhumara and the Dasavatara temple at Deogarh are among the top models of the Gupta style of temple architecture.

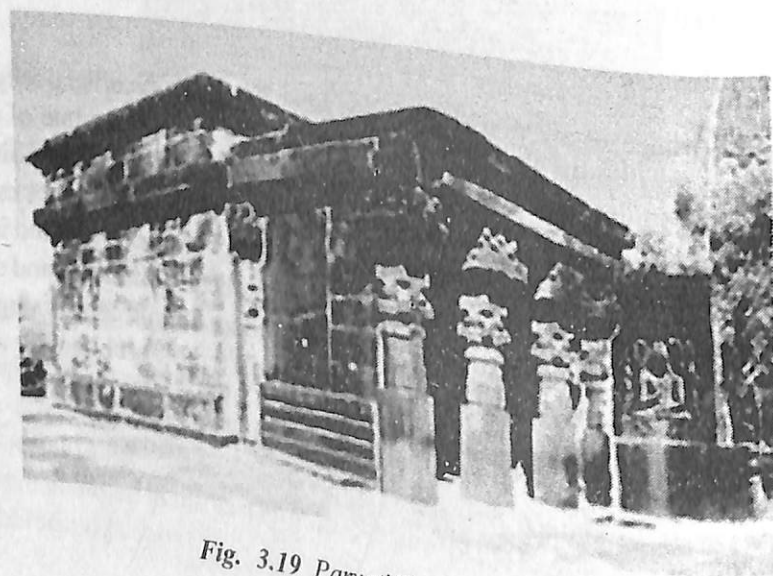


Fig. 3.19 Parvati Temple at Nachana

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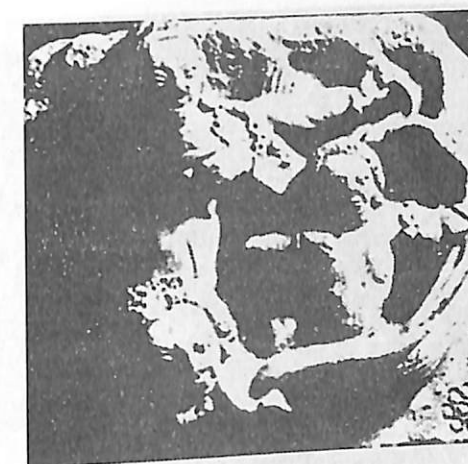


Fig. 3.20 Bhitargaon Temple of Gupta Period

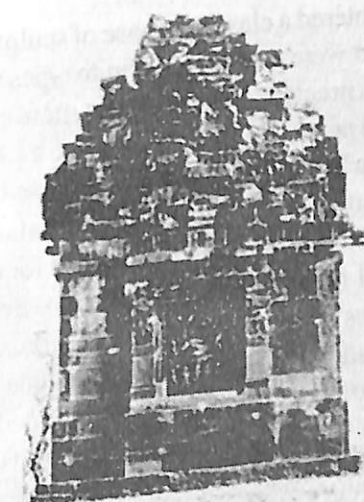


Fig. 3.21 Dasavatara Temple at Deogarh

Cave Architecture

The cave architecture also achieved a huge level of enhancement during the Gupta period. The Chaitya and Vihara caves at Ajanta and the Ellora caves are the perfect specimens of cave-architecture of the period. The rock-cut caves at Khandagiri, Udayagiri and Undavalli also belong to this period.

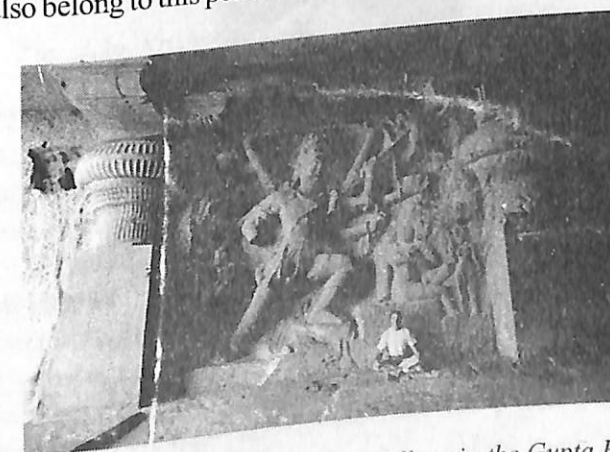


Fig. 3.22 Cave-cut Architecture at Ellora in the Gupta Period

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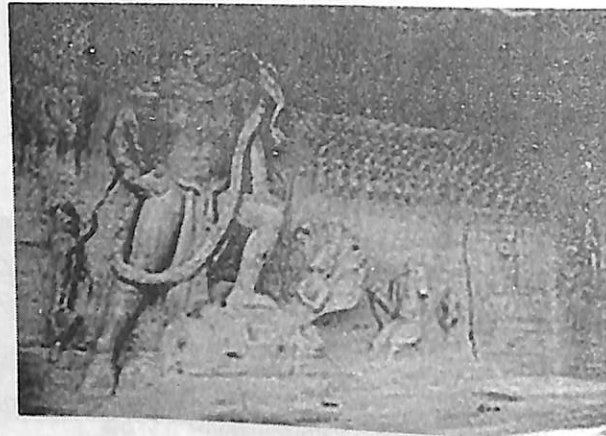


Fig. 3.23 Cave-cut Architecture at Udayagiri

Gupta Sculpture

With the Gupta period, India entered a classical phase of sculpture. By the efforts made over centuries, techniques of art were perfected, definite types were evolved, and ideals of beauty were formulated with precision. There was no more experimentation. A quick grasp of the true objectives and necessary principles of art, a vastly developed aesthetic sense and proficient execution by skilled hands made those outstanding images that were to be the perfect model and despair of the Indian artists of successive ages. The Gupta sculptures not only proved to be models of Indian art for the coming ages but they also provided a perfect model for the Indian colonies in the Far East. In the Gupta period, all inclinations and drives of the artistic searches of the scheduled phases reached their peak in a united plastic tradition of ultimate significance in Indian history. Gupta sculpture was the logical result of the early classical sculpture of Amravati and Mathura. Its gracefulness was received from that of Mathura and its elegance from that of Amravati. Yet a Gupta sculpture seemed to belong to an area that was completely different. The Gupta artist seemed to have been working for a higher ideal. A new synchronization between art and thought, between the outer forms and the inner intellectual and spiritual ideas of the people.



Fig. 3.24 Mathura Sculpture of Indra

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Fig. 3.25 Buddha Image of Gupta Period

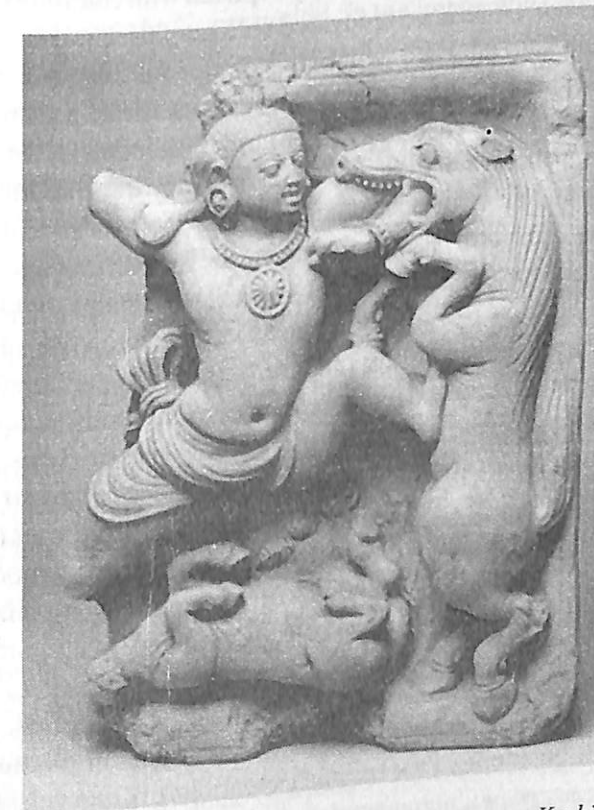


Fig. 3.26 Krishna killing the Horse Demon Keshi

Art of Bharhut, Amravati, Sanchi and Mathura came closer and closer; merging into one. In the composition, it was the female figure that now becomes the focus of attraction and nature recedes into the background, but in doing so it leaves behind its unending and undulating rhythm in the human form. The human figure, taken as the image, is the turn of Gupta sculpture. A new canon of beauty is evolved leading to the appearance of a new aesthetic ideal. This ideal is based upon an explicit understanding of the human body in its inherent softness and suppleness. The soft and flexible body of the Gupta sculpture with its smooth and shining texture facilitates free and easy movement, and though seemingly at rest the figure seems to be infused with an energy, which proceeds from within.

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This is true not only of the images of divine beings, Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jain but also of the ordinary men and women. It is the sensitiveness of the plastic surface that the artist seeks to emphasize and for this; all superfluities, etc. that tend to cover the body, are reduced to the minimum. So, the wet or transparent clinging drapery became the fashion of this era. But the sensuous effect of these draperies particularly in the case of female figures was restricted by a conscious moral sense, and nudity as a rule. It was eliminated from the Gupta sculpture. The great artistic creations of the period were invested with sweet and soft contours, restrained ornamentation and dignified repose. Under the patronage of the Guptas, the studies of Mathura and Sarnath produced several works of great merit. Though Hindu by faith, they were tolerant rulers.

The wonderful red sandstone image of the Buddha from Mathura is a remarkable example of Gupta workmanship datable to the fifth century AD. Buddha is revealed standing with his right hand in abhaya mudra, giving shelter and the left holding the edge of the garment. The smiling expression with unhappy eyes is robed in spiritual happiness. The robe covering both shoulders is dexterously depicted with carefully covered graphic folds and clings to the body. The head is covered with graphic spiral curls with a central bulge and the detailed halo adorned with bands of elegant decoration. The finished mastery in execution and the regal tranquility of expression of the image of Buddha came to be adopted and locally customized by Siam, Cambodia, Burma, Java, Central Asia, China and Japan, etc., when these countries accepted the Buddhist religion. The image of the standing Buddha is an outstanding example of Gupta art in its maturity from Sarnath. The softly moulded form has its right hand in the manner of reassuring protection. Unlike the delicately shaped drapery folds of the Mathura Buddha, only the edge of the almost transparent robe is here pointed out. The perfect execution of the figure compared by its serious spiritual appearance is truly praiseworthy of the inspirational being. Sarnath describes not only a gracefulness and improvement of form but also a calm approach by bending the body in the case of the standing figure, slightly on its own axis, thus conveying to it a certain suppleness and movement in comparison to the columnar inflexibility of analogous Mathura works. Also, in the case of the seated figure, the lean physiognomy expresses a feeling of movement, the body, closely following the modeling in all its delicate shades. The folds have been abandoned in general; a signal of the drapery only stays alive in the thin lines on the body signifying the periphery of the garment. The folds which fall separately are given, again, a definitely muslin-like texture. The body in its soft and shining plasticity comprises the main theme of the Sarnath artists. The conclusion of these features seen in this inspiring image of the Master embodied in the act of turning the Wheel of Law is one of the masterly creations of Gupta classical sculpture. The image has been carved in Chunar sandstone and has a surface texture of faultless softness. The Master is shown as seated in Vijraparyanka with the hands held near the breast in Dharmachakrapravartana Mudra (the sign of preaching). A fine order infuses the whole figure, both physically and mentally. It is obvious as much in the even and recurring treatment of the body as in the ethereal face reminiscent of a mind absorbed and in calm delight of spiritual ecstasy. A clean decorative backdrop is provided by the throne and a circular nimbus (*Prabha*) exquisitely carved with a broad foliated ornament within beaded borders. The decorative *prabhas* are characteristic of Mathura images.

During the Gupta period, the characteristic elements of the Indian temple emerged and the plastic forms began to be used admirably as an integral part of the general architectural scheme. The stone carving in the temples at Deogarh and those in temples of Udayagiri and Ajanta are perfect specimen of figure sculpture in their decorative setting. The large panel of *Sheshashayi* Vishnu from the Deogarh temple, representing

the Supreme Being sleeping wakefully on the serpent Ananta, the symbol of eternity, in the interval between the disbanding of the universe and its new creation, is a magnificent example.

The four-armed Vishnu is reclining elegantly on the coils of the Adishesha, whose seven hoods form a cover over his crowned head. His companion Lakshmi is sitting by his right leg and many gods and celestials are lingering nearby. In the lower panel, the two demons Madhu and Kaitabha, in an aggressive manner, are confronted by the four personified weapons of Vishnu. The whole masterpiece styled with a masterly skill, breathes an atmosphere of peace and apprehension, making it an excellent piece of art.

A wonderful illustration of Vishnu belongs to the Gupta period and it comes from Mathura. The typical gown, the *vanamala*, the charming string of pearls coiled round the neck, the long and elegant *yagnopavita* are all features of early Gupta work.

Ganga and Yamuna, two life-sized terracotta images that were originally installed in places flanking the main steps leading to the upper terrace of the Shiva temple at Ahichhatra are from the Gupta period. In the image, the Ganga stands on her vehicle, the *makara* and Yamuna on the *cacchap*. Kalidas describes that the two river goddesses are attendants to Shiva and it is a regular feature of temple architecture from the Gupta period onwards. Clay figurines (Terracottas) have great value as sources of social and religious history. In India, the art of making figurines of baked clay is of great antiquity as you have already seen at Harappa and Mohenjodaro where terracottas have been discovered in huge numbers.

The Head of Shiva is a graceful example of Gupta terracottas, portrayed with matted locks, tied in a famous and graceful top knot. The look on the face is notable and both the figures, of Shiva as well as Parvati, are two of the most delightful specimens from Ahichhatra.

The Vakatakas were dominant in the Deccan, contemporary with the Guptas in the North. The high watermark of excellence in art attained in their region can be best seen in the later caves at Ajanta, the early ones at Ellora and those at Aurangabad.

Gupta Paintings

Painting made great progress in the Gupta period. The most famous paintings of the Gupta period were the caves of Ajanta (Maharashtra) and Bagh (Madhya Pradesh).

Ajanta paintings

There are thirty caves in Ajanta of which 9, 10, 19, 26 and 29 are chaitya-grihas and the rest are monasteries. These caves were discovered in AD 1819 and were rebuilt. All paintings have heavy religious influence and centre on the following:

- Buddha
- Bodhisattvas
- Incidents from the life of Buddha
- Jatakas

The paintings are accomplished on a ground of mud-plaster in the tempera technique. In the caves of Ajanta, the artists observed a specific technique for doing their work. The rock walls of the cave were covered with a mixture of clay, cow dung and smashed rock. On its top a thin coat of lime plaster is applied. It was then smoothed and kept damp. On the surface the outline of the design was first sketched in dark colours such as dark brown or black. After this was done it was filled in, using a variety

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of colours like white, red, blue, dull green and brown. The theme of these paintings was from the Jataka tales, which is a collection of stories about the life of the Buddha. The paintings describe Buddha in various stages of his past and present lives. According to art critics, the Gupta paintings possess delicacy of lines, brilliancy of colours and richness of expression.

For long there existed a flawed assumption that the Ajanta cave paintings were frescoes. But the making of a fresco entails the application of colours to moist lime plaster whereas the Ajanta paintings were done on dry wall. The plaster made of clay, hay, dung, lime, etc., was applied to the wall and the artisans sketched beautiful drawings using vegetable colours. The brush for painting was made of animal hairs and twigs of certain plants.

The creation of these intricate Ajanta cave paintings still is a mystery due to the obvious lack of natural light inside the caves. Only thin streaks of light infuse inside, which is hardly sufficient for conducting such a painstaking craft. Historians have said that ancient artistes either used oil lamps or employed mirrors for reflecting and magnifying little natural light inside the cave.



Fig. 3.27 Ajanta Painting

Bagh paintings

The Bagh caves are a group of nine rock-cut monuments. They are situated among the southern slopes of the Vindhya in Kukshi tehsil of Dhar district in Madhya Pradesh state of central India. These monuments are located at a distance of 97 km from the town of Dhar. They are renowned for mural paintings by master painters of ancient India. A cave is a bit of a misnomer as these are not natural, but instead are examples of Indian rock-cut architecture.

The Bagh caves, like those at Ajanta, were dug up by master craftsmen on perpendicular sandstone rock face of a hill on the far bank of a seasonal stream, the Baghani. Buddhist in inspiration, of the nine caves, only five have survived. All of them are viharas or monasteries having quadrangular plan.

Development of Music during Guptas

Music has been an essential part of the cultures existing in India. The range of musical phenomenon in India extends from tribal to folklore to classical to modern style. The flavour of music depends on various aspects of the culture, like social and economic organization and experience, climate and access to technology.

The conditions in which music is played and listened to, and the attitudes towards music players and writers all vary between regions and periods. Indian music has a very ancient tradition and an accrued heritage of years. Indian music has developed due to interface between different people of varied races and cultures.

The Gupta period (AD 320–480) was the golden era in the history of Indian music. The Guptas ruled in most of northern India. The Gupta period was the period of Greater India. During this period, a huge range of cultural activities occurred in India in this period that influenced the neighbouring countries as well. The Guptas not only improved the Indian culture but also had a global impact. Many music treatises like *Natyashastra* (by Bharat Muni) and *Brihaddeshi* (by Matanga) were written during this period.

Natya Shastra

The *Natya Shastra* is an ancient Indian treatise on the performing arts, comprising theatre, dance and music. The *Natya Shastra* was incredibly wide in its scope. While it basically deals with stagecraft, it has influenced music, classical Indian dance and literature as well. It consists of stage design, music, dance, makeup and basically every other aspect of stagecraft. It is very important to the history of Indian classical music as it is the only text that gives such detail about the music and instruments of the period.

After the Samaveda that dealt with ritual utterances of the Vedas, the *Natya Shastra* was the first major text that dealt with music at length. It was considered the crucial treatise of Indian classical music until the thirteenth century, when the stream split into Hindustani classical music in North India and Pakistan because of the influence of Persian and Arab music and Carnatic classical music in South India, the stronghold of the Hindu kingdoms.

While most of the discussion of music in the *Natya shastra* concentrates on musical instruments, it also emphasizes several theoretical aspects that remained fundamental to Indian music. *Jatis* are elaborated in greater detail in the text *Dattilam*, which was composed around the same time as the *Natya Shastra*.

The *Natya Shastra* also hints at several aspects of musical performance, specifically its application to vocal, instrumental and orchestral compositions. It also deals with the *rasas* and *bhavas* that may be evoked by music.

Brihaddeshi

Sage Matanga's important contribution to musicology was his scholarly focus on the regional element in music.

3.7 THE PALLAVAS AND THE CHALUKYAS

There are different opinions regarding the origin of the Pallavas. The famous historian and author Dr V.A. Smith considers them to be Parthians while some other scholars accept them as Kadamba or Pahlava. Historians, however, are anonymous in believing that they were Kshatriya by caste.

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Check Your Progress

8. Whom did Aryavarta defeat in his first expedition?
9. Which classical phase entered in India with the Gupta period?

Early kings of Pallava Dynasty

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The first known king of the Pallava dynasty was Simhavarman. It is evident from an inscription, written in Prakrit, that it was Simhavarman who founded the Pallava dynasty. Simhavarman was succeeded by Skandhavarman who was perhaps his son. Initially, he was a yuvaraja (prince) and later took the title of Maharajadhiraja. He made Kanchi his capital and performed horse sacrifices, Agnistoma and Vajapeya Yajnas. His kingdom extended up to the River Krishna in the north and the Arabian Sea in the west. The name of Vishnugopa also comes up as the king of the Pallava dynasty. During his reign, Samudragupta attacked and defeated him. There is little knowledge about the history of the Pallava dynasty. The history of the Pallava dynasty after Vishnugopa is determined by the edicts of the Ganga kings who had mentioned the Pallavas as their contemporary. An account entitled *Lokavibhaga* helps in determining the chronology of the Pallava dynasty.

Simhavishnu

The first great king of the Pallava dynasty was Simhavishnu. He founded a new dynasty. The Pallava culture was at its zenith during his time. He expanded his power in south India and defeated the Cholas, the Pandyas and the Malawas. He was a follower of the Bhagavat religion. During his time, many temples of Shiva, Vishnu and Brahma were built. He made every effort to disseminate the Sanskrit language and the Bhagavat culture. Bharavi, the writer of *Kiratarjuniya*, and Dandin were his court poets. Simvishnu was a worshipper of Lord Vishnu.

Mahendravarman

After the death of Simhavishnu, his son Mahendravarman became the king. The most memorable part of his rule was that he was the first king who developed the art of building temples by carving out hard rocks. Moreover, the epic *Kiratarjuniya* was written during his time. In his rule, people were happy and affluent and lived in peace. Although the Pallava-Chalukya and Pallava-Pandya wars began in his time, there was an immense development in the field of arts. Not only was he a contemporary of Harshavardhan and Pulakesin, he was also a liberal king, patron of art, culture and architecture. Mahendravarman established political unity by conquering all the small states in the south of the River Krishna. He took several titles like Mattavilasa, Gunabhara, Paramamaheshwar, Mahendravikrama and Cettakari.

Narasimhavarman

Narasimhavarman was the son of Mahendravarman. He became king in the second half of the 7th century and was brave and brilliant like his father. He defeated Pulakesin II and captured his capital, Vatapi. After this victory, he took the title of Vatapikonda. Following his father's footsteps, Narasimhavarman built several temples and promoted art and culture. He built temples at Chitranapalli by carving out rocks. He also founded a town named Mahabalipuram.

Parameshwarvarman

Parameshwarvarman was the son of Narasimhavarman. He was defeated by the Chalukya king Viramaditya. However, this victory is disputed as contemporary accounts fail to provide any definite detail on this. He ruled from AD660-680.

Narasimhavarman II Rajsimha

Narasimhavarman II became king after Parameshwaravarman. He built the Kailash temple, Shora temple (at Mahabalipuram), Airavateshwar temple (at Kanchi) and Panamalai temple. His rule was an era of literary activism.

Nandivarman Pallavamala

Narasimhavarman succeeded Nandivarman II Pallavamala. In his rule the war between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas was revived. Nandivarman's rule was a history of military activities, expeditions, attacks and counter-attacks. He built the Mukeshwar and Baikuntha temples at Kanchi and ruled for sixty-five years.

Dantivarman and his successor

Dantivarman was the son of Nandivarman. The Rashtrakutas attacked Kanchi during his reign and he was succeeded by Nandivarman III. He extended his empire by conquering the Pandyas and married a Rashtrakuta princess. Nripatungavarman, his son, succeeded him to the throne. He defeated the Pandya king Srimara. Aparajitavarman was the last king of the Pallava dynasty. The Chola king Aditya I defeated him and ended the Pallava dynasty.

Pallava administration

The Pallavas established a well-organized administrative system. The monarch was the head of the state and administration. There was a council of ministers, known as Rahasyakid to advise the king. Other pillars of administration were provincial governors and departmental ministers. R. Gopalan (well-known author) opines, 'The administration of the Pallavas reminds me of some aspects of the Maurya and some aspects of the Gupta administrations.'

The Pallava Empire was divided into *rastras* or *mandalas*. Its chief was known as *visayaka*. A *rastra* was subdivided into *kottam* and *nadu* (village), the rulers of which were known as *deshatika* and *vapitta*. There was also a village-assembly, which managed the village administration by sub-committees. A complete, written account of the land was also maintained. About eighteen different types of taxes were collected from the village.

Pallava literature

The Pallava kings were active patrons of literature and culture and they patronized several scholars. Due to this, literature grew immensely under the Pallavas. Kanchi, the capital of the Pallavas was a famous centre of Sanskrit learning since the ancient times. Bharavi, the writer of the *Kiratarjuniya* was the court-poet of Simhavishnu. King Mahendravarman himself wrote *Mattavilasaprahasana*. Renowned scholars like Bhasa, Shudraka and Dandin have contributed immensely to this period. Sanskrit was the state language.

The Pallava kings were tolerant towards other religions though they themselves followed Vedic rituals. They performed several sacrifices and patronized Sanskrit. The famous Chinese Buddhist monk and traveller, Hieun Tsang writes, 'There were about hundred Buddhist monasteries and over one thousand monks in Kanchi. They belonged to the Mahayana sect and studied the doctrines of the Sthavira sect.' Mahendravarman was the first Jain in the dynasty. While the famous Shaivites, Appara and Tirujnana Sambandara helped spread Shaivism in south India, Alwar saints spread Vaishnavism.

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Pallava art

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It would not be an exaggeration to say that the Pallava age gave birth to several arts. This age witnessed an immense growth in the arts. Rock-cut architecture was introduced in south India by the Pallavas. They were the first people to encourage the Kandara style or *dari* temple, an example of which is present in Trichinapalli or modern Tiruchirapalli. After this, *ratha* temples in Mahabalipuram were built. In the Pallava age, artists were skilled in several arts. Four art styles that were prevalent during the Pallava age were the following:

1. Mahendra style

The style of the temples at Dalavanapur, Pallavaram and Vallam were developed by Mahendravarman I. This new style was called the Mahendra style. In it, the pillars of the gateway are constructed in a row. The features of the temples are spherical phalluses, extraordinary doorways, arched gateways and triple-mouthed pillars.

2. Mammal style

Since this style was developed in Mammalapuram, it is called the Mammal style (Figure 3.28). In this style, pavilions or chariots were carved out in a rock-cut temple. Ten pavilions were built in this style. The ratio of decorations on the pillars are especially beautiful. The depiction of the descent of the Ganges, Vishnu lying on the serpent king, Varahavatar, etc., in rock-cut hills are brilliant examples of this style. The chariots in the Mammal style is known as Saptapagoda. There are eight such chariots, named Draupadi ratha, Arjuna ratha, Bhima ratha, Dharmaraja ratha, Sahadeva ratha, Ganesh ratha, Pindari ratha and Valaiyana kuttai ratha. All these were perhaps Shaiva temples. The roofs of some of the rathas have been shaped like pyramids.

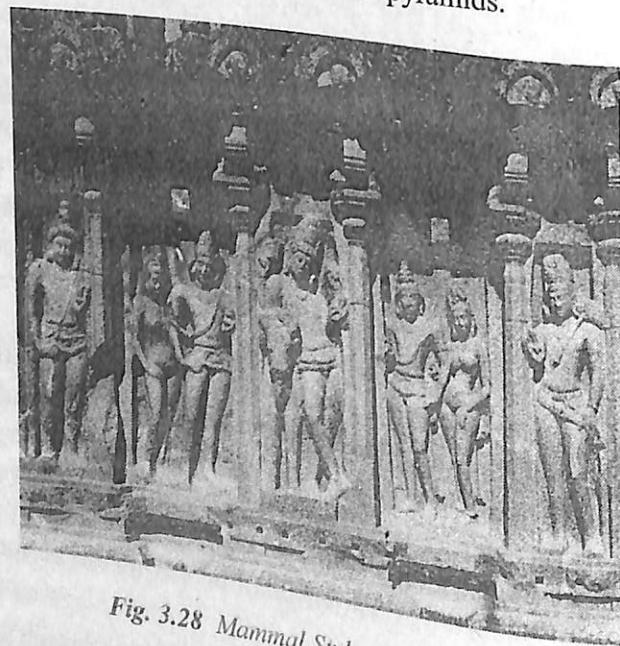


Fig. 3.28 Mammal Style of Architecture

3. Rajasimha style

In Rajasimha style, rock-cut temples were built. The shrines of these temples face the sea. There are six temples in this style; of them three are in Mammalpuram, one in Pamalai and the remaining two are in Kanchi. The Kailash temple of Kanchi and Saptapagoda, and Shor temple of Dala are examples of this style.

4. Aparajita style

The Aparajita style is named after the Pallava king Aparajitavarman. The Pallava culture had developed fully by this time. This style is more ornate, resembling the Chola architecture. A few temples built in this style are found at Dalavanur. The noteworthy feature of some shrines is that they are adorned by beautiful life-like images of Pallava kings and their queens. They are unique in the history of the temple architecture. The influence of the Paliava style can be clearly seen on the arts of the eastern islands like Java, Cambodia, etc. During this period, a tradition of cultural growth was seen in most parts of south India.

Chalukya Dynasty

Like the Satavahanas, Indian historians are divided on the origin of the Chalukyas. According to Indian legend, the Chalukyas were Kshatriyas from the north and originated from the water pot of Hariti. However, consensus has been reached to declare that the Chalukyas of Badami were residents of present Karnataka. The Chalukyas had three branches and you will learn about each of them in detail ahead.

1. Chalukyas of Badami

The first emperor of the Chalukya dynasty was Jayasimha who established an independent state after defeating the Kadambas and the Rashtrakutas. Jayasimha's son Ranaranga only defended his empire but Pulakesin I was the real king of this dynasty because he was an independent king. He extended his empire and proved his mettle by performing horse sacrifices. His capital was Badami. You will learn about the important Chalukyas of Badami ahead.

Kirtivarman

He was brave like his father, Pulakesin I and defeated the kings of Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Vantur, Magadha, Madra, Keral, Ganga, Pandya, Damil, Chilya, Aluka and Vijayanti. He ruled from AD 566–597.

Mangalesh

When Kirtivarman died, his son was still young. Therefore, his stepbrother Mangalesh ascended to the throne. His achievements were the conquests of Revati Island and states declared independence. At the same time, Mangalesh's sons also attacked in a bid to take over the kingdom from him. Pulakesin II had to face simultaneous foreign aggressions. In such a difficult situation, the young ruler displayed amazing patience, and made foreign aggressors his friends.

Pulakesin II

Pulakesin II (AD 620–642) was the most extraordinary ruler of his dynasty. He deposed his uncle and ascended the throne. Taking advantage of this civil-war, many subordinate states declared independence. At the same time, Mangalesh's sons also attacked in a bid to take over the kingdom from him. Pulakesin II had to face simultaneous foreign aggressions. In such a difficult situation, the young ruler displayed amazing patience, and made foreign aggressors his friends.

After strengthening his position, he started the campaign of conquests. He forced Navasis, the Gangas of Mysore, Alupas of Malabar, and Konkan Maurya of North to join him. He also crushed Lats of Gujarat, Malawa and Gurjars. The greatest achievement of Pulakesin II was his victory over Harshavardhana. His prestige increased immensely.

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after he defeated Harsha. He made the Cholas, Keralas, and Pandyas his friends and defeated the Pallavas. However, the Chalukyas' power was on a decline during the last days of Pulakesin II. Narsimhavarman killed Pulakesin II in a war.

Vikramaditya I

The Chalukya's seat of power, Badami, was under the possession of Pallavas for thirteen years but Vikramaditya, the son of Pulakesin II, re-established the Chalukya power. He was victorious like his father. After the death of Vikramaditya, his son Vijayaditya ruled from AD680–698. He was succeeded by Vikramaditya II who ruled from AD696–733.

Vikramaditya II

Vikramaditya II fought the Cholas, Pandyas, and Cheras. During his reign, the Arabs, after conquering Sindh in AD712, attacked south India but Vikramaditya defeated them. However, he could not destroy the Pallava power completely.

After Vikramaditya II, Kirtivarman II became the king. He was the last king of the Chalukya dynasty. In AD753, the Rashtrakuta king Dantidurga subjugated Kirtivarman II and destroyed his power. However, other branches of the Chalukyas kept their kingdoms intact.

2. Chalukyas of Vengi

The Chalukyas of Vengi ruled over a part of Andhra and Kalinga for five centuries. Pulakesin had made Vishnuvardhan, the ruler of Pistapur, his vassal, but his successors became independent. The most able kings of this dynasty were Vijayaditya II and Vijayaditya III who defeated Rastrakutas, Gangas and other contemporary powers. Rajaraja Chola weakened the power of this dynasty but its king Shaktivarman regained the lost glory and extended the boundaries of his empire. Shaktivarman's successor Vimaladitya was married to the Chola princess Kundava and improved his relations with them. Vimaladitya's son Rajaraja Vishnuvardhana married the daughter of Rajendra I. Rajendra Chola, born of this marriage ousted Vijayaditya VII from Vengi in AD1070 and thus the Cholas annexed the Chalukya kingdom.

3. Chalukyas of Kalyani

Tailap II established the Chalukya Empire of Kalyani by deposing the Rastrakuta king in AD 973 and made Kalyani his capital. He then defeated the Chola and Kalachuri kings and defeated king Munja of the Paramars. He ruled for almost twenty-five years. After the death of Tailap, his son Satyashraya ascended to the throne. Though the neighbouring Cholas created troubles in his kingdom, Satyashraya regained his power. After the death of Satyashraya, Vikramaditya ascended to the throne and ruled for ten years. He was succeeded by Jaisingh II. He defeated Paramara king Bhoja. After him, Someshwar I Ahavamalla ascended the throne. He defeated the Chola king Rajadhiraja Kanchi and annexed his empire to his kingdom. He also defeated Chediraj and the Kalachuris. He restrained the growing power of the Yadavs, Hoyasalas, Kadambas in south India. He was the most famous and efficient king of this branch of the Chalukyas. He made Kalyani his capital. It is said that he lost his life by submerging himself in water in a yogic posture of meditation.

After the death of Someshwar I, his son Someshwar II (AD1068–1076) ascended the throne. He was succeeded by Vikramaditya VI. He was not only a brilliant king, but also a patron of learned persons. Poet Bilhana was in his court. He wrote

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Vikramadudevacharita. Vijnaneshwar, the writer of *Mitaksara* also lived in his court. There were several kings after Someshwar but none were as powerful. In 1190, this kingdom was annexed by Yadav King Bhillama of Devagiri.

Chalukya culture

In their reign of several centuries, the Chalukyan kings set new standards in the political and cultural fields. The Chalukya administration was feudal in nature. Sandhi-vigrahaka and cultural fields. The Chalukya administration was feudal in nature. Sandhi-vigrahaka was appointed as a contact official between the king and feudatories. Feudatories had certain privileges; they had their own army and had independence in internal matters. Though the king was the highest seat of power and justice, a council of ministers helped the king in the administration of the state.

When the Chalukya dynasty was founded, Brahminism occupied a predominant place. This gave impetus to the growth of Vedic religion. Several temples were constructed and Pulakesin II performed the horse-sacrifice and Vajapeya sacrifice. Jainism also flourished because of the religious tolerance of the Chalukya kings. Ravikirti, the writer of the Aihole inscription was a follower of Jainism, and he built a temple of Jinendra. Huen Tsang has written that there were more than hundred Buddhist monasteries in which over 5000 monks of both the Hinayana and Mahayana sects. There were five Ashoka Stupas inside and outside the capital. This provides evidence of the growth of Buddhism in the country.

There was immense development in the field of arts during the rule of the Chalukyas. Similar to the Buddhists and Jains, the building of cave-temples for Hindu deities was an important contribution of this age. Virupaksa is a famous temple of this period adorned with frescoes from the Ramayana. The policy of religious tolerance, liberalism, and love for learning of the Chalukya kings, and patronization of scholars provided opportunity for literary creation. Jain teachers of the period laid the foundation for literary creation in provincial languages like Marathi, Kannad and Telugu.

3.8 SUMMARY

- Chandragupta Maurya was the founder of the Mauryan Empire. The rulers of the Mauryan period organized the administration system, which resulted in the all-round development of India. India constructed a new world on the basis of peace, brotherhood and cultural unity under the rule of the Mauryas.
- Under the Mauryans, India was an agricultural country. According to Megasthenes, majority of the population consisted of the agriculturists. They neither participated in warfare nor did they participate in the state affairs. They were not harmed during wars. The tillers of the soil carried on their work uninterruptedly.
- Spinning was done by the spinning wheels and big looms were used for weaving clothes. According to *Arthashastra* and Megasthenes, cotton was produced in great quantity; the weavers of cotton clothes worked round the clock.
- Though Ashoka is known as the greatest king of India, historians learned about him only in the 19th century.
- In 1837, a British scholar named James Prinsep deciphered the inscriptions on the pillars and rocks that are found in many parts of India. The script was identified as Brahmi and it was concluded that Ashoka and the ruler named Devanampiya Priyadarsi were one and the same person. An inscription discovered by James

Check Your Progress

10. Who was the first known king of the Pallava dynasty?
11. Which religion acquired a predominant place when the Chalukya dynasty was founded?

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Prinsep used the name Ashoka along with the other name. These inscriptions gave historians valuable information about Ashoka's rule and the extent and condition of his empire.

- The land Ashoka ruled stretched from the Himalayas in Nepal and Kashmir to Mysore in the south, from Afghanistan in the northwest to the banks of the River Brahmaputra in the east. In the west his territory covered Saurashtra and Junagarh.
- Kalinga was one of the kingdoms, which remained unconquered and hostile when Ashoka succeeded to the throne.
- The word 'dhamma' was derived from the Sanskrit word 'dharma'.
- Ashoka followed the principles of Buddhism—that of truth, charity, kindness, purity and goodness. He wanted his people to lead pure and virtuous lives, irrespective of their religion or culture. He considered all subjects his children. He explained his ideas in his edicts by engraving his principles on pillars throughout his kingdom. The edicts were written in Prakrit, which was the language of the common people, so that they could understand and follow them.
- The causes for the downfall of Mauryan dynasty were many, among which the most important were the vastness of the empire; incapable successors; deteriorating financial position and disloyalty of the chief army officials.
- Following Alexander the Great, the Greek Seleukidan dynasty of Persia continued their hold on the trans-Indus region. In 303 BC, Chandragupta Maurya overpowered Seleukos Nikator and brought the trans-Indus region under his control.
- The Mauryas were succeeded by the Sungas who ruled for 112 years from about 185 – 73 BC. Pushyamitra, the Mauryan Commander-in-Chief, killed the last Mauryan king, Brihadratha and ruled the kingdom for thirty-six years.
- The Chinese historians tell us that the Kushanas were a section of the Yueh-chi race. The Yueh-chi was nomadic hordes who inhabited the borders of modern China. In the middle of the second century BC, they came into conflict with a neighbouring barbarian tribe known as Hsiung-nu.
- After Chandragupta I, his son Samudragupta became king of the Gupta dynasty. He established a vast kingdom by conquering different battles and strengthened the Gupta dynasty for centuries.
- Ramagupta ascended to the throne after the death of Samudragupta but he could not hold to his empire. Therefore, Chandragupta II ascended to the Gupta throne in AD 380. He was also a brave, valiant, invincible and able emperor. He was adorned on his coins with the titles of Devashri Vikramanka, Vikramaditya, Simha Vikrama, Ajivikram, Simhachandra Apratiratha, etc.
- The Gupta Period (AD fourth–seventh) is usually called as the golden age of art and architecture in India. This period saw a huge resurrection of Hinduism when it became the official religion of the Gupta Empire. The cave architecture also achieved a huge degree of refinement during the Gupta period.
- In the Gupta period, all trends and tendencies of the artistic searches of the proceeding phases reached their peak in a united plastic tradition of supreme importance in Indian history.
- The wonderful red sandstone image of Buddha from Mathura is a remarkable example of Gupta workmanship datable to the fifth century AD.

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- There are different opinions regarding the origin of the Pallavas. Dr V.A. Smith considers them as Parthians while some other scholars accept them as Kadamba or Pahlava. Historians, however, are anonymous in believing that they were Kshatriya by caste. The first known king was Simhavarman. Other important kings were Simhavishnu, Mahendravarman, Narasinhavarman, Parameshwarvarman and Narasimhavarman II.
- Indian historians are divided on the origins of the Chalukyas also. According to Indian legends, the Chalukyas were Kshatriyas from the north and originated from the water pot of Hariti. However, consensus has been reached to declare that the Chalukyas of Badami were residents of present Karnataka. The Chalukyas could be divided into three branches: (1) the Chalukyas of Badami, (2) the Chalukyas of Vengi, and (3) the Chalukyas of Kalyani.

3.9 KEY TERMS

- **Portrait:** A painting, photograph, sculpture, or other artistic representation of a person, in which the face and its expression is predominant.
- **Schist:** A type or quality of stone formed through layers.
- **Ivory:** Images or figures made from the bones, primarily of elephant
- **Conquest:** The subjugation and assumption of control of a place or people by the use of military force.
- **Sculpture:** A three-dimensional artwork created by shaping or combining hard materials (such as stone, glass and wood).

3.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The primary source of our knowledge on the Mauryan Empire is based on the *Arthashastra* by Chanakya, which is a treatise on statecraft.
2. During the Mauryan times the cloth industry had greatly developed. The main clothes centres were Kashi, Vatsa, Madura, Vanga, Apranta, etc.
3. The following coins were minted under the Mauryan dynasty:
 - Gold coins known as *Sauvamik*
 - Silver coins called *Kashaparna*
 - Copper coins called *Mashaka*
 - *Kakni* was also a copper coin which was less valuable to *Mashaka*
4. Ashoka's death was followed by the division of empire amongst his sons and grandsons. While Jalauka became the ruler of Kashmir, Virasena established his sway over Gandhara. The remaining empire was divided between Samprati and Dasratha. This division sounded the death knell of the Mauryan Empire.
5. It is believed that proper care was not taken to collect the revenues as a result of which the later Mauryan kings had to face a financial crisis. The internal rebellions too emptied the treasury. The administration also suffered and so the empire became weak.

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6. Bactria was a fertile area situated between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus.
7. Dissimilarities between Kanishka and Ashoka were:
 - Kanishka propagated Buddha's faith through art forms mainly the images and status of Buddha, whereas, Ashoka built pillars and inscribed the main teachings of Buddha on these pillars and rocks.
 - Kanishka belonged to the Mahayana sect whereas, Ashoka belonged to the Hinayana sect of Buddhism.
 - Kanishka continued to wage wars against his neighbours even after his conversion to Buddhism whereas, Ashoka gave up wars and embraced non-violence after his conversion.
8. Achyuta was the first king defeated by Aryavarta in his first expedition.
9. With the Gupta period in India, entered a classical phase of Sculpture.
10. Simhavishnu was the first known king of the Pallava dynasty.
11. When the Chalukya dynasty was founded, Brahmanism occupied a predominant place.

3.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What effect did the Battle of Kalinga have on Ashoka?
2. What were the causes for the decline of the Mauryan Empire?
3. Write a short note on the Indo-Greeks.
4. Write short notes on (a) Shungas (b) Kharavela.
5. State the beauty of Gupta paintings in your own words.
6. How did art progress under the Pallavas?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Write a descriptive note on the economic conditions of India during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya.
2. What are the basic principles of Ashoka's 'dhamma'?
3. Identify and discuss the unique features of Buddha idols in the Mathura school of art.
4. Explain the salient features of the Gandhara School of art.
5. Analyse the political conquests of Samudragupta.
6. Write a note on the three branches of Chalukyas.

3.12 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 DELHI SULTANATE

Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 Mamluks: Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, Iltutmish and Balban
 - 4.2.1 Qutb-ud-Din Aibak
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 - 4.4.1 Muhammad Bin Tughlaq
 - 4.4.2 Firoz Shah Tughlaq
- 4.5 Society, Economy and Literature under the Sultanate
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 Key Terms
- 4.8 Answers to 'Check your Progress'
- 4.9 Questions and Exercises
- 4.10 Further Reading

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4.0 INTRODUCTION

In the 10th and 11th centuries, small regional kingdoms emerged in North India. Beyond the north-west frontiers of India, in Central Asia, kingdoms and empires were rising to prominence under Islamic influence. During that process, two kingdoms emerged prominent around the two cities of Ghazna and Ghur. The situation in Central Asia brought the rulers of these two kingdoms to India which led to the foundation of the Delhi Sultanate being laid. In the 10th and 11th centuries, Turks and Afghans invaded parts of northern India and established the Delhi Sultanate in the beginning of the 13th century. The Slave Dynasty managed to conquer large areas of northern India. The concept of equality in Islam and Muslim traditions reached its climax in the history of South Asia when slaves were raised to the status of Sultans. The Slave Dynasty ruled the subcontinent for about eighty-four years. Qutb-ud-din Aibak, Shams-ud-din Iltutmish and Ghiyas-ud-din Balban, the three great Sultans of the era, were themselves sold and purchased during their early lives. The Slave Dynasty was the first Muslim dynasty that ruled India.

This unit will discuss the advent of the Delhi Sultanate in India, the reign of Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, and consolidation of power by Iltutmish, Balban, the economy and literature of the Sultanate period.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the advent of the Delhi sultanate
- Assess the reign of Qutb-ud-Din Aibak
- Evaluate the consolidation efforts made by Iltutmish and Balban
- Assess the character and achievements of Balban and his theory of kingship

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- Discuss the causes and consequences of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq's controversial policies
- Evaluate the various policies adopted by Firoz Shah Tughlaq
- Evaluate the condition of society and culture during the Sultanate period
- Explain the development of economy and literature during the Sultanate period

4.2 MAMLUKS: QUTB-UD-DIN AIBAK, ILTUTMISH AND BALBAN

Muhammad Ghori (who is also known as Muizzuddin Muhammad Bin Sam) was the younger brother of the ruler of Ghor, Ghiyas-ud-din. He was raised to the throne of Gazni in AD 1173. Still, he remained loyal to his brother and kept good terms with him. Though he ruled over Gazni virtually as an independent ruler till AD 1206, he got his brother's name inscribed on his coins and behaved towards him as a feudatory does towards his lord. He carried on many invasions of India only as his brother's associate and opened the way for the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate. After his death, his Central Asian Empire was usurped by the Shah of Khwarezm. His military chiefs established the Muslim empire in India. After him, for about 50 years, the Mamluk Sultans remained busy in consolidating the Muslim empire in India. That empire progressed for about 150 years, though the royal dynasties changed.

4.2.1 Qutb-ud-Din Aibak

After Muizzuddin Muhammad Ghori, his slave Qutb-ud-Din sat on the throne of Lahore on 25 June AD 1206. However, from AD 1206 to 1208, he was only a Malik to the brother of Muhammad Ghori at Ghor. At that time, the areas of India under Turkish hold were Multan, Uchh, Nahrwala, Sialkot, Lahore, Tarain, and Ajmer, Hansi, Kuhram, Meerut, Delhi, Badaun, Gwalior, Banaras, Kannauj, Kalingar, Oudh, Ranthambhore, Malwa, Bihar and Lachnauti. In the conquest of these, Qutb-ud-Din had been associated as a military commander. After the second battle of Tarain (AD 1192), he had suppressed the revolts in Ajmer and Meerut. He had conquered the areas of Hansi, Delhi, Ranthambhore, etc., in the absence of Muhammad Ghori. When Muhammad Ghori had come to India in AD 1194 to attack Jaichand of Kannauj, then also Aibak had helped him. In AD 1197, he had defeated Bhimdev II of Anhilwara and thus avenged the defeat of his master. After Ghori's death, Aibak declared himself the ruler of the Indian possession and protected and extended the Delhi Sultanate by the former's finding solutions to many problems facing it.

Problems before Qutb-ud-Din Aibak and his Efforts Towards their Solution

- Nasir ad-Din Qabacha (AD 1206):** After Muhammad Ghori's death, three of his main confidants enjoyed equal positions—the governor of Kirman, Tajuddin Yaldoz; governor of Multan and Uchh, Nasir ad-Din Qabacha; and governor of Delhi, Ajmer etc., Qutb-ud-Din Aibak himself. As a practical statesman, Qutb-ud-Din extended the hand of friendship towards Qabacha. On the one hand, he offered the hand of his daughter to Qabacha, to increase his prestige (since Aibak was a slave) and on the other, he asked Qabacha to accept his (Aibak's) sovereignty. Thus, Aibak's influence extended to Multan and Uchh.
- Ali Mardan Khilji and Bengal (AD 1206):** The second problem before Qutb-ud-Din Aibak was the Khilji chiefs of Bengal. Ali Mardan Khilji murdered

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Ikhtiyaruddin and tried to set himself up as the ruler of Bengal. The followers of Ikhtiyaruddin opposed him. He fled for refuge to Aibak. Aibak dispatched him along with an army to Bengal. Seeing that Ali Mardan was enjoying the support of Aibak, many chiefs ceased to oppose him. Ali Mardan started ruling Bengal as a representative of Aibak. Thus, Aibak solved the problem of the danger of Bengal by becoming independent.

- Tajuddin Yalduj and the security of north-west frontier:** Another problem facing Qutb-ud-Din was Tajuddin Yalduj. Before Ghori's death he was the Governor of Kirman. After his death he became ruler of Gazni as well. Because of his being the ruler of Gazni, he considered the Indian possession of Ghori's empire as parts of his empire and Aibak as his subordinate. Aibak along with his son-in-law Qabacha attacked Yalduj, defeated him and occupied Gazni. It is said that Aibak indulged in so much luxury at Gazni that the people revolted and insisted that Yalduj to be their ruler again. In actual fact, the cause of revolt was that the people of Gazni were not ready to accept Aibak, who was a subordinate of Gazni, as their ruler. Aibak could rule over only for 40 days. Judging from the consequences of his attack on Gazni or its immediate result Aibak was unsuccessful in Gazni but it proved advantageous for the Delhi Sultanate for two reasons—first, Yalduj came to know the power of Aibak and so he never in future attacked him. Aibak was free of fear from the side of Yalduj; secondly, Delhi Sultanate's relations were severed from Gazni from this time onwards. This proved advantageous for India and the Delhi Sultanate because it was saved from being involved in the politics of Central Asia and the Delhi Sultanate got an opportunity of developing independently without having to depend on any foreign country.

- Seeking acknowledgement from Ghiyas-ud-din:** Minhaj-us-Siraj mentioned that Aibak had started minting coins in his own name and inscribing his own name in the Khutba. But this statement of his is not corroborated by the archaeological facts because in AD 1208, one does not come across coins bearing Aibak's name.

Habibulla's opinion seems to be correct that Minhaj-us-Siraj only followed prevalent traditions when he wrote his description. In reality, Aibak issued his coins only after formally getting the Charter from Ghiyas-ud-din about his independence. This Charter improved his position and helped to consolidate the Sultanate.

- More conquests in India and contribution towards the extension of the Sultanate:** Aibak had to face many Rajput and Hindu revolts as well. Immediately after Ghori's death, Chandela king Trailokya Sharma had re-established his control over Kalinjar. The Pariharas had liberated Gwalior from the Turkish hold. The successor of Jaichand, Harish Chandra had driven out the Turks from Badayun and Farukhabad. Though Aibak reconquered Badayun and Farukhabad, he could not reconquer Kalinjar and Gwalior because he died in 1201 due to a fall from his horse while playing polo, leaving his work unfinished.

Assessment of Aibak's Work

Aibak as a commander

Aibak was an expert horse rider, expert archer, able and courageous commander. As a commander, he served his master faithfully. He conquered many areas in the absence of Ghori. After Ghori's death, he impressed his military superiority by temporary conquest over Yalduj of Gazni, by diplomacy over Nasir ad-Din Qabacha, the ruler of Multan and

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by giving military aid to Ali Mardan over the Khilji Chiefs of Bengal. He reconquered Badayun and Farukhabad. But he could not keep Gazni under permanent control and could not reconquer Kalinjar and Gwalior.

Aibak as a ruler

He got only a limited period of four years to rule. He was a just ruler. Hasan-un-Nizami, the author of the work *Tajul Masir*, wrote that Aibak dispensed justice impartially and helped to bring about peace and prosperity in his empire. Immediately after the warlike situation was over, he turned his attention towards bringing about the prosperity and welfare of his people.

Aibak as a person

He was brave, faithful and generous. Because of his generosity he was known as 'Lakh Baksh.' According to the famous historian Habibullah, he combined in himself the courage of the Turkish and refinement of the Persians.

Aibak as empire builder or founder of Delhi Sultanate

Famous historian Haig and many other scholars consider Aibak as the real founder of the Muslim rule in India. According to Prof. A.B.M. Habibulla, though Muizzuddin had given the inspiration yet it was Aibak who organized every aspect of Delhi Sultanate according to a well laid out plan. While implementing the plans of Muizzuddin, Aibak must have brought the changes according to the requirement of the situation and, therefore, if the credit for his successes is given to him it would not be improper. But due to the lack of time and adverse circumstances Aibak could not make the Sultanate permanent and stable yet it would have to be conceded that he opened the way to success for Iltutmish and rendered the task of consolidation easier for him.

4.2.2 Iltutmish

After the sudden death of Qutb-ud-Din Aibak (AD 1210), disorder became rampant in the Delhi Sultanate. A few Amirs raised Aram Shah to the throne in Lahore. But the people of Delhi and the Turkish Amirs opposed him for many reasons. Probably they wanted the highest possible offices for themselves. Probably because of Aram Shah being a luxury loving and incapable ruler he was also opposed. There was controversy about whether Aram Shah was Aibak's son or not. Many Amirs declared themselves as independent rulers e.g. the Qubacha of Multan and Uchh and Ali Mardan of Bengal. The Turkish chiefs invited the Governor of Badayun, and Iltutmish to come to Delhi which he accepted readily. Aram Shah proceeded against him as the head of a big army from Lahore to Delhi but Iltutmish defeated him and Iltutmish became Sultan with the name of Shamsuddin.

Problems Facing Iltutmish

Iltutmish ruled for about 26 years (AD 1210–1236). From AD 1210–1220, he solved the internal problems and the years AD 1221–1227 were devoted to the solution of external problems. Among the internal problems of Iltutmish were the Qabacha of Multan and Uchh, those Hindu and Turkish chiefs who had ceased to pay tribute, Ali Mardan of Lakhnauti, and the rulers of Kalijar, Gwalior, Jalor and Ranthambhor etc. were there. The external problems included the acquisition of Mansur from the Caliph of Baghdad and the problems arising out of Mongol invasions. In the last eight years of his reign i.e.

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AD 1228–1236, Iltutmish worked for personal and dynastic reorganization. Following measures were adopted by Iltutmish to solve his problems and consolidate the Sultanate.

(i) **War with Tajuddin Yalduj:** After the death of Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, Tajuddin Yalduj of Gazni who had been driven from there by the Shah of Khwarizam, in turn drove out Qabacha from Lahore to the Southern Punjab and proceeded towards Delhi. Iltutmish stopped him at the battle of Tarain in AD 1215–16 and defeated him. Probably, he was taken prisoner and later assassinated in Badayun.

This was a great victory for Iltutmish. Historian A.K. Nizami has written rightly that it was a double victory for Iltutmish. The last enemy to challenge his authority was done away with when the relations with Gazni were severed which made the independent existence of Delhi Sultanate definite.

(ii) **Nasir ad-Din Qabacha:** After Yalduj's death, Qabacha was appointed as Governor of Lahore but he was still heartily unwilling to stay in subordination to Iltutmish. On his showing a tendency to conquer Sirhind, Iltutmish in order to teach him a lesson, attacked him in AD 1217. Lahore came under Iltutmish's occupation. He appointed his son Nasir ad-Din as the Governor over there but Qabacha continued to still rule over Sind.

(iii) **External Problems: Fear of the Mongol invasions:** At this time, the Shah of Khwarizam had been defeated by the Mongols and had run away towards the Caspian Sea. His son Jalaluddin Magharai fearing the wrath of the famous Mongol leader, Chingiz Khan, went away to Punjab after crossing the Indus. He requested Iltutmish to help him against the Mongols. Iltutmish was foresighted enough to reject it. Main objections of his were --- first, not to incur the hostility of the Mongols and second, to safeguard his own position from being threatened by the claims of the Shah of Khwarizam. So, he gave no help to Jalaluddin Magbarni and in AD 1226 Jalaluddin went back from India. The problem was solved itself and Iltutmish heaved a sigh of relief.

(iv) **Sind:** In order to completely crush the power of Qabacha, Iltutmish had to attack him again in AD 1227 because he could present a danger to the Sultanate at any time. He was defeated and the fort of Uchh came under the occupation of Iltutmish. He fled and hid in the fort of Bhakkar (Sind). Ultimately, Qabacha sent his son Masud Behram to sue for peace but he was arrested. Qabacha tried to save himself by swimming across the river Indus but he could not swim across; he was drowned. This ended another major problem of Iltutmish. His hold was established over Multan and Uchh. Thus, the frontier of the Delhi Sultanate once again reached till the river Indus. This conquest strengthened the frontier of the Delhi Sultanate in the west and Iltutmish could devote his attention elsewhere.

(v) **Khilji chiefs of Bengal and Bihar:** Immediately after the death of Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, the Khilji Chief of Bengal and Bihar Ali Mardan had proclaimed his independence and had issued coins in his own name. In AD 1211, however, he was assassinated and Musamuddin Aliwaz Khilji was seated on the throne there. He also declared his independence and assumed the title of Ghiyas-ud-din. He also extracted Kharaj from the areas of Jainagar, Tirhut and Kamrup. Iltutmish could not tolerate the independence of his son Nasarruddin Mahmud. In AD 1226–27, Aliwaz (Khilji) was defeated near Lakhnauti. Bengal and Bihar were brought under the control of Delhi once more. But it was not easy to maintain a hold over them permanently and they challenged Delhi again and again.

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- (vi) **War against Rajputs:** About this very time Iltutmish started making efforts for conquering Gwalior, Bayana, Ajmer and Nagore. In AD 1227 Ranthambhor and Mander came under Iltutmish's control.
- (vii) **Recognition by the Caliph:** On 18 Feb AD 1229, the representative of the Caliph of Baghdad came to Delhi and he accorded investiture to Iltutmish. The Caliph gave him the title of Sultan-i-Azam. Undoubtedly, this was a mere formality. But it increased Iltutmish's prestige and fulfilled his longstanding desire. For the Indian Muslims he again formally became the legal Sultan. Iltutmish has described himself as the representative of the Caliph in his coins.
- (viii) **Conquest of Jalor, Gwalior and Malwa:** In AD 1229, Iltutmish occupied Jalore followed by successful attacks on Bayana, Ajmer and Nagore. In AD 1231, he launched an attack on Mangaldev of Gwalior and after a long siege of eleven months brought it under his control. In AD 1234-1235, he attacked Malwa. Iltutmish acquired a lot of wealth from Bhilsa and Ujjain and forced the Rajputs kings of Katehar, Doab and Oudh to give him tribute. Iltutmish died on 30th April AD 1236.

Achievements or Assessments of Iltutmish

- (i) **Iltutmish as a person:** Iltutmish had a very attractive personality. He was kind hearted, very efficient and capable. The greatest proof of his capability is that on his own merit, he achieved a constant progress and reached the post of the Sultan of Delhi. *Minhajus-Siraj* writes in his praise that a ruler as able, kind-hearted, wise and religious as Iltutmish had not sat on the throne. According to Wolsey Haig, Iltutmish was the greatest ruler of the Slave dynasty.
- (ii) **Iltutmish as a soldier and commander:** Iltutmish was a brave soldier and able commander. He forcibly suppressed the rebel chiefs in the vicinity of Delhi. He defeated Yalduz in AD 1215 in the battle of Tarain. In AD 1217, he drove away Qabacha from the Punjab and in AD 1227, forced him to jump into the river Indus in a bid to run away from Sind. He cleared Bengal of the Khilji Chiefs and conquered Malwa, Gwalior, Ranthambhore, Mandu and Ujjain. A review of Iltutmish's military achievements shows that he achieved commendable success in the given circumstances. He, by his conquests, reunited the disintegrating Delhi Sultanate. Though he did not attain quick victories but wherever he sent his armies he achieved victory.
- (iii) **Iltutmish as an empire builder:** He was a foresighted ruler. He consolidated and organized the newly formed Turkish Sultanate in Delhi. The Sultanate which was disintegrating after Aibak's death was not only reorganized by him but was extended as an administrative organization and was established in a better way than before. Though he came at the helm of affairs of the Sultanate after Aibak chronologically but he is considered the real founder of the Turkish Sultanate because (i) He was the first Sultan to shift the capital from Lahore to Delhi which remained the capital of the empire more or less continuously till Babar's invasion. He also brought to an end those powerful rivals of the Sultanate whom Aibak had been unsuccessful in completely subjugating. These rivals were Yalduz, Qabacha etc. He was the first one again to receive an investiture from the Caliph of Baghdad.

He was the first one again to get the title of Nasir Amirul Mominin or assistant of Khalifa. Thus, he was the first Sultan to gain a formal and a legal

recognition as the Sultan of Delhi. To consolidate the Sultanate and to arrange for his security, he got trusted Turks settled in jungles or strategic areas. He encouraged the Turks to settle in Doab and Khokkar areas. (5) He was responsible for introducing new golden and silver Arabic type coins called the Tanka which increased the confidence of the people in the stability of the new regime. He organized the Forty, and introduced the Iqta system. This institution or the Forty remained very powerful before and after the death of Balban. Iqta system continued throughout the Sultanate period. Describing him as the real founder of the Delhi Sultanate, A.B.M. Habibulla says that he made the outline of the frontiers of the Sultanate and its sovereignty. Iltutmish was undoubtedly its first Sultan. Historians like Wolsely Haig who otherwise try to minimize the achievements of Iltutmish in comparison with Aibak, also maintain that the credit for the achievements of Aibak was also due to Muhammad Ghori but whatever Iltutmish achieved was on his own merit. The opinion of R.P. Tripathi appears to be correct that the beginning of Muslim sovereignty in India can be traced back to Iltutmish. He was the first one to emphasize that the ruler is sovereign in India. He achieved complete success in making the Amirs following him rather than himself following the Amirs.

- (iv) **Iltutmish as a ruler and administrator:** Iltutmish not only secured and extended the newly established Turkish empire but also gave to the people an able administration and thus showed himself to be an able ruler and administrator. Whatever time he got after his military campaigns was utilized by him in reforming the administrative system. In addition to introducing new coins, Iqta system, organization of Forty he also brought about reforms in judicial administration. Ibnbatutah who came to India during the time of Muhammad bin Tughlaq writes about his judicial system that the Sultan had got a bell tied in front of his palace so that the poor should not have any difficulty in reaching their request before him. He is considered one of the best rulers of Early Medieval India.
- (v) **Iltutmish as a patron of art and literature:** Iltutmish was a great lover of art. He completed the Qutub Minar begun by Qutb-ud-Din. This Minar is a 242 feet high grand specimen of the Turkish architectural style. He got a new mosque constructed at Ajmer. He got many roads constructed. In addition to being a patron of art, he was also a patron of scholars. He gave patronage to Minhaf-us-Siraj Ruhani who was the author of *Tabqai-I-Nasiri*, *Malik Tajuddin Rewaz*, etc.

4.2.3 Balban

Balban, like Iltutmish, was an Ilbari Turk. His grandfather was the head of about 10,000 families of Ilbari Turks. It shows that he was born in a high family. In his childhood only he fell into the hands of the Mongols who sold him at the hands of Khwaja Jamaluddin, a merchant of Basra. Jamaluddin gave him good education and in AD 1232, sold him to Iltutmish. He progressed on the basis of his merit and became first the personal servant of the Sultan and, later on, a member of the organization of Turkish nobles named the Forty. Impressed by his ability, Iltutmish married his daughter to Balban. Sultan Razia appointed him on the important post of Amir-i-Shinkar (Lord of the Hunt). Bahram Shah assigned to him the Jagirs of Rewari and Hansi. In the time of Sultan Masud Shah, Balban impressed everybody by his ability in driving out the Mongols. In collision with the other members of the Fort, Balban dismissed Masud and in AD 1246, seated Nasir ad-Din Mahmud on the throne. This Sultan appointed Balban to the post of Chief minister

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(Wakil or Naib-i-Mumlikat) in AD 1249 i.e. three years after his accession. Nasir ad-Din Mahmud gave all the powers to Balban but put two conditions on him:

- (i) He would not do any such act for which he would be unable to reply before god.
- (ii) He would not do such act which should imperil the prestige of the state.

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Balban's Policy of Blood and Iron

The rigid measures adopted by Balban as the Chief Minister and the Sultan to save the Sultanate and suppress his personal enemies and rivals are known in history as his policy of Blood and Iron. He used his sword to deal with his personal enemies, rebels of the Sultanate, thieves, dacoits and foreign invaders. He made their blood flow in every possible way or suppressed them completely. It can be said that with the exception of that one year (AD 1253–1254) when Rehan was made the Prime Minister in his place, from the time of Nasir ad-Din Mahmud (AD 1246–1266) to his own reign period (AD 126–186) i.e. a time span of about 40 years, he almost followed this very policy and protected the Delhi Sultanate by this policy. To understand his policy of Blood and Iron, it is proper to study in detail the rebels and opponents whom he suppressed.

Balban as a chief minister

- (i) **Suppression of the Khokhars:** The Khokhars had caused terror in the hilly cities of Jhalandhar and Jhelum by their acts of loot and plunder. Balban proceeded against them as the head of a big army in AD 1246, defeated them and annexed the entire area in the Delhi Sultanate. Minhaj-us-Siraj writes in this context that he just overturned that hilly area on the basis of the strength of his sword. He massacred the rebels in such big numbers that they cannot be counted.
- (ii) **Rigid policy towards the insurgent Hindus of Doab and Rajasthan:** He followed a rigid policy towards the insurgent Hindu rulers and leaders in the Ganges-Yamuna Doab. After a fierce battle in the Tohsandah fort near Kanauj, they were conquered. The rebels of Kara and Kalijer were also suppressed likewise. The Rajputs of Mewat, Gwalior, Ranthambhore, Chanderi, Malwa etc. were also suppressed rigidly. He created a confidence among the people by suppressing the Mewat is inhabiting the vicinity of Delhi who had created terror, thereby plundering the area. The Sultan was very happy and honoured him with the title of 'Utlugh Khan'.
- (iii) **Suspension and re-employment of Balban and suppression of the rebels by him:** The increasing power of Balban was inimical to those Turkish chiefs who wanted to maintain their influence on the administration by taking advantage of the fact that Nasir ad-Din was young and inexperienced. They organized a plot under the leadership of Imadduddin Rehan (leader of the Hindu converts and the Indian Muslim faction) and made the Sultan agree to dismiss Balban from the post of the Chief Minister. In his place, Imadduddin Rehan was appointed. Balban left this post but quietly organized his supporters. Soon after he succeeded in winning over some of his supporters and the Sultan again gave him the post of Wakil-i-Mumlikat. Rehan was appointed the ruler of Badayun. Balban made efforts to keep these rebels farther and farther away from Delhi. Rehan was transferred from Badayun to Bahareech. Another rebel Turkish chief Kultugh Khan was suppressed even this revolt very severely. Other rivals were also done away with through proper or improper means. In AD 1265 Sultan Mahmud died. Some

historians say that Balban prisoned and also murdered him. In AD 1260, he became Sultan under the name of Bahauddin Balban. With his accession started the period of a powerful central Government.

Balban as a sultan

Though Balban had exercised great power as the Prime Minister of the Delhi Sultanate and had completely dominated the administration, when he became Sultan he was welcomed by all classes of people. Still, he had to face many difficulties. Probably because he solved these problems with a severity, that could enable him to lay claim to being the best among the Ilbari Sultans of Delhi. He had to face the following problems:

- (i) **Problem of looseness of the Sultanate:** After Iltumish's death there was indiscipline and disorder everywhere because of the incapability of the Sultans, ambitions of the selfish nobles and the aspiration of more and more power by the 'Forty'. Thus, Balban had the problem of how to tackle this looseness of the empire.
- (ii) **Increasing the prestige of the office of the Sultan:** Balban had to somehow increase the glory and prestige of the office of the Sultan so that the Amirs considered him above them and behave accordingly.
- (iii) **Problem of empty treasury:** Because of recurrent rebellions in various parts of the empire, a large part of revenue was being spent on the army. Because of the independent attitude of the provincial officials of the far-flung parts of the empire and because of the Guerilla warfare by the Hindus of Mewat, Katechar and Doab, the revenue of the state was being increasingly diminished. So, one of the major problems before Balban was of an empty treasury.
- (iv) **Problem of the 'Forty':** Balban, though himself a member of the 'Forty', had witnessed in the last thirty years that this organization was doing less constructive and more destructive work for the Sultanate. Though as chief minister of Nasir ad-Din Mahmud, he had placed a check on the power of majority of the Amirs, they could still become a danger for him and the Sultanate by reorganizing themselves any time.
- (v) **Problem of Hindu chiefs and landlords:** Though Balban had suppressed many Hindu rebels in the vicinity of Delhi, still they had not forsaken their activities of plundering the royal treasure and many a time forcibly depriving the people of their jewellery etc. Delay in their suppression could present a serious danger to the safety of the Sultanate.
- (vi) **Problem of the Mongols:** Besides above mentioned internal problems, Balban had to face the problem of the Mongols as well. They had crossed the Indus and had appointed their deputies in parts of Sind and the Punjab. Balban had a major problem of dealing with the Mongols.

Balban as Problem Solver

Balban had a belief that the internal and foreign problems can be solved by enhancing the prestige and honour of the royal office and he constantly strived to achieve it through various means as follows:

- (i) He propagated the idea of Divine right in the Sultanate.
- (ii) To further strengthen his claim to the throne he gave out that he was the successor of the legendary Afrasiad.

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- (iii) He projected himself as the foremost among all nobles and permitted only the Amirs of a high lineage to see him.
- (iv) He did not let anybody share his power.
- (v) He gradually ended the power of the 'Forty' and poisoned one of the members of the group named Sher Khan. He rigidly enforced law and order and severely punished the rulers of Badayun and Oudh on the charge that they had ill-treated their slaves.
- (vi) He spread a net of spies and increased his control over them. The spy who failed to perform his duty was done to death.
- (vii) He made his life simple, disciplined. He used to appear in the royal court in the royal attire attended by his bodyguards. He neither joked with anybody in the court nor did he allow anybody else to do it.
- (viii) He decorated his court lavishly like that of the Shah of Iran.
- (ix) He started the practice of Sijda. All such efforts led to increase in the prestige of the Sultan and the looseness in the empire was almost ended.

Suppression of the rebels of Mewat, Oudh and Katehar

- (i) **Mewat:** First of all, Balban suppressed the rebels of Mewat. With a big army, he encircled their hold, a vast forest and making way through the forest, they were either murdered or sold as slaves. About a lakh Mewatis were murdered. Balban constructed a strong fort at Gopalgiri and appointed loyal soldiers there so that in the future, the Mewatis could be dealt with easily.
- (ii) **Oudh:** After dealing with the rebels of Mewat, he turned his attention towards Oudh. He divided it into many areas, assigned each area to a separate official, and ordered them that forests should be cleared and roads should be constructed to end the basis of the rebels. Following the policy of Blood and Iron, thousands were done to death. The posts of the Afghan soldiers were set up in Bhojpur, Patiali and Kampil. They had to help in the revenue collection and maintain peace and order.
- (iii) **Katehar:** There was a revolt in Katehar under the leadership of the Rajputs. Balban proceeded to suppress it. The colonies of the rebels were burnt. Women and children were imprisoned and all the males (above 9 years of age) were done to death. According to Barani, so many rebels were murdered in Katehar that their smell extended as far as the Ganges.

Balban and Turkish Amirs and Officials

- (i) **Sher Khan:** Balban summoned the Governor of the frontier province to the court because he was said to be hatching a conspiracy with the Mongols. When he dilly dawdled for 4 years, he was poisoned to death. He dismissed Tatar Khan of Bengal and in his place appointed Tughril Beg as the ruler of that place. It proved that in a distant province like Bengal also, Balban had a complete control.
- (ii) **Tughril Beg:** for many years, he ruled in Bengal peacefully but hearing of Balban's sudden illness in AD 1279 and also the news of his pre-occupation with the Mongols in the North-West frontier, Tughril Beg suddenly revolted. He declared himself the Sultan of Lakhnauti. Balban at first sent the ruler of Oudh, Amin Khan to suppress his revolt. He was unable to suppress the revolt so he was done to

death. Next, an army was sent under Tirmati who was likewise killed when he proved unable to conquer Tughril Beg. Then Balban himself proceeded to Bengal to deal with the rebel. Tughril Beg was so terrified that at the news of the approach of Sultan, he ran away to the jungles of East Bengal. After establishing his control over Lakhnauti, Sultan hunted Tughril Beg in the forests and got him beheaded. For two miles in the market town of Lakhnauti, Sultan got the hanging ropes swung and all the supporters of Tughril Beg were hanged. Historian Barani writes that this massacre continued for two-three days and even the onlookers were intensely terrified. Balban appointed his son Bugra Khan as the ruler of Bengal. Every Amir of the group of 'The Forth' was insulted before the public, so that his prestige should be finished completely.

Control over the Amirs and Jagirdars

To set the financial situation of the state right, Balban not only arranged to collect the revenues rigidly but also increased his control over the Amirs and Jagirdars. He put an end to the tradition of hereditary control over the Jagirs and the Jagirs in control of the old, the women or minors were taken under government possession. He issued orders that whichever Jagirdar or Iqtadar did not obey the instructions given to him, his Jagir would be confiscated.

Separation of religion and politics

Undoubtedly, Balban was a devotee Muslim and very religious. But he wanted to restrict the Ulemas only to the religious sphere. Therefore, he issued instructions to Ulemas that he would not tolerate their interference in the sphere of politics at all.

Solution of the problem of Mongols

The pressure of the Mongols was increasing during the time of Balban. He took many successful measures to withstand the invasion of Mongols. After poisoning the governor of the North-West Frontier Province to death, he gave the responsibility of the defence of the frontier to his sons- Muhammad and Tatar Khan. The fort of Lahore was strengthened, many forts were constructed at other necessary places and the old forests were repaired. He reorganized the army. A loyal official called Imadulmulk was appointed as the Diwan-I-Arz or chief military official. Probably Balban started the practices of branding the horses and writing the description (*Hulia*) of the soldiers. He got the forts of Bhatinda, Sunam and Sammana repaired and posted a powerful army over there so that the Mongols could be check mated at the other bank of river Vyas only. He sent his ambassador to Halaku and his ambassador at Delhi was accorded a grand welcome. In AD 1285 when the Mongols invaded India, Balban's son Muhammad frustrated their invasion successfully. But he died in the campaign. Probably Balban's own death in AD 1289 was caused largely due to the grief and shock of the death of his son.

Character and Achievements of Balban – An Assessment

Assessment of the achievements and failures of Balban as a ruler
Balban was a rigid and despotic ruler. He increased the glory and prestige of the office of the Sultan. He not only adopted a serious attitude befitting a king but also laid down rules for the Amirs visiting his court. He did not allow anybody to indulge in cutting jokes etc. in the court. He himself appeared in the court in a full royal dress. He organized a

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powerful army. He recruited young, able and experienced soldiers in the place of old, and incapable soldiers who were expelled from the army. He appointed his trusted official Imadulmulk as Diwan-I-Arz and kept him free of the control of the Wazir in religious matters. He took personal interest in the recruitment of soldiers. He thought it fit to give cash salary to military and civil officials both. Though he could not end the Iqta system he gave a special attention to the construction and repair to the forts. He was careful in the matter of weapons. As an able ruler, he suppressed all the rebels be they Hindu or Turk or non-Turkish Muslim. He distributed an equal justice to everybody. According to Barani 'Balban considered justice to be the highest responsibility of administration'. This was a characteristic of his despotic rule, which must have earned for him the sympathy, and praise of the common people.

He gave an appropriate punishment to the jagirdar of Badayun, Malik Baq for stripping his servant to death. Likewise, the governor of Oudh, Haibat Khan was so ordered to be killed on the charge of his having murdered one of his slaves. Though the Governor saved his life by paying 20,000 gold Mohar to the wife of the dead slave. These events prove the statement of Barani that Balban showed no favour to his relatives, colleagues or servants as far as justice was concerned. Like an able ruler, he organized an efficient spy system. If imbued by greed or fear, any spy who tried to hide anything he was killed. When the spy posted in Badayun did not convey to the Sultan the news of the Governor Malik Baq having killed one of his servants by stripping him, the spy was hanged at the entrance gate of Badaun city. Balban himself went to inspect the work of the officials of many places visiting them on the pretext of hunting.

Undoubtedly, he himself fully followed the policy of Blood and Iron as a ruler. He gave to the people justice, peace and order. But even he could not defend the Northern frontier of India completely from the onslaughts of the Mongols. Besides adopting a narrow outlook, if we accept the statement of Barani made in *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shah* about Balban that whenever he saw any men belonging to a mean birth his eyes burnt with anger, his hands reached his swords to kill him. We would have to agree that Balban's not appointing the non-Turks on high offices was followed by a policy of making the basis of administration narrow which led to a discontent among the people which became manifested in the revolts occurring after Balban's death. The increase in the prestige of royal authority brought about by Balban was based not on public welfare but on army, espionage system and terror.

Balban was not handsome. He was quite ugly. Undoubtedly, he was despotic and severe as a ruler but personally, he was liberal and kind. He loved his family very much. Like a foresighted father, he did not want to see a civil war amongst his children. Therefore, he declared his son Muhammad as his successor but when he died in AD 1285 fighting the Mongols, Balban also died the next year, grief-stricken. He wanted to make his second son Bugra Khan as his successor but when the latter returned to Bengal without taking any permission, Balban decided to make Kaikhsro, the son of Muhammad and his own grandson as his successor, who was engaged at that time in the task of defence of the frontier region.

He not only loved the people of his family but also loved the poor and needy. He gave an example of his kindness by giving all sorts of help to the refugees coming from Central Asia. He was a devout follower of religion. He followed the religious instructions as far as possible.

He offered Namaz regularly and observed Rozas in the days of Ramzan. He gave up wine and luxuries after becoming the Sultan. He never disrespected the Ulemas

though he did not permit them to interfere in politics. He respected poet Amir Khusru who lived in his court. He also patronized the famous poet Amir Hassan. But his patronage was limited to the higher classes only. That is why he did not give any high posts to the majority of Indian Muslims and did not even consent to meet or exchange gifts with the lower classes.

Balban as a commander and conqueror

Balban was a great commander and a brave soldier. He earned fame in the army of Sultan Masud Shah. As a brave Commander, he defeated the famous Mongol leader, Mangu. While working as a Chief Minister under the Sultan nasiruddin Mahmud also, he suppressed many revolts. He suppressed the Hindu rebels of Doab Meus of Mewat and the Rajputs of Kanauj, Ranthambhore and Gwalior. The revolt of many Muslim officials was also suppressed e.g. Izuddin in Nagore (AD 125) Subedar of Oudh Kuttulugh Khan (AD 1255) and, later on the revolt of the Governor of Sind, kishlu Khan. In AD 1257, he foiled the invasion of the Mongols under Nuin Sari. After becoming the Sultan, he reorganized the army. He increased the pay of the army, gave them good ration, uniform and weapons. In order to bring the corruption in the army to an end, he started the practice of branding the horses and writing the descriptive rolls of the soldiers. He repaired the old forts and constructed new ones. He suppressed the dacoits, rebels and plunderers of Mewat.

The rebels of the Doab were suppressed mercilessly when they revolted the second time. He cleared the Mongols. He got the forts of the rebels broken, constructed police posts at many places and posted Afghan soldiers there. He suppressed the rebellion in Kampil, Patiali and Bhojpur, got the rebels of Katehar killed in large numbers so much so that according to Barani the smell reached as far as the Ganges. When he proceeded himself to suppress the Subedar of Bengal, Tughril Beg, he ran away before the approach of the Sultan. The Sultan reached him and killed him, though it took him about six years to suppress the revolt of Tughril Beg and had to recruit two lakh more untrained soldiers. Not only that, even as a commander he could not protect the western frontiers of the empire from the Mongols completely and also he was quite unsuccessful in conquering Ranthambore and Gwalior. It is said that the Bhatti Rajputs inhabiting Mewat succeeded in freeing Bayana from the Turkish hold. Actually, generally he believed more in consolidating the frontiers of the Sultanate rather than excluding their empire and it can be said undoubtedly that he was successful in most of his military expeditions.

Place of Balban in history

Balban was the best among the Ilbari Turks and the Slave Sultans though historians like Wolsey Haig have described Iltutmish as the real founder of the Muslim rule in India and the greatest sultan of the Slave dynasty. But their opinion seems to be partly correct and partly wrong. Undoubtedly, Iltutmish was the real founder of the Muslim rule in India.

He suppressed the rebels of the Sultanate and extended the Delhi Sultanate by conquering new areas. But he was not the greatest of the rulers of the Sultanate. Famous historian P.S. Sharma has rightly said that it could be agreed that Iltutmish was the real founder of the Delhi Sultanate but it would be an exaggeration to consider him the greatest sultan of the Delhi Sultanate. This epithet should be reserved for Balban only. If one tries to sum up all Balban's achievements in one word, it can be said to be 'consolidation'. He did whatever he considered proper for its consolidation during his twenty years as the Sultan. Not only did he defend the frontier of the Sultanate and

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preserved its dignity but even after his lifetime he tried to maintain its glory and consideration. Dr. Ishwari Prasad has written correctly about Balban that as a great soldier, ruler and politician, Balban prevented the rising Muslims state from destruction. In fact, if a Sultan of determination, experience and talent was not there on the throne of Delhi, it was difficult that the existence of Delhi Sultanate would have been preserved. He considered it his primary duty to indulge in the public welfare activity. The basic principles of his *king ship* were peace and order. After his death, though his dynasty came to an early end but the Delhi Sultanate continued for years. On adopting and extending the policies of Balban, Allauddin became a successful and great ruler. In fact, the achievements of Khilji dynasty were possible only because of the system established by Balban. Balban was not only the ablest Sultan of his dynasty but also the forerunner of a great Sultan like Alauddin Khilji.

Balban's Theory of Kingship

Balban was probably the only Sultan of the Delhi Sultanate who expressed his ideas about kingship in detail. Whenever he got the opportunity, he said something or the other about the high office and responsibility of the ruler. This act by Balban is attributed to many causes:

- (i) Balban believed that the only way to face the internal or the external dangers was to increase the prestige and power of the Sultan.
- (ii) He repeated his ideas of kingship repeatedly and instructed his sons in order to establish the crown on a high level.
- (iii) He had seen how the members of the Forty and the Turkish Amirs were busy in mutual quarrels, opposition and intrigues during the period of Iltutmish's successors. In fact, he thought it essential to put an end to all the possibilities of opposition from and the conflict with the nobility.

Balban's chief principles of kingship

- (i) **Royal descent:** Because Balban knew very well that people believed at that time that it was only the prerogative of royal and ancient royal families to rule and exercise power, he declared that he was the descendant of the popular Turkish warrior Afrasiyab. The opinion of scholars like Habibulla was that since Balban was never free from slavery so he took this step to wash off this blemish. According to him, knowing that he lacked a hereditary claim on the throne, he proclaimed himself the descendant of the legendary Turkish warrior Afrasiyab in order to increase his prestige.
- (ii) **Divine theory of kingship:** To increase the prestige of kingship, Balban said that king was the representative of god on this earth (Hiyabat-I-Khudai). He repeatedly proclaimed it before his Maliks and the Amirs, majority of whom had been his colleagues, that kingship was a divine institution. Prof. Habib and Nizami say that he did this in order to wash on the blemish of being the murderer of the king from his head. According to Balban, king was the replica of God or Zill-I-Allah and his heart is a repository of a divine inspiration. He did this to make the Amirs believe that he had the crown or the kingship not through their mercy but through the mercy of God. He could guise his rigidity and despotism only by means of this religious proclamation of his.
- (iii) **Difference between descendants of noble lineage and commoners:** Balban always stressed the difference between the descendants of royal lineage and the

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commoners. Probably, that is why he accepted only the members of the high families on the offices of prestige in his reign. Historian Ziauddin Barani has said in his work *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* about Balban having said that whenever he saw a man of low birth, his eyes started burning with anger and his hands reached his sword to murder him. We should not repose much confidence on this opinion of Barani because we do not have any solid proof about it. Moreover, Barani himself was the supporter of the noble Turks and whatever else be the case, this saying definitely showed that Balban did not possess good attitude towards the non-Turks. It is said that because of this outlook, he dismissed all the officials not born in the noble families from the important posts.

- (iv) **A grand court essential for the prestige of kingship:** Balban also believed that it was necessary for the effect and prestige of the kingship that the royal court should be grand. He decorated his court on the Persian pattern. He enforced Persian etiquette and formality in his court. His personal attendants also never saw him without royal attire, socks or crown. Whenever he went out, his bodyguards went with him taking naked swords in their hands.
- (v) **Appearance of dignity and prestige was also essential for kingship:** Balban thought that the appearance of dignity and prestige was essential for increasing the prestige of the Sultanate. He prohibited dance, music, wine drinking, etc., in the practice of the Sultanate. Even for the Amirs and the high officials, he made the practice of Sizda and Pabos compulsory (kneeling before the Sultan and kissing his feet). Though these practices and appearances were non-Islamic, yet Balban enforced them so that he could lessen the influence of the Turkish Sirdars. Mr. Satish Chandra is of the opinion that the people or the Amirs did not dare oppose it because when Balban was imposing these non-Islamic customs, at that time because of the invasion of Mongols, most of the Islamic states of central and Western Asia had come to an end and Balban and Delhi Sultanate had come to be looked upon as the leader of Islam.
- (vi) **Following Persian tradition:** It is said that Balban believed that the glory of kingship was not possible without the Persian traditions and he followed those traditions carefully in his personal and public life. Whereas, he had named his sons born before his accession as Muhammad after becoming the Sultan he named his grandsons after the Persian kings as Qaiqubad and Kai Khusrau.
- (vii) **Recognition of tripartite relationship:** Balban wanted to make as the basis of kingship the tripartite relation between God, ruler and the people. According to the description of Barani, it can be said that he had advised his sons Muhammad and Bugra Khan to do this and said that the Sultan should exercise his authority fearing God keeping the welfare of the public in mind. The Sultan should exercise his power at appropriate occasions. On one occasion when his son Muhammad had come after suppressing the revolt of Bengal, Balban told him that when he ascended the throne he should consider himself as a representative of God and keep his desires under control. The money of the treasury should be spent for public welfare only. Balban had followed these principles himself. He gave up drinking after the becoming the Sultan. He gave patronage and help to the scholars and the poor as far as possible.
- (viii) **Justice is the highest responsibility of the ruler:** According to Balban, impartial justice and severe punishment was the highest responsibility of the ruler. He gave practical shape to this principle and earned the Iqtadars of Badayun and

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Oudh. But he never cared about justice, honesty and Shariat in the case of a quarrel between the state and an individual.

- (ix) **Contact with the Caliph:** Another important principle of Balban's theory of kingship was that he stressed the formal recognition from the Caliph in his exercise of power. Even after knowing about the demise of the Caliph of Baghdad, he inscribed the name of dead Khalifa in his coins and read the Khutba in his name only. In brief, the theory of kingship of Balban was based upon power and justice. Balban not only restored the lost prestige of the Delhi Sultanate but also gave justice, strength and order to the people. His theory of kingship even though could not keep his dynasty safe but it consolidated the Delhi Sultanate which helped Allaudin Khilji to achieve many successes.

4.3 KHILJIS: ALAUDIN KHILJI

Allaudin Khilji's original name was Ali Gurshasp. After plotting to murder his uncle, he assumed the title of Abul Muzaffar Sultan Allaudin-duniya-va-din Muhammad Shah Khilji. Among the rulers of the Sultanate in early medieval India, Allaudin occupies an honourable place both as a conqueror and as an administrator. Allaudin's administrative policy and system is discussed in detail in Unit 4 of the book.

Allaudin was the son of Shihabuddin Masud, the brother of Jalaluddin Khilji. Nothing is known about his education, but he was an expert in fighting. Allaudin was married to one of the daughters of Jalaluddin, thus, Jalaluddin was also his father-in-law along with being his uncle. Allaudin had to face many challenges when he became the Sultan. He was unpopular among his subjects as he had treacherously killed his uncle to become the Sultan. However, Allaudin proved equal to the task and overcame all difficulties. He destroyed all claimants to the throne, suppressed all conspiring or revolting nobles, brought distant provinces under his hold, established a strong administration, restored order and peace within the boundaries of the empire, saved his empire from foreign invasions, extended its territories, looted and brought under his influence entire South India and thus brought Khilji dynasty's imperialism and despotism to its zenith.

Allaudin occupies an important place among the rulers of medieval India. He became Sultan at the age of thirty and within a period of fifteen years, became the most powerful ruler of India. The success which he achieved during his life-time was unique both in regard to the expansion of the empire and its administration. Dr K. S. Lal writes, 'From a non-entity, he rose to be one of the greatest rulers of medieval India.'

As a person, Allaudin was cruel and selfish. He was devoid of the instinct of love and observed no morality. His only aim in life was to achieve success and he was always prepared to adopt any means to achieve it. 'The end justifies the means' remained his principle. He murdered his benefactor and uncle Jalaluddin, imprisoned and blinded all his sons, and captured the throne. He kept all the *Jalali* nobles in good humour till they were useful to him, but as soon as their utility was over, he cruelly finished them all. He started the practice of killing the wives and children of those nobles who revolted against him. He constructed towers of skulls of the Mongols and either killed their wives and children or sold them as slaves. Jalaluddin killed thousands of 'new Muslims' merely on suspicion and gave their wives and daughters to the murderers of their husbands and fathers. Thus, his punishments against those who opposed him were barbaric. Ala-ud-din neither loved his wives, nor his children whose education and care he always neglected. He possessed no virtue like generosity, kindness and tolerance. Whomsoever he disliked,

Check Your Progress

1. Whom did Ali Mardan Khilji murder to set himself up as the ruler of Bengal?
2. In which battle did Iltutmish defeat Yalduz?
3. Whom did Balban drive out during the reign of Sultan Masud Shah?

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he finished. He was jealous and never permitted anyone to enhance his power and respect. He never allowed anybody to influence him and nobody dared to give him frank advice, except perhaps his friend, Kotwal Ala-ud-Mulk. Allaudin believed that power and authority could be maintained only by maintaining strict discipline, creating awe and fear among all by pursuing a policy of bloodshed and severe punishments. That is why V. A. Smith has placed him among the crude and oppressive rulers. He wrote, 'In reality, he was a real savage tyrant with very little regard for justice and his reign, though marked by the conquest of Gujarat, and many successful raids, like the storming of the two great fortresses, was exceedingly disgraceful in many respects.'

However, Allaudin was a brave soldier, a most capable military commander, a shrewd diplomat, a great conqueror, a successful administrator and a powerful and ambitious Sultan. His primary objective was to gain success and he achieved it in practically all fields throughout his life. Elphinstone writes, 'His reign was glorious and in spite of many absurd and oppressive measures, he was, on the whole, a successful monarch and showed a just exercise of his powers.' Allaudin proved himself a brave soldier and a capable commander even during the reign of his uncle, Jalaluddin, by his successful campaigns of Bhilsa and Devagiri. His campaign of Devagiri in particular has been regarded as a unique achievement in the history of military campaigns. It would be wrong to say that the success of military campaigns during his reign was due to his capable commanders like Zafar Khan, Nusrat Khan, Alp Khan, Ulugh Khan and Malik Kafur. Of course, each of them was a capable commander, but Allaudin was superior to them all. All of them accepted him as their leader and obeyed his command and where they failed, he succeeded. All important campaigns in Rajasthan were led by Allaudin. When Nusrat Khan and Ulugh Khan failed to conquer Ranthambhor, Allaudin himself went there and captured it. Similarly, Chittor was also conquered by Allaudin himself. In 1299, when the Mongols reached Delhi with a firm determination to fight the Sultan, Allaudin decided to meet their challenge even against the advice of his friend. Ala-ul-Mulk and, if the success in the battle of Kili was because of the chivalry of Zafar Khan, it was also due to the determination and capable commandship of the Sultan. Thus, Allaudin can be considered to be one of the most capable and successful commanders of his age.

Allaudin was an imperialist. Dr A. L. Srivastava has regarded him as the first Turkish empire-builder in India. Allaudin's conquest of the rest of India was a marvellous achievement particularly in view of the fact that the Mongols were constantly attacking India at that time with a view to capture its territory. The Mongols attacked India in 1298, 1299, 1305 and 1306, and all times were defeated by Allaudin's army. Allaudin extended the frontiers of his empire as much as could be possible and where he did not annex the territory, he forced the rulers to accept his suzerainty. Dr A. L. Srivastava writes, 'Ala-ud-din successfully accomplished this two-fold task. This alone entitles this Khilji ruler to be placed higher than that occupied by any of his predecessors in the thirteenth century. He may, therefore, rightly be called the first Turkish emperor of India.' Allaudin conquered large parts of North India and except one, forced all the rulers of South India to accept his suzerainty. No Turkish Sultan of Delhi could achieve it and the Tughlaqs who followed them could achieve it only after a hard and continuous struggle. Thus, the conquest of India by Allaudin was his unique achievement.

Allaudin was an all-powerful monarch. Despotism reached its highest mark during his reign. He concentrated all powers of the State in his hands. His ministers, nobles, military commanders and administrative officers were all his subordinates. They simply

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obeyed his orders and carried out his wishes. Alauddin succeeded not only in suppressing all the revolts which were attempted during his reign and destroyed the power and influence of the nobility, but even sapped the resources of their power and influence. Neither the provincial governors nor his subjects dared to revolt against him. Some revolts were attempted only during the beginning of his reign. Afterwards, we find no trace of them. The commands of Alauddin were obeyed without murmur within the entire boundary of his empire. Besides, he succeeded in providing complete security and peace to his subjects. Firishta writes, 'Justice was executed with such rigour that robbery and theft, formerly so common, were not heard of in the land. The traveller slept secure on the highway and the merchants carried their commodities safely from the sea of Bengal to the mountains of Kabul and from Telingana to Kashmir.' Alauddin also did not allow the Muslim *Ulema* to interfere in the affairs of the State. He was the first Sultan of Delhi who did not allow religion to interfere in administrative and political affairs. Of course, his policy towards the Hindus was oppressive, but its primary cause was not religion but politics. He felt that the Hindus could not stop revolting against him unless their social and economic power was destroyed.

Alauddin was a great administrator. He made certain innovations in administration. He was not advised by anybody in these administrative reforms, whether civil or military. Of course, he used to consult his nobles from time to time, but nobody was responsible for his administrative innovations. His friend, Ala-ul-Mulk, was the only individual who could advise him frankly, but he had died by the time Alauddin took up his new administrative measures. He organized a large and powerful army. He was the first Sultan of Delhi who kept a large standing army permanently at the centre, started the practice of branding the horses and of keeping *huliyas* of the soldiers. He was again the first Sultan who introduced a system of measurement of land as a preliminary step for fixing the State demand of the produce, got the revenue collected by government servants and abolished the privileges of hereditary revenue officers like the *Chaudhries* and the *Muqaddams*. As regards his market-system, it was a novelty which had no parallel before or after him throughout the medieval period of Indian history. Besides, Alauddin centralized the entire administration and yet brought about efficiency and perfection in it. Reviewing the success of his administration, Dr K.S. Lal has concluded, 'Alauddin stands head and shoulder above his predecessors or successors in the Sultanate.'

Alauddin was an ambitious ruler. However, he was a practical statesman as well. He realized the limitations of his ambitions. At one time, he dreamt to conquer the entire world and also to start a new religion. But he gave up these ideas because he could not realize their absurdity. Again, he did not annex the territories of the vanquished rulers of the South because he realized that it was difficult to keep under control the states of the South from such a distant place as Delhi. On the contrary, he honoured Ramchandra Deva of Devagiri and Veera Ballala of the Hoysala Kingdom so much so that they helped him in his conquest of the South. Alauddin was also good judge of circumstances and could calculate his course of action well. He could be diplomatic, shrewd or conspiring at one time, and chivalrous at other times. His aim was always to achieve his objective. Therefore, he changed his course of action according to circumstances and that was one primary cause of his success practically in all fields.

As an individual, Alauddin was a follower of Islam—he had faith in religion and respected religious people. Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and Mohammad Shamsuddin Turk were always respected by him. Although himself an illiterate, yet, he was a patron of learning and fine arts. Most of the known scholars of his age had assembled at his court. Amir Khusrav and Amir Hasan of Delhi were patronised by him. During his reign, Delhi

became the rival of Cairo and the equal of Constantinople. He also constructed many good buildings including the Fort of Siri, Palace of one thousand pillars called *hazar situn* and many mosques, tanks and sarais (rest houses for travellers). His Alai Darwaza, which is an extension of the Qutbi mosque in Delhi, has been regarded as one of the best specimens of early Turkish architecture.

Alauddin suffered from certain weaknesses too. His biggest weakness was that his administration, rather the whole structure of the State, depended on power, and more than that, on fear of a single individual, i.e., the Sultan himself. Therefore, it lacked a stable foundation and was destroyed as soon as the Sultan died. After the death of Alauddin; his standing army, his revenue system and his market-system remained no more. Not only this, his dynasty lost the throne very soon after him. Yet, it is accepted that if Alauddin was responsible for the failure of his system and the rule of his dynasty, then his successors were equally responsible for all of this. The successors of Alauddin proved themselves to be incompetent and during the medieval age, no person could safely remain on the throne without showing competence of his own. Therefore, the dynasty of Alauddin also lost its right to rule. However, it was creditable for Alauddin that his many principles of administration remained intact even after his death. Many rulers of medieval age after him pursued many of his administrative principles, both civil and military.

Therefore, with all these weaknesses, Alauddin Khilji occupies an important place among the rulers of medieval India. Most of the modern historians have given him a high place among rulers of Indian medieval history. Dr A. L. Srivastava concludes, 'A balanced view of Alauddin's work and achievement must give him a high place among the rulers of Delhi during the medieval age.' Dr S. Roy who stated that it was difficult to correctly assess the personality and character of Alauddin, however writes, 'Ala-ud-din was the first Muslim administrator of India. The history of the Muslim empire and Muslim administration in India really begins with him. Ala-ud-din, Sher Shah, and Akbar - each mark a distinctive step in the evolution of Indo-Muslim history.' E. B. Havell also has all praise for him. He has opined, 'Ala-ud-din was far advanced of his age.' In his reign of twenty years there are many parallels with the events of our own time.'

A Look at Alauddin's Successes and Policies

After he took over the throne after murdering his uncle, Alauddin's primary task was to consolidate his position on the throne. He lavishly distributed wealth among his subjects so that they soon forget his cruel deed of murdering his uncle, father-in-law and benefactor Jalaluddin Khalji. He also assigned important posts to his loyalists.

Early on in his reign, the Mongols invaded his kingdom in 1298 and 1299; but both the invasions were repulsed. Next Alauddin punished all those Jalali nobles who had joined him because of the temptation of wealth. Many of them were blinded or imprisoned and their wealth was confiscated. But nobles like Malik Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, Malik Nasruddin and Malik Amir Jalal Khilji were not punished because they had refused to take money while joining the side of Alauddin. Thus, Alauddin finished all claimants to the throne and those nobles who could prove disloyal to him at a later time.

Alauddin proved an ambitious and capable ruler. He formed ambitious schemes for administration and the extension of the empire. He was so much encouraged by his success and conquests that he assumed the title of Sikandar-e-saani, i.e., the second Alexander. He also had it recited in the khutba and superscribed it on his coins.

Alauddin conquered almost whole of north India and brought almost all rulers of south India under his suzerainty which was not even thought of by the earlier Mamluk

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Sultans. He also carried despotism to the extreme and established absolute monarchical rule in India for which Sultan Iltutmish had aspired, Raziya Sultana had failed in accomplishing and Sultan Balban had only partially succeeded. Alauddin succeeded in every field. The only limitation was that his success was limited only up to his lifetime and he failed in establishing an enduring empire of his dynasty.

Theory of Kingship

Alauddin Khilji was the first Sultan of Delhi who did not pursue Islamic principles in matters of the State. He acted as the ultimate and absolute monarch and with unlimited powers and believed that the Sultan was above all, and that all powers of the state emanate from him. Above all, he had all the capability to act as an absolute monarch. Dr K. S. Lal writes, 'in a word, like Louis XIV of France, Alauddin Khilji regarded himself to be all in all in the state. During his reign, there was centralisation of the administration and despotism touched its highest mark.'

Policy towards Hindus

Historians have different views regarding the policy of Alauddin Khilji towards Hindus. We understand that his treatment of Hindus mostly by his policy of taxation, particularly revenue, as it affected mostly Hindus. Dr U. N. Dey has said that the taxation policy of Alauddin was comparatively not severe, though of course it destroyed the prosperity of the Hindus and peasants. This aspect will be taken up in detail in Unit 4 of the book.

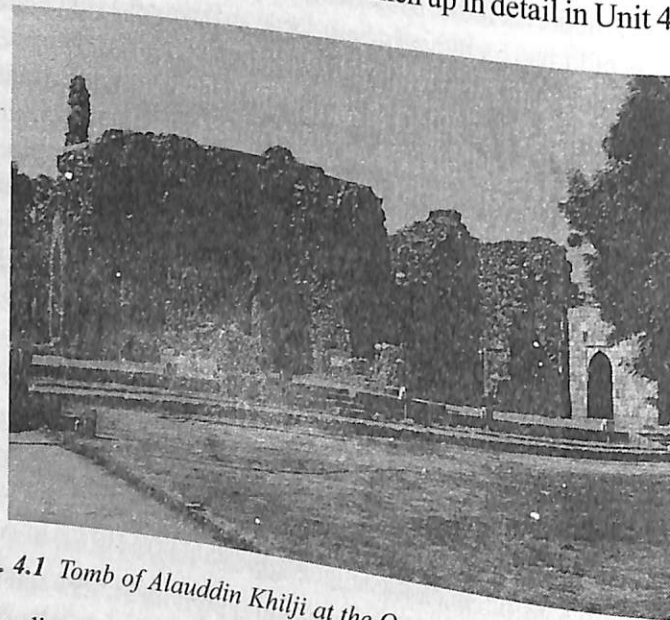


Fig. 4.1 Tomb of Alauddin Khilji at the Qutub Minar Complex in Delhi

Source: Wikipedia

Alauddin's assessment in points:

- He rose from a non-entity to one of the greatest rulers of medieval India.
- As a person, he was cruel and selfish and devoid of the instinct of love and observed absolutely no morality.
- However, he was a brave soldier, most capable military commander, a shrewd diplomat, a great conqueror, a successful administrator and a powerful and ambitious Sultan.
- The history of Muslim empire and Muslim administration really begins with the reign of Alauddin Khilji.

- Historian E. B. Havell has opined that 'Alauddin was far more advanced of his time. In his reign of twenty years, there are many parallels with the events of our own time.'

4.4 TUGHLAQ: MUHAMMAD-BIN-TUGHLAQ, FIROZ SHAH TUGHLAQ

The Khilji Dynasty was replaced by the Tughlaq dynasty in 1321, when Ghazi Malik assumed the throne under the title of Ghiyath al-Din or Ghiyasuddin. The Tughlaqs were a Muslim family of Turkic origin. Their rule relied on their alliances with Turkic, Afghan and other Muslim warriors from outside South Asia. In this section, you will learn about the history of the Tughlaq dynasty, with special reference to Muhammad Bin Tughlaq and Firoz Shah Tughlaq — the two illustrious rulers of the dynasty.

4.4.1 Muhammad Bin Tughlaq

Three days after the death of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, Prince Juna Khan (Ulugh Khan) declared himself the Sultan of Delhi under the title Muhammad Bin Tughlaq (Figure 4.2). After a period of 40 days, one morning he decided to celebrate his coronation in Delhi. According to medieval writer Isami, he assured the people that he would follow the footsteps of his father. He distributed gold and silver coins in the public and many titles among the *Amirs*. Muhammad Tughlaq's reign started and ended with many changes and revolts.



Fig. 4.2 Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughlaq

Many Invasions and Revolts

Important invasions and revolts during the reign of Bin Tughlaq are described as follows:

Revolt of Bahauddin Garshasp (AD 1326–1327)

The first revolt against Muhammad Tughlaq was planned by his cousin Bahauddin Garshasp, who was the Governor of Sagar. The Sultan ordered Khawaja Jahan to move from Gujarat as the head of his army and he himself proceeded towards Devgiri. Garshasp was defeated and sought refuge with the Hindu ruler of Kampilya. Probably, even the ruler of Kampilya was defeated and forced to hand over Bahauddin Garshasp to Khawaja Jahan. Bahauddin's skin was stuffed and he was taken for a round of the entire empire.

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Check Your Progress

4. What was Alauddin Khilji's original name?
5. Who conquered Chittor?

Self-Instructional
Material

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Such a severe punishment was perhaps given by Muhammad Tughlaq keeping in view that it would deter the people from revolting in the future.

Invasion of Tarmashirin (AD 1326–1327)

Just after a few months of the accession of Muhammad Tughlaq, there was the invasion of Mongol leader Tarmashirin. According to medieval writer Farishta, the invasion occurred in AD 1326–1327, whereas another medieval writer Yahya Bin-Ahmad Sirhindi describes it as having taken place in AD 1328. Probably, the Sultan defeated the Mongols and concurred Kalanaur and Peshawar.

Revolt of Kishlu Khan (AD 1328)

While in Devgiri (which Bin Tughlaq renamed Daulatabad and made his capital), the Sultan heard of the revolt by the Governor of Multan, Kishlu Khan. Ibn Battuta and Yahya Bin Ahmad Sirhindi attributed two different reasons to this revolt. Moroccan traveller and writer Ibn Battuta says that when the stuffed corpse of Bahauddin Garshasp reached Multan, Kishlu Khan thought it un-Islamic and got him buried. The Sultan did not like this act and ordered him to present himself in his court. He revolted against this. Sirhindi says that Kishlu Khan did not construct a house in the new capital of Daulatabad for his residence there. The Sultan dispatched Ali Khatati to exhort him not to do so. But Kishlu Khan got him murdered. Then Kishlu Khan received summons from the Sultan to present himself before him (i.e., Sultan), and for the fear of punishment, Kishlu Khan revolted. As soon as the Sultan received the news of the revolt, heading a big army from Delhi, he advanced towards Multan. Kishlu Khan could not withstand the attack by the vast army of the Sultan. He was killed in battle and his supports were accorded severe punishments. The Sultan hung the severed head of Kishlu Khan at the gate of the palace where he himself was staying. According to Ibn Battuta, he saw the head still hanging at the gate when he visited India.

Revolt of Ghiyasuddin Bahadur (AD 1330)

Muhammad Tughlaq, after becoming the Sultan, had appointed Ghiyasuddin Bahadur as the ruler of East Bengal (Sonargavan) on the condition that on his coins, he would inscribe Sultan's name and would keep his son as a hostage with the Sultan. Ghiyasuddin Bahadur had been a prisoner at the time of Muhammad Tughlaq's father, Ghiyasuddin. Bahadur kept his other promises but did not send his son as hostage to Delhi on the pretext that his son refused to accept the command of his father. The Sultan sent his brother Bahram Khan, the ruler of Lakhnauti, against Ghiyasuddin Bahadur and dispatched an army to assist him. Ghiyasuddin Bahadur was defeated. The Sultan also got his skin stripped.

Revolt in Kamalpur (Sind) (AD 1332)

According to Ibn Battuta, other revolt in Muhammad Tughlaq's reign occurred because of the intrigues of the Qazi and Khatib of Kamalpur. The revolt was suppressed and the rebel's skin was extracted.

Revolt of Retain in Sehawan (AD 1333)

It is said that Ratan, in order to get some Muslim chiefs, assassinated raised a false alarm about thieves at night and when the Amirs came out, his soldiers killed these

Muslim chiefs. The Sultan sent the Governor of Sind Imadulmulk to seize him and he was subjected to the same treatment as the rebels before him.

Revolt in Mahabar (AD 1335)

Governor of Mahabar Hakim Sayyid Ahsan Shah had declared himself independent. According to another medieval writer Barani, the army which was dispatched from Delhi itself stayed in Mahabar. The historians refer from the statement that probably Ahsan bribed the army to join him. The Sultan then proceeded himself towards Mahabar. In Warrangal, the Sultan as well as his army fell a victim to cholera. Because of a famine in Delhi and Malwa and news of a revolt in Lahore, the Sultan marched back to Delhi. Mahabar became independent and its ruler Ahsan Shah founded an independent empire.

Revolt of Hashing

The Governor of Daulatabad Hashing revolted on hearing a rumour that Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq had died of cholera; however, when he came to know that Sultan was alive, he became very fearful and sought refuge with a Hindu chief who, however, handed him over to the Sultan. Because Hashings had revolted under a delusion, he was pardoned; however, he was relieved of his post of the governorship of Daulatabad and Qutlugh Khan was appointed as its new governor.

Revolt of Hulajun and Gulchandra in Lahore

When the Sultan was in Mahabar, he got the news of the revolt in Lahore. Hulajun Mengol and Gulchandra tried to assassinate the governor of Lahore and set themselves up as the rulers. But Governor of Sind Khwaja Jahan frustrated these attempts of theirs and accorded them death punishment.

Establishment of the Independent Kingdoms of Vijaynagar and Warrangal in the Deccan

It is said that in the region to the South of the Krishna River, two brothers Harihar and Bukka set up the independent kingdom of Vijaynagar when Muhammad Tughlaq marched against Mahabar. They guessed that it was not possible for the Sultan to keep Deccan under control. Probably, in the beginning, they did not call themselves as 'kings'; however, they gradually increased their power. Similarly, in Warrangal, Kanhayya drove away the governor appointed by the Sultan with the help of his supporters.

Revolt of Fakhruddin Mubarakshah in Bengal (AD 1337)

After the death of Ghiyasuddin Bahadur, the new governor of Sonargavn, Fakhruddin Mubarkshah revolted. The Governor of Lakhnauti, Kadir Khan, tried to suppress it but he was killed. The Sultan was busy in relief measures for the victims of famine in the famine stricken areas. As a result, Bengal became independent. Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq issued instructions to the Governor of Oudh, Ainul Mulk, to proceed to Daulatabad as the governor of the place that had revolted but he refused to abide by the orders. Muhammad Tughlaq suppressed this revolt of Oudh.

Figure 4.3 shows the extent of Delhi Sultanate under Muhammad Bin Tughlaq.

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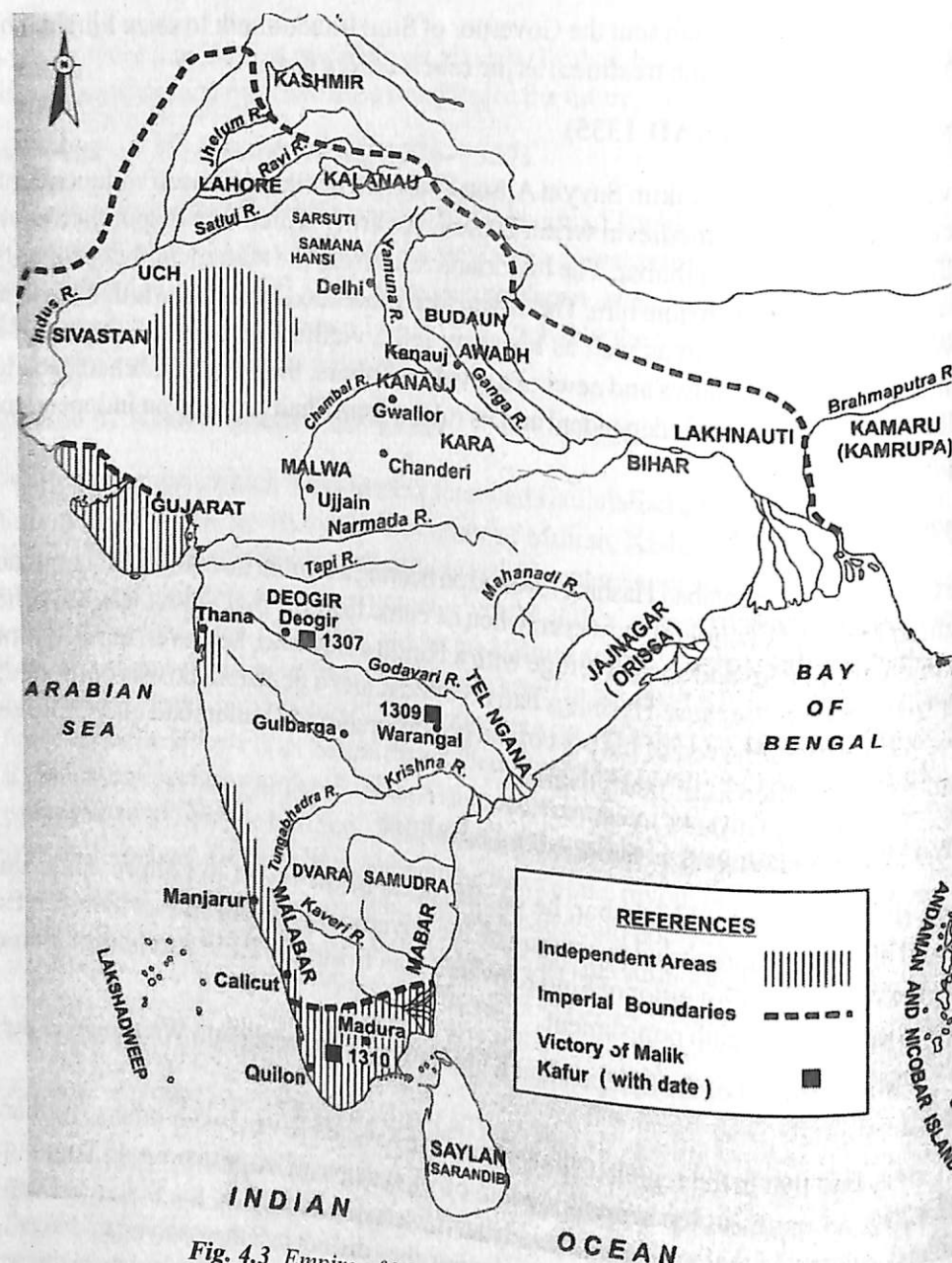


Fig. 4.3 Empire of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq in AD 1335

Revolt in Devgiri

When the Sultan was preoccupied with the rebellions in Northern India, some Muslim Amirs of foreign origin under Ismail Mukh and Hasan Gangu revolted and tried to set up the Bahamini kingdom (AD 1347). The Sultan tried to suppress them but at that very time he received the news of a revolt in Gujarat under Tagi. As soon as the Sultan went away Hasan Gangu became an independent ruler under the title of Allauddin Bahaman Shah (3 August, AD 1342). Thus, the Bahamian Kingdom was founded.

Suppression of Revolt in Gujarat and the Death of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq

From Devgiri, the Sultan proceeded towards Gujarat. Tagi was badly defeated and he ran towards Sind for his life. Chasing him, the Sultan reached Thatta (Sind). There he contracted fever and died of it on the 20 March, AD 1351. According to another mediaeval historian Badayuni, 'Thus, the king was freed of his people, and they of their king.'

Controversial Schemes of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq

Muhammad Tughlaq was by far the most educated, able, intelligent, experienced and capable commander and a great conqueror among the Sultans of the Delhi Sultanate. However, in spite of his ability, he has remained one of the most controversial figures in history. Some consider him to be an idealist and a scholar, whereas others call him a visionary and a fool. The measures which made him a controversial figure are those schemes which he started because of his sharp intellect. They were executed badly and were abandoned with dangerous consequences. Let us discuss his main schemes.

1. Transfer of Devgiri or the transfer of the capital

One of the most misunderstood of the schemes of the Sultan was his transfer of the capital. Muhammad Tughlaq wanted to make Devgiri, which he renamed Daulatabad, his capital in place of Delhi. The objects of this scheme are said to be the following:

- According to Barani, the Sultan made Devgiri his capital because it was situated comparatively in the middle of his empire. It had equal distance from Delhi, Gujarat, Lakhnauti, Sonargaon, Telangana, Mabar, Dwarsamudra and Kampila. Barani wants to say that from Devgiri, the Sultan could keep a more effective control over the whole of Deccan.
 - According to Ibn Battuta, the people of Delhi (Delhi) wrote contemptuous letters to Muhammad Sultan. The Sultan, in order to punish them, ordered them to march to a distance of about 700 miles to Devgiri. But the historians do not agree with this statement of Ibn Battuta because they say that at the time of transfer of the capital, Ibn Battuta had not even reached Delhi. Secondly, even if for the mischief of a few persons, it does not seem logical that he would have punished the entire population of Delhi.
 - According to Isami, the Sultan was ever suspicious of and annoyed with the people of Delhi and it was to completely suppress their power that he had decided to drive them towards the South. The historians are of the opinion that Isami constantly tried to show that in all his schemes, the Sultan was inspired by a feeling of hostility towards his people. A dispassionate look at the history does not prove this assertion because the Sultan did take many steps for the welfare of the people as well.
 - According to Gardner Brown, the Sultan made Devgiri instead of Delhi as his capital because of the constant invasions by the Mongols. But this argument does not carry much weight because, by the time of Muhammad Tughlaq and his accession, the invasions of the Mongols had almost stopped and, moreover, this policy of escapism would have further encouraged the Mongols.
 - In the opinion of some scholars, the Sultan decided to transfer his capital to Deccan after the revolt of Bahauddin Gurshasp so that a strong administration could be established in the Deccan and adverse circumstances could be met with.
 - Another view is that poets like Khusrou had bundled in the heart of the Sultan a love for the beauty of Devgiri. That is why the Sultan made it his capital.
 - According to Mehdi Hassan, the Sultan made Devgiri in Deccan another major administrative centre so that the Muslim population there could be increased.
- So, it can be maintained that Muhammad Tughlaq made Devgiri his capital so that a central effect could be established over a vast empire and the rebellion in the South could be suppressed easily.

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Nature of transfer of capital

As with the causes and objectives of the transfer of capital, historians differ also as to the nature of the transfer of capital. Barani says that the Delhi city and its rest houses, neighbouring areas and villages up to 5 km of Delhi were all desolated and not even a cat or a dog in them could be seen alive. This statement of Barani seems to be exaggerated. The desolation of entire city is really unimaginable. In fact, even after the transfer of the capital, Delhi continued to be a densely populated city. The strongest proof of it is that even when Devgiri was made the capital, coins continued to be minted in Delhi and even in the subsequent period contact was maintained between Delhi and Daulatabad. Thus, both Delhi and Devgiri continued to be major administrative centres.

As against Barani, Yahya Sirhind in fact writes that on his way from Delhi to Daulatabad, the Sultan constructed rest houses at the distance of every two kilometres and the whole desolated area buzzed with activity. The Sultan, Yahya writes, gave agricultural land to the people inhabiting these areas and planted trees on both the sides of the road. According to him, first the royal household and treasury, Amirs, soldiers went to Devgiri followed by the Ulemas and the scholars. But according to Barani, the transfer of the capital was effected in summer with the result that due to the tiredness of a long journey, scarcity of water etc., a large number of people died and were ordered to go back. But now a days, the historians hold that the Sultan ordered them to return to Delhi because the Amirs and Ulemas who had gone to Daulatabad from Delhi had not completely forgotten the charm of Delhi and became increasingly more discontented and kept on urging the Sultan to go back to Delhi. The Sultan understood their sentiments and after a few years, allowed them to go back to Delhi.

Consequences

The immediate effect of the measure went against the Sultan. The people who were forced to go away from Delhi became annoyed with the Sultan. They contributed towards increasing the discontentment against the Sultan. The transfer would have led to a waste of money, time and human lives because being effected in summer people were really put to great hardship. But the long-term effects of the transfer were advantageous. Because of there being two administrative centres in the empire, new roads were constructed. The obstacles to the contacts between North India and South were removed, which led to the migration of many Sufi saints, Ulemas and other scholars to the South. This resulted in the spread of Muslim culture in the Sultan, and after some time the powerful Bahmini Empire rose there. It led to a cultural integration of the country.

2. Use of token currency

After the transfer of the capital, the second scheme of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was the introduction of token currency.

Causes

- (i) According to Barani, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was very spendthrift. When he wanted to conquer many regions, he was forced to issue copper currency. Though this statement of Barani cannot be accepted in its entirety, it would have to be conceded that the Sultan planned to conquer Khurasan for it, he had collected a vast army and had given it advance salary for one year. This statement of Barani is devoid of any truth that the royal treasury had become absolutely empty because when the people cheated the government by manufacturing fake coins, the Sultan

had given them gold and silver coins from the royal treasury only in return for those fake coins.

- (ii) According to Nissen, the Sultan planned to issue a token currency because of a scarcity of silver throughout the world, including India. So, silver could neither be procured from the foreign countries, nor from the mines of Bengal. That is why the Sultan issued copper coins.
- (iii) According to some scholars, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq issued copper coins because the Mongol Emperors of China had issued paper currency in China in the 13th century and the Persian Emperor Gaikehadu had made a similar experiment in AD 1294. Muhammad Tughlaq also wanted to demonstrate his originality by issuing such currency.



Fig. 4.4 Coins of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq

Under this scheme, Muhammad Tughlaq introduced certain reforms in the already prevalent currency and also issued some new coins (metallic and of certain value). Between AD 1329 and 1330, Muhammad Tughlaq issued copper coins. He also issued a gold coin weighing 201.6 grains, which Ibn Battuta called the Dinar. To make daily transaction easier, the Sultan also issued the Dokani or the Sultan's coin (Figure 4.4). The Sultan declared that the value of the Bronze-Copper mixed coin was equivalent to that of the silver coins and expected that people would accept them as such.

Consequences

- (i) According to Barani, this scheme of Muhammad Tughlaq also proved very disadvantageous to the empire. Because of the prevalence of the token currency, the house of the Hindus virtually became a minting agency. The inhabitants minted in a very large number of those copper coins. They paid the revenue with these very coins and also bought things like beautiful clothes, arms and other beautiful things. If the statement of Barani is correct, it would just be proper to look into the cause of it. According to Edward Thomas, 'It was due to the fact that the officials in the royal mint used those very instruments which were used by the ordinary craftsmen and used a metal which could easily be available everywhere.'
- (ii) According to Prof. Habib, 'The experiment of the Sultan in issuing token currency failed because the people did not co-operate with him.' They not only minted fake coins, but also hoarded the silver coins and tried to give token currency for buying any item with the result that the silver coins went out of circulation.
- (iii) According to Prof. Habib, 'The token currency had an adverse effect even on the foreign trade and the foreign merchants stopped bringing their merchandize in India.'

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- (iv) This plan also adversely affected the royal treasury. The Sultan had to exchange these fake coins with real silver and gold coins because of which the royal treasury reached a deplorable state of affairs.

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3. Expedition to Khurasan

According to Barani, 'Sultan Muhammad amassed a huge army of about 3,70,000 horsemen so as to dispatch it for the conquest of Khurashan. In the army, there were also some Rajput soldiers of Doab and some Mongols. The soldiers were given advance cash salary for one year and some of them were accorded Iqtas (land grants) as well. The officials were given huge sums to buy arms etc.' Historians suggest that the Sultan decided on the Khurasan expedition after his friendship with Tarmashirin, the ruler of Transoxiana. It is said that the triple entente lead an expedition against Abu Saiyyad of Khurasan but the expedition could not be dispatched due to a cause. There was a revolt against Tarmashirin and he was deposed. Neither Ibn Battuta nor any other historian mentions about the Khurasan expedition.

Consequences

The army prepared for the Khurashan expedition posed this problem before the Sultan as to what should be done about them. If he disbanded it all at once, it could have led to some problem about law and order. So, the Sultan sent an expedition to Karacheel and a part of the army was sent there. According to modern historians like Gardner Brown, Habib and Nizami, the area of Kulu in Central Himalayan Region in the Kangra district of Kumayun Garwal was called Karacheel. But this expedition of the Sultan was also a failure. An army trained for fighting in the plains could not face the problems of warfare in the hilly areas, including climbing, etc. The rainy season brought with it diseases. Local people attacked the army of Sultan. The rest of the army was disbanded. This led to spread of unemployment amongst the soldiers and the groups discontented with the Sultan. Like the Ulemas, Tughlaq cannot be held fully responsible for the failure of these expeditions but it will have to be considered that he had to face very grave consequences. The government not only suffered nancial loss, but also unpopularity with the people as well.

4. Increase of land revenue in the Doab

The major plans of Sultans mentioned by Barani include the increasing land revenue of the Doab. The Sultan increased the land revenue in the Doab to earn 50 per cent of the produce. Though increasing the revenue cannot be said to be a unique measure, the method used by the Sultan to affect them made the whole scheme ridiculous.

Causes

According to Ishwari Prasad, Muhammad Tughlaq increased the revenue due to two reasons.

- (i) The Sultan needed money to implement his fantastic schemes. The land of the Doab was fertile and the tenants could afford to pay increased revenue.
- (ii) The people of the Doab were rebellious and so the Sultan wanted to punish them.

Nature

Historians are not unanimous about the increase in the land revenue. According to Barani, the revenue was increased about 10 to 20 per cent in the Doab whereas Elliot while

translating the book, *Tarikh-I-Firoz Shahi*, of Barani has shown this increase to be 5 to 10 per cent. Dr. Ishwari Prasad is of the opinion that the taxes were increased more than all these proportions in Doab. The book *Tarikh-I-Mubarakshai* mentions the increases as 20 fold and it included Garhi (house tax) and Charhi (Pasture tax).

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Consequences

On the instructions of the Sultan, the land revenue officials collected the land revenue very rigidly. The poor peasants got frightened and the rich landlords refused to pay the revenue. At many places, the store houses were put on fire. Zia-ud-din rightly mentions that the imposition ruined the peasants. Those who were rich, became rebellious; land was laid waste and the progress of agriculture was arrested. Grain became expensive, rain scarce and so famine became widespread. This continued for years and thousands of people died. The taxes were collected so rigidly that people became poor and beggars. This undoubtedly contributed to the unpopularity of the Sultan and discontentment against him increased.

4.4.2 Firoz Shah Tughlaq

Firoz Shah Tughlaq (Figure 4.5) was a cousin of Muhammad Tughlaq. He was born in AD 1300. His father was Sipahsalar Naib and mother was Bibi Naila (or Nayala). Firoz Shah Tughlaq was a polite natured, liberal and religious-minded person. He behaved very politely with his ministers, *Ulemas*, *Amirs*, etc. and honoured them greatly. He started many programmes and opened many departments for the poor people, old persons, slaves and orphans. Hearing the cries of weeping women and children, he became ready for talks with the rebels of Bengal. In fact, it was difficult for him to behave harshly with anyone. But he could resort to very harsh measure as well for the propagation of the Islam.



Fig. 4.5 Firoz Shah Tughlaq

Having no issue of his own, Muhammad Tughlaq loved Firoz dearly and that is why, after Muhammad's death at Thatta (Sind), the Amirs declared Firoz Tughlaq to be

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the Sultan of Delhi. He ascended the throne two days after Muhammad's death. At the time of his accession, circumstances were not favourable for him. Because of the strange plans of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, many regions had become independent e.g., whole of Deccan, Sind, Gujarat and Bengal and the administration of the rest of the country was in disorder. Because of many terrible famines in many areas, they had been desolated and misery and discontent was rife among the people. The Ulemas and Amirs were also discontented because of the hostile policies of Muhammad Tughlaq. To deal with these problems, it was imperative for Firoz Tughlaq that he should please the Ulemas and Amirs and try to win over those areas which, after being conquered, could easily be maintained as a part of the empire. So, he started his administrative campaigns in the two spheres of the internal reforms and the battlefield.

As a conqueror

Firoz was not a very able ruler or commander. He led two expeditions against Bengal but was unsuccessful both the times. Thus, Bengal became free of the hold of the Sultanate. Firoz led campaigns against the rulers of Jaznagar (Orissa) and Nagarkot (Kangra). He did not try to establish his control over these areas, though he destroyed the temples of these places and amassed enough wealth through loot and plunder. His longest expeditions were led in regard to the suppression of a rebellion in Sind. After two and a half years of labour, Sultan's army proved successful but the governor or Jam of Sind took advantage of the religious weakness of the Sultan and appealed for arbitration to the Su of Uchh-Sayyid Hussain. The clauses of agreement went in favour of the Jam to some extent. The administration of lower Sind was given to the son and brother of the Jam and in return they gave 4 lakh Tankas to him and promised to give more such gift even in future but the control of Tughlaq administration over Sind slowly disappeared.

As a religious man

Firoz was a rigid Sunni Muslim and follower of Shariat, the book of Muslim Law. He tried to win the support of the religious leaders by trying to proclaim himself as a true Muslim ruler and his empire as a truly Islamic empire. He was very kind towards the Muslims and did not want to shed their blood in vain. He offered namaz regularly five times a day and kept Rozas in the month of Ramzan. But his attitude was of a strict hostility towards the Hindus and Shia Muslims. He desecrated the temples and statues. His religious fanaticism proved very harmful for the Tughlaq dynasty and the Delhi Sultanate.

As a ruler

Firoz was a good but not a great ruler. He was good because he abolished all the unnecessary and unjust taxes, gave encouragement to agriculture, increased agricultural facilities, helped the unhappy, exempted the government loans from payment, tried to bring an end to unemployment, gave financial help to Muslim girls, widows and orphans, carried out many revisions in justice and penal code, extended patronage to literature and art. By his currency reform, he made transactions easy and also gave shelter to 1,80,000 slaves. His reign had peace and development. But he was not a great ruler; since, he followed a policy of intolerance to please the Hindus and the Shias. He did not try to bring about a political unity in the country by conquering the states of Deccan. He organized the army on the basis of feudalism, which was not good for the Sultanate. He appointed the army and other officials on the basis of their family background and heredity instead of merit and physical ability, which soon had a bad effect on the administrative

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system. He renewed the Jagir system. This resulted in nancial loss to the state and increased oppression on the peasants. To full his fancy of keeping a large number of slaves, he placed a big burden on the royal treasury. Later on these very slaves started interfering in politics and became a factor in the downfall of the Tughlaq dynasty. His policies led to corruption in the country, insubordination by the Amirs and laxness in the army. He did not solve the problem of succession and that is why when he died in AD 1380, grave political and administrative problems arose.

In essence, then, Firoz Shah Tughlaq was an able ruler but not a great leader. He tried to care for the welfare of the people as far as he could not follow such policy amongst all classes so that they remain satisfied and grateful to the state. He tried to make the Ulemas, Amirs, traders, soldiers, peasants, etc. happy. Because of his constructive activities, there were no famines in the country; however, he cannot be called a great ruler due to his policy of religious fanaticism.

Firoz Tughlaq's Military Campaigns and Foreign Policy

Firoz Tughlaq made a very weak effort to reconquer the areas lost under Muhammad Tughlaq. With this purpose, he carried out military in Bengal and Sind whereas no effort was made to regain Madura, Bahamani or Vijaynagar kingdoms. Inspired by his fanaticism and a wish to ease the Ulemas, he carried out military campaigns against Jajinagar (Orissa) and Nagarkot. Briefly, the foreign policy or the military campaigns of Firoz Tughlaq can be summed up as follows:

1. Two expeditions against Bengal (AD 1355-1359)

The first campaign against Haji Ilias of Bengal was undertaken by Firoz in AD 1353 because he had declared himself independent by taking advantage of the disorder after Muhammad Tughlaq's death. When Firoz reached Bengal, the ruler had taken refuge in the famous and strong fort of Iqdala. The siege was raised after many days and peace was concluded. The Sultan acknowledged Ilias as the ruler of Bengal because the latter accepted all the conditions laid down by the Sultan. The Sultan came back to Delhi in AD 1354. Some scholars say that the Sultan himself raised the siege hearing the cries of children and women who were inside the fort. This campaign did not provide Firoz enough political gains and he became content only with a nominal acceptance of his suzerainty by the ruler of Bengal. In fact, this weak policy of the Sultan increased the audacity of the ruler of Bengal.

In AD 1357, Hazi Ilias was followed by his son Sikandar as the ruler of Bengal. He proved to be a very rigid and cruel ruler, and hearing his criticism from Zafar Khan (who had saved himself from Sikandar by reaching Sind through sea route), Sikandar attacked Bengal again. Like his father, Sikandar too sought refuge in the fort of Iqdala. Firoz could not subjugate the fort this time. According to Af, the Sultan gave up his idea of the conquest of Bengal realizing that the campaign might result in thousands of Muslim women assaulted and insulted by the invaders. Though this campaign of Sultan was not a success from military point of view, it had two significant results. These were Sultan's rule on the city of Jaunpur and his son, Fateh Khan, being declared as his successor and got his name inscribed along with that of the Sultan on the coins.

After the second campaign against Bengal, Firoz Shah, instead of returning to Delhi, proceeded against Jajinagar via Bihar and to please the Ulemas, inflicted a heavy loss on the temple of Jaga math. According to some scholars, the royal army put to death a large number of people who had sought refuge in the island. The number described at

above one lakh might have been exaggerated, but it was true that he carried on a massacre there and also forced petty Hindu Rajas to acknowledge his sovereignty.

2. Invasions of Nagarkot or Kangra (1361)

Muhammad Tughlaq had conquered Kangra in AD 1331, but the new Rai of the Kingdom had stopped paying tribute to Firoz Tughlaq. Perhaps, Firoz invaded Nagarkot primarily to teach a lesson of loyalty to the new Rai. But according to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, he wanted to conquer the Jawalamukhi temple and that was the purpose behind his invasion of Nagarkot. It took him about six months to subjugate the fort after which the Rai was forced to acknowledge the Sultan's suzerainty and promised to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan. Probably, Firoz destroyed the Jawalamukhi temple of the place. According to Farishta, he broke the idols of the temples, mixed their pieces in the beef, put them in the bags and hung it along the necks of the Brahmins. The main idol was sent to Medina as a mark of victory. This campaign led to one good result from the cultural view point. Firoz Tughlaq came back to Delhi with about 300 old Sanskrit documents, which might have been translated into Persian leading to a useful cultural exchange.

3. Invasion of Thatta or Sind (AD 1362)

Sultan Firoz Tughlaq decided to go for a campaign against Thatta in AD 1362 due to many causes. Firstly, Muhammad Tughlaq had breathed his last trying to suppress a revolt at Thatta. After his death, the Sindhi Amirs had plundered the total camp. Firoz had been a witness to all this and he desired to take revenge from the Amirs of Sind. Secondly, the representatives of the Sultan in Sind, Ain-i-Mulk Maharu complained that the Jam of Sind was aiding the Mongols. Firoz Tughlaq decided to launch an attack on Sind. According to Af, this was the most ill-planned campaign in the entire history of Sultanate. The Jam of Sind inflicted heavy losses on the royal army. The Sultan had to retreat to Gujarat because of the effective defensive measures taken by the Sindhis and the spread of an epidemic in the royal army, which forced about 75 per cent cavalry to seek refuge in Gujarat. Unfortunately, his army lost the way and got caught in the Rann of Kucch from where it could emerge after many months. Another army was dispatched from Delhi against Sind and this time the Jam acknowledged the sovereignty of the Sultan and undertook to send an annual tribute. Firoz and his army returned to Delhi after a long absence of about two and a half years. The loyalty of his Wazir Khan-i-Jahan is commendable because he held out false promises to the Amirs that the Sultan was gaining one victory after another in Sind. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, 'The expedition against Sind is a very interesting event of the reign of Firoz Tughlaq - an example of folly and diplomatic ignorance of the Sultan.'

4. Suppression of the rebels of Itawa and Katehar (Rohilkhand) (AD 1370)

The Hindu Zamindars of Itawa rebelled against the fanatic policies of the Sultan but Firoz quelled it successfully and in AD 1380, a campaign was undertaken against Katehar because he had got the Governor of Badayun, Sayyid Muhammad, assassinated. Kharku ran away to Kumayun and could not be apprehended despite a chase. The Sultan appointed an Afghan Governor at Katehar. Briefly, the foreign policy of Firoz Tughlaq was successful in all the areas in Northern India except Bengal, but he made no effort to reconquer those regions in South which had become independent during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq. The Sind campaign was prolonged and militarily harmful.

Firoz Tughlaq's Administrative Reforms

Though Firoz Tughlaq could not prove to be a very capable general, his internal policy was very successful because of his able administration and reform measures. Pace prevailed in his reign and development took place. He brought about following reforms or changes in the administration:

Judicial organization

Firoz Tughlaq was opposed to severe punishments. He ended punishments like cutting off the limbs etc. for such petty crimes as theft and others. Praising his judicial system British historian V.A. Smith writes that this measure of bringing an end to corporal punishments was really worthy of praise. Firoz, in his autobiography *Futuh-i-Firozshahi*, has written that severe punishments prevailed before he became the Sultan. He added that in the time of his predecessors, criminals were put to many sufferings like cutting of limbs, extracting the eyes, putting melted glass in their throat, hammering the bones, burning alive, hammering nails in hands feet and chests, cutting arteries and veins, tearing the body in two equal halves, etc. By putting an end to these barbarities, the Sultan won for himself the sympathy of the people to a great extent. The Sultan tried to make the judicial system that was based on Shariat, accorded importance to the advice of the Ulemas and Qazis, established courts with the accorded advice of the Ulemas and Qazis, established courts at all important places of the empire, appointed Qazis and Muftis etc. to carry on the judicial activities and put an end to the death penalty for the Muslims in general. He issued the instruction that if any traveller died on the way, the feudal chiefs and Muqaddam of the area had to summon the Qazi and Mufti, examine the dead body of the deceased and only after the Qazi certified that there was no wound on the body of the dead should the burial take place.

Reform in revenue and taxation system

According to Barani, Firoz Tughlaq ordered that Khiraj (land tax) and Jaziya (ordinarily a tax imposed exclusively on Hindus) should be levied in accordance with the produce (Bar Hukme-Hasil). He brought an end to all the other taxes except Jaziya, Khiraj, Zakat and Khums only because these four were mentioned in Shariat. It undoubtedly would have relieved the common people. According to Islamic injunction, he distributed four-fifth of Khums to soldiers, keeping one-fifth for the state. This raised the morale of the army. According to Firoz's biography, he gave the responsibility for collecting the tax of an area to the persons making the highest bid. This auction encouraged the Izaredari system and had an adverse effect on the financial condition of the empire. According to Af, the income of the state was reconsidered. The task of determining the income of the state was given to Khawaja Husamuddin Junaid. He toured the entire area for six years and fixed the income of the state at 6,75,00,000 Tankas.

Agricultural system

In the sphere of agricultural system, Firoz carried out the following two major reforms:

- (i) The debts of peasants, taken by them during the famine at the time of Muhammad Tughlaq, were exempted.
- (ii) An efficient irrigation system was resorted to, which led to cultivation in quite a large part of the empire.

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According to *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* written by Shami-Siraj-Af, Firoz Shah Tughlaq got two canals dug from Sutluj and Jamuna Rivers. But another historian Yahiya bin-Ahmad Sirhindi mentions in his book *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* that Firoz Tughlaq got four canals dug—first from Sutluj to Ghaghra, about 96 miles long; second taking the water of Jamuna to Hissar (Punjab) 150 miles long; third from area in the vicinity of Mandavi to hills of Sirnour irrigating Hansi City and proceeding from there to Hissar as well; fourth canal dug from Ghaghra River and owing through the fort of Sirsuti, it went to Hirati Khada Gram. Besides, many wells were dug which promoted cultivation. Produce increased and no famine occurred. The areas irrigated through canals were subjected to one-tenth of water tax. Firoz tried to bring more and more land under the irrigation. The revenue official's salaries were enhanced so that they might not take bribes from the peasants. Barring the introduction of Jagir system, the agricultural reforms of Firoz are really commendable.

Encouragement to the Jagir system

According to Af, Firoz Tughlaq distributed all villages, parganas and cities for the payment of salaries to the military officials and the financial condition of the state was all right. The reintroduction of Jagir system by Firoz made big Amirs and chiefs very happy. One of his instructions was that all the officials involved in Sind campaign should have their Jagirs transferred to their sons unconditionally and permanently. Another instruction issued by him was that after the death of a Jagirdar, his Jagir or Iqta should pass to his son, failing which to his son-in-law, failing which to his slave. The revival of the Jagir system proved disadvantageous to the empire. Gradually, these Jagir holders became more and more powerful and later, became contributory to the fall of the Delhi Sultanate. They started taking the services of forced labour from the peasants and exploited them.

Army organization

Firoz introduced certain new measures to establish a powerful army. Instead of keeping the entire army under the direct control of the centre, he tried to reorganize the army on the basis of Jagirdari or feudal basis. The soldiers came to be paid generally in jagirs now. Only the irregulars received cash salary from the state. Another important change Firoz introduced was to make the military offices hereditary, which really was a very defective measure. Many soldiers sold their Jagirs to the professional auctioneers at two-thirds or half their value. This encouraged the farming system. The soldiers who did not fall into the clutches of these middlemen fell a prey to the royal officials who gave them only 50 per cent of the revenue, keeping the rest 50 per cent for themselves for public expenditure. Another defect in the system was that the soldiers who collected revenue themselves or through their sons, paid no attention to their military duties and remained busy with the collection of revenue only. Thus, during Firoz's time, the basis of revenue collection came to be the military power and after his death, when the military power of the soldiers ended, it became difficult for these military Iqtadars to collect revenue. Rendering the military post hereditary was also a defective measure. The central government lost its right to test the military merit of the soldiers. Military service became hereditary wherein there was no place for physical ability and merit. The state was left direct control only over a small cavalry. The loyalty of the soldier Iqtadars was primarily to their military overlords and not to the Sultan. In brief, the military system of Firoz led to the continuous weakness of the state army.

Firoz undertook many activities for the welfare and happiness of the public. He not only lighten the burden of the taxation, but also ended the severity of the penal code

and opened free hospitals for the treatment of the patients. He got about 1200 gardens planted in the vicinity of Delhi, which yielded a big annual income to the state. He got many canals, mosques, palaces, sarais, ponds, tombs and bathrooms constructed. He established the cities of Firozabad, Fatehabad, Hissar, Jaunpur, Firozpur, etc. He is said to have undertaken the repair work of Qutub Minar. For providing employment, he opened the employment bureau; for the marriage of poor Muslim girls, he opened for the marriage bureau; for providing social security to aged and poor people, he opened the Diwan-i-Istaikak.

Slave department and its organization

Firoz Tughlaq collected slaves in big number. He ordered his Subedars that whenever they invaded any area in connections with revenue collections, well bodied and good looking children should be selected and sent to the Sultan. He preferred to have slaves as presents from his governors. Gradually, the number of his slaves swelled to about 1,80,000. Historians are of the opinion that through these slaves, the Sultan wanted to prepare a community loyal to him and his successors. He gave salary and offices to all the slaves. For their maintenance, he opened a separate account and established a separate department. About 1200 slaves were trained in various crafts and worked in various ministerial departments, royal factories and army. Such a large number of slaves also became a factor in the political and economic decline of the Tughlaq Empire.

The currency system

Firoz Shah Tughlaq introduced many changes in the currency system as well. He issued coins (Figure 4.6) of a small denomination in very large numbers so that the common people and traders should not be put to difficulty in daily transactions. He issued coins of copper and silver mixed so that people might not copy them easily and the Sultanate might not be faced with those financial difficulties which it had to face during the time of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq.

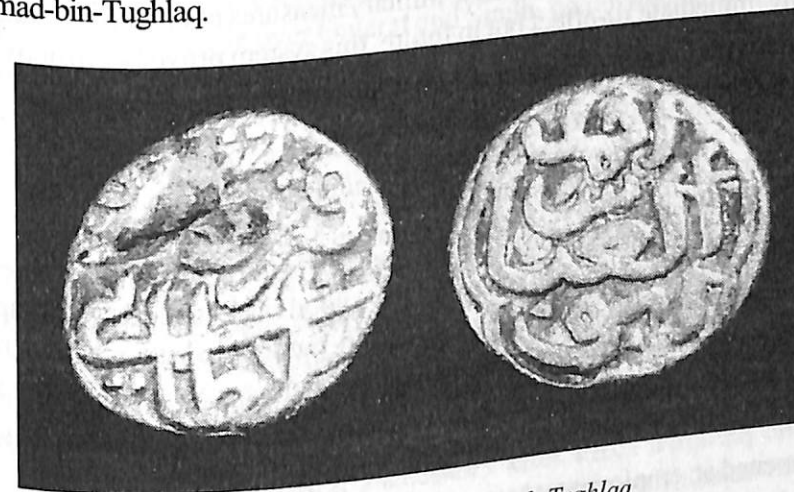


Fig. 4.6 Coins of Firoz Shah Tughlaq

Literature, Education and Art

Firoz Shah Tughlaq evinced special interest in literature. He opened many Madrasas. He patronized many scholars. Zia-ud-din Barani and Shams-i-Siraj A'îf were two famous historians of his time. They enjoyed state patronage. Firoz himself was an author of no mean order. He wrote his own biography which is known as *Fatuh-i-Firozshahi*. He got 300 famous old Sanskrit books translated into Persian by the famous Persian scholar

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Azuddin Khalid. This translation work is famous as *Daliyal-i-Firozshahi*. During his reign, faculties of religious scriptures, law and Islamic education got encouragement. Firoz also encouraged architecture and gardening. He constructed many buildings and planted about 1200 gardens. Famous historian Woolsey Haig writes about his love of architecture correctly that 'he was fond of construction work and in that respect he equalled the Roman emperor Augustus, if not excelled him.'

Religious policy

Firoz Tughlaq provided grants to the Ulemas to please them. After the Jazanagar (Orissa) campaign, he distributed about 36,00,000 Tankas as a gift to the Sheikhs and Alims. To please the Ulemas again, he changed the taxation and judicial system so as to suit the requirement of the Shariat. During his reign, the Ulemas usually interfered in politics. He followed an intolerant policy towards the Hindus. He imposed Jaziya even on the Brahmins. He got all the paintings of the royal palace removed thinking them to be in opposition to Shariat. Inspired by a fanatic policy, he attacked the temples many a times and brought the idols down. His fanatic policy proved disadvantageous to the Sultanate.

Firoz Tughlaq's Military and Social Reforms

The various reform measures introduced by Firoz Tughlaq in the fields of society and military are discussed as follows:

Military reforms

Firoz Shah Tughlaq amended many of the military measures introduced by Alauddin Khilji and Muhammad Tughlaq. He did away with the practice of maintaining a standing army, cash payment of salary to the army, writing descriptive roles, branding the horses, periodical inspection of the army by the state; rather, he organized the army on a feudal basis. The whole responsibility of army organization was left to the feudal chiefs and they were given Iqtas, land grants. These military measures of Firoz Shah Tughlaq did not have any immediate ill-effect but in future, this system proved destructive for the Sultanate.

Social reforms

His social reforms can be summed up as follows:

- (i) Firoz Shah Tughlaq paid very serious attention to the eradication of illiteracy. He established about thirty Madarsas and gave good salary to the teachers appointed therein. According to Farishta, he got a library constructed at Jawalamukhi, which contained books of various Indian languages and were about 13,000 in number.
- (ii) To promote cultural synthesis between the Hindus and the Muslims, Firoz got many of the Sanskrit works translated into Persian.
- (iii) He opened an employment bureau to remove the unemployment of the Muslim populace and in order to help in marriage of Muslim poor girls.
- (iv) He constructed a charitable hospital in the empire to render free services to the patients.
- (v) He established a separate department to look after the slaves.

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Public welfare activities

He constructed canals and got new cities inhabited. He constructed four mosques, thirty palaces, five canals, two hundred sarais, five ponds, five hospitals, one hundred burial places, one hundred bridges and twelve hundred gardens.

Downfall of Tughlaq Empire

The major causes of the downfall of Tughlaq Empire were as follows:

- Annexation of the southern India
- Failures of Muhammad Tughlaq
- Fault of Firoz Tughlaq
- Incompetence of his successors

The Tughlaqs set up most widespread empire among all Sultans of the Delhi Sultanate. Ghiyasuddin took advantage of the occupation of the south and captured bigger part of it. Muhammad Bin Tughlaq added most towards the spread of the empire both as a prince and a Sultan. But the growth of disintegration started during his reign. The capture of the south, the failures of Muhammad Tughlaq, the flaws of Firoz Shah Tughlaq, the lack of skill among his successors, the incompetence and disheartenment of the politeness and the invasion of Timur were the additional factors responsible for the decline of this vast kingdom. Ghiyasuddin started the policy of capturing the conquered territories of the south. But this policy was against the permanent interest of the empire; pertinent to the lack of proper resources of transport, it was complicated for the rulers of the north to keep the south under his rule for long. Therefore, the south became free during the later period of Muhammad Tughlaq. The takeover of the south gave no benefits to the Tughlaqs. In contrast, it adversely affected the resources and the strength of the empire. Muhammad Tughlaq was utterly failed in his internal and foreign policies. In addition, as Bengal and the south got their independence and the authority of the Delhi Sultanate became fragile over Gujarat and Sindh, no notable terrain was held by the Empire permanently. All the ideas of Muhammad Tughlaq failed wretchedly and brought financial ruin to the Empire. In addition, his policies and unyielding measures led to extensive revolts at quite a few places which taxed further the running of the administrative business and resources of the empire were unmindfully exploited.

Firoz Tughlaq succeeded in restoring the economic affluence of the empire and did a lot of useful work for welfare of the public. But his reckless generosity, laxity in administration, slave system, policy of intolerance towards the Hindus, reestablishment of reputation and influence of the Ulema and the inattentiveness to military affairs of the empire led to the rapid decline of his power. Firoz failed to reinstate the prestige and authority of the Delhi Sultanate.

There were no educated successors after Firoz Tughlaq and no one be commendable enough to be the Sultan of Delhi. His third son Muhammad was religious and affectionate. He was devoid of his reign to the throne. Firoz nominated Tughlaq Shah, son of his late eldest son, as his heir. Prince Muhammad fought both against Tughlaq Shah and his descendant Abu Bakr. Though he succeeded, clashes between princes gave outlook to nobles at the court and the subedars of provinces to boost their powers and authorities at the cost of succeeding Sultans. Therefore, the later Tughlaqs proved inept and unproductive in the affairs of the state and Sultan Nasir ad-Din Mahmud, the last ruler of the empire, met a dishonourable death. Amirs and provincial governors

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of last Tughlaqs took advantage of the ineffective rulers. Those who were determined and capable established independent kingdoms out of the remains of the empire, and those who were inept, remained in the court engaging themselves in bribery and luxuries.

None of them was capable and whosoever was competent was disloyal to the Sultan and thus worked against the Delhi Sultanate. The final blow to the authority and prestige of the Tughlaq Empire came in the form of Timur's invasion. He destroyed both the Delhi Sultanate and the Tughlaq dynasty. Although the dynasty had lost its status proceeding to Timur's invasion, after the invasion, it was methodically destroyed forever. Thus, several factors brought about the downfall of the Tughlaq Empire. The process of breakdown began with the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq; Firoz Tughlaq, in his own way, added towards it and all through the period of the later Tughlaqs, it was completed.

4.5 SOCIETY, ECONOMY AND LITERATURE UNDER THE SULTANATE

Culture includes the society, the religious condition, literature and art and architecture of that period. The culture of the Muslims was for long either an exotic one or a class culture confined to a certain group that basked in the sunshine of the King's favour. The monotheism of Islam led to the birth of a similar movement among the Hindus. Certain aspects of Bhakti movement were coloured by the iconoclastic character of Islam. Kabir was the most representative figure. Muslim literature and painting had a certain originality which enriched the fabric of Indian culture. In the literary sphere, the development of Urdu language and the birth of historical writings are some of the colossal Muslim contributions to Indian culture. The dress, manners and food, especially among the aristocracy in Northern India, underwent a certain reorientation under the influence of the Muslims.

During the reign of the Delhi Sultanate, the society was divided into different sections. After the advent of the Muslims, the society constituted the foreign Muslims, the Indian Muslims and the Hindus. Among them, the foreign Muslims constituted the ruling class. The next section was that of the Indian Muslims who were either converted to Islam or were the descendants of the converted Muslims. The Hindus also formed a part of the society at that time and were divided among themselves on the basis of castes.

The foreign Muslims were respected and were the most privileged section of the society. All high offices of the state were kept reserved for them. They yielded great influence in society and administration. But the foreign Muslims were not united. They claimed different nationalities as the Persians, the Afghans, the Arabs, the Turks, and the Abyssinians, etc. The Turks claimed and maintained their superiority over all others up to the thirteenth century. Their position broke after the Khiljis captured the power of the state.

The foreign Muslims looked down upon the Indian Muslims because most of them were converted to Islam from among low-caste Hindus. The foreign Muslims regarded them neither of blue blood nor conquerors of this country. Therefore, Indian Muslims were not given equal status either in society or in administration. During the total period of the Sultanate only few Indian Muslims enjoyed high offices of the state. The caste-system of the Hindus affected the Muslims, especially the Indian Muslims. They continued to maintain divisions among themselves on the basis of their previous

Check Your Progress

6. Why did Muhammad Bin Tughlaq issue copper coins?
7. Which religion did Firoz Shah follow?

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castes. Thus, both the foreign and Indian Muslims were divided among themselves on the basis of their different nationalities and birth. The Muslims were also divided on the basis of religious sects, education and professions. *Sunnis* and the *Shias* differed from each other on the basis of sects while soldiers and scholars were divided among each other on the basis of their professions. There was another class, the Ulema, who constituted the religious community among the Muslims and claimed pre-eminence over all others.

The slave system was prevalent among the Muslims and the Hindus and slaves were sold and purchased in the open market. The slaves were treated well though their property and lives were the property of their masters. The slaves of the Muslims were better off as compared to the slaves of the Hindus. The Sultans and nobles kept slaves in huge numbers, provided education and gave them training and opportunity to rise in their lives and many of them rose to the position of prominence in the state. The women in the Hindu society enjoyed respect in the family and participated in the religious ceremonies. They received education and many of them had acquired scholarly fame. Yet, in general their status had deteriorated in the society and they suffered from many social evils. There was no widow remarriage, therefore, the widows either became *sati* at the pyre of their husbands or passed their lives as women-hermits.

The *Purdah* system and child marriages adversely affected the education and position of women in the society. *Devadasi* system was another social evil which was prevalent among the Hindus. Muslim women did not enjoy a respectable status in the society. Polygamy was extensively prevalent among the Muslims. Every Muslim had a right to keep at least four wives while the rich among them kept hundreds or thousands as wives or slaves. *Purdah* system was strictly observed among the Muslim women. They were devoid of education because of this social custom.

Generally, the Hindus were vegetarians and the Muslims were non-vegetarians. Among the Muslims, the Sufis, or the people who were under their influence avoided eating meat. Both the Hindus and the Muslims built good houses for themselves where all comforts of life were available. There was a marked progress in the use of clothing and ornaments. All sorts of clothes made of silk, cotton and wool were used by the people and there was improvement in them. Both the Hindus and the Muslims liked to use ornaments. All types of ornaments from head to toe were used by both males and females and were made not only of gold and silver but of pearls, diamonds and precious stones. The people engaged themselves in all sorts of entertainments. Different sports (hunting, duels among men, fighting among animals, horse-polo) were their usual entertainments and fairs and religious festivals were also common among both the Hindus and the Muslims.

Development of Language and Literature under the Delhi Sultanate

The growth of literature during the age of the Delhi Sultanate was not restricted to Sanskrit and Persian but evolved in other regional languages as well. The Sultans of Delhi and the ruler of provincial dynasties patronized various scholars.

Sanskrit literature

Development of new languages and growth of rich corpus literature took place in the medieval period. According to some historians, the patronage of the Sanskrit language declined during the Delhi Sultanate because the rulers of the sultanate emphasized the patronage of Persian language. However, historical records show that this period

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witnessed the growth of rich amount of Sanskrit literature because poetical works called the *Kavya* and the texts that laid down laws called the *Dhramashastras*, were composed during this period.

Various small political establishments in central and south India patronized Sanskrit during the first half of the medieval period. In western India, Hemachandra Suri was known to have composed works in Sanskrit. Many dramas were also written during this period. A new style of writing called the *champu*, which was a mixture of prose and poetry, also emerged during this period. Rajput kings patronized the works of their family histories like the *Prithvirajavijaya* and the *Hammirmahakavya* and these were written in Sanskrit. Udayaraja, a court poet of Sultan Mahmud Begarha of Gujarat, wrote Sultan's biography and this poetry was named *Rajavinoda*.

Kalhan's *Rajtarangini* is the history of the kings of Kashmir from Jayasimha to Sultan Zainul Abidin and it was written by Jonaraja in the 12th century AD.

The second *Rajtarangini* was also written by Jonaraja. Srivara wrote the history of the region till 1486. Some semi historical texts, such as *prabandhas*, were also written during the period.

The rulers of Vijayanagar, Nayakas of Tanjor and the chiefs of Travancore and Cochin patronized Sanskrit language after the 15th century. Many genres of Sanskrit literature like *Slesh Kavyas*, *Mahakavyas*, *Champu Kavyas*, the historical *Kavyas* and *Natakas* continued. Some of the important writers of this period were Govinda Dikshita (writer of *Sahitya Sudha* and *Sangitsudhanidhi*); Nilanatha Dikshit (a minister in the court of the Nayaka of Madurai); Appaya Dikshita (in the court of the Nayaka ruler of Vellore) and Chakrakavi (who was patronized by the rulers of Kozhikode).

The historical *Kavyas* depict the social perception of the writers as well as the exploits of various rulers. Some of the Mughals like Dara Shukoh were also mentioned in these *Kavyas*. The credit of composing a *prasasti* to honour Nrisimha Sarasvati of Benaras is also given to the Mughal prince. A few works were composed in the courts of the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda but by and large Sanskrit literature began to decline during this period.

Persian literature

With the establishment of the Delhi sultanate, a new literary style and language was introduced in the sub continent. Writings of Amir Khusrau contributed a lot to the development of Persian literature. He was born in a family of Turkish immigrants and he started writing poetry in the reign of Sultan Balban. He was a disciple of Nizamuddin Auliya and his patrons were Jalaluddin Khalji, Alauddin Khalji and Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq. According to historians, he composed ninety-nine works on various themes and wrote numerous verses of poetry. He used forms like lyric, epic, elegy and ode to write poetry. His writing style is the representative of the first Persian style, called *Sabaq-i-Hindi* (the Indian style), that was composed in the Indian background. Some of his important works include *Mutla-ul-Anwar*, *Laila Majnun*, *Shirin Khusrau* and *Ayina-I-Sikandari*. These works were dedicated to Alauddin Khalji. *Tuhfat-us-Sighar*, *Nihayat-ul-Kamal* and *Baqiya Naqiya* are some of his popular Diwans (Ghazals). He is also the writer of masnavis (narrative poems) like *Miftah-ul Futuh* (narrating the military success of Alauddin Khalji), *Tughlaq Nama* (giving an account of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq's rise to power) and *Khazain-ul Futuh* (describing Alauddin Khalji's conquest of the South). These masnavis are considered to have great historical and literary value. Shaikh Najmuddin Hasan was another important Persian poet in the court of Alauddin Khalji.

During the period of the Delhi Sultanate, the court chronicles were an important part of the literature. Some of the important court chronicles were *Futuh-us Salatin* by Isami, the *Tabaqat-I-Nasiri* by Minaj-us Siraj and the *Futuh-I Firozshahi* by Feroz Shah Tughlaq. Ziauddin Barani also contributed a lot to the Persian literature of this period. The *Fatwa-I Jahandari* and the *Tarikh-I Firozshah* were some of his important works.

A new form of Sufi literature developed during this period. It was known as the *malfuzat* and was written in the form of dialogue of the Sufi saints. *Fawa'id-ul Fu'ad* written by Amir Hassan Sijzi that has the anecdotes of the Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and *Khair-ul-Majalis* with the anecdotes of Sheik Nasir ad-Din Mahmud were some of the important works written in this form. Many works were translated into Persian during this period. The first Persian translation of Sanskrit stories was the *Tuti Nama* (book of the parrot) by Zia Nakshabi. The *Rajtarangini* and the *Mahabharatha* were also translated into Persian during this period. A number of Sanskrit works were translated into Persian during the reigns of Feroz Tughlaq and Sikandar Lodi.

Persian continued to be the official language even in Mughal courts. The interesting fact about Mughal rulers and princes is that they also maintained a tradition of writing. Babur, the first Mughal emperor, wrote his memoirs in Turkish which was later translated into Persian by Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. Humayun also wrote a Persian diwan. Prince Dara Shukoh wrote *Sakinatul Auliya* which was a biographical account of the Sufi saint Miya Mir and his disciples. He is also the writer of the *Majm'aul Bahrain* (Mingling of two Oceans). Writers like Faizi, Urfi, Ghani Kashmiri, Talib and Bedil – who wrote in the genre of *Sabaq-i-Hindi* (the Indian style) – were patronized by the Mughals. *Tabashir al Sabh* was one of the important works of Faizi. He also translated a number of Hindu religious books into Persian language. Abdur Rahim Khan Khana was considered a talented scholar and poet during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir. Abul Fazl, a great scholar historian, was patronized by Akbar. According to many historians, Akbar maintained a library which had more than four thousand books.

Abu Talib Kalim, author of the *Padshahnama*, and Ali Quli Salem were important poets during the reign of Shah Jahan. Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur patronized Persian literature in the south. Mulla Zuhuri and Malik Qummi were considered important Persian poets in the south. The Qutab Shahis of Golconda patronized Muhammad Hussain Tabrezi and many other poets. The development of Persian literature in the Mughal court influenced the development of regional literature to a great extent. Persian also influenced languages like Punjabi, Sindhi, Kashmiri and Pushtu.

Development of Regional Languages

Regional languages like Hindi, Assamese, Marathi, Bengali, Oriya and Gujarati developed during the medieval period. In the 14th century, Malayalam emerged as an independent language in the South. The growth of these regional languages led to the emergence of regional polities as well as to the decline of Sanskrit. Some of these regional languages started to be used as a medium in the administrative work. The propagation of Bhakti movement in regional languages also enabled the development of these languages.

Hindi and Urdu

Regional dialects like *Haryanvi* and *Brj bhasa* which are spoken in areas around Delhi and Punjab influenced the development of Urdu language. Urdu adopted the Persian script and its literary tradition. The word Urdu refers to an army or camp in Turkish.

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Due to this fact, it is believed that this language emerged from the dialect spoken in the Turkish camp. *Hindivi* is also considered to be the origin of Urdu and Hindi. The works of Amir Khusrau are believed to have laid the foundation of this language. The use of this language in the Deccan led to the development of a literary speech called the Dakhni. Gujarat, Golconda, Bijapur, Bidar and Aurangabad were the major centres of this language. Sayyid Banda Nawaz Gesudaraz, an important Sufi in the Bahamani kingdom, was the oldest writer of this tradition. Ibrahim Adil Shah II, the sultan of Bijapur, was a patron and author of a book on music in the Dakhni language. Hindi developed between the 7th – 8th centuries and the 14th century. It was described as Veergatha Kala (age of heroic poetry) or the Adi Kala (early Period). Many Rajput rulers patronized poems on the theme of glorified chivalry and bravery and these were written in the Rajasthani dialect of Hindi. Some of the important works in this dialect are the *Prithviraja Raso* of Chand Bardai, the *Visaldeva Raso* and *Hammir Raso*. The authenticity of many of these works has been doubted on various grounds. Many works of Buddhists and Jains belong to this period. Due to the increasing use of the language in expressing Bhakti traditions and ideas, the development of the language touched new heights during the 14th and the 15th centuries.

Bhakti saints like Tulsidas used the Awadhi dialect of Hindi others like Surdas used *Braj bhasha* and Mira Bai used the Marwari dialect of Rajasthan. The Sufi saints used new dialects to reach out to more people. Chishti saints continued using Hindi to compose and sing their devotional music.

Bengali

The earliest examples of the Bengali language are found in the folksongs called *Charyapads*, which were composed between the 10 and 12th centuries. The works of Srikanandi and Kavindra are considered important in Bengali language. The growth of the Bhakti movement and the composition of various hymns associated with Chaitanya in Bengali language spurred the development of this language. Brindabandas's *Chaitanya Bhagavata* or *Chaitanya Mangal* in Bengali gave an important account of the saint's death and also reflects the social condition of that time. Lochandas is said to have introduced a new style of folk songs known as Dhamali. The popularity of narrative poems called the Mangal Kavyas grew during this period. Puranas are the origins of this narrative form. These poems propagated the significance of local deities like Chandī and converted Puranic gods like Siva and Vishnu into household deities.

Assamese and Oriya

The 13th century works of Hara Gauri Samyada and Hema Sarasvati Prahladacharita are considered the first works in Assamese. The Bhakti movement led to the development of Assamese literature as well. The growth of Assamese poetry was stimulated with the introduction of Vaisnavism by Shankaradeva in Assam. Madhavadas, a disciple of Shankaradeva, wrote the *Bhakti-ratnavali*. It deals with various characteristics of Bhakti and the *Baragitas* that depicted Krishna's life in Vrindavan. The Puranas were translated in Assamese as well.

The works of Saraladasa are considered the first works of Oriya literature. Madhusudana, Sasasiva and Bhima composed a number of kavyas on Puranic themes. The *Rasa Kallol*, on the theme of love between Radha and Krishna, was also written during this period. Ushabhilasa of Sisu Sankara Dasa and the *Rukminibibha* of Kartik Dasa are other important works. The works of Upendra Bhanja (1670–1720) led to a new era of Oriya literature in the subsequent period.

Literature in South India

Villiputturar was considered an important literary figure in the south during this period. He is credited with the beginning of the tradition of using Sanskrit words and literary expressions. Commentaries written by Vaishnava scholars and Tolkappiyam and the Kural- commentaries on works of the sangam age are other important works in Tamil. A number of philosophical works and commentaries on the Puranas are also important parts of the Tamil literature. The *Sivadarumottaram* and the *Saiva Samayaneri* both written by Marainanarbandar and *Irusamayavilakkam* written by Haridasa in the medieval period were important works of Tamil literature. The *Cidambarapuramam* (1508) by Purana Tirumalainathan and the *Palanittalapuranam* by Balasubramanya Kavirayar were noteworthy works in the field of philosophy.

The Champu genre of literary writing (mixture of prose and poetry) were popularized by a famous Telugu poet- Errapragada. He was also popular for translating the *Bhagavata Purana* into Telugu. Krishnadeva Raya, a Vijayanagaram ruler, wrote the *Amuktamalyada* in Telugu. Nandi Timmaha, writer of the *Parijatapaharan*, and Allarani Peddana were the most famous poets of his court. Rama Raja Bhushan is known for the *Vasucaritra* and the *Hariscandra Nalopakhyanam*.

Jain writers dominated the literary compositions of the period in the Kannada speaking regions. The works of Basava and his followers form an important feature of Kannada literature. Hoysala rulers also patronized the literature of this language. The *Vadi Vidyananda* of Geroppa is a popular anthology of Kannada poets. The Jain scholar Salva wrote *Aparajiyasataka* (Philosophical work), the *Trilokararara* (work on cosmology) and the *Bharataesvaracarita* (the story of king Bharata).

4.6 SUMMARY

- After Muizzuddin Muhammad Ghori, his slave Qutb-ud-Din sat on the throne of Lahore on 25 June AD 1206 but from AD 1206 to 1208 he was only a Malik to the brother of Muhammad Ghori at Ghor.
- After the sudden death of Qutb-ud-Din Aibak (AD 1210), disorder became rampant in the Delhi Sultanate. A few Amirs raised Aram Shah to the throne in Lahore. But the people of Delhi and the Turkish Amirs opposed him for many reasons.
- Iltutmish ruled for about 26 years (AD 1210–1236). From AD 1210–1220, he solved the internal problems and the years AD 1221–1227 were devoted to the solution of external problems.
- Iltutmish was a brave soldier and able commander. He forcibly suppressed the rebel chiefs in the vicinity of Delhi.
- Iltutmish not only secured and extended the newly established Turkish empire but also gave to the people an able administration and thus showed himself to be an able ruler and administrator.
- Iltutmish was a great lover of art. He completed the Qutub Minar begun by Qutb-ud-Din. The Turks invaded India from North-West frontier side. The Rajputs had paid no attention towards the North Western frontier.
- Balban, like Iltutmish, was an Ilbari Turk. His grandfather was the head of about 10,000 families of Ilbari Turks.

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Check Your Progress

8. Name the major constituents of society after the advent of Muslims in India.
9. Which new style of writing emerged during the Sultanate period?

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- Nasir ad-Din Mahmud Sultan appointed Balban to the post of Chief Minister (Wakil or Naib-i-Mumlikat) in AD 1249 i.e. three years after his accession.
- The rigid measures adopted by Balban as the Chief Minister and the Sultan to save the Sultanate and suppress his personal enemies and rivals are known in history as the policy of Blood and Iron.
- Though Balban had exercised great power as the Prime Minister of the Delhi Sultanate and had completely dominated the administration and when he became Sultan he was welcomed by all classes of people, still he had to face many difficulties.
- Balban had this belief that the internal and foreign problems can be solved by enhancing the prestige and honour of the royal office and he constantly strived to achieve it through various means.
- Balban summoned the Governor of the frontier province to the court because he was said to be hatching a conspiracy with the Mongols. When he dilly daddled for 4 years, he was poisoned to death.
- To set the financial situation of the state right, Balban not only arranged to collect the revenues rigidly but also increased his control over the Amirs and Jagirdars.
- The pressure of the Mongols was increasing during the time of Balban. He took many successful measures to withstand the invasion of the Mongols.
- Balban showed no favour to his relatives, colleagues or servants as far as justice was concerned. Like an able ruler, he organized an efficient spy system.
- Balban was a great commander and a brave soldier. He earned fame in the army of Sultan Masud Shah. As a brave commander he defeated the famous Mongol leader, Mangu.
- Balban was probably the only Sultan of the Delhi Sultanate who expressed his ideas about kingship in detail.
- Balban always stressed the difference between the descendants of royal lineage and the commoners. Probably, that is why he accepted only the members of the high families in the offices of prestige in his reign.
- Balban wanted to make as the basis of kingship the tripartite relation between God, ruler and the people.
- According to Balban, impartial justice and severe punishment was the highest responsibility of the ruler.
- Another important principle of Balban's theory of kingship was that he stressed the formal recognition from the Caliph in his exercise of power.
- Among the rulers of the Sultanate in early medieval India, Alauddin occupies an honourable place both as a conqueror and as an administrator.
- Alauddin occupies an important place among the rulers of medieval India. He became Sultan at the age of thirty and within a period of fifteen years, became the most powerful ruler of India.
- Alauddin was an imperialist. Dr A.L. Srivastava has regarded him as the first Turkish empire-builder in India.
- Alauddin was an all-powerful monarch. Despotism reached its highest mark during his reign. He concentrated all powers of the State in his hands. His ministers, nobles, military commanders and administrative officers were all his subordinates.

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- Alauddin suffered from certain weaknesses too. His biggest weakness was that his administration, rather the whole structure of the State, depended on power, and more than that, on fear of a single individual, i.e., the Sultan himself. Therefore, it lacked a stable foundation and was destroyed as soon as the Sultan died.
- Just after a few months of the accession of Muhammad Tughlaq, there was the invasion of Mongol leader Tarmashirin.
- When Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was preoccupied with the rebellions in Northern India, some Muslim Amirs of foreign origin under Ismail Mukh and Hasan Gangu revolted and tried to set up the Bahamani kingdom (AD 1347).
- According to Barani, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq made Devgiri his capital because it was situated comparatively in the middle of his empire.
- After the transfer of the capital, the second scheme of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq was the introduction of token currency.
- According to Barani, Sultan Muhammad amassed a huge army of about 3,70,000 horsemen so as to dispatch it for the conquest of Khurashan.
- Firoz Shah Tughlaq was a polite natured, liberal and religious-minded person. He behaved very politely with his ministers, Ulemas and Amirs, etc. and honoured them greatly.
- Firoz Tughlaq made a very weak effort to reconquer the areas lost under Muhammad Tughlaq. With this purpose, he carried out military in Bengal and Sind whereas no effort was made to regain Madura, Bahamani or Vijaynagar kingdoms.
- Firoz Tughlaq was opposed to severe punishments. He ended punishments like cutting off the limbs etc. for such petty crimes as theft and others.
- Firoz Tughlaq distributed all villages, parganas and cities for the payment of salaries to the military officials and the financial condition of the state was all right.
- Firoz Shah Tughlaq did away with the practice of maintaining a standing army, cash payment of salary to the army, writing descriptive roles, branding the horses, periodical inspection of the army by the state; rather, he organized the army on a feudal basis.
- The major causes of the downfall of Tughlaq Empire were as follows:
 - Annexation of the southern India
 - Failures of Muhammad Tughlaq
 - Fault of Firoz Tughlaq
 - Incompetence of his successors
- During the reign of the Delhi Sultanate, the society was divided into different sections. After the advent of the Muslims, the society constituted the foreign Muslims, the Indian Muslims and the Hindus.
- The growth of literature during the age of the Delhi Sultanate was not restricted to Sanskrit and Persian but evolved in other regional languages as well.
- Various small political establishments in central and south India patronized Sanskrit during the first half of the medieval period. In western India, Hemachandra Suri was known to have composed works in Sanskrit.
- With the establishment of the Delhi sultanate, a new literary style and language was introduced in the sub-continent. Writings of Amir Khusrau contributed a lot to the development of Persian literature.

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- Persian continued to be the official language even in Mughal courts. The interesting fact about Mughal rulers and princes is that they also maintained a tradition of writing.
- The earliest examples of the Bengali language are found in the folksongs called *Charyapads*, which were composed between the 10 and 12th centuries. The works of Srikanandi and Kavindra are considered important in Bengali language.
- The 13th-century works of Hara Gauri Samyada and Hema Sarasvati *Prahladacharita* are considered the first works in Assamese. The Bhakti movement led to the development of Assamese literature as well.

4.7 KEY TERMS

- **Plunder:** It is the stealing of goods typically using force and in a time of war or civil disorder.
- **Consolidation:** It is the process of uniting.
- **Hostage:** It is a person who is captured and held prisoner by a person or group, and who may be injured or killed if people do not do what the person or group is asking.
- **Expedition:** It refers to an organized journey with a particular purpose, especially to find out about a place that is not well known.
- **Doab:** It is the area of fertile land between two rivers.
- **Autobiography:** It is the story of a person's life, written by that person.
- **Shariat or Sharia:** It is the system of religious laws that Muslims follow.
- **Sunni Muslims:** It is a section of Muslims who consider *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim* to be entirely authentic and accurate *hadiths*.

4.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Ali Mardan Khilji murdered Ikhtiyaruddin and tried to set himself up as the ruler of Bengal.
2. Iltutmish defeated Yalduz in AD 1215 in the battle of Tarain.
3. During reign of Sultan Masud Shah, Balban impressed everybody by driving out the Mongols.
4. Ali Gurshasp was the original name of Alauddin Khilji.
5. Alaud-din was the conqueror of Chittor.
6. According to some scholars, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq issued copper coins because the Mongol Emperors of China had issued paper currency in China in the 13th century.
7. Firoz Shah was a rigid Sunni Muslim.
8. After the advent of the Muslims, the society constituted the foreign Muslims, the Indian Muslims and the Hindus.
9. A new style of writing called the Champu, which was a mixture of prose and poetry, emerged during the Sultanate period.

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4.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer questions

1. Evaluate in brief the consolidation efforts made by Iltutmish.
2. How did Balban solve internal and foreign problems during his kingship?
3. Write short notes on the following: (i) Alauddin's policy of Kingship; (ii) Alauddin's policy for Hindus.
4. List the invasions and revolts Muhammad Bin Tughlaq had to face.
5. What were the causes of the decline of the Tughlaq Empire?

Long-Answer questions

1. Assess the reign of Qutb-ud-Din Aibak.
2. Analyse the character and achievements of Balban.
3. Describe Alauddin Khilji as an administrator.
4. What were the results of the new coinage (token currency) started by Muhammad Bin Tughlaq?
5. How was society divided into sections during the Sultanate period?
6. How did Bhakti movement help in the development of regional languages?

4.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 5 DECLINE OF THE DELHI SULTANATE

Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Unit Objectives
- 5.2 Vijaynagar Kingdom: Krishnadeva Raya, Socio-Economic Condition, Administration and Art and Culture
- 5.3 Bahmani Kingdom: Administration and Decline
- 5.4 The Afghans: The Lodhis
- 5.5 Summary
- 5.6 Key Terms
- 5.7 Answers to 'Check your Progress'
- 5.8 Questions and Exercises
- 5.9 Further Reading

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Vijaynagar kingdom was ruled by three successive dynasties between AD 1336 and AD 1565—Sangam Dynasty, (AD 1336–1485), Saluba Dynasty (AD 1485–1506) and Tuluva Dynasty (AD 1506–1565). The unit discusses the causes of the downfall of the Vijaynagar Empire. All the Muslim states decided to combine against Vijaynagar. Initially, the armies of the Muslim confederation were defeated but later on the Muslim artillery ruined the Vijaynagar army and its cavalry overpowered them. The period of glory of the Vijaynagar Empire is said to have ended after this war.

In this unit you will study about Vijaynagar kingdom, Bahamani Kingdom, their administration and other conditions of the society and the Afghans.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the foundation of the Vijaynagar kingdom
- Explain the three successive dynasties of the Vijaynagar Empire
- Understand the foundation, rise and extension of the Bahamani Empire
- Discuss the foundation of Lodhi Dynasty
- Analyse the life of Bahadur Lodhi

5.2 VIJAYNAGAR KINGDOM: KRISHNADEVA RAYA, SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION, ADMINISTRATION AND ART AND CULTURE

During the last years of Muhammad Tughlaq's reign (AD 1324–1351), when disorder spread in most of the areas of his empire because of the mistaken policies and many regions declared their independence, the Hindus of South India also did not deter from

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taking advantage of the situation. They founded the Vijaynagar empire in AD 1336 under the leadership of Harihar and Bukka, two of the five brothers namely Harihar, Kampa I, Bukka I, Marappa and Madhuappa. According to the inscriptions of the later kings, they were the sons of Chandervanshi Sangam of the Yadav family. Both these brothers were in the service of Pratap Rudra II of the Warrangal kingdom. When Gayasuddin Tughlaq conquered Warrangal in AD 1323, they came away to Kampili. In AD 1325, a cousin of Muhammad Tughlaq named Bahauddin Gurshasp revolted against him in Sagar and the Sultan himself suppressed the rebellion. Bahauddin sought refuge with the ruler of Kampili to his empire. Among the six officials whom Muhammad Tughlaq took as captives to Delhi were these two brothers also who either voluntarily or forcibly embraced Islam, and they became the favourites of the Sultan.

In AD 1327–1328, a chain of revolts started against Muhammad Tughlaq in Bidar, Daulatabad, Gulberga, Mabar, Telengana and Kampili. Muhammad Tughlaq dispatched Harihar and Bukka to Kampili in the South so that they should quell the rebellious Hindus and take over the reins of administration from the Governor of that place namely Malik Muhammad. What transpired in the South after the departure of these two brothers is not at all clear because of mutual contradictory accounts of Muslim historians and traditional stories of the Hindus. Still both sources agree on one point that soon after the two brothers gave up Islamic religion and founded the Vijaynagar empire. They had founded this kingdom in Kampili (modern Karnataka state).

Under the influence of a saint, Vidyaranya, to immortalize their father's memory and declared themselves independent of the control of Muhammad Tughlaq. This empire was ruled by three successive dynasties between AD 1336 and AD 1565 namely Sangam Dynasty, (AD 1336–1485), Saluba Dynasty (AD 1485–1506) and Tuluva Dynasty (AD 1506–1565). Out of these three, the first two dynasties were contemporaneous with the united Bahmani Kingdom and the third was the contemporary of the five Muslim kingdoms namely Bidar, Berar, Bijapur, Ahmednagar and Golkunda that arose on the decline of the Bahmani empire.

Following is a brief account of the rise and fall of the Vijaynagar empire or a brief political description of its rulers:

Sangam Dynasty (1336–1485)

Let us analyse the various rulers of the Sangam dynasty.

(i) Harihar I (AD 1336–1353)

After laying the foundation of the Vijaynagar empire in collaboration with his brother Bukka, Harihar first of all forced the area of Gutti and neighbourhood to acknowledge his suzerainty on the southern bank of the river Tungabhadra at a place called Anegandi. They established the city of Vijaynagar. On 18 April, 1336 Harihar accomplished his coronation ceremony according to Hindu rites. With the help of his brother Bukka, Harihar started extension of his empire rapidly. In AD 1346 Ballal, the last Hoysala king was killed in a campaign against the Kingdom of Ma'bar. Taking advantage of this situation, Harihar annexed the Hoysala kingdom to the Vijaynagar empire. Before his death, Harihar extended his kingdom along the sea coast east to west in the areas, in the north to river Krishna and the river Kaveri in the South.

In the reign of Harihar I, the first struggle against the Bahmani empire (established in AD 1346) took place when he established his control over the fort of Raichur situated between the river Krishna and Tungabhadra. Harihar compensated to some extent the

loss of Raichur fort by attacking the Kingdom of Ma'bar in AD 1356 and achieving success in acquiring certain areas from Ma'bar. Harihar I not only extended his kingdom but also prepared an outline of its administrative system. Following the Kakatiya ideal, he organized his kingdom into Sathals and Nadus and appointed Brahmin officials to run the administration. He also paid attention to the progress of agriculture.

(ii) Bakka I (AD 1353–1377)

According to some scholars, Bukka I had become joint ruler with his brother as early as AD 1346 and had his capital at Gutti but after his brother Harihar's death in AD 1353, he succeeded him as the sole heir and ruled till AD 1377. He sent his ambassador to establish diplomatic relations with China. He was mostly engaged in conflict with the Bahmani Sultans, Muhammad I and Mujahid which resulted in great ruin of Vijaynagar. During his time, there were three conflicts between Vijaynagar and the Bahmani empire (AD 1360, 1365 and 1367). The main cause of the conflict was the ambition of both the kingdoms to establish their control over Raichur Doab. Being situated in the midst of rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra, this area was very fertile. But Bukka was not successful in this campaign and he could not regain the Raichur Doab which was lost during the time of Harihar.

When Muhammad II ascended the throne of Gulbarga in AD 1378, the conflict between these two states came to a halt because the new Bahmani Sultan was peace loving. In the reign of Bukka I, his son Kampan achieved success in defeating the sultan of Ma'bar. He forced the northern and southern Arcot to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Vijaynagar empire. According to a Sanskrit poem named 'Madura Vijayam' written by Kaman's wife Ganga Devi, he achieved his success between AD 1365 and 1370. Bukka I died in AD 1377. He was a great warrior, statesman and a lover of knowledge. Following a tolerant and liberal policy, he established a feeling of unity between the followers of Jainism and Vaishnav sects. Undoubtedly, he could not recover the Raichur area from the Bahmani empire but they did not lose any area of their empire either.

He got many old temples repaired and with the help of many Hindu scholars got literary works composed on religion, philosophy and law chief amongst which is the commentary on the Vedas written by Sayanacharya. Praising the strength and prosperity of the Vijaynagar empire during his time, Farishta writes that the Bahmani rulers maintained their superiority on the basis of their bravery whereas the rulers of Vijaynagar far excelled them in strength, wealth and extent of the empire.

(iii) Harihar II (1377–1404)

After Bukka I, his son Harihar II ascended the throne and he ruled for twenty-seven years (AD 1377–1404) and consolidated the power of Vijaynagar empire in the whole of South India. He assumed the titles of Maharajadhiraj and Rajpameshwar. He was a great warrior and conqueror. He established his control over the areas of Canara, Mysore, Kanchi, Trichnapalli and Chingliput etc. In AD 1398, his son Bukka Rai II invaded the Bahamani kingdom for establishing his control over the Raichur Doab.

The Bahamani ruler Firozshah defeated him. In 1399 a peace treaty was concluded in which the ruler of Vijaynagar had to pay a big indemnity. Harihar II died in August 1404 and his death was followed by a war for succession amongst his sons. In this struggle his third son Devrai I succeeded ultimately. During the period of struggle at first Virupaksha became the ruler from whom the throne was snatched by Bukka II after only a few months and he ruled for two years (AD 1405–1406). He was followed by Devrai I on the 5 November AD 1406.

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(iv) Devrai I (AD 1406–1422)

During his reign Devrai I came into conflict with the Bahamani Sultan Firozshah. Two causes are attributed to this conflict. According to one description, it was caused by the firm ambition of Firozshah to carry on a Jihad (religious war) against Vijaynagar whereas according to Farishta the blind love of Devrai for a beautiful daughter of a farmer of Mudgal was the cause of this conflict. Whatever be the case, Firoz initially suffered a defeat in the ensuing conflict but later on Devrai was defeated and according to the terms of the treaty, he had to marry his daughter to Firozshah and surrender the fort of Bankapur.

On the other hand, the Reddis of Kondavidu invaded Vijaynagar and took away Udaigiri which Vijaynagar kings could only reconquer in AD 1413. During peacetime, Devrai gave attention to the construction works. He constructed a dam on the river Tungabhadra and diverted canals from there to get away with the water scarcity in the city. The canals were used to irrigate the neighbouring fields as well. He also built a dam on the river Haridra. For irrigation purposes, these canals added about 3½ lacs to the royal revenue. It was during the time of this ruler that the Italian traveler Nicolo Conti came to Vijaynagar and he has given a vivid description of the city.

During Devrai's reign, ample grants were given to the temples and the priests. After the death of Devrai (AD 1422) for a few months, his son Ramchandra ascended the throne followed by his second son Vir Vijay Rai. Various guesses are made about the reign period of this ruler. According to Nilkantha Shastri, his reign period roughly covered the period between AD 1422–1426. Probably he suffered defeat at the hands of the Bahmani ruler Ahmadshah and had to give an enormous sum as the war indemnity.

(v) Devrai II (AD 1426–1446)

Vijay Rai was followed by his son Devrai II on the throne in AD 1426. In AD 1428, he conquered and annexed the Kingdom of Kondavidu. Then he launched an attack on the Gajapati kingdom of Orissa because after the integration of Knodavidu kingdom with Vijaynagar, a struggle ensued amongst their feudatories but the struggle between Vijaynagar and Orissa was not prolonged because of the intervention of Allaureddi of Rajmundri and a compromise was reached. Later on, Devrai defended the Reddi kingdom from the Kalinga invading army. Devrai invaded and annexed the Kerala Kingdom to the Vijaynagar empire. Devrai II was not only a great conqueror but was also a great organizer, and a patron of art and literature. To recognize his army he not only recruited the Muslims in it but also added to the number of horses in it and arranged for training in archery.

According to Farishta, he recruited about 2,000 Muslims in his army and gave Jagirs to them. These Muslim soldiers trained the Hindus in the art of archery but some historians do not accept this statement of Farishta on the excuse that on the basis of historical sources, it is proved beyond doubt that there were about 10,000 Muslim soldiers in the army of Devrai. He also imported horses from Arab countries in very large number. Undoubtedly, the efforts of Devrai II resulted in an improvement in the army but at the same time burdening the state economy though Devrai II extended his patronage to many literates and poets as well. Famous Telugu poets Shrinath was the court poet of Devrai II. It is said that he was showered with an immense quantity of gold coins. Devrai II was probably a liberal from the religious point of view. He gave full freedom to the Muslims to construct mosques in his kingdom. His reign saw the sojourn of the

famous Persian poet Abdurrazaq to Vijaynagar. He had greatly praised Vijaynagar and Devrai II. This great ruler died about in mid of AD 1446.

(vi) Mallikarjun or Devrai the elder (AD 1446–1466)

After the death of Devrai II, at first Vijayrai II ascended the throne, followed soon in May 1447 by his own son in AD 1447, Mallikarjun who is also called Devrai the elder. During his reign period, the decline of Vijaynagar empire started. He was unable to check the invasions of the Gajpatis of Orissa and the Bahamani Sultans and had to sign on humiliating treaties. Dissensions and disorder became rampant everywhere in the kingdom. Probably, he died in July AD 1465 and Virupaksha II became his successor. Howsoever incapable Devrai the elder might have been from military point of view, he maintained the love of his predecessors towards the Hindu culture. He gave grants to the Brahmins and the temples.

(vii) Virupaksha II (AD 1465–1485)

He is said to be the last ruler of the Sangam Dynasty. He was a very luxury-loving ruler and used to drink excessively. During his time, both the internal revolts as well as foreign invasions were accelerated. A great part of the empire along with the regions of Goa, Damol and Chaol went over to the Bahmani empire. The greatest blow to his power was dealt at the Eastern coast where his authority was reduced to being only a nominal. But the powerful chieftain of Chandgiri named Narsinga Saluva also rendered some valuable services to the Vijaynagar empire.

He started a campaign against the Gajpatis of Orissa, occupied Udaipur, suppressed the Kapileshwar. He drove out the Orissians from the eastern Coast and himself occupied the Godavari regions. In AD 1485, the eldest son of Virupaksha II assassinated his father but seated his younger brother Pachha Rao on the throne instead of ascending himself. He, in turn, assassinated his elder brother and himself got immersed in luxury. In such a situation, Saluva Narsingh of Chandgiri attacked Vijaynagar, conquered it and began the reign of the Saluva dynasty in Vijaynagar.

Saluva dynasty (AD 1486–1505)

Let us analyse the various rulers of the Saluva dynasty.

(i) Saluva Narsingh

He founded the second ruling dynasty of Vijaynagar in AD 1486. He ruled for six years. He had to spend his time and energy in fighting against many feudatories and bringing them under control. He achieved success against his integral enemies but was defeated and captured by Gajpati Purshottam of Orissa. He had to give over to Purshottam the fort of Udaigiri and the neighbouring region only then he was released from the prison but the achieved victory over Tulu region and the port areas of Honavar, Battakul, Baknur and Mongolore so that he could resume the horse trade with the Arab countries. He died in AD 1491. The greatest contribution of Saluva Narsingh is that he saved Vijaynagar from an imminent ruin and reconquered the entire area, lost his preceding rulers of Vijaynagar.

(ii) Regent Narsa Naik and Immadi Narsingh (AD 1493–1504)

Saluva Narsingh was followed on the throne by his eldest son, Immadi Narsingh. He was a minor, therefore, Commander Narsa Naik became his regent. Gradually, however,

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he usurped the entire power. When the prime came of age there was a difference of opinion between the two where upon the commander imprisoned him in the fort of Penukonda. For the next twelve to thirteen years Narsa Naik was the real ruler of Vijaynagar. In April AD 1493, he snatched many forts of Raichur Doab from Kasim of Bidar. But due to the lack of discipline in the army, the victory soon turned into defeat. Raichur and Mukdala were again lost. He, however, waged a successful campaign against the rulers of Bijapur, Bidar, Ma'bar, Shrirangapattam etc. From the inscriptions of his successors, it is proved that he forced the Chera, Chola and Gajapati rulers to accept the suzerainty of the Vijaynagar empire. In AD 1503 continued regent, Narsa Naik died and was followed by his son Vir Narsingh who was also a regent.

Tuluva Dynasty (AD 1505–1565)

Let us analyse the various rulers of the Tuluva Dynasty

(i) Vir Narsingh (AD 1505)

According to some historians, Vir Narsingh founded the Tuluva dynasty in AD 1505. During his time there were revolts everywhere. He suspected his stepbrother Krishna of harbouring rebellious tendencies and ordered his Prime Minister Saluva Tikka to take out his eyes who, however, freed Krishna, taking mercy on his tender age and befooled Vir Narsingh by showing him the eyes of a goat. Probably, in AD 1505, Vir Narsingh died and his cousin brother Krishnaria became the ruler of Vijaynagar thus founding the third ruling dynasty of Vijaynagar in real sense.

(ii) Krishnadeva Raya (AD 1505–1529)

Krishnadeva Raya is supposed to be the real founder of the third dynasty of Vijaynagar. He ascended the throne on 8 August AD 1505. He had to face many problems at the time of his accession. But, gradually, he overcame all the difficulties and began an era of successes for Vijaynagar again. The rebellious feudal chieftain of Ummutur wanted to occupy a very large part of Karnataka. The Gajapati rulers of Orissa had under their control the northeastern districts of Vijaynagar empire and the ruler Prataprudra had assumed an attitude of open hostility and aggression. Though the Bahamani kingdom had been divided into five parts, yet there was a pressure from the side of the Bijapur state.

The Portuguese were fast assuming control over the Ocean trade. In spite of all these difficulties, Krishnadeva Raya achieved some important successes during the years of his reign which were as follows: (a) In AD 1509, he defeated the ruler of Bihar, Sultan Mahmudshah, near Adoni. He had attacked Vijaynagar seeing Krishnadeva Raya surrounded by many difficulties; (b) In AD 1510, he suppressed the rebellious chieftain of Ummutur; (c) In AD 1512, Krishnadeva Raya started a campaign against Yusuf Adilshah of Bijapur and took away the Raichur Doab from him. Then he turned his attention towards Prataprudra Gajapati of Orissa so that the eastern parts of the empire should be snatched from him. He organized a separate campaign to conquer each fort and arranged for the sending of confidential commanders to organize their administration after their conquests.

In AD 1514, he captured the fort of Udaigiri and imprisoned the uncle and aunt of the ruler of Orissa. His inscriptions speak of his achieving success in conquering many small forts like Achhanaki, Venukonda, Belankonda, and Nagarijunkonda etc. He also occupied the fort of Kondavidu. He remained in his capital from AD 1516–1519. The last victory of Krishnadeva Raya was against the ruler of Bijapur, Khan Ismile Adilshah.

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He tried to reconquer the area of Raichur Doab and dashed to the ground the famous fort of Gulbarga and thus the influence of Vijaynagar became supreme over all the kingdoms of the South. But the results of these victories were that Krishnadev himself became very playful and placed inciting conditions before the rulers of the defeated kingdoms.

He detained the emissary of Adilshah for about a month in his own kingdom and sent a message that if Sultan Adilshah came and prostrated himself before Krishnadeva Raya and kissed his feet, only then would he return all his forts and other areas. The five Muslim kingdoms, which rose on the disintegration of the Bahamani kingdom, gradually realized the growing power of Vijaynagar and a feeling of combining against Vijaynagar gained ground amongst them. Krishnadeva Raya died in about AD 1529.

Vijaynagar became the supreme power of the Deccan by AD 1560. For about twenty months Ram Rai kept his control over the Muslim rulers. It would not be wrong to say that the military might of Vijaynagar kept under control the three Muslim kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Golkunda and Bidar and kept Bijapur at the mercy of Vijaynagar.

Decline of Vijaynagar Kingdom and the War of Rakshasi—Tangdi

The Muslim Kingdom of Deccan saw it clearly that Ram Rai was taking advantage of their mutual dissensions. All of them got scared of the growing power of Vijaynagar and decided to come together, forgetting their mutual differences. All the Muslim states decided to enter into a confederation against Vijaynagar. Vijaynagar had inflicted greatest harm on Ibrahim Qutubshah and Hussain Nizamshah. Therefore, they took the keenest interest into the formation of the confederation. Historians differ widely on the causes of the formation of this confederation and the background of the war of Rakshasi—Tangdi. Ferishta writes that the rulers of Vijaynagar had assaulted the Muslim women, desecrated the mosques and disrespected the Holy Quran. But no independent evidence corroborates this view. Hindu historians mention that the five Muslim Sultans were in opposition to Ram Rai but Muslim historians leave out the name of Berar from it. There is difference of opinion also on the question as to which Muslim Sultans took the lead in forming the great confederation against Vijaynagar.

According to Ferishta, this plan originated with Adilshah of Bijapur whereas Shirazi attributes it to Husain Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar. Whatever be the case, the actual cause of the formation of this confederation was that the power of Vijaynagar had increased greatly and all the Muslim Sultans of the Deccan felt jealous of it. They realized that they would not be able to rule peacefully unless and until the power of Vijaynagar was suppressed. The naughty behavior of Ram Rai of Vijaynagar can also be held responsible for this confederation and the ensuing war. Whatever be the causes of the war, there is doubt in the fact that Ibrahim Qutubshah of Golkunda took solid steps towards bringing together Ali Adilshah and Hussain Nizamshah who were engaged in mutual conflict for the control over Sholapur. Ibrahim Qutubshah made both the other rulers to give up their mutual hostility for the common cause of defeating Vijaynagar and consolidated their friendship by a matrimonial alliance. In accordance with this agreement Hussain Nizamshah married his daughter Chand Bibi to Ali Adilshah and gave Sholapur in dowry. The elder son of Hussain Nizamshah named Murtaza married the sister of Ali Adilshah.

In AD 1559, Ibrahim Qutubshah of Golkunda himself married the daughter of Hussain Nizamshah. Ali Bidarshah of Bidar also joined the confederation when the formation of the confederation was complete. He demanded of the ruler of Vijaynagar that he should return the forts of Raichur, Mudgal etc. Ram Rai did not heed the demand.

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Then the combined Muslim armies of the Deccan Sultans advanced towards Vijaynagar (28 December AD 1564) and encamped at Taliota. According to Ferishta, this battle was fought at Talikota but the actual field of the battle was between the two villages Rakshsi and Tangdi. Therefore, historians refer to it not as the battle of Talikota but as the battle of Rakshsi and Tangdi. Both the armies stood opposite each other for some time and the actual battle started on 25 January AD 1565.

Initially, the armies of Muslim confederation were defeated but later on the Muslim artillery spelled ruin in the Vijaynagar army and its cavalry disordered them. In the time of this crisis, the Muslim generals in the Vijaynagar army went over to the side of their co-religionists along with their armies and dealt a fatal blow in the midst of the battle. Ram Rai was encircled and Hussain Nizamshah immediately imprisoned and murdered him so that Ali Adilshah might not press for his release. The victors entered Vijaynagar and encamped there for five months and perpetrated massacre, plunder, desecration and destruction in such a manner that Vijaynagar whose beauty was praised by all the foreign travellers alike was ruined to such an extent that its reconstruction was rendered impossible. The period of the glory of the Vijaynagar empire is said to have ended after this war. Although the Vijaynagar empire continued to shrink and lost its political significance in South India, the next ruler Tirumal entered into a treaty with the Deccan Sultans and gave them back all the regions that Ram Rai had snatched from them. It is said that in AD 1568 Vincent II, the son of the actual ruler Tirumal Rai, who was ruling in the name of nominal ruler Sedative Rai had made Penougonda his new capital, and murdered the nominal ruler Sadashiv Rai. With this, the third dynasty of Vijaynagar came to an end and was founded the Aravidue dynasty.

Chief rulers of this dynasty were—Tirumal Rai (AD 1568-1572), Shir Ranga I (AD 1572-1585), Venkata Rai II (AD 1586-1614), Shir Ranga II (AD 1614-1617), Ramdev Rai (AD 1618-1630), Venkata III (AD 1630-1642) and Shir Ranga III (AD 1642-1649). In 1649, this kingdom had to surrender itself before Bijapur and Shri Ranga III stayed on in Mysore and died there only in AD 1672 dreaming of regaining his lost kingdom.

Causes of the Conflict between Vijaynagar and Bahamani Empires

Let us analyse the causes of the conflict between Vijaynagar and Bahamani Empire.

The region of Raichur Doab

The most important cause of the conflict between the two empires was the region of Raichur of Doab. Both the powers wanted to establish their hold over this fertile region, situated between the rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra. This remained the single most important cause of conflict in the reigns of Bukka Rai I, Harishar II etc.

Diamond mines

Some historians are of the opinion that there were diamond mines in the Golkunda region of Bahamani empire and the rulers of Vijaynagar wanted to make their empire prosperous by establishing their hold over them.

Imperialist Ambition

Some scholars are of opinion that the rulers of both the Vijaynagar and the Behan kingdoms were imperialist and ambitious. They wanted to extend their empire to include the entire Deccan and therefore, the conflict went on between the two in order to acquire the new regions and sometimes to regain their lost territory.

Rewati Dwipa (Goa)

Some historians are of the opinion that the Kings of Vijaynagar wanted to occupy the Revati Dwipa to augment their foreign trade and to acquire horses of superior breed as this island was situated on the western coast of the Bahamani empire's boundary.

Growing Power of Vijaynagar

By AD 1560, Vijaynagar had come to occupy the highest position in the southern India. It had suppressed completely the power of the three Kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Golkunda and Bidar and the existence of Bijapur was on the mercy of Vijaynagar. This growing power of Vijaynagar terrorized the Muslim Sultanates of the Deccan and forgetting their mutual differences, they decided to form a confederation and launch a struggle against Vijaynagar.

Hurting the religious sentiments of the Muslims by Vijaynagar

According to some scholars, Vijaynagar perpetrated many atrocities in its struggle against Ahmadnagar (AD 1522). Many Muslim women had to suffer humiliation. The Vijaynagar armies not only desecrated the mosque but also insulted the Holy Quran. This led the Sultanates rising on the decline of Bahamani kingdom to come together in a fight against Vijaynagar.

Haughtiness of Ram Rai

According to some historians, the abandonment by Ram Rai of the old defensive policy following the Vijaynagar rulers and his adaptation of a new strategy of making the Muslim states fight against one another and his haughty behaviour towards the Deccan Sultanates after his numerous victories were the major factors that led to the ultimate fierce battle (Battle of Rakshsi Tangdi) between the five Muslim states rising due to the decline of the Bahamani Kingdom and the Vijaynagar empire.

Jealousy of the Power of Vijaynagar

In fact, Bahamani and Vijaynagar empires were the patrons of two different cultures viz. the Muslim and the Hindu. Both the empires followed expansionist policies. Each considered the other as a danger to its existence. When the Vijaynagar empire acquired a deal of power by AD 1560, the Muslim Sultans grew jealous of it. Because of the matrimonial alliances, they drew near to each other and now began to consider themselves powerful enough. Ali Adilshah then demanded the return of the forts of Raichur, Mudgal and other forts which were not heeded by Ram Rai. This led to the battle of Rakshsi-Tangdi.

5.3 BAHMANI KINGDOM: ADMINISTRATION AND DECLINE

An ambitious Afghan, Alauddin Hasan in AD 1347, founded Bahamani empire. He had gradually enhanced his power under a Brahmin named Gangu so he was called Hasan Gangu. The Brahmin had treated him kindly and had professed that he would be a Sultan one day. According to Ferishta, it was due to his gratefulness to the Brahmin that Hasan later on assumed the title Bahamani and his accession he assumed the title of Alauddin Hasan Bahmani Shah. But Ferishta's opinion is not accepted these days. It is said that

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Check Your Progress

1. What was the ruling period of the Vijaynagar Empire?
2. Name the three successive dynasties of Vijaynagar Empire.

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he considered himself to be a descendant of a semi-mythical Persian warrior called Bahaman Shah. Whatever may be the reason behind the assumption of this title, it is certain that because of this title his empire came to be called the Bahamani empire. The rise of this empire is attributed to the following factors:

Mistaken policies of Muhammad Tughlaq

Because of the fantastic plans and defects of the character of Muhammad Tughlaq there was a wide spread feeling of revolt against him everywhere. Following his imperialist policies, he brought major parts of the Deccan under him and took many measures for the establishment of consolidated administration there. For every group of hundred villages, he appointed officials called *Amiran-i-Sadah*, who were also called 'Sadi'. They were responsible for the collection of revenue and kept the local troops under control. Because of these powers, these officials became very powerful and when revolts spread everywhere against Muhammad Tughlaq, these Sadi Amirs also raised the banner of revolt in the western and the southern India, taking advantage of the opportunity. The revolt of the Sadis originated in Gujarat and in order to suppress it Muhammad Tughlaq came to Bharoach and ordered the Governor of the Deccan Amir-ul-Mulk to send all the Sadis under Amiran-i-Sadah of Daulatabad to Bharoach. According to the historian Neelkanth Shastri, 'Muhammad Tughlaq had summoned all the Sadis of Daulatabad because he suspected their honesty.'

He writes further that many of the foreign officials of the revenue department of Daulatabad had been unsuccessful in recognizing the amount which was expected of them. According to the Sultan's orders, the Governor of Daulatabad sent these hundred Amirs to Bharoach under armed escorts. It is said that Muhammad Tughlaq had caused hundreds of Amirs of Malwa to be murdered mercilessly before this. When these Amirs learned this, they rose in revolt after the first day of their journey and came back to Daulatabad. They held a secret conference and within the next three days chose one Ismil Khan, the eldest among them as their leader. After defeating the Governor of Muhammad Tughlaq in Daulatabad, Ismile khan declared himself as the emperor of Deccan under the title of Nasiruddin Shah.

He conferred the titles of Amir-Ur-Umra and Zafar Khan on Hasan, the chief of the confederacy of Amirs. On learning about this revolt, Muhammad Tughlaq himself came to Daulatabad from Bharoach at the head of a vast army and imprisoned the rebels in the Daulatabad fort. Some of the rebels, under the leadership of Hasan Gangu (Zafar Khan), including the brother of Ismile Khan ran away from the fort and reached Gulbarga. Soon they encircled the Daulatabad fort where Amirani-Sadah and his army was imprisoned. But before he could free the fort of the Daulatabad of the rebels, he got the news of the revolts in the Gujarat and had to go back to suppress them.

Immediately Zafar Khan and his supporters, who had already occupied Gulbarga and Sagar made an effort to free the fort of the Daulatabad of the remaining army of Muhammad-Bin-Tughlaq. He defeated the army of Muhammad Tughlaq very easily, murdered its commander and forced the army to run away to Malwa.

Popularity of Zafar Khan

Zafar Khan soon became very popular amongst the Amirs and the army because of his many achievements. Luck also favoured Zafar Khan. Ismile Shah abdicated power in the favour of Zafar Khan. The army and the people at Daulatabad had welcomed this decision of his. As a result, Hasan Gangu alias Zafar Khan declared himself the king on

the 3rd August, AD 1347, with the title of Abul Muzaffar Allauddin Behmanshah and the empire established by him came to be called the Bahamani empire.

Rise and Extension of Bahamani Empire**Allauddin Hasaan Bahamani (3 August, AD 1347–11 February, AD 1358)**

He ruled for eleven years. He proved himself to be a great conqueror and a powerful ruler. He adopted a policy of incessant conquests to extend his small kingdom. He built his capital at Gulbarga and named it Ahsanabad and decorated it with beautiful buildings. When he died on 11 February, 1358, his empire extended to river Baniganga in the north, Krishna in the South, Daulatabad in the West to Bhorgir in the East. For purposes of administration, he divided his empire into four parts and appointed a Governor for each. Three of them were named after their famous cities as Galbarga, Daulatabad, Bidar and the fourth one was called Berar. According to Ferishta, the cause of the success of the first Bahamani Sultan was his generosity.

He wrote that on being asked by someone as to the secret of his success, the Sultan said that it was possible because of his mercy for everyone be his friend or enemy and his policy of goodwill towards the poor. According to Isami, he was the first Muslim ruler of India who ordered that *Jaziya* should not be levied on the Hindus and allowed all agricultural produce to be imported in his kingdom without any duties. If the statement of Isami is true, it would have to be conceded that Hasan believed in a policy of secularism for which he needs to be praised.

Muhammad I (11 February, AD 1358 – 21 April, AD 1375)

After the death of Allauddin Hassan Bahmanshan, his son Muhammad I ascended the throne on 11 February, AD 1358. He was very industrious and in force an able administrator and the administrative system started by him not only continued to be in the Bahamani empire for a long time but it also influenced the administrative system of the kingdoms arising on the ruins of the Bahamani empire. He kept the entire Bahamani kingdom divided into four provinces (Tarafs) – Daulatabad, Bidar, Berar and Gulbarga. He appointed four governors over them. But the title of each governor was different e.g., the governor of Daulatabad was called Masnad-I-Ali, that of Berar Majlis-I-Ali, that of Bidar Azam-I-Humayun and that of Gulbarga Malik-I-Nayak. Out of the four governors, the governor of Gulbarga was supposed to be the most important. He only wielded authority over Bijapur.

He established a council of eight ministers along with Vakil us Sultanate or Chief Peshwa and adopted the decentralization of the administration. The other ministers of his period were Wazir-I-Kul (Minister for Supervision), Amir-I-Jumla (Finance), Wazir-I-Ashraf (Foreign Affairs), Nazir (Deputy Finance Minister), Peshwa (Deputy Prime-Minister), Kotwal and Sadar IJahan (Justice). He reorganized the bodyguard force and divided them into four military departments. He took rigid measures to stop dacoits and thagi and murdered about two hundred dacoits. He started the use of gunpowder (first of all) which brought about a revolution in the military organization. Muhammad I was not only an able administrator but also was a great conqueror. He fought many battles against Vijaynagar and Telengana. He acquired Golkunda after defeating Telengana but his wars against Vijaynagar failed to bring about any territorial gain for the Bahamani empire. He died in AD 1375. He got the world famous mosque of Gulburaga constructed.

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Allauddin Majahid (21 April, AD 1375–16 April, AD 1378)

After Muhammad I's death, his nineteen year old son Mujahid ascended the throne. He demanded from the Vijaynagar empire some areas of Raichur Doab, but as was expected the demand was refused and there upon he invaded Vijaynagar but was defeated. On 16 April 1378, his uncle Daud Khan murdered him and became the Sultan.

Daud Khan (16 April, AD 1378–21 May, AD 1378)

The Amirs helped the sister of Mujahid to hatch a plot against the murderer Daud Khan. He was murdered in Jama Masjid of Gulburga by a man named Bakka.

Muhammad Shah II (21 May, AD 1378–20 April, AD 1379)

Muhammad Shah II was peace loving. He took special interest in religion and literature. He invited poet Hafiz from Persia, who however could not reach because of a storm. During the time of famine, he liberally helped the people from the royal treasury but he died of a fever in April AD 1379.

Gayasuddin alias Tahamtan (4 April, AD 1379–14 June, AD 1397)

He became the Sultan at the age of seventeen. He appointed many Persians on important posts which was not liked by staunch Sunnis and one of them Tugalchin blinded and dethroned him. He placed on the throne his younger brother Shamsuddin Daud and himself became his regent.

Shamsuddin Daud II (14 June, AD 1397–11 November AD 1397)

The daughters of Sultan Mahmood II were married to Firoz and Ahmad, the Sultan had brought them up as his sons. Both the princesses inspired their husbands to avenge the death of their brother. After some initial reverses, their husbands succeeded in bringing Tugalchin and Malik Daud under their control in November 1397. Shamsuddin Daud II was forced to abdicate the throne. Now Firoz Tajuddin ascended the throne as Tajuddin Firoz Shah.

Tajuddin Firoz Shah (11 November, AD 1397–22 September, AD 1422)

Tajuddin was a very healthy and an intelligent Sultan. According to Ferishta, he was the blessed of the Sultans of Bahamani Kingdom. Initially, he was very liberal and possessed high character but gradually his character declined. It is said that he appointed the Brahmins on the high posts and earned his livelihood by selling the copies of Holy Quran. He waged wars against Warrangals (Telangana), king Kherla and Harihar II of Vijaynagar. He defeated the Vijaynagar as well in AD 1398 and AD 1406 but was himself defeated in AD 1420. He had to surrender the eastern and western forts of his empire to Vijaynagar. This defeat had a very adverse effect on him and he had to abdicate his throne in favour of his brother Ahmadshah.

Even though he suffered defeat ultimately in the battlefield, he patronized literature and art during his reign. He patronized many foreign scholars in his court and also took a keen interest in architecture and built a palace of Firozabad with four vast doorways on the bank of the river Bhima.

Shihabuddin Admad II (22 September, AD 1422–14 July, AD 1436)

He is known in the Indian history as the first Sultan of the Bahamanis of Bidar because he shifted his capital from Gulburga to Bidar immediately after his accession (on 1 November, AD 1422). According to the historians, he affected the transfer because he wanted to get freedom from the intrigue ridden atmosphere of Gulburga where many royal murderers lived. According to another opinion, he shifted his capital because of the healthy climate and fertile soil of Bidar. According to a third opinion, Bidar was situated at the centre of the Bahamani empire that is why it was made the capital. He named Bidar as Muhammadabad.

He appointed Khalaf Hassan, who was instrumental in his acquisition of throne, as his Wakil-Sultanate or Prime Minister. He waged a war against Vijaynagar to avenge the defeat of his brother. He defeated the rule of Vijaynagar on the battle-field, acquired vast wealth and assassinated many people over there. In AD 1424, he attacked Telengana, occupied Warrangal and made it a part of the Bahamani empire. In AD 1425 he invaded Mahur and murdered its king along with 6,000 of his supporters. In AD 1429 he defeated the Sultan of Malwa named Hoshangshani but himself suffered a defeat at the hands of Ahmadshah Gujarati and was forced to sign a treaty. After his defeat at Gujarat, the chiefs of Telengana made an unsuccessful bid for freedom. During his reign jealousy increased between the two groups of Amirs viz., Deccanis and Afaquis (Iranis, Arab and Turkish Amirs) Sultans sympathy towards the Afaquis accelerated it all the more. He died in AD 1436.

Allauddin Ahmad II (14 July, AD 1436–4 March, AD 1458)

During his lifetime, the effect of the foreign Amirs increased. He sent his brother Muhammad to ask the ruler of Vijaynagar named Devrai II to give him the pending tribute before leading a military campaign against Vijaynagar. He was successful in this effort of his but he became very vain as a result of this success and claimed equal share with the Sultan in the Sultanate. But he was defeated. The Sultan however pardoned him and made him the governor of Raichur Doab. For the rest of his life he was loyal to his brother. In AD 1436 Allauddin Ahmad II led a campaign against the ruler of Sangameshwar. He was successful there also and the ruler of Sangameshwar had to marry his daughter to the Sultan. The Sultan of Kandesh carried out invasions against Allauddin and got help from the Sultan of Gujarat and the Rai of Gondwana.

The Bahamani Commander of Berar was imprisoned in the fort of Namala and Nsir Khan got his name inscribed on the main mosque of the province. During the time of this crisis the Afis or the foreign Amirs advised the Sultan to fight against Nasir Khan with full preparations. Their leader (Malik-ut-Tuzzar Khalaf Hassan Basari) was successful as well which led to an increase in the influence of foreign Amirs at the court and the decline of the Deccani nobles. Seeing the successes of the Bahamani empire, the Rai of Vijaynagar effected a reform in his army, recruited thousands of Muslims in his army and with their help conquered the fort of Mudgal in Raichur Doab and also plundered Nusartabad, Sagar and Bijapur. The Sultan once again carried out a successful campaign against Vijaynagar and captured the fort of Mudgal and also claimed the revenue due. Allauddin's character became worse as the age increased and he remained immersed in pleasures. The Deccani nobles made a plan to effect an end to the foreign nobles. In AD 1446–1447, Konkan was attacked and an army of Afaquis was sent under the leadership of Khalaf Hassan.

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The ruler of Sangameshwar was also helping the Deccani nobles in this intrigue. In this war, the Afaquis were defeated and their leader Khalaf Hassan was killed along with his many associates. The remaining Amirs were charged with treachery and the Deccani nobles made the Sultan to murder them. It is said that about 22,000 Afaquis were murdered on the occasion of a royal feast. The Deccan established their control over their property but the Sultan repented heavily when he came to know the truth through Qasim Beg and some foreign nobles and he also gave death punishment to the Deccanis. He, again, started giving big offices to the Afaquis as against the Deccanis. The brother-in-law of the Sultan, Jalal Khan, revolted in Golkunda and declared himself the Sultan. To suppress this revolt, a foreign noble named Mahmud Gawan was appointed. He suppressed the revolt successfully but the Sultan pardoned the rebel Jalal Khan. The Sultan died due to a deep wound on 4 March, AD 1458.

Humayun Shah (4 March, AD 1458–11 September, AD 1461)

After the death of Allauddin Ahmad II his son Humayun, who, being the eldest son had already been appointed as heir apparent by his father, succeeded him on the throne. He was a very severe natured man. He removed his younger brother Hassan Khan and his supporters from his way before becoming the Sultan. He appointed Mahmud Gawan as his Prime Minister. Because of his ability the Sultan succeeded in suppressing three revolts against himself. He was assassinated by his own servants while he was drunk on 11 September, AD 1461. People were jubilant over his death because they were fed up with him because of his cruel nature.

Ahmad Hassan and his Regency (11 September, AD 1461–30 July, AD 1463)

Humayun was followed by his eight years old son on the throne. The administrative council formed during the reign of Humayun himself started running the administration. It consisted of three members including the queen mother Makdoom-i-Jaha-Nargis and Mahmud Gawan.

The queen mother had the decisive power. The Hindu kings of Telangana and Orissa and Mahmood I of Malwa launched an attack on the Bahamani Kingdom. The Bahamani kingdom defeated Telangana and Orissa, but was defeated by the armies of Malwa. Queen mother and her younger son Mahmud III were forced to take refuge in the fort of Firozabad. Mahraud Gawan appealed to Mahmud Bigar of Gujarat for help, which was accepted by him, and the army of Malwa was driven back. On the 30 July, AD 1463 Ahmad Hassan died and his younger brother Mahmud III ascended the throne.

Shahabuddin Mahmud III and the Regency (13 July, AD 1463–22 March, AD 1482)

After the death of Ahmad Hassan (alias Nizamuddin III) his younger brother Mahmud Khan ascended the throne assuming the title Muhammad III. He was only nine years old therefore the Regency continued to run the administration even in his time. One member of the Regency Khwaja Jahan-revolted and for this treachery the queen mother punished him by getting him hanged. Mahmud Gawan, who was devoting great attention towards the education of Baby Sultan was given the title Amir-ul-Umra and he was ordered to stay in the capital itself. When the Sultan was fifteen years of age, the queen mother left the politics and the Sultan began to rule under the supervision of Mahmud Gawan. In the Prime Minister ship of Mahmud Gawan the Bahamani empire not only

achieved cultural progress but also for the first time it was extended from the Koromandal Coast to the Arabian Sea Coast.

In the reign of Mahmud III in AD 1472 Bankapur was invaded, whose ruler Virkan surrendered. Next four-five years were spent in struggle with Orissa in AD 1474–1475 because of the misbehavior of the officials at Kondavidu. The people there had risen in revolt and had murdered the Governor. After a prolonged struggle the ruler Purushotam Gajpati was forced to surrender but, soon after, in AD 1480–1481, the army posted at Kondavidu revolted and went over to the side of Vijaynagar ruler Rai Narshingh. The Bahamani Sultan suppressed this revolt and invaded Vijaynagar to teach the kingdom a lesson. Vijaynagar was defeated and a major part to it was annexed to the Bahamani empire. This was the last and the most important achievement of Mahmud Gawan. The Deccanis plotted against him. To prove the charges framed by them, they got a plain paper stamped and on it a forged letter was drafted in the name of Raja Purushotan on the behalf of Mahmud Gawan. In it was written that the people were fed up with Sultan Muhammad because of his cruelty and drunkenness and that he should invade the Bechamani kingdom. When this letter was shown to the Bahamani Sultan became very angry.

Though Mahmud Gawan repeatedly asserted that he had no concern whatsoever with that letter but Sultan paid to heed to it and ordered his Abyssinian Slave Gulam Jouhar to slay the Wazir at that very spot. It was done (5 April, AD 1481). Thus was killed the only adviser of the Bahamani empire who was honest and able alike. After Mahmud Gawan's death when the Sultan came to know about the plot of the Deccani nobles against Gawan, he was deeply grieved and himself died within a year on 22 March, AD 1482.

The Successors of Mahmud III and the Decline of the Bahamani Empire (AD 1482–1527)

Mahmud III was followed by his younger son Mahmud Shah as Sultan. He was very incapable and pleasure loving. Since he was only twelve years of age, he made Nizamulmulk his Regent or Malik Naik. The struggle between the two sections of the Amirs increased because of their selfish interests. It is said that on the incitement by the Deccani nobles the Sultan issued the orders of the massacre of the Turks and about 4000 people were done to death. After the domination of the Deccani nobles for four years the Sultan made an unsuccessful attempt to get Nizamulmulk assassinated during the Telangana campaign so that he should be able to get out of their strangle hold. He became inclined towards the African Group. On the other hand, the Governor of Telangana revolted and there was revolt in Goa and Chakan as well which was assisted by Amir Yusuf Adil, staying at Bijapur at that time. He had left the port of Bidar in anger. Malik Hassan tried to capture the treasury for becoming the Sultan himself. The Sultan thereupon ordered the Governor of Bidar Dilpasanc Khan to assassinate him. In November 1487 the Deccani noble, in alliance with their African counterpart, tried unsuccessfully to slay the Sultans.

In AD 1490, Yusuf Adil Khan of Bijapur, and Fathulla Imadulmulk of Berar declared their independence in AD 1512. Qutubul Mulk of Golkunda and Barid-Ul-Mulk of Bidar also declared themselves independent as also like the Nizamulmulk of Ahmednagar. Sultan Mahmud III and three of his immediate successors (who were only nominal Sultans) remained a puppet in the hands of Barid Ul-Mulk of Bidar and after his death that of his son Amir Ali Brid. The last Bahamani Sultan was Kalimulla

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Shah. In AD 1527 with his death ended the Bahamani empire as well and on its ruins arose five independent kingdoms

(1) Baridshahi Kingdom of Bidar, (2) Adilshahi Kingdom of Bijapur, (3) Nizamshahi Kingdom of Ahmednagar, (4) Imadshahi Kingdom of Berar and (5) Qutubshahi Kingdom of Golkunda.

Causes of the downfall of Bahamani Kingdom

Many causes were responsible for the decline of the Bahamani Kingdom. Chief causes amongst which were:

- (i) **Internal intrigues and Civil Wars:** In its 175 years of reign the Bahamani Dynasty had in all seventeen Sultans; out of which five were assassinated, three deposed, two blinded and two died of excessive drinking. It can be said, therefore, that due to the lack of any definite rules of succession, incessant intrigue royal household as well as the highest officials caused monetary and physical damage to it and contributed to the growth of indiscipline. During the reign of Sultan Shahabuddin Mahmud, the Queen mother ordered Khan-i-Jahan to be hanged.
- (ii) **Partisanship of the Deccanis (original inhabitants) and the Afaqis (foreign settlers):** Some historians say that the Bahamani Kingdom was founded by those Amirs who had come and settled in India from Persia, Turkey etc. There was a deep enmity between them and the original inhabitants the Deccanis who had embarrassed Islata. They wanted to give the entire credit for every success to their party and put the blame for every failure on the opposite group. In this party rivalry an able man like Mahmud Gawan became a victim. He had served the Bahamani Kingdom for thirty-five years but the party politics led to his assassination and within a short time short his death, the Bahamani Kingdom disintegrated.
- (iii) **Religious fanaticism of some rulers:** Some of the Bahamani rulers were religious fanatics and they did not show real sympathy towards their Hindu subjects. The Bahamani Sultans considered it their God-given duty to propagate Islamic culture in the Deccan. Since Muslims numbered less than the Hindus, many a time they raised the slogan of Jihad (crusade) and the Muslim soldiers lost their lives in large numbers in the ensuing warfare. Fanatic Sultans tried to carry out a general massacre of the Hindus quite a number of times, which aroused the fanaticism of the Hindus as well, and thus the Bahamani empire grew weak progressively.
- (iv) **Defective Foreign Policy:** Bahamani Sultans followed a policy of warfare and enmity towards all their neighbouring states like Malwa, Khandesh, Gujarat, Telangana, Vijaynagar etc. Majority of the Sultans tried to win popularity by their military achievements; very few of them utilized their time for the public welfare activities. Their attitude weakened the Bahamani Kingdom.
- (v) **Excessive authority given to Provincial Governors:** Ever since the time of founders of the Bahamani empire, the Governors of four major provinces (who were called Tarafs) were given the right to collect revenue and maintain a big army. The centre had no great control over them. Mahmud Gawan tried to divide them into eight parts and tried to bring them under the greater control of the centre but the Sultans following him could not arrest their ambition and soon after his death, they started proclaiming themselves independent and the central Government could do nothing against it.

- (vi) **Financial Disparity:** Some historians hold opinion that an important cause of the downfall of the Bahamani empire was financial disparity prevailing there. A Russian merchant Atansiuv Nikitn, who stayed in Bidar in AD 1470-1474 wrote that the population of the empire was too much but the condition of the common man was miserable, whereas the Amirs were very rich and lived a luxurious life. Briefly then, the party groupings in the Bahamani court, administrative defects and a protected struggle against Vijaynagar and other kingdoms contributed to its downfall.

5.4 THE AFGHANS: THE LODHIS

Bahlul founded the Lodi Dynasty after murdering the vizar Hamid Khan. The history of the seventy-five years of the Lodi Dynasty is that of bitter conflicts. For Lodi rulers, it was a fight on three fronts. First, they had to fight against equally powerful neighbouring rulers of the states of Jaunpur, Malwa, Gujarat and Mewar; either for the safety of their kingdom or to extend their power and influence. The rulers of each of these neighbouring states probably possessed better strength and resources than the Lodis, but none had the prestige and influence that was attached to the Sultanate of Delhi. Therefore, each of them desired to capture Delhi. This led to their constant conflict with the Lodis. The Lodis also had to wage wars against those nobles and jagirdars of the Delhi Sultanate who, taking advantage of the weakness of previous Sultans, had become virtually semi-independent and paid annual revenue only at the point of the sword. The weakness of the later Tughlaqs had encouraged tendencies of decentralization and independence among the powerful nobles, courtiers and provincial governors who, therefore, neither feared nor honoured any central authority. The Sayyids had completely failed to check these tendencies. Therefore, when the Lodis attempted for the centralization of administration and restoration of the prestige of the Sultan, they had to contend against all those who represented these tendencies against the interests of a centralised state. Third, the Lodis had to fight hard against their own Afghan nobles. Those very Afghan nobles who were the source of strength of the Lodi rulers proved to be their enemies. The Afghans possessed certain virtues, viz. spirit of independence, equality and chivalry. But then, these very virtues proved detrimental to the efforts of the Lodi Sultans for centralisation and the establishment of a strong monarchy at the centre. The worst problem of the Lodi Sultans was the tribal instinct of independence of their Afghan nobles and that was primarily responsible for their downfall. The Afghan nobles failed to recognise the need of a strong centralized state under one leader and therefore, failed to cooperate with their Sultans which, ultimately, gave a favourable opportunity to the Mughal ruler, Babur, to attack and conquer India.

Bahlul Lodi (1451-1489)

Sultan Bahlul Lodi, the founder of Lodi dynasty, had a humble beginning. He belonged to the Shahu Khel clan of the Lodis which formed an important branch of the Afghans. The members of this clan first settled themselves in India in the territory around Lamghan and Multan. They served the Turkish Sultan of Delhi. Later in 1341, Malik Shahu, the progenitor of the Lodi rulers in India killed the governor of Multan and occupied it. But it brought no fruitful result because Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq attacked and conquered Multan immediately after his successful adventure. The successors of Malik Shahu, therefore, contented themselves by carrying on trade with India. One among them, the grandson of Shahu, Malik Bahram settled himself in Multan early in Firuz Shah's reign

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Check Your Progress

3. Who found the Bahamani Empire?
4. Where did Allauddin Hasaan Bahamani build his capital?

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and accepted service under its governor, Malik Mardan Daulat. Bahram's eldest son, Malik Sultan Shah Lodi served the first Sayyid ruler, Khiz Khan very well, and in return got the title of Islam Khan and the governorship of Sarhind. The father of Bahlul, Malik Kala was the brother of this Islam Khan. Malik Kala himself was a brave person and established himself as an independent chief. But he died before the birth of Bahlul. Islam Khan, Bahlul's uncle and governor of Sarhind, therefore, brought Bahlul up under his care. Islam Khan found Bahlul to be diligent and daring, thus he married his daughter with him, and nominated him his successor. Therefore, after the death of Islam Khan, Bahlul became the governor of Sarhind. He went on increasing his power and influence, and for the timely help which he gave to Sultan Muhammad Shah against the ruler of Malwa, was awarded the title of Khan-i-Jahan and also the possession over Punjab. Bahlul, afterwards, attempted twice to capture Delhi but failed. But when vazir Hamid Khan called him to Delhi, he saw an opportunity. Sultan Ala-ud-din Alam Shah had already left for Badayun while Hamid Khan was an imprudent man. Hamid Khan first did not trust Bahlul and did not permit the Afghans to enter the court. But Bahlul proved shrewder than him. He showed perfect courtesy and servility to Hamid Khan and made him believe that he had no more ambition than continuing to be the commander of the army. He asked his followers to behave as simpletons in the presence of the vazir. Hamid Khan, therefore, felt perfectly satisfied with them and allowed Bahlul and his Afghan followers to visit the audience hall daily. Bahlul, one day, went with his followers to pay the usual courtesy to the vazir and there Qutub Khan, a cousin of Bahlul, put a chain round the hands of Hamid Khan and told him that it was in the interest of the State that he should take rest for some time. Thus, Bahlul easily imprisoned Hamid Khan and got him killed afterwards. He invited Ala-ud-din Alam Shah to come to Delhi. The offer was refused. He, then, ascended the throne in Delhi on 19 April 1451 under the title of Sultan Abul Muzaffar Bahlul Shah Ghazi and had his name proclaimed in the Khutba.

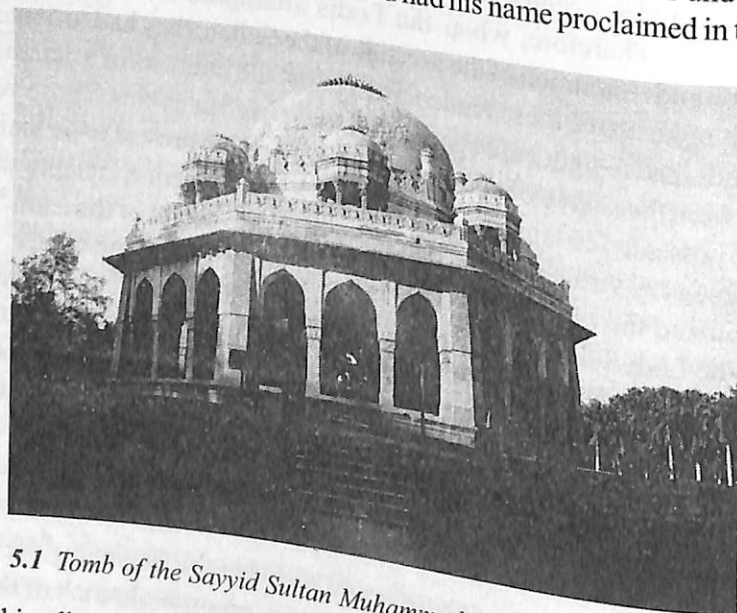


Fig. 5.1 Tomb of the Sayyid Sultan Muhammad Shah in Lodi Gardens, Delhi

Source: Wikipedia

Bahlul had to tackle many baffling problems. Bahlul Lodi's chief tasks were to re-establish the lost authority of the Sultan, to establish the pre-eminence of the Afghans in the kingdom, to suppress the rebellious nobles and jagirdars, to preserve his kingdom

from jealous neighbours and to strengthen his gains. In fact, the occupation of Delhi by Bahlul had not increased his territorial possessions significantly, but had increased his responsibilities manifold. Bahlul faced all these problems boldly and tactfully. He tried to please his Afghan nobles who alone could help him in strengthening his position. He gave them extensive jagirs, respected them, called Afghans from outside India and gave them jagirs and high offices. He, however, was equally interested in restoring the authority of the Sultan. Therefore, he punished disobedient and rebellious nobles and jagirdars. He undertook a series of military expeditions to Mewar, Sambhal, Rapri, Bhogaon, Gwalior, etc., and forced their chiefs to offer submission and pay annual tribute. He also succeeded in exacting loyalty from his Afghan nobles. Bahlul, of course, could not pursue the ideal of an absolute monarchy and his policy of giving extensive jagirs to the Afghan nobles, certainly, contributed to the weakness of Lodi Sultans, yet there is no doubt that he succeeded in keeping under his control the spirit of independence of the Afghans and in exacting obedience from them. Bahlul gave no opportunity to his Afghan nobles to carve out independent states of their own.

One major success of Sultan Bahlul Lodi was the subjugation of the state of Jaunpur. Mahmud Shah Sharqi, the ruler of Jaunpur, had married a daughter of the Sayyid Sultan, Ala-ud-din Alam Shah. This lady constantly urged her husband to attack Delhi in order to avenge the disgrace of her father. Mahmud Shah, on his own part also, regarded himself as the rightful claimant to the throne of Delhi which earlier belonged to his father-in-law. He, therefore, attacked Delhi in the very first year of the reign of Bahlul. Bahlul, who had gone on an expedition towards Multan, returned quickly to his capital and then proceeded to face the enemy. Dariya Khan Lodi, the commander of the Sharqi army, left the side of his master before the battle which reduced the strength of the Sharqi army. Bahlul, therefore, succeeded in defeating Mahmud Shah at Narela in the vicinity of Delhi. Mahmud Shah did not forget this disgrace and attacked Etawah after some time. He again failed to gain any success and both parties agreed for peace. But no party fulfilled the terms of the treaty and dispute again broke out over the possession of Shamsabad. It also brought no result and peace was signed again. Sometime later, Bahlul attacked Jaunpur but without any result. In 1457, Mahmud Shah died. However, his son, Muhammad Shah continued to fight against Bahlul. But Muhammad Shah was soon killed by his brother Husain Shah, who now occupied the throne of Jaunpur. Husain Shah agreed for a treaty in the beginning of his reign and peace was maintained by the two rivals for four years. But Husain Shah was an ambitious and courageous ruler. He also pursued the policy of his predecessors and attacked Delhi. It led to continuous warfare between the two rival kingdoms, peace being transitory in between sometimes. Bahlul succeeded twice in capturing Malka-i-Jahan, the wife of Husain Shah, though sent her back to Jaunpur with honour both times. Husain Shah, however, was defeated in the end and forced to take refuge in Bihar. Bahlul annexed the kingdom of Jaunpur and appointed his son, Barbak Shah, as its ruler. The conquest of Jaunpur, which was more powerful and prosperous as compared to the kingdom of Delhi, was the greatest achievement of Bahlul. It proved his military talents, added to his resources and raised his prestige among other rulers. It enabled him to compel the Chiefs of Kalpi, Dholpur, Ban and Alipur to acknowledge his suzerainty.

Bahlul also attacked Gwalior during the last year of his reign. Raja Man Singh gave a present of eighty lakhs of tankas and Bahlul returned. On the way, he fell ill and died near Jalali in the middle of July 1489 AD.

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Check Your Progress

- Who was the weakest ruler of the Sayyid dynasty?
- What was the worst problem for the Lodhi sultans?

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5.5 SUMMARY

- During the last years of Muhammad Tughlaq's reign (AD 1324–1351), when disorder spread in most of the areas of his empire, the Hindus of the South India also did not deter from taking advantage of the situation. They founded the Vijaynagar Empire in AD 1336.
- The Vijaynagar Empire was ruled by three successive dynasties between AD 1336 and AD 1565 viz. Sangam Dynasty, (AD 1336–1485), Saluba Dynasty (AD 1485–1506) and Tuluva Dynasty (AD 1506–1565).
- Harihar I, Bakka I, Harihar II, Devrai I, Devrai II, Mallikarjun and Virupaksha II were the rulers of Sangam Dynasty.
- Saluva Narsingh, and Regent Narsa Naik and Immadi Narsingh ruled over Saluva dynasty.
- Vir Narsingh and Krishnadev Rai ruled over Tuluva dynasty.
- All the Muslim states decided to enter into a confederation against Vijaynagar.
- The actual cause of the formation of this confederation was that the power of Vijaynagar had increased greatly and all the Muslim Sultans of the Deccan realized that they would not be able to rule peacefully unless and until the power of Vijaynagar was suppressed.
- In AD 1347, Alauddin Hasan, an ambitious Afghan, founded the Bahamani empire.
- For every group of hundred villages, Muhammad Tughlaq appointed officials called *Amiran-i-Sadah*, who were also called 'Sadi'.
- Hasan Gangu, alias Zafar Khan, declared himself the king on 3 August 1347, with the title of Abul Muzaffar Allauddin Behmanshah, and the empire established by him came to be called the Bahmani Empire.
- Gayasuddin became the Sultan at the age of seventeen. He appointed many Persians on important posts.
- The daughters of Sultan Mahmood II were married to Firoz and Ahmad, who the Sultan had brought up as sons.
- In Indian history, Shihabuddin Admad II is known as the first Sultan of the Bahamanis of Bidar because he shifted his capital from Gulburga to Bidar immediately after his accession.
- Mahmud III was followed by Mahmud Shah, his younger son and an incapable and pleasure-loving man, as the Sultan. Since he was only twelve years of age, he made Nizamulmulk his Regent or Malik Naik.
- The causes responsible for the decline of the Bahamani Kingdom included internal intrigues, civil wars, partisanship of the Decanis and Afaquis, religious fanaticism, defective foreign policy, excessive authority given to provincial governors and financial disparity.
- Bahlul founded the Lodi Dynasty after murdering the vizar Hamid Khan.
- Bahlul had to tackle many baffling problems. His primary tasks were to restore the lost authority of the Sultan, to establish the supremacy of the Afghans in the

kingdom, to suppress the rebellious nobles and jagirdars, to safeguard his kingdom from jealous neighbours and to consolidate his gains.

- Bahlul was diplomatic, possessed commonsense and understood his limitations and circumstances. He did not try to conquer any other kingdom except that of Jaunpur.

5.6 KEY TERMS

- **Confederation:** An organization which consists of a number of parties or groups united in an alliance or league
- **Alias:** Indicates that a named person is also known or more familiar under another specified name
- **Internal intrigues:** Making secret plans to do something illicit or detrimental within a state/kingdom
- **Jagir:** Income from the piece of land assigned to officers by the ruler

5.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The ruling period of the Vijaynagar Empire was between AD 1336 and AD 1565.
2. Three successive dynasties of the Vijaynagar Empire were Sangam Dynasty, Saluba Dynasty and Tuluva Dynasty.
3. In AD 1347, Alauddin Hasan founded the Bahamani Empire.
4. Allauddin Hasaan Bahamani built his capital at Gulburga and named it Ahsanabad and decorated it with beautiful buildings.
5. Muhammad Shah was the weakest ruler of the Sayyid dynasty.
6. The worst problem for the Lodi Sultans was the tribal instinct of independence of their Afghan nobles.

5.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the causes of the decline of Vijaynagar? Write in brief.
2. List the rulers of the Bahamani Empire.
3. Assess in brief the foundation of Lodhi dynasty.

Long-Answer questions

1. Discuss the relation between Muhammad Tughlaq and the foundation of Vijaynagar.
2. Explain the rise and fall of three successive dynasties that ruled over Vijaynagar.
3. How was the Bahamani kingdom formed? Discuss in detail.
4. Assess the causes for the downfall of the Bahamani kingdom.
5. Discuss the relations between Sultan Bahlul Lodi and his Afghan nobles.

5.9 FURTHER READING

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HISTORY OF INDIA FROM 1526-1947

BA [History]

Third Year

Paper III



RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY

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About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

HISTORY OF INDIA FROM 1526-1947

Syllabi	Mapping in Book
Unit I- Mughal India <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Babur: Foundation.b. Sher Shah Suri: Administration.c. Akbar: Mansabdari System and Din-i-Ilahi.d. Shah Jahan: Art and Architecture.	Unit 1: Mughal India (Pages 3-43)
Unit II- Crisis of Mughal Empire <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Aurangzeb: Administration.b. Marathas: Shivaji, Administration.c. Rise of Regional Polities: Bengal, Awadh and Mysore.	Unit 2: Crisis of Mughal Empire (Pages 45-86)
Unit III- Struggle for Supremacy: Expansion and Consolidation Colonial Rule <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Anglo-French Rivalry.b. Advent of British Rule in India.c. Warren Hastings, Cornwallis, Wellesley and Dalhousie.d. Resistance to British Rule: Maharashtra, Punjab, Sindh and Mysore.	Unit 3: Struggle for Supremacy: Expansion and Consolidation of Colonial Rule (Pages 87-124)
Unit IV- Emerging Contours <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Renaissance I-Ram Mohan Roy and Brahmo Samaj.b. 1857: Causes, Nature and Significance.c. Renaissance II-Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and Dayanand Saraswati.d. Syed Ahmed Khan and the Aligarh Movement.	Unit 4: Emerging Contours (Pages 125-161)
Unit V- India National Movement <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Emergence of Nationalism.b. Predecessors of the Congress and Formation of the Congress.c. Early Nationalists: Programmes and Policies and Extremists.d. Mass Movements: Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience, Quit India and India's Independence.	Unit 5: India National Movement (Pages 163-218)

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INTRODUCTION

Babur (AD1526–30), who founded the Mughal Empire in India, was the descendant of Timur as well as Ghenghiz Khan. Ousted by his cousins, he came to India and defeated Ibrahim Lodi, the last Lodi Sultan, in AD1526 at the First Battle of Panipat. There was a short break (AD1540–1555) in Mughal rule when Babur's son Humayun was dethroned from Delhi by an Afghan ruler, Sher Shah. Babur's grandson, Akbar, consolidated political power and extended his empire over virtually the whole of North India and parts of the south. Akbar was followed by three illustrious Mughal emperors, namely Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

In western India, Shivaji succeeded in forging the Marathas into an efficient military machine and instilled in them a sense of national identity. They adopted guerrilla tactics to beat the Mughals and engaged them in many conquests that eventually drained their economic resources.

The period between 1707 and 1947 is extremely crucial in the history of India. The advent of the Europeans for the purpose of trading later led to the invasion of the British in India who ruled over India for a long time. During the reign of the British, India was exploited for its economic resources to a great extent. However, their rule also led to various reforms in the social, educational, commercial and judicial spheres in India. The World War I and World War II played an important role in arousing the spirit of nationalism among people. Various freedom fighters fought for the Independence of the country in their own way. Finally, India became independent on 15th August 1947 and became a Republic on 26th January 1950 when the Constitution of India was enforced.

This book, *History of India from 1526-1947*, comprises five units. The book is written strictly in SIM (Self Instructional Material) format for Distance Learning. Each unit starts with an Introduction and Unit Objectives. Then, the detailed content is presented, along with figures and tables, in an understandable and organized manner. Each unit has Check Your Progress questions at regular intervals to test the readers' understanding of the topics covered. A Summary along with a list of Key Terms and a set of Questions and Exercises is provided at the end of each unit for effective recapitulation. Each unit also has a list of books for Further Reading.

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UNIT 1 MUGHAL INDIA

Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Unit Objectives
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Till the early 16th century, India had been without a major empire for almost a thousand years. Since the Gupta Dynasty, an all-India empire had not prevailed. In AD 1526, Babur, a descendant of Timur, from Central Asia, swept across the Khyber Pass and established the Mughal Empire, which lasted for over 200 years. The Mughal Dynasty had taken hold of most of the Indian subcontinent by AD 1600. It went into a slow decline after AD 1707 and finally came to an end following defeat in the Rebellion of 1857.

The Mughal period marked a vast social change in the subcontinent, as the Hindu majority was ruled over by the Mughal emperors. Some emperors showed religious tolerance, others liberally patronized Hindu culture, while some others destroyed the historical temples and imposed taxes on the non-Muslims. During the decline of the Mughal Empire—which at its peak occupied an area slightly larger than the ancient Mauryan Empire—several smaller empires rose to fill the power vacuum, and subsequently contributed to the decline of the empire.

The Mughal Dynasty was the last great empire of Indian history. Such was their greatness that the word ‘Mogul’ in English (derived from Mughal) refers to a powerful person. The Mughals were a remarkable dynasty, and at the height of their powers gave the world a set of capable rulers. It was also during their reign that some of the finest monuments of India were built, most notably, the Taj Mahal.

In this unit, you will be learning about the Mughal Dynasty, including sources of Mughal Indian history; the establishment of the Mughal Empire; and factors that prompted their first great emperor, Babur, to invade India. You will also learn about Babur’s personality, the two battles—Panipat and Khanwah—that defined his reign, and his brilliance as a builder, among other topics. This unit will also discuss about Sher Shah

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Suri, who was an Afghan ruler who succeeded in establishing a powerful empire in India simply by his own exertions, merit and the power of sword. This unit takes you further down the lanes of Mughal history, where you will learn about one of the greatest emperors of India, Humayun's son, Akbar. This unit will also discuss about Jahangir's son, Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan was a capable and skilled ruler. He contributed extensively towards fortifying and enlarging the Mughal Empire.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Identify the various sources of understanding the history of the Mughals
- Describe the political scenario in India on the eve of Babur's invasion
- Analyse the early career and personality of Babur
- Describe the administrative setup introduced by Sher Shah Suri
- Analyse the features of the religious policy adopted by Akbar
- Explain the features of Din-i-Ilahi
- Elaborate on the achievements of Shah Jahan in the field of art and architecture

1.2 BABUR: FOUNDATION

Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur was the son of Umar Sheikh Mirza, a descendent of the famous invader Timur Lane. His mother Qutulug Nigar Khanam belonged to the family of Genghis Khan, the great Mongol invader. When Babur was born in AD 1483, his father was the ruler of a small principality of Farghana in Turkistan. In AD 1494, Babur inherited the petty Kingdom of Fargana from his father. He was then only eleven years and four months old. At such a tender age, he had to shoulder the responsibility of ruling the state. As the famous historian Dr Ishwari Prasad points out, at a very young age, Babur was surrounded by enemies from all sides. His near relatives and Uzbek chief Shahbani Khan wanted to snatch away the principality of Farghana. Oblivious of the Uzbek danger, the Timurid princes were busy fighting with each another. Babur, too, made a bid to conquer Samarkand from his uncle. He won the city twice, but on both the occasions, lost it in no time. The second time, the Uzbek Chief Shaibani Khan Shaibani defeated Babur and conquered Samarkand. Soon, he overran the rest of the Timurid kingdoms in the area. Babur wrote in his autobiography, *Tuzuk-i-baburi*, 'I had lost Samarkand for recovering Fargana but now I feel that I have lost even the first one without having possessed the second.' Having lost both Farghana and Samarkand, Babur was forced to move towards Kabul, which he conquered in AD 1504. For the next fourteen years, Babur kept biding his time to capture back his homeland (Farghana and Samarkand) from the Uzbeks. When he was completely unsuccessful against the Uzbeks, he diverted his attention from the West (Central Asia) to the East (India).

Political Scenario on the Eve of Babur's Invasion

The first half of the 15th century witnessed political instability with the disintegration of the Tughlaq Dynasty. Both the Saiyyad (1414–1451) and the Lodi (1451–1526) rulers failed to cope with 'the disruptive forces'. The nobles resented and rebelled at the earliest opportunity. The political chaos in the north-west provinces of the country had

weakened the centre. Let us examine what was happening in the other parts of India during that time.

In Central India, there were three kingdoms: Gujarat, Malwa and Mewar. The power of Sultan Mahmud Khalji II of Malwa was, however, on the decline. Gujarat was ruled by Muzaffar Shah II, while Mewar under the leadership of Sisodia ruler Rana Sanga was the most powerful kingdom. The rulers of Malwa were under constant pressure from the Lodis, Mewar and Gujarat. This was because, it was not only the most fertile region and an important source for elephant supply, but it also provided an important trade route to Gujarat sea ports. Hence, it was an important region for the Lodis. Besides, for both Gujarat and Mewar, it could serve as a buffer against the Lodis. The Sultan of Malwa was an incompetent ruler, and his prime minister, Medini Rai, could hardly hold the kingdom intact for long in the wake of internal disputes.

Finally, Rana Sanga succeeded in extending his influence over Malwa and Gujarat. By the end of the 15th century, Rana Sanga's sway over Rajputana became almost complete with the occupation of Ranthambhor and Chanderi. Further south, there were the powerful Vijayanagar and Bahmani kingdoms.

In the east, Nusrat Shah ruled Bengal. Towards the end of Ibrahim Lodi's reign, Afghan chieftains Nasir Khan Lohani and Ma'ruf Farmuli succeeded in carving out a separate kingdom of Jaunpur under Sultan Muhammad Shah. Besides these major powers, there were numerous Afghan chieftaincies around Agra—the most powerful ones being those of Hasan Khan in Mewat, Nizam Khan in Bayana, Muhammad Zaitun in Dholpur, Tatar Khan Sarang Khani in Gwalior, Husain Khan Lohani in Rapri, Qutub Khan in Etawa, Alam Khan in Kalpi, and Qasim Sambhali in Sambhal, among others. While analysing the political setup on the eve of Babur's invasion, it is generally said that there was a confederacy of Rajput principalities which was ready to seize control of Hindustan. It is held that had Babur not intervened, the Rajputs led by their illustrious leader Rana Sanga would have captured power in northern India. It is argued that the political division of the regional states was religious in nature and that the Rajput confederacy under Rana Sanga fueled by religious zeal wanted to establish a Hindu empire. This assumption is based on the famous passage in *Baburnama* where Babur says that Hindustan was governed by 'five Musalman rulers': the Lodis (at the centre), Gujarat, Malwa, Bahmani, and Bengal, and two 'pagans' (Rana Sanga of Mewar and Vijaynagar). Besides, the *fathnama* (prayer for victory) issued after the battle of Khanwa suggests that the Rajput confederacy under Rana was inspired by religious zeal and organized with the intention to overthrow the 'Islamic power'.

However, such observations have been questioned by historians. Babur has nowhere suggested that these powers were antagonistic on religious grounds. Instead, Babur himself admits that many Rais and Ranas were obedient to Islam. Moreover, if one looks at the composition of the confederacy, there were many Muslim chieftains like Hasan Khan Mewati and Mahumud Khan Lodi, who sided with Rana Sanga against Babur. Though the power of Rana was unquestionable, Babur was in reality more worried about the Afghan menace.

Political conditions on the basis of historical sources

On the basis of *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* and other historical sources, the political conditions of India on the eve of Babur's invasion can be summarized as follows:

- There were innumerable small and independent kingdoms which often fought with each other.

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- There was no powerful central authority to unite all the small states against a foreign invasion. In the words of Dr Ishwari Prasad, 'In the beginning of the 16th century, India was a confederacy of small independent states which could easily fall prey to any strong and determined invader.'
- Babur writes in his memoirs that when he invaded India there were seven important states—five Muslims and two Hindus. Besides these states mentioned by Babur, there were several other states which were also playing a considerable role in the politics of India. In northern India, the main states were Delhi, Punjab, Bengal, Jaunpur, Gujarat, Mewar, Malwa, Orissa, Sindh, Kashmir and Khandesh.
- The political conditions of southern India were also deteriorating. The Bahmani kingdom had broken up into five small principalities. These were Bijapur, Golkunda, Beedar, Barar and Ahmednagar. Although all these states were ruled by the Shia rulers, still they used to fight against each other. The southern Hindu kingdom of Vijaynagar was under Krishnadev Rai. Even though he was very powerful, Krishnadev Rai did not have good relations with the Bahamani kingdom and was only interested in the politics of the Deccan.
- The people of India lacked the feeling of modern nationalism. They were more loyal to their local rulers than the symbolic central power of Delhi. In order to form an idea of the political condition of northern India on the eve of Babur's invasion, a brief survey of these states would be very helpful.

Table 1.1 A Brief Survey of Indian States on the Eve of Babar's Invasion

State	Political Condition
Delhi	In northern India, the small remnant of the Delhi Sultanate was ruled by an incapable ruler Ibrahim Lodi against whom rebellions were a frequent occurrence.
Bengal	During the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlaq, Bengal became an independent kingdom. Nusrat Shah ruled over the territory during the invasion of Babur, and extended the borders of the kingdom up to Hajipur and Mongher and annexed Tirhut.
Punjab	Daulat Khan Lodi had revolted against the authority of Ibrahim Lodi and had become an independent ruler of Punjab. He joined hands with Alam Khan, an uncle of Ibrahim, and invited Babur to invade India. Besides that, the rulers of Sind and Multan were also hostile to the Sultan of Delhi.
The Eastern Districts	The eastern districts about Oudh, Jaunpur and Bihar rose in arms and chose Darya Khan Lohani as their chief.
Jaunpur	It was absolutely independent of the central control.
Bihar	It was an open rebellion.
Gujarat	The kingdom of Gujarat was ruled by the Muslim Sultans independent of Delhi.
Malwa	The ruler of Malwa was Mahmud II of the Khilji dynasty. The ruler of Chanderi, Medini Rai wanted to establish his control over Malwa with the help of Rana Sanga of Mewar. Malwa was beset with internal quarrels and rebellions.
Mewar	Mewar was the most powerful Rajput Kingdom under the able and wise leadership of Rana Sanga who had united all the Rajputs under a single flag in a federation.
Khandesh	Khandesh, once the province of the Delhi Kingdom had become independent at the close of the 14th century. On the eve of Babur's invasion, Miran Mohammad was the ruler.

Vijayanagar	Vijayanagar was founded in AD 1336 by Harishar and his brother Bukka. Krishna Dev was a very powerful ruler of this dynasty. The rulers of Vijayanagar were in constant war with the neighbouring kingdom of Bahmani.
Bahmani State	It was founded in AD 1347 by Hassan, an Afghan noble. It produced a number of warriors and ambitious kings. Unfortunately, it was always on warring terms with its neighbour, Vijayanagar. Afterwards, this state was split up into five small states—Barar, Ahmednagar, Badar, Bijapur and Golkunda.

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Thus, it is clear from Table 1.1 that both north India and south India were divided into small principalities that were under the rule of various Hindu and Muslim kings. Under these circumstances, it was not a difficult task for Babur, or for that matter any competent invader, to conquer India.

Advent of Mughals into India

The Mughals called themselves so after their Mongol ancestry. Unlike the Delhi Sultanate, which was ruled by many dynasties, the Mughal period witnessed the rule by a single dynasty for nearly two-and-a-half centuries. Sher Shah Suri's rule was the only interruption. The Mughals established an empire which roughly coincides with the present Indian territory.

The Mughal period is also described as Early Modern period. This is because the era witnessed major changes in trade, agriculture and technology. For instance, with the creation of more sea routes and expansion in trade, currency came to be used increasingly. These changes were supported by a stable and centralized empire.

Political conditions

The political conditions in the north-west of the country around this time made Babur's conquest easier. Ibrahim Lodi, the Sultan of Delhi and Punjab, was trying to establish a large empire which alarmed the Afghan chiefs. The rulers of Bihar and Punjab had revolted against him. The Rajput rulers were also plotting against him. Daulat Khan, the governor of Punjab, along with an uncle of Ibrahim Lodi, invited Babur to attack this region.

Factors that Prompted Babur to Conquer India

The various factor that prompted Babur to conquer India are discussed as follows:

1. Babur's ambition

Like other contemporary rulers, Babur was very ambitious. He stated 'I had never ceased to think of the conquest of Hindustan. But I had never found a suitable opportunity for undertaking it. Hindered as I was sometimes by the apprehensions of my Beks, sometimes by the disagreement between my brothers and myself.' He was involved incessantly in the struggle for the conquest of Samarkand (which Babur loved dearly). When he was finally unsuccessful there, he tried to fulfil his ambition by conquering India.

2. Miserable political conditions of India

The political situation in north-west India was suitable for Babur's entry into India. Sikandar Lodi had died in AD 1517, and Ibrahim Lodi had succeeded him. His efforts to create a large centralized empire had alarmed the Afghan chiefs as well as the Rajputs.

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Amongst the most powerful of the Afghan chiefs was Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of Punjab, who was almost an independent ruler. Daulat Khan attempted to conciliate Ibrahim Lodi by sending his son to his court in order to pay homage. At the same time, he was trying to capture neighbouring states. He wanted to strengthen his position by annexing the frontier tracts of Bihar etc., which Babur had captured in AD 1518–1519, but all hopes of Daulat Khan Lodi were shattered. Babur put a demand through his ambassador that Daulat Khan Lodi and Ibrahim Lodi surrender all those places to Babur which were at one time under the Turks. Daulat Khan Lodi very cleverly influenced Babur's ambassador to stay at Lahore, thus preventing him from meeting Ibrahim Lodi. When Babur returned from Bhira, Daulat Khan Lodi took away Bhira from Babur's representative. The following year, Babur again attacked Bhira and captured it along with Sialkot. This victory opened a gateway of India for Babur. One thing was made clear by these preliminary invasions of Babur—India lacked the feeling of political unity. Babur knew that India was divided into several petty principalities and that the rulers of these states could never unite together. Babur also knew that they often fought amongst themselves. Thus, he considered this anarchical situation as the appropriate opportunity to invade India.

3. Immense richness of India and legal right to occupy some area

Like countless earlier invaders from Central Asia, Babur was drawn to India by the lure of its fabulous wealth. India was famous as the land of gold and riches. Babur's ancestor Timur had not only carried away a vast treasure and many skilful artisans who helped him to consolidate his Asian empire and beautify his capital, but had also annexed some areas in the Punjab. These areas remained in the possession of Timur's successors for many years. When Babur conquered Kabul, he felt that he had a legitimate right to these areas. Moreover, India was very near to Kabul where Babur was ruling.

4. Meagre income from Kabul

Another reason for Babur's invasion of India was the meagre income of Kabul. The historian Abul Fazal remarks, 'He (Babur) ruled over Badakhshan, Kandhar and Kabul which did not yield sufficient income for the requirement of the army, in fact, in some of the border territories the expense on controlling the armies and administration was greater than the income.' Thus, the meagre income of Kabul also prompted Babur to invade India. Babur knew very well that after capturing the fertile province of Punjab, he would have no financial problems and he could strengthen his position very easily.

5. Fear of the Uzbeks

Babur was apprehensive of an Uzbek attack on Kabul and considered India to be a good place of refuge, and a suitable base for operations against the Uzbeks.

6. Invitations extended by Daulat Khan Lodi, Alam Khan and Rana Sanga

Some the historians hold the opinion that Babur had been invited to attack the Delhi Sultanate by Daulat Khan Lodi and Rana Sanga. According to them, in AD 1524, Babur had received an embassy from Daulat Khan Lodi, led by his son Dilawar Khan. They invited Babur to invade India and suggested that he should displace Ibrahim Lodi since he was a tyrant and enjoyed no support from his courtiers and nobles. According to some historians, it was probable that a messenger from Rana Sangram Singh (the ruler of Mewar and popularly known as Rana Sanga) arrived at the same time, inviting Babur

to invade India. These embassies convinced Babur that the time was ripe for his conquest of the whole of the Punjab, if not of India itself.

In brief, we can say that many factors inspired Babur to invade India. His ambitions, immense wealth of India, weak political conditions and some invitations extended by the enemies of Ibrahim Lodi, were some of the factors.

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1.2.1 Early Career and Personality of Babur

Babur, who laid the foundation of the Mughal Empire in India in AD 1526, belonged to the family of Chaghatai Turks. Born on 14 February 1483, his great grandfather was Timur who was widely regarded as the most powerful king of Central Asia. Babur's successful invasion of India in AD 1526 saw the end of the Lodi Dynasty and the beginning of a new power—the Mughal Dynasty. The history of India since the Battle of Panipat till AD 1857 is interspersed with conflicts and rivalries between Mughal rulers and the Rajput princes. The Hindu Rajputs, who had enjoyed dominance in Rajputana (present-day Gujarat, Rajasthan and parts of Haryana), were displaced from power following the invasion of the Mughals.

Babur led two important and decisive battles—the Battle of Panipat and the Battle of Khanwah—that speak volumes about his personality. At the First Battle of Panipat in AD 1526, Babur, with only 12,000 soldiers with him, subdued Ibrahim Lodi's much larger force. The very next year, Babur displaced the Rajputs from power who had enjoyed the stronghold of Rajputana for a long time. Similar to the First Battle of Panipat, Babur with a much smaller army conquered the enemy by applying novel ways of warfare.

These great victories achieved over the main powers of northern India were the base for Babur's kingdom, from which he could consolidate his rule in northern India. Unlike his predecessor, Timur, Babur did not return to Kabul after plundering and looting the wealth of India. Instead, Babur decided to stay back and strengthen his hold over the wealthy cities. The Battle of Ghaghara was the last battle of Babur in India. By then, he had succeeded in establishing the Mughal Empire in India and there was no one to challenge his power in northern India.

Babur's character has been praised by all historians—both modern and contemporary. He was a man of many virtues and excellences. He was kind, generous, courageous, and a cultured man. He was a good judge of human nature and circumstances. He was fond of music and gardening and constructed many buildings in India. Babur was a Sunni Muslim and had faith in God. He was a scholarly king. Babur did not get time to receive proper education as he engaged himself in fighting, from as early as the age of eleven. Yet, the knowledge he acquired and the command he had over Turkish language has assigned him a place in the world of scholars. He possessed good knowledge of Arabic and Persian while he was also a scholar of Turkish. Babur was a gifted poet and his prose memoir—the *Baburnamah*—is much acclaimed.

Babur was a determined soldier and an experienced general. After becoming a successful commander, he never lost courage or determination to rise. He learnt from his defeats. He learned *tulghuma* warfare from the Uzbeks, ambuscade from the Mongols and the Afghans, use of fire-arm and artillery from the Persians, and the effective use of mobile cavalry from the Turks. Besides, he made a clever synthesis of all these tactics of warfare. That made him a successful commander and, therefore, he won every battle in India. Also, Babur could inspire his followers, and get their loyalty and command obedience from them. He never feared fighting against larger armies than that he commanded.

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1.2.2 The First Battle of Panipat

In November, AD 1525, Babur attacked India with 12,000 soldiers. When he reached Peshawar, he got the news that Dhaulat Khan Lodi had changed sides. He had collected a huge army and ousted the Amirs of Babur from Sialkot and reached up to Lahore. At Babur's approach, however, the army of Dhaulat Khan melted away. Dhaulat Khan laid down his arms and was pardoned. Thus, within three weeks of crossing the Indus, Babur became the ruler of Punjab. On 20 April, 1526, Babur reached the famous historical field of Panipat along with his army to conquer India. Ibrahim Lodi met Babur at Panipat with a force estimated to comprise 100,000 men and 10,000 elephants. Some historians are of the view that since the Indian armies generally contained large hordes of servants, the fighting men on Ibrahim Lodi's side must have been far less than this figure. Babur had crossed the Indus with a force of 12,000, but he had the support of a large number of Hindustani nobles and soldiers who joined him in the Punjab. Even then Babur's army was numerically inferior. On the morning of 21 April 1526, they fought a pitched battle. Babur, with the tactical use of tulugama warfare, encircled Ibrahim Lodi's army, and his artillery rained a hail of fire and shots on it. The Lodi army was completely overwhelmed. Babur himself wrote, 'By the grace and mercy of Almighty (God), the mighty army of Delhi was laid in the dust in the course of half a day.'

Impact of the First Battle of Panipat

- **End of the rule of Lodi Dynasty:** The Battle of Panipat is regarded as one of the decisive battles in Indian history. It broke the back of Lodi power, and brought under Babur's control the entire area up to Delhi and Agra. As Babur's predecessor Timur had brought to an end the rule of the Tughlaqs, similarly Babur's success led to the end of the Lodi rule.
- **Foundation of the Mughal Empire:** Babur's victory at Panipat led to the foundation of the Mughal Empire in India. Soon after the victory, Babur occupied Delhi and Agra, seated himself on the throne of the Lodis and laid the foundation of the Mughal rule in India. Of course, the empire founded by Babur was soon lost by his son, Humayun and it was Akbar who actually recreated the Mughal Empire. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the actual foundation of the empire was laid with the victory in the Battle of Panipat. This empire continued for more than two centuries.
- **End of Babur's bad days:** The treasures that were stored up by Ibrahim Lodi in Agra relieved Babur from his financial difficulties. The rich territory up to Jaunpur also lay open to Babur. Rush Brooke Williams writes, 'After being successful in this battle, the bad days of Babur came to an end. Now, he need not bother about his personal safety or his throne.'
- **Re-established the prestige of Crown:** After the Battle of Panipat, Babur laid the foundation of a new dynasty and called himself the monarch. Unlike the Sultans of the Delhi Sultanate period, he never called himself the deputy of the Caliph, but referred to himself as the Emperor. Thus, he revived the sovereignty of the monarch as it used to be in ancient times in India and thus established the prestige of the Crown.
- **Use of artillery in India:** The Battle of Panipat led to the initiation of artillery in India. Until now, Indians were not familiar with gunpowder. For the first time, it was used in a battle on the Indian plains, and paved the way for its use in many other battles.

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- **Birth of new struggles:** However, Babur had to wage three more hard-fought battles, one against Rana Sanga of Mewar, another against Medini Rao at Chanderi, and the third against the eastern Afghans, before he could consolidate his hold on this area (Delhi, Agra, etc.). Viewed from his angle, the Battle of Panipat was not as decisive in the political field as has been made out. According to R.B. Williams, 'The victory at Panipat was excellent, which was actually a part of the beginning.' Renowned historian Dr Satish Chandra, says about the battle, 'Its real importance lies in the fact that it opened a new face in the struggle for domination in north India.'
- **Tulugama became popular in India:** One of the important causes of Babur's victory in the First Battle of Panipat was the adoption of a scientific war strategy called tulugama (an Ottoman or Rumi device). Gradually, Indian rulers also adopted this very system, which involved the policy of keeping a reserve army. Indian rulers were greatly impressed by the swiftness and immovability of horses and gradually elephants were replaced by horses in battles.
- **A shift in the political interest:** After the Battle of Panipat, the centre of Babur's political activities and ambitions was shifted from Kabul and Central Asia to Agra and India. No doubt the difficulties of Babur after his victory at Panipat were manifold. Many of his Begs (chieftains) were not prepared for a long campaign in India. With the onset of the hot weather, their misgivings had increased. They were far away from their homes in a strange and hostile land. Babur writes in his memoirs that the people of India displayed remarkable hostility by abandoning their villages at the approach of the Mughal armies. Obviously, the memories of Timur's sacking and plundering of the towns and villages were still fresh in their minds. Babur knew that the resources in India alone would enable him to build a strong empire and satisfy his Begs. He, thus, took a firm stand, proclaiming his intention to stay on in India, and granting leave to a number of his Begs, who wanted to go back to Kabul. This immediately cleared the air. However, this also invited the hostility of Rana Sanga who began his preparations for a showdown with Babur.

Causes of Failure of Ibrahim Lodi

Babur was victorious at the Battle of Panipat because of a number of factors. However, not all can be attributed to his generalship and personality, which he doubtless had in plenty. There were other factors too, the inefficiency of Ibrahim Lodi being one. Let us look at all the factors in detail.

- **Scientific combination of cavalry and artillery:** First, the victory of Babur was due to the scientific combination of cavalry and artillery. The effective use of mobile cavalry and the skill with which Ustad Ali and Mustafa, two great Turkish gunners, fought in the field of Panipat were also important factors which contributed towards Babur's victory. Rush Brooke Williams writes, 'If it could be possible to emphasize any one of the factors as being the most important cause of his (Babur's) victory, one would surely have to assign the first place to his artillery.'
- **Disunity:** The Indian rulers did not visualize any eventuality beyond the borders of their kingdoms and could not stand united to face a threat on India from the outside. Babur defeated them one by one and captured their kingdoms.
- **Babur's personality:** One of the biggest causes of Babur's victory was his impressive personality. He did not lose heart even in the most critical times. He was a born general and was fully acquainted with all the tactics of war.

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- **Ill-treatment of Ibrahim Lodi towards his Amirs:** Sultan Ibrahim's treatment towards his Amirs was most discourteous and insulting. The proud Afghan nobles, who used to share the carpet with Ibrahim's father and grandfather, had land taken away from them, and in the King's Durbar had to stand in a humble posture with their arms folded to their chests. He also denied them kingship. Hence, the Amirs went against him.
- **Disciplined army:** Babur's army was more disciplined than the Indian army. His soldiers knew how to stand in the battle array and when to charge. On the other hand, the Indian soldiers moved more or less like a crowd and a little charge from the enemy side was enough to cause confusion among them. Their vast numbers were more a source of weakness than a source of strength. They were ill organized, badly trained and undisciplined.
- **Inefficiency of Ibrahim as a general:** Fortunately for Babur, the rival he had to contend with was an inefficient military general who lacked the qualities of a leader. Neither could he properly organize his forces nor could he plan the battle well. Babur himself remarks that, 'Ibrahim was an inexperienced, young man, careless in his movements who marched without order, halted or retired without plan and engaged in the battle without foresight.' It was not difficult for a brilliant general like Babur to defeat such an inefficient rival.
- **Use of elephants by the Lodis:** Ibrahim Lodi made big use of elephants in his army. As compared to this, the horses of the Mughal cavalry were very swift. Very often, elephants wounded in battle trampled their own army people.
- **Babur's formations or tulugama:** Babur took strategic positions as soon as he reached Panipat. He strengthened his position by resting one wing of his army in the city of Panipat which had a large number of horses, and protected the others by means of a ditch filled with branches of trees. On the front, he lashed together a large number of carts to act as a defending wall. Between those two carts, breastworks were erected on which soldiers could rest their guns and firearms. Historians praise Babur for adopting a unique formation which was both offensive as well as defensive. In brief, we can say that one of the causes of Babur's victory at Panipat was the tulugama strategy of war.

1.2.3 Battle of Khanwah

The Battle of Khanwah was fought between Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar (popularly known as Rana Sanga) and the founder of Mughal dynasty, Babur, in AD 1527 at Khanwah, about forty kilometers away from Agra.

Causes for the battle of Khanwah

- **Ambitions of Rana Sanga:** Rana Sanga was an ambitious ruler. He had been fighting with Ibrahim Lodi for dominating eastern Rajasthan and Malwa. After defeating Mahmood Khilji of Malwa, the influence of Rana had gradually extended up to Piliya Khar, a small river in the neighbourhood of Agra. The establishment of an empire in the Indo-Gangetic Valley by Babur was a threat to Rana Sanga. Sanga set preparations to take out Babur at any rate and to confine him to the Punjab.
- **Rana being accused of treachery by Babur:** Babur accused Rana Sanga of breach of agreement. He said that Sanga had invited him to India and had promised to join him against Ibrahim Lodi, but made no move while he (Babur) conquered

Delhi and Agra. The exact terms and conditions of the agreement between Babur and Rana Sanga are vague, but it is certain that after the First Battle of Panipat, Babur had captured only Delhi and Agra. He had not become the emperor of India. He was also brave and ambitious like Rana Sanga. It was not possible for him to become the emperor of India without breaking the power of the Rajputs.

- **Charges of Rana Sanga against Babur:** Rana Sanga, on the other hand, had claim on Kalpi, Dhaulpur and Agra and he blamed Babur for not fulfilling his promise. Sanga probably hoped that like Timur, Babur would withdraw after ransacking Delhi and weakening the Lodis. Babur's decision to stay on in India completely changed the situation. This made a war between Babur and Rana Sanga inevitable.
- **Incitement of Rana Sanga by the Afghans:** Many Afghans including Mahmud Lodi, a younger brother of Ibrahim Lodi, rallied to Rana Sanga in the hope of regaining the throne of Delhi in case Sanga won. Hassan Khan Mewati, the ruler of Mewar, also joined hands with Sanga.

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Events

The armies of Babur and Sanga met at Khanwah on 10 March 1527. Babur arranged his army almost in the same fashion as he had done in Panipat. This time again, he had to face an army which was huge in size compared to his army. According to Lanepoole, 'Whatever the exact number might have been, a more gallant army could not be brought into the field.' A bloody war followed which lasted for about twelve hours. R. P. Tripathi writes, 'The ruthless slaughter, closed the bloody episode.' Sanga's forces were hemmed in and were defeated. Rana Sanga escaped and wanted to renew the conflict with Babur; but he was later poisoned by his own nobles who considered such a course dangerous and suicidal.

Consequences

- The Battle of Khanwah was more decisive than that of the First Battle of Panipat. After this battle, Babur definitely became the ruler of India. It secured his position in the Delhi – Agra region. Babur strengthened his position further by conquering a chain of forts in Gwalior, and Dholpur in the east of Agra. He also annexed large parts of Alwar from Hasan Khan Mewati. He then led a campaign against Medina Rai of Chanderi in Malwa. Chanderi was captured after the Rajput defenders had died fighting to the last man and their women performed *Jauhar*. In brief, we can say that the Battle of Khanwah consolidated the foundation of the Mughal Empire by bringing the Rajput power to an end. The centre of activity of Babur had shifted from Kabul to Hindustan and, thus, the work of defeating the rest of the unimportant local chiefs and the Afghans became easier.
- With Sanga's death, the dream of a united Rajasthan extending up to Agra received a serious setback. The strength of the Rajputs was broken and the kingdoms of Hindustan passed from the hands of Rajputs to the Mughals. The foundation of the Mughal Empire in India was laid.

Causes of the Defeat of Rajputs or the Victory of Babur

- **Treachery of Siladi of Rasin:** Siladi of Rasin was the Rajput ally of Rana Sanga and he had promised to fight for the common Rajput cause. In the thick of battle, he deserted Rana Sanga and went over to Babur for the latter is said to have

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influenced him. This treacherous behaviour on the part of Siladi of Raisin broke the heart of the Rajputs and adversely affected their lot in the battle.

- **Use of cannons by Babur:** Babur used cannons in the Battle of Khanwah. On the other hand, Rajputs were unaware of this device. Horses of the Rajputs could not face the cannons and so the army of Rana Sanga was shattered.
- **Babur as a commander:** Babur was a very capable commander. His techniques of warfare brought him success once more. In the face of stringent contingencies, he exhibited patience and courage which made him the outstanding leader of his time. He promised after this victory he would allow leave to everyone who wanted to go home.
- **Declaration of the holy war (Jihad):** Babur had declared a holy war against Rana and reminded his men that he was fighting for the glorification of his religion. The response was instantaneous and enthusiastic. Everyone swore by the Holy Quran that they would fight to the end and stand by Babur. The spirit of his troops was thus energetic going into battle.
- **Disunity of Rajputs:** The Rajputs were not united. There were great dissensions between them, and due to the victory of Babur in this battle, whatever unity was left in them also ended.
- **Role of Ustad Ali:** Ustad Ali, the captain of Babur's artillery also shares the credit of this victory. His use of cannon balls threw the Rajputs into confusion.
- **Responsibility of Rana Sanga:** Some historians are of the opinion that though Rana was a brave soldier, he was not a statesman of high order. According to Dr Sharma, 'In his relation with Babur, he showed vacillation and a want of decisions and firmness. He failed to proceed and capture Agra, which he ought to have done immediately after Babur had moved south of the Punjab to fight against Ibrahim Lodi. Had he done so, he would not only have acquired the immense treasures and resources that lay stored in the town, but also the support of the entire race of the Indian Afghans. Moreover, luck did not favour Rana Sanga. He was wounded during the course of the battle and failed to provide leadership to his soldiers at a critical moment. It also demoralized his soldiers. However, these can be counted only as the subsidiary causes of the defeat of the Rajputs.'
- **Disciplined army:** Babur's army was small, disciplined and experienced; but the Rajput army was a large crowd of indisciplined and inexperienced mercenaries.

1.2.4 Achievements of Babur from AD 1526–1530

The great grandson of Timur and Genghis Khan, Babur was the first Mughal emperor in India. He confronted and defeated Lodi in AD 1526 at the First Battle of Panipat, and so came to establish the Mughal Empire in India. Babur ruled until AD 1530, and was succeeded by his son Humayun. During Babur's reign, northern India became united under one rule and had very prosperous cultural and political years.

Babur was not only a brilliant general, but also had qualities of a great leader. Like his contemporaries of the Renaissance period in Europe, Babur too had varied interests. He was well-read and could write in Turkish as well as in Persian. He wrote the *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*. It provides information on his character, achievements and life during those times. He loved nature, laid down a number of gardens in Kabul and India, and planted fruit trees. He also loved music and enjoyed polo.



Fig. 1.1 The Extent of Babur's Empire

The memoirs of Babur trace his rise to power starting from his accession to the throne of his father. The description of Babur is clear, impressive and quite close to the truth. Babur wrote his autobiography titled *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* (titled *Baburnama* in Persian) in his mother tongue, Turkish. The autobiography is the best source of information on his life, even though there is hardly any information about the periods between AD 1508–1519, AD 1520–1525 and AD 1529–1530.

A fairly good idea about his knowledge, his virtues and vices, his pleasures and sufferings, political circumstances which he faced, the climate, flora and fauna of the countries which he visited, his tastes and desires and the description of those people with whom he came in contact during his rule can be obtained from his writings. Besides, the description of Babur's friends and foes, his emotional reaction to individuals and circumstances, natural beauty of mountains, rivers, forests and towers are very much absorbing which credits his biography as a beautiful piece of literature. Babur gave a description of India as well in his biography. He wrote about the climate, the people, and their economic and social conditions and about the kings and political events in India. About India, he wrote that Hindustan was a country of few charms, where people have no good looks or manners. Describing the political condition of India, he wrote that the capital of India is Delhi and also described something about the kingdoms of Malwa, Gujarat, Bahmani kingdom, Mewar and Vijayanagara.

The description of Hindustan by Babur is neither complete nor entirely correct. He made no mention of the states of Orissa, Khandesh, Sindh and Kashmir in his memoirs. Besides, as he got very little time to assess the Indian conditions and remained busy mostly in conducting wars, his description cannot be regarded accurate as well. If Babur would have got more time and would have got the opportunity to come in contact with the cultured people of India, he probably would have revised his opinion about the Indian people. Also, Babur viewed the Indian people from the eyes of a conqueror. If he had remained alive for a few years more, his opinion would have been certainly different.

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The achievements of Babur can be summarized as follows:

- Babur fought and defeated Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the First Battle of Panipat in AD 1526. The outcome of the battle saw the establishment of the Mughal Empire in India and the end of the Delhi Sultanate.
- In AD 1527, Babur defeated the combined forces of the Rajputana under the command of Rana Sanga of Mewar and Mahmud Lodi in the Battle of Khanwah. The result of the battle saw the end of the dominance of the Rajput kingdoms, including Marwar, Gwalior, Ajmeer, and Ambar.
- In AD 1529, Babur engaged the Afghans who were powerful in eastern India, Bengal, Bihar, Assam, and Orissa, in the Battle of Ghagra. These forces led by Mahmud Lodi were defeated and scattered.
- Thus, after these initial conquests in India, Babur's territory extended from Kabul in the west to Gogra in the east, from the Himalayas in the north to Gwalior in the south.
- Being a patron of arts Babur welcomed many artists to his court from across the world. He was well-versed in Arabic, Turkish and Persian, and also penned his autobiography, the *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, in Turkish.
- Babur ruled over his empire only for a short duration of four years, a good part of which was spent in widening his empire. Hence, he was unable to bring about any transformation in administrative, judicial and financial fields.

1.3 EARLY CAREER AND CONQUESTS OF SHER SHAH SURI

Sher Shah Suri is one of those great men in history who achieved greatness from a very ordinary position. The dynasty founded by him is known as the Sur dynasty. He was born in AD 1472. He was one of the eight sons of Mian Hassan Khan Sur, an employee of the governor of Punjab, Jamal Khan. In the reign of Sikandar Lodi, Jamal Khan was appointed the governor of Jaunpur. Hassan and his son Farid accompanied their master. Jamal Khan gave the *Jagirs* of Khawaspur, Sahasram and Tanda to Hassan. Farid's childhood was spent in Sahasram. Later, he came over to Jaunpur being fed up with the misbehaviour of his stepmother and his father. He was twenty-two years old at that time. He impressed Jamal Khan with his scholarly nature and ability, and Jamal Khan pressurized Hassan to appoint Farid as the manager of the *Jagirs* of Sahasram and Khawaspur.

Farid earned enough administrative experience by managing these *Jagirs*. But, soon he had to leave the place because of the machinations of his stepbrother and one powerful Afghan chief, Muhammad Khan who wanted that the *Jagirs* should be divided between the two. Farid, then, entered into the military service of the Governor of South Bihar—Bahar Khan Lohani. It is said that one day he slew a tiger with the help of a sword and impressed by his bravery, Bahar Khan gave him the title of Sher Khan and from then onwards, Farid became famous as Sher Khan. It is said that he entered Babur's service in AD 1527. The historians hold that his motive in entering this service was to acquire knowledge of the system of Mughal warfare and its effects. Babur became suspicious of his activities and asked his prime minister to keep a strict watch on Sher Khan and described him as a very clever person. Sher Khan is said to have quietly

Check Your Progress

1. What are the factors that prompted Babur to conquer India?
2. What was the impact of the First Battle of Panipat?

slipped away from there and again entered the services of Bahar Khan Lohani. He was appointed the tutor and guardian of Jalal Khan, the minor son of the ruler.

After sometime, Bahar Khan Lohani died and his widow appointed Sher Khan as the regent of minor prince. In fact, Sher Khan became the de facto ruler of Bihar. He invited the younger brother of Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi, Mahmud Lodhi and made a plan of a military campaign against Babur. However, Babur defeated him in the battle of Ghagra (AD 1529). Sher Khan and Jalal Khan surrendered before the Mughals and got back their Jagirs on the condition of paying an annual tribute to Babur. Gradually, Sher Khan began to add to the number of his supporters. Meanwhile the ruler of Chunar, Taj Khan died in AD 1530. Sher Khan married his widow Lad Malika. This brought him the fort of Chunar and enormous wealth along with it.

Sher Shah was a daring soldier, a successful conqueror and an able administrator. He was a lover of knowledge, patron of scholars and a very good ruler. He was the forerunner of Akbar in many fields, though he was not equal to Akbar in greatness. The famous historian Dr Qanungo is right when he says, 'It is doubtful whether he would have done such deeds as Akbar if he had lived for fifty years more because Sher Shah had the drawbacks from which Aurangzeb suffered.'

Sher Shah's Struggle against Mughals on the Fort of Chunar

In AD 1531, when Humayun encircled the fort of Chunar then Sher Khan pretended defeat at the hands of Humayun. In the mean time, he strengthened his army.

The sole matter of Bihar (AD 1534)

The Lohani chiefs of Bihar became jealous of Sher Khan at his increasing power. They won over Jalal Khan to their side and also entered into an alliance with Mahmud of Bengal. They made a treaty with Mahmud Shah of Bengal in AD 1533, who himself was eager to check the rise of Sher Khan because it adversely affected his own prestige and power. However, Sher Khan defeated the combined armies of the Sultan of Bengal and the Lohanis at Surajgarh in eastern Bihar on the bank of the river Kieul. Mahmud Shah fled to Bengal and with him fled Jalal Khan and his associates. Thus, the whole of Bihar came under Sher Khan and he became the sole master. The victory of Surajgarh was an important event in Sher Shah's life. Taking advantage of the absence of Humayun in Agra, (February 1535–February 1537) Sher Khan had further strengthened his position. The Afghans from far and near had congregated under him. Although, he still talked of loyalty towards the Mughals, he had made a clever plan to drive the Mughals out of India. He had a close contact with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. Bahadur Shah had helped him with men and money as well. Having acquired these sources he assembled a capable and vast army so that fighting could be indulged in against the Mughals at the opportune time.

Invasion of Bengal

Encouraged by his victory at Surajgarh, Sher Khan launched an attack against Mahmud Shah of Bengal in AD 1535. Mahmud Shah saved his life by giving a vast sum of money to Sher Khan but after few years Sher Khan again besieged Gaud, the capital of Bengal in AD 1537 and by conquering it forced Mahmud Shah to seek refuge with Humayun. When Humayun started from Agra for the support of Mahmud Shah, Sher Khan's son Jalal Khan kept him engaged for about six months at the fort of Chunar on his way to Bengal and during this period, Sher Khan came back to Bihar after amassing enough

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wealth from Bengal. Humayun's brother Hindal declared himself as the emperor at Agra and another brother Kamran came to Delhi from Lahore as the head of 1000 soldiers. When Humayun received this news he started towards Agra from Gaur.

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Battle of Chausa

Facing many difficulties, Humayun was somehow advancing towards Agra when Sher Khan suddenly attacked him at Chausa in AD 1539. About 8000 Mughal soldiers were killed in this battle. Sher Khan's spirits were raised high as a result of this victory. He assumed the title of *Sher Shah Sultan-i-Adil*. Now Sher Khan had become the undisputed master of Bihar and Bengal.

Battle of Kanauj or Bilram (AD 1540)

The following year, Humayun made an effort to regain his fortune, but despite his best efforts he could not secure the cooperation of his brother. On 17 May 1540, Mughals and Afghans again confronted each other near Kanauj. Humayun's army was defeated badly. Humayun managed to escape somehow. By this conquest, Sher Shah became the master of Delhi, Agra, Sambhal, Gwalior, etc. This ended the Mughal dynasty for the time being, and for the next fifteen years, power passed onto the hands of the Surs.

Sher Shah's Conquests after Becoming the Emperor

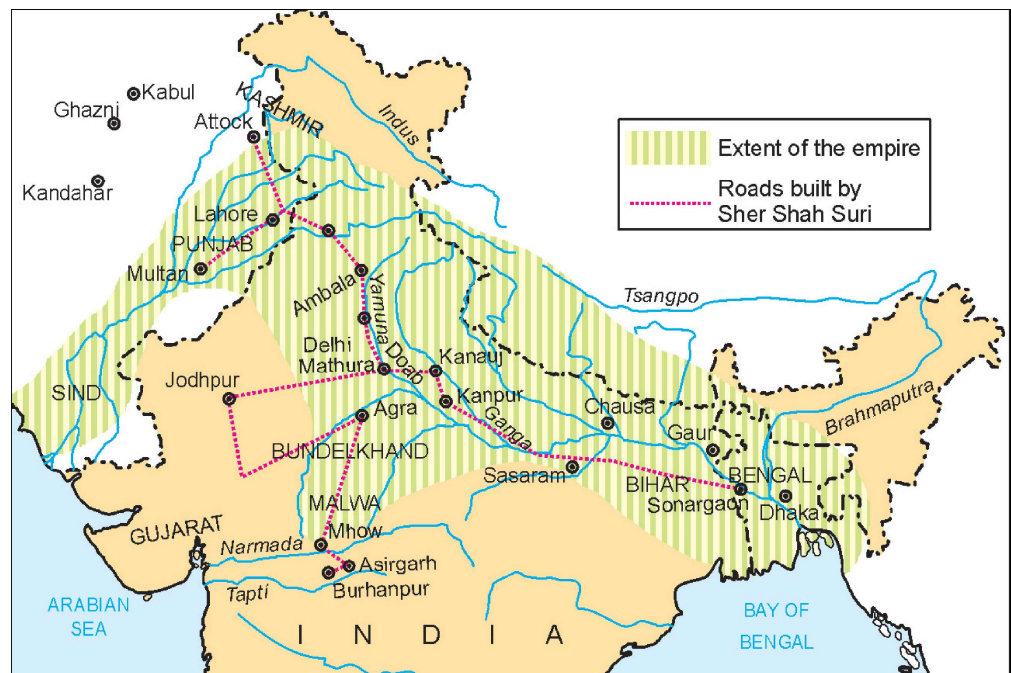


Fig. 1.2 Extent of Sher Shah's Empire and the Roads he Built

Conquests of Punjab (AD 1540–1542)

Immediately after his accession on the throne at Delhi, Sher Shah snatched Punjab from Humayun's brother, Kamran. Alongside, he also suppressed the turbulent Khokhars of the northern region of the rivers Indus and Jhelum. About sixteen kilometers north of the river Jhelum, he constructed the fort of Rohtasgarh at the cost of about ₹ 8 crore for the security of the north-western Frontier of India.

Conquest of Malwa (AD 1542)

The ruler of Malwa was known as Mallu Khan 'Qadirshah'. At the time of war with Humayun, he had not helped Sher Shah. As a result, Sher Shah attacked Malwa. Qadirshah did not fight but ran away to Gujarat instead. Sher Shah made Malwa an integral part of his empire. When Qadirshah asked his pardon, Sher Shah excused him, treated him kindly and appointed him the governor of Lakhnauti.

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Conquest of Raisin

Raisin was a Rajput principality in Central India ruled by the Rajput ruler Puranmal Chauhan. He had occupied Chanderi from the Mughal Chiefs. When Sher Shah came to know of it he attacked Raisin. According to Dr Quanungo, 'The motive behind the attack over Raisin was political not religious; Sher Shah wanted to make the Rajput principality of Raisin an integral part of the Delhi empire.' The fort of Raisin was besieged. After a prolonged siege negotiations for peace started. Puranmal was prepared to surrender on the condition that no harm would come on the members of his family and his associates. Sher Shah promised to see to their security and Puranmal surrendered. But, Puranmal and his followers were attacked without any prior information. One of his daughters and three of his nephews were caught alive and the others were murdered. In the words of Dr Ishwari Prasad, 'Sher Shah behaved with very inhuman cruelty towards his enemy who had reposed trust in him at the time of his bad condition.'

Conquest of Multan and Sindh

Sher Shah's general, at the behest of Sher Shah attacked Multan and Sindh in AD 1543. Both of these provinces were conquered and annexed to the empire of Sher Shah.

Conquest of Marwar (AD 1543–1545)

In AD 1543, Sher Shah attacked Maldev of Marwar. In AD 1544, the Rajputs and the Afghan armies fought each other at Semal, between Ajmer and Jodhpur. Sher Shah advanced very carefully in Rajasthan. He did not think it wise to indulge in a straight fight against Maldev and resorted to diplomacy. He caused some such letters to be dropped near Maldev which led Maldev to suspect that some of his chiefs had deserted him. Maldev was deeply grieved and decided to retreat. But his army launched a more fierce attack against Sher Shah's army. They fought very bravely, but ultimately Sher Shah was victorious. The battle was so fierce and the victory so difficult that Sher Shah proclaimed that he had almost lost the empire of India for a handful of grains. In AD 1544, Sher Shah brought Marwar under his occupation but soon after his death, Maldev reoccupied the lost regions in July 1555.

Conquest of Chittor and Ajmer

The ruler of Mewar, Rana Udaisingh was a minor at the time of Sher Shah. When the Rajputs came to know of Sher Shah's invasion they thought it better to accept his sovereignty rather than fight with him. Now the whole of Rajasthan except Jaisalmer was under Sher Shah. But Sher Shah left the Rajput kingdom with the Rajput chiefs themselves. After establishing his control over some important forts (Ajmer, Jodhpur, Abu and Chittor) he posted the Afghan army in large numbers there. Side by side he kept a strict control over the routes of communications.

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Conquest of Kalinjar and the Death of Sher Shah

After these conquests, Sher Shah planned an invasion of Kalinjar because its ruler Kirat Singh had given shelter to the ruler of Riva, Virbhan against the wishes of the Afghan ruler and then had refused to return him to the Afghans against Sher Shah's wishes. Because of all these causes, Sher Shah besieged the fort in AD 1544. But he could not achieve much success. On 22 May 1545, Sher Shah launched a fierce attack. Sher Shah was inspecting the arsenal when he was grievously injured by a bomb blast. He ordered to continue the invasion and by evening the fort was under his control, but Sher Shah was not fated to enjoy this conquest as he died of the injuries on the same day.

Character, Personality and Achievements of Sher Shah**As a man**

Sher Shah Suri was farsighted, a lover of knowledge, dutiful, disciplined, industrious and a progressive thinker. He had a great love for his mother, as compared to his father because he disliked the partial behaviour of his father towards his step-mother. He was well educated. Along with studying Arabic and Persian language, he was also fond of studying history and literature. He had a great love for architecture. He had a feeling of love for the peasants, poor and destitute. He was busy for as many as sixteen hours every day in the state business. Though he became the emperor at the ripe old age of sixty-eight, his enthusiasm, ambitions and hard work did not cease. He used to say that great men should always remain active. Abbas *Sherwani* and Rizqualla Mushtaki both have written that he used to get up in the very early hours of morning and was busy throughout the day with the work of the state.

As a commander, soldier and conqueror

Sher Shah was an able commander, a great soldier and conqueror. He is said to have lived like a common soldier in the battlefield. He was an experienced soldier. He had boundless bravery and patience. He attacked a weak army like a tiger; but faced with a powerful enemy he achieved victory through deceitful tactics of a fox. He was a great conqueror who annexed Bihar, Bengal, Punjab, Malwa, Gujarat, Rajputana, Sind and so on. His empire was very vast. The frontiers of his empire extended from Punjab to Malwa and from Bengal to Sind.

As a ruler and administrator

- **Founder of Law and Order:** Sher Shah had many achievements as an administrator. He re-established law and order throughout his empire. He dealt very strictly with those *Zamindars*, thieves and dacoits who broke the social order or denied paying the land revenue. As an administrator, Sher Shah Suri had a great impact on his *Zamindars*, officials and chiefs. Abbas *Sherwani* writes, 'The *Zamindars* were so frightened of him that nobody liked to raise the boundary of revolt against him nor any of them dared to harass the travellers passing through his territory.' Though he did not bring about any change in the administrative units of the Sultanate period, he made such changes that nobody could be autocratic and harass the people. He was a first ruler of later Medieval India who thought it his duty to give a life of peace and comfort to his subjects, forgetting the difference between the Hindus and Muslims. He established democratic autocracy. In his central administration, he did not make any one minister more important than the

others and thus minimized the possibilities of mutual jealousy and plotting against the emperor. He organized his empire at the level of provinces, *sarkars*, *paraganas* and villages. He issued certain instructions for provincial rulers so that they did not minimize the importance of central administration. He divided very big provinces into smaller units and appointed separate officials there. He did not make the administration of all the provinces uniform because he thought that the administration of every province should be according to its special local needs. He appointed two separate officials of equal level in the provinces, *sarkars* and *paraganas*, so that one was responsible for the maintenance of law and order and the other for the financial resources. He left the work of local defense and peace to the local officials and thus not only lessened the work of central administration but tried to involve a greater number of people in the administration. He gave an evidence of his administrative ability by delegating the responsibility of arresting thieves, dacoits and murderers to the village headmen and government officials. During his time, the arrangements of the life and property of the subject was more satisfactory than ever before.

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- *Able land administrator:* He gave special attention to land revenue system, army and judicial system. He fixed the land revenue on the basis of proper measurement of land, its productivity, actual produce and local prices, and prepared detailed lists of the amount of the revenue to be paid. He gave an option to the cultivators to pay the revenue in cash or in kind. He started the practice of *Kabuliat* and *Patta* and gave priority to the *Rayatwari* system as compared to the *Zamindari* and *Jagirdari* practices prevalent at that time.
- *A great army administrator and organizer:* As a ruler, he devoted attention to the army administration and organization. He created a vast standing and efficient army, brought an end to the system of supplying a fixed number of soldiers to the centre by tribal leaders and began direct recruitment of soldiers. He started the practices of '*Huliya*' and '*Dag*'. He constructed cantonments among various parts of the empire, and placed a strong contingent army in each of these cantonments. His army consisted of 15000 infantry, 25000 cavalry armed with bows and arrows, 5000 elephants, and an arsenal.
- *A just ruler:* Sher Shah Suri loved justice. He paid special attention towards the judicial system. He used to say that 'dispensing justice was the highest religious duty which should be discharged equally by Kafirs and Muslim Kings'. Sher Shah gave justice to everyone. He had assumed the title of *Sultan-i-Adil* or a just ruler. Sher Shah Suri had established law courts at various places which were called *Dar-ul-Adalat*. He never pardoned any criminal whether he was a big chief, his own caste person or a near relative. For the establishment of law and order, *Qazis* were appointed at various places but like earlier time village level *Panchayats* and *Zamindars* also heard civil and criminal cases. In his time, criminal law was very strict and educative for others. He was very successful as a just ruler and appreciating his judicial system Nizamuddin has written that so much was the fear of Sher Shah and his justice that in his time even dacoits and thieves guarded the properties of the travellers.
- *Supporter of a tolerant religious policy:* In spite of being a strict Sunni Muslim, Sher Shah was not a fanatic. Though he did not end *Jaziya*, he gave high offices to the Hindus in large numbers. He considered religion to be a personal affair and never let politics and religion to get mixed up. Dr. Qanungo writes, 'Sher Shah's

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attitude towards the Hindus was not one of the hateful tolerance but that of respect.' He was the first Muslim emperor having a national outlook that established a secular state and looked to the welfare of all his subjects in an impartial manner. In his time religious tolerance like that of Akbar could not be established. Dr. Qanungo writes correctly that during Sher Shah's time, he had to struggle against religious and political orthodoxy as also against well-established traditions of communal Sultanate of the last 300 years. Therefore, he did not have the congenial atmosphere which was inherited by his successors.

- *Public welfare activities:* As a ruler, Sher Shah performed many acts of welfare for his subjects. He kept grain stores reserved for helping the people at the time of famines, and established charitable state 'langer' for feeding the persons destitute. He planted many trees to provide shade along roads, as well as constructed roads and schools. He issued pure and high quality coins and standard weights and measures. He adopted a liberal attitude. At the time of fixing land revenues he ordered military officials that they should not harm the standing crops while travelling. He opened government hospitals. Police and postal arrangements were made for the convenience of the public.

Cultural achievements (as patron of knowledge and art)

Sher Shah had many achievements in the cultural field, because he was a great patron of knowledge, literature and art. He made good arrangements for the education of his subjects. Financial grants were given to many Hindu schools. For his Muslim subjects he opened many *Makhtabs* of Arabic and Persian and also established *Madrassas* for higher education. To encourage the pursuit of knowledge, he made arrangements for scholarships and arranged for the maintenance of the poor students by the state. Sher Shah showed interest in the field of architecture as well. He constructed many mosques, forts, *sarais*, etc. Some scholars hold the opinion that he constructed the Purana Qila desecrating the Dinapanah city of Humayun. In it he constructed the Qila-i-Kuhana mosque which is counted amongst his famous buildings in north India. Persian influence is discernible in the small minarets around the entrance gate and its artisanship. The other parts of the building are constructed on an Indian pattern. The mosque in Bihar constructed in the midst of a lake in Sahasram is a clear example of the Indo-Muslim architecture so far as its grandeur, beauty and proportionate structure are concerned. The outer structure is of Muslim style but the inside of the structure is decorated by the *Toranas* and pillars of the Hindu style. Its dome, shining in blue sky, appears beautiful. There is a stunning harmony of blue, red and yellow colours. In every corner there is the pillared pavilion on the top of the second storey. The construction of a lotus on the top has added to its decoration. Sher Shah constructed a new city on the banks of river Jamuna as well. Sher Shah patronized the scholars as well. Some of the best works of Hindu literature like *Padmawat* of Malik Muhammad Jayasi were written during his time. Sher Shah was not a religious fanatic. His social and economic policies are evidence of this fact. In brief, Sher Shah Suri was the first great national ruler of medieval times. After him, his dynasty did not last even for ten years, but his sword and diplomacy had founded such an empire that its policies (especially currency system, land revenue system, judicial and military departments) continued for a very long time, extended and progressed. The masters of the empire changed (first the Mughals and then the British) but the institutions of Sher Shah continued. Erskine says rightly, 'No Government, not even the British, had showed that much of wisdom as was evidenced by this Afghan.'

1.3.1 Sher Shah Suri: Administration

Though Sher Shah was given only a small period of five years to rule, but within this short span of time he brought such important changes in the administrative system that he is considered as one of the best administrators. In fact, he managed his administration keeping before him a model ideal. Without any religious discrimination he gave an opportunity to all his subjects to lead a comfortable life. According to him, the major aim of the state was public welfare. He tried to make the frontiers of the country so strong and powerful that Humayun or any other power should not be able to bring about any instability in the country. He brought about many reforms and gave safety to the people against anti-social elements.

Accepting his administrative efficiency, English historian Keive wrote that none of the rulers, not even the English Government evinced so much wisdom as this Pathan Chief. The main features of his administrative system can be studied under the following heads:

Central administration

Though Sher Shah tried to follow the Afghan tradition for running the Central administration, yet he tried to bring the office of the Sultan nearer to the Turkish ideal rather than the Afghan. To some extent, he continued the central administration present from the time of the Delhi Sultanate and established a despotic rule similar to that of Balban or Allauddin, but not before getting it endorsed by a committee of the Afghan chiefs. Thus, his despotism had a democratic base.

Probably, looking at the outer structure of his administration, Dr Qanungo remarked that Sher Shah Suri did not establish any new administrative system, but gave a new shape to the existing institutions. All the power of the state was centred in his hands. He was the highest official in the fields of administration, army, judiciary and law. There were four main ministers in his Central Government, viz., *Diwan-i-Wizarat* (Kept control over the income and expenditure of the state), *Diwan-i-Ariz* (looked after military responsibilities), *Diwan-i-Rasalat* (looked after foreign affairs), and *Diwan-i-Qaza* (head of judicial department). Sher Shah himself was so hard working and able that besides deterring the general policy of all the departments, he also supervised over their everyday activities. During his reign he did not let any person or *Amir* emerge as an important figure. This might have been due to the fact that because of the importance given to any one individual, other *Amirs* would grow jealous of him and their dissatisfaction would lead them to organize revolts etc. against the ruler. Removing corruption, he offered a clean administration to the people.

Provincial administration

The outline of the provincial administration under Sher Shah is somewhat dim. According to Dr Qanungo, 'There were no provinces during Sher Shah's time and the empire was divided in Sarkars.' As against this, Dr P. Saran holds that there were twelve provinces in Sher Shah's empire each ruled by the military governor. According to some historians, provinces did exist before Akbar's time, but their shape and administrative system was not uniform. Even during Sher Shah's time there were many provinces or *Subas* which were called *Iqtas*. Modern historians hold that during Sher Shah's time there was a definite provincial organization. According to them, Sher Shah brought about two new experiments in the provincial administration, but they were not so successful as to be

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implemented in other provinces. His first experiment was in Bengal in AD 1541. When Khizr Khan after becoming its governor started behaving like a Sultan, Sher Shah got him imprisoned and after subdividing Bengal into many parts, appointed separate officials for each. An official was appointed so as to maintain peace and order in the province. Because they were appointed by the centre and their sphere of work was different, the possibility of any revolt was minimized.

Probably this system was implemented in Malwa, Punjab, Rajputana, etc. His other experiment was the appointment of deputy governors. He appointed two sub-deputy governors under Haibat Khan of Punjab. During his time, this scheme was probably implemented in Multan, Baluchistan, Sirhind, etc. During his time, the provincial governor was probably called *Hakim* or *Faujdar* or *Amin*. However, their rights were not the same. The governor of Punjab, Haibat Khan was probably the most powerful. He had 30,000 soldiers under him, whereas less powerful governors had just about 5000 soldiers under them. Sher Shah kept a strict control over the provincial governors and from time to time supervised their military and administrative activities.

Administration of a *Sirkar*

Sher Shah Suri organized the local administration at the district, *paragana* and village level. The highest unit of the local administration was the district or the *sirkar*. According to Dr Ishwari Prasad, 'Sher Shah had sub-divided his empire into forty-seven parts, each comprising of many *paraganas*. This part or unit was called a *sirkar*.' Each *sirkar* had two major officials – *Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran* or Chief Shiqdar and *Munsif-i-Monsifan* or Chief *Munsif*, responsible respectively for the maintenance of peace and order in the *sirkar* and supervising the officials of the *paraganas* and dispensing mobile justice. Sher Shah brought about some important changes in the administration of the *sirkar*. First, he established a satisfactory judicial system. Second, he ordered the officials to always look for the convenience of the people. Third, he made the Chief Shikdar and the Chief *Munsif* respectively the highest, but separate officials in the fields of army and finance. This minimized the possibility of revolt. Fourth, he kept with himself the right of appointing and dismissing the officials of the *sirkar* which strengthened the control of the centre over these units.

Administration of *Paragana*

Each *sirkar* or district was subdivided into many *paraganas*. Here, Shiqdar and *Munsif* were responsible for the maintenance of peace and order and the collection of revenues respectively. Besides these, there was one treasurer and two *Karkuns* or *Munsims*—one to keep the land records in Hindi and the other in Persian. The treasurer or *Fotdar* kept the cash of the *paragana*. The *Munsif* was responsible for the collection of the revenue of the whole *paragana* and also its land measurement.

Village administration

The smallest unit of the empire was the village. In every village there was a *Mukhiya* or *Muqaddam*. The chief of village collected the revenue from the farmers and sent it to the treasurer of the *paragana*. *Muqadam* was responsible for maintaining peace and order in the village along with collecting the revenue. He arranged for night watchmen. If a theft was committed in his area, he had either to catch hold of the thief or suffer the punishment himself. According to the contemporary historian Abbas, 'Because of this arrangements, the events of theft or *dacoity* in the empire were totally nullified and

even if an old women travelled from one end of the empire to the other tossing gold, nobody dared to interfere with her.’

During Sher Shah’s time, priority was given to the maintenance of peace and order throughout the empire. He dealt very strictly with thieves, dacoits and with those landlords who refused either to pay the revenue or refuse to obey the government’s instructions.

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Revenue administration

During Sher Shah’s time, there were seven main sources of state income—land revenue, *kham*s, custom, *Jaziya*, *nazrana*, royal currency and sales tax. In his time, one-third of the produce was taken as the land revenue. The peasants paid in cash or in kind though the state preferred the cash payment. He effected many reforms in the sphere of land revenue administration. He evolved a system of land revenue rates called *Rai*, wherein there were separate rates of land revenue, different parts of the empire for different kind of produce. For the payment in cash, a list was prepared according to the prices, prevalent in the area. Besides the land revenue administration, he also imposed duties on the import and export of raw materials and finished products. A ruler like Sher Shah also did not abolish a tax like *Jazia*. This tax was levied on the non-Muslims and was an important source of governmental income. *Nazrana* or gifts were obtained almost from all tributary rulers, *Zamindars*, government officials, etc. Royal mint was also a good source of the royal income. Salt tax also yielded considerable income to the state. Sometimes, unclaimed property was also an important source of income for the government.

Land revenue administration

Sher Shah paid great attention towards land revenue system and land administration. Sher Shah was well acquainted with every level of land revenue system having managed for many years the *Jagir* of Sahasram of his father Hassan and then having worked as a guardian of Jalal Khan, the ruler of Bihar. After becoming the emperor, he set the whole land revenue system right with the help of a few able administrators. A glance at the different aspects of his administration shows clearly that he managed the land revenue system with greatest ability and interest. Praising his land revenue administration Dr Ishwari Prasad writes, ‘He tried to fix the land revenue in accordance with the income of the people.’

Military system

Sher Shah kept a strong army for defense of his vast empire. He knew very well the importance of the local army. According to the contemporary writer Abbas Sherwani, ‘There were about 150000 infantry, 25000 cavalry, 5000 elephants and artillery in his army.’ Sher Shah put an end to the practice of supplying a fixed number of soldiers to the state by the chieftains and started direct recruitment of the soldiers and fixed their pay according to their ability. The salary was paid in cash. Promotion was given to soldiers and officials on the basis of their ability and working capacity. The descriptive role of each soldier was recorded. His horse was also branded, so that it could not be replaced by a horse of inferior quality. Probably, these practices were adopted by Sher Shah following the example of Allauddin Khilji, who had first adopted these practices as part of his military reforms. He constructed many cantonments in different parts of his empire and kept a strong army contingent in each of them. In addition to a big artillery, Sher

Shah made arrangements for supplying good quality guns to his soldiers. He maintained a strict discipline in his army. He constructed a new fort near Peshawar.

Judicial system

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Sher Shah laid great emphasis on the dispensation of justice. He used to say, 'Doing justice is the greatest religious work which should be adopted alike by the state of *Kafirs* or *Momins*.' He never pardoned any criminal whether he was his near relative, big chief or any powerful person. He established law courts in the whole of his empire. At the centre the Emperor himself was the highest judge and next to him was the *Qazi-ul-Qazt*, who was the highest official of the judicial department. Besides big cities, provinces and their capitals *Qazis* dispensed justice. In the village, the work of the dispensation of justice was undertaken by the *Muqaddam* or *Mukhiya*. The civil cases were heard by the *Munsif*, *Amirs* and *Munsifi-Munsifan* (Amin and Chief Aman). In fact, during Sher Shah's time, not many changes were effected in the judicial system, but he inspired all the officials to dispense justice impartially and fearlessly and did so himself as well.

Police arrangements

Sher Shah Suri made separate police arrangements. Before him, this function was also discharged by the army. Because of the police arrangements, it became easier to trace the criminals. In the *sarkars* the Chief *Shiqdar*, in the *paragana* the *Shiqdar* and in the villages *Muqaddams* used to perform police duties and hand over the criminals to the law courts. Abbas Sherwani wrote, 'During the time of Sher Shah, travellers were free from the botheration of keeping a check over their belongings. Even in the desert region they had no fear. They could camp freely in a locality or in the deserted regions. They could leave their belongings in the open place also. Cattle could be left to graze freely and the owners slept carefree as if they were in their home.'

Espionage system

Sher Shah had spread a net of trusted and expert spies who kept on giving him information about the activities of the whole empire. Therefore, nobody dared to revolt against the emperor or shirk his duty. The daily report of the prices of commodities in the market used to reach the emperor. Messengers and spies were appointed in all the major cities and they had the orders to send any urgent message to the emperor at once.

Currency

Sher Shah brought about many reforms in the currency system and got pure gold, silver and copper coins minted in the place of debased and mixed metal coins. His silver rupee was so authentic that even after centuries it continued to be used as a standard currency. Historian V.A. Smith wrote correctly, 'This rupee was the basis of the British currency system.' On the coins, the name of the emperor was inscribed in Devnagari as well as Persian scripts. The coins of Sher Shah were pure, beautiful and standard. He also issued small copper coins so that people may not have any difficulty in everyday transactions.

Public welfare activities of Sher Shah

For the benefit of the peasants, Sher Shah Suri carried on many land reforms such as getting the land measured and fixing of the prices, keeping in view the cultivate of land, its productivity, the crops grown and the local prices prevalent. The cultivators were

given the option of paying the revenue in cash or in kind. He encouraged the *Ryotwari* system in place of the *Zamindari* system. For the benefit of trading community, he affected currency reforms. He showed special interest in the construction of roads, *sarais*, public kitchens, etc. He issued standard weights and ordered the officials to behave courteously with the traders. He is said to have constructed about 1700 *sarais* some of which still exist. Apart from constructing good roads for the travellers, he also planted many shade trees on both sides of the roads. He gave patronage to the artists and litterateurs. For the welfare of the poorest of the capital, he made arrangements for charitable *langar*. It is said that about 500 *Tolas* of gold was spent everyday on this *langar*.

In essence, Sher Shah was the first great and able ruler of the later Medieval India. V. A. Smith has justly written, 'If Sher Shah remained alive for some more time and if his successors had been as able as he was, the Mughals might not have reappeared on the stage of India.'

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1.4 AKBAR

On 19 February 1556, Akbar was declared the Emperor at Kalanaur when he had just turned thirteen. At that time, he was virtually a ruler without a kingdom. Vincent Smith wrote aptly that before Akbar could claim to be an emperor in reality rather than just in name, he had to prove himself more capable than his other rivals for the throne, and at least had to recapture the lost kingdom of his father.

Initial difficulties

At the time of his accession, Akbar was confronted with the following difficulties:

- **A small kingdom:** In fact, Akbar was in possession of only a small part of the Punjab. Though in theory Kabul, Kandhar and Badakshan were also the parts of the Mughal Empire, he had no hope of any help from there because Kabul was under his stepbrother, Mirza Hakim. He immediately declared himself independent. The Governor was in Bairam Khan's *jagir*, but was in danger of the Iranian invasion. The Governor of Badakshan, Mirza Suleman had become independent and he wanted to establish his control over Akbar as well as the ruler of Kabul, Mirza Hakim.
- **Akbar a minor:** Akbar was very young and he had to follow the instructions and work under the guidance of Bairam Khan till he attained maturity.
- **Sikandar Suri:** Though the ruler of Punjab had been defeated, his power had not as yet been crushed completely and he could become a danger for Akbar at any time. Adil Shah was in control of the region from Bihar to Chunar and his able minister Hemu was making preparations for war against the Mughals.
- **Ibrahim Suri:** Ibrahim Suri was occupying the Doab and Sambhal and he considered himself to be a claimant for the throne of Delhi.
- **Other Afghan chiefs:** Malwa, Gujarat, etc., were still in the hands of Afghan chiefs. They could at any time become a problem for Akbar.
- **Rajputs:** The Rajput chiefs of Marwar, Mewar, Jaisalmer, Ranthambhore, and Ajmer were continuously organizing their strength.

Check Your Progress

3. When was Sher Shah Suri born?
4. What was the major aim of the state, according to Sher Shah Suri?

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- **Abdul Muwali:** The famous Mughal Amir, Abdul Muwali had revolted and he did not attend the coronation ceremony of Akbar. Though Bairam Khan had captured and imprisoned him in the fort of Lahore, he posed a threat for the Mughals at any time.
- **Tardi Beg:** He tried to fix the land revenue in accordance with Tardi Beg, the governor of Delhi who had also turned a rebel and Hemu, the minister of Adil.
- **The kingdoms of Kashmir, Sind, Multan and Himalayan region:** All these kingdoms were independent and Akbar planned to bring them under the Mughal Empire.
- **Bad financial condition:** The Mughal treasury was empty. A terrible famine was raging in Delhi and Agra. To arrange financial resources was a problem confronting Akbar. In the Deccan there were, besides the Vijayanagar Empire, five Shia states viz., Khandesh, Bidar, Berar, Ahmednagar and Golkunda. The country could be united politically only after bringing them under the Mughal fold.
- **Anarchy and confusion:** Everywhere in the country there was indiscipline, disorder and anarchy. One of the problems before Akbar was to end them and give to the people a capable administration, peace and order.

Solving the Problems

Akbar gradually overcame all these difficulties in this conquest, where on the one hand, he was aided by his own good fortune and on the other hand, credit should go to the loyalty and ability of Bairam Khan. He called a conference of the Mughals in Sirhind and gave a death punishment to the governor of Delhi, Tardi Beg who had not been able to defend Delhi against Hemu. Bairam Khan defeated Hemu in the Second Battle of Panipat and seated Akbar on the throne. But, four years of power turned Bairam Khan into a vain person. In AD 1560, Akbar very deftly defeated him after he indulged in rebellion, but pardoned him keeping in view his past services. At a place called Patan, Bairam Khan was murdered by some rebel Afghans. Because of the treacherous activities of Akbar's foster mother and Adham Khan, Akbar was forced to give death punishment to Adham Khan in AD 1561 and his mother Maham Anga died of the shock and grief. In AD 1565, the rebellious Uzbek chiefs Sardar Khan, Abdulla Khan and Zaman Khan were also punished. In fact, Zaman Khan died fighting and his brother Bahadur was accorded death punishment. Abdulla Khan died (after some time, Akbar got all the supporters of his step brother, Hakim Mirza of Kabul, murdered and forced him to flee from Kabul). With the help of Bairam Khan, Akbar conquered (besides Agra and Delhi), the regions of Jaunpur, Ranthambhore and Malwa. After the acceptance of the sovereignty of the Mughals by Bihari Mal, the ruler of Ajmer and marrying his daughter, Akbar extended the sphere of his power till Ajmer. After that, he had to wage wars against Garkatanga (Gondwana), Gujarat, Bengal, Chittor, Kalinjar, etc. After Bengal, Kabul and Kandhar were brought under occupation. Khandesh accepted his suzerainty. After a prolonged struggle, Ahmednagar was conquered in AD 1600 and after the revolt of the new governor of Khandesh, Miran Bahadur Shah of Asirgarh was conquered militarily on 6 January, 1601. Briefly then, it can be said that Akbar had to struggle to overcome the various problems which confronted him.

The Second Battle of Panipat

The Second Battle of Panipat was a battle between Hemu and Akbar in which Akbar won to re-establish the Mughal Empire. The Second Battle of Panipat occurred in

November 1556. Emperor Akbar, who was crowned in the same year after his father's death defeated Muhammad Adil Shah Suri of Pashtun Suri Dynasty and his Prime Minister Hemu (Hemchandra). This defeat of Adil Shah and Hemu initiated Akbar's reign.

Humayun, the second Mughal Emperor died suddenly on 24 January 1556, as he slipped from the steps of his library. That time his son Akbar was only thirteen years old. Akbar was busy in a campaign in Punjab with the Chief Minister Bairam Khan at the time of his father's death. That time Mughal reign was confined to Kabul, Kandahar and parts of Punjab and Delhi. Akbar was enthroned as the emperor on 14 February 1556 in a garden at Kalanaur in Punjab. Hemu or Hemchandra was the military chief of Afghan Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah. Adil Shah was the ruler of Chunar and was seeking an opportunity to expel the Mughals from India. They got the advantage of Humayun's death. Hemu occupied Agra and Delhi without much difficulty in October and became the ruler under the title 'Raja Vikramaditya'. It was a short-lived victory for Adil Shah and Hemu.

Bairam Khan, the Chief Minister and the guardian of Akbar proceeded towards Delhi with a large army. On 5 November, both the armies met at Panipat. Hemu had a large army including 1500 war elephants. He got the initial success, but unfortunately a stray arrow struck his eye and he became unconscious. His troops thought that they have lost their leader and panic spread among them and they retreated. The Mughals won the battle. Shah Quli Khan captured the Hawai elephant of Hemu and presented it directly to Akbar. Hemu was brought in unconscious condition to Akbar and Bairam Khan. Akbar then severed the head of unconscious Hemu and took his cavalry sword.

Some historians claim that Akbar did not kill Hemu by himself; he just touched his head with his sword and his followers killed Hemu. Hemu's cut off head was sent to Kabul to the ladies of Humayun's harem in order to celebrate the victory. Hemu's torso was sent to Delhi for a display on a gibbet. Iskandar Khan from Akbar's side chased Hemu's army and captured as many as 1500 elephants and a large portion of the army. Hemu's wife escaped from Delhi with the treasure she could have with her. Pir Mohammad Khan chased her caravan with troops, but his effort was not successful. The Second Battle of Panipat changed the course of Indian history as it initiated the re-establishment of Mughal Dynasty in India.

Character and Personality of Akbar

Akbar was the greatest among the Mughal emperors who ascended the throne at a very early age, after the death of his father Humayun. During his reign, the Mughal Empire was at its peak. Akbar, who took charge of an empire that was besieged with many problems, both internal as well as external at a young age, made the Mughal Empire not only the strongest state in India, but also one of the best administered state of his times. He also implemented innovative policies which proved liberal, farsighted and successful which added a new chapter in Indian medieval history and established the Mughal Empire firmly in India. Therefore, he has been justly described as 'the Great' among the Mughal emperors of India.

1.4.1 Mansabdari System

The *Mansabdari* system during the Mughal administration is discussed under the following heads.

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Akbar and the *Mansabdari* System

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Akbar could not have been able to expand his empire and maintain his hold over it without a strong army. For this purpose, it was necessary for him to organize the nobility as well as his army. To realize both these objectives, Akbar organized his army on the basis of the *Mansabdari* system in place of the *Jagirdari* system. He saw that the *Jagirdars* did not keep the horses or the horsemen or the soldiers in the required number and the prescribed breed of horses.

On the contrary, they spent the government money on their own pleasure making. *Mansab* is a Persian word. It means an office or a status or an *Ohada*. The person whom the Emperor gave a *mansab* was known as the *Mansabdar*. Akbar gave some *mansab* or the *ohada* (status) to each of his military and civil official. The lowest rank was ten, and the highest was 5000 for the nobles; towards the end of the reign, it was raised to 7000.

According to Badayuni, we can say that towards the end of his reign, Akbar increased the highest rank to 12,000. Princes of the blood received higher *mansab*. During the period of Akbar, Raja Man Singh, Mirza Aziz Koka and one or two other top ranking officials were promoted to the rank of 7000. Thereafter, the *mansab* of 8000 and above were meant for the royal family.

Meaning of *Zat* and *Sawar*

The ranks of *Mansabdars* were divided into two groups – *Zat* and *Sawar*. The word *Zat* means personal. It fixed the personal status of a person, and also the salary due to him. The *Sawar* rank indicated the number of cavalymen (*sawars*) a person was required to maintain.

Regarding the actual horsemen maintained by the *Mansabdar*, there was no definite view. This matter had been further complicated by the *Zat* and *Sawar* distinction introduced by Akbar in AD 1603-1604 on which the historians hold divergent views. According to Blachmann, *Zat* indicated the number of troops which a *Mansabdar* was expected to maintain, while the *Sawar* meant the actual number of horsemen that he maintained. On the other hand, Irvin holds that the *Zat* indicated the actual number of a cavalry, while the *Sawar* was an honour, and represented like the *Zat*, the actual number indicated by it. This view does not hold much water. Dr R.P. Tripathi holds still another view. He says that *Sawar* was simply an additional honour and it entitled the *Mansabdars* to some extra allowance. For the *Sawar* rank, he was not required to maintain any additional troops at all. C.S.K. Rao says that the *Zat* rank indicated infantry while *Sawar* indicated cavalry to be maintained by the *Mansabdar*. However, Abdul Aziz says that it is impossible that the Mughals could have such a large number of infantry. He is of the opinion that *zat* rank imposed an obligation to maintain a fixed number of elephants, horses, beasts of burden and carts but no horse men of cavalry, whereas *Sawar* represented the actual number of cavalry under a *mansabdar*. Both Abdul Aziz and Prof. S.R. Sharma hold that the *sawar* distinction determined whether a particular *Mansabdar* of the *Zat* rank belonged to the first or the second or the third class in that particular *mansab*.

A person who was required to maintain as many *sawars* as his *zat* rank was placed in the first category of that rank; if he maintained half or more, then in the second category, and if he maintained less than half, then in the third category. Thus, a rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ for every *sawar* was added to the *zat* salary. No one could have a higher quota of

sawars than his *zat* rank. Although modifications were made from time to time, this remained the basic structure as long as the Empire was held together.

Main Characteristics of the *Mansabdari* System

The following are main characteristics of *Mansabdari* System:

Mansab was granted to the military as well as the civil officials

Mansab was granted not only to the military officials, but also to all Mughal officers in the revenue and judicial services. Even the scholars of the court were the holders of *mansab*. It is, therefore, that Irvin says, *mansabdari* meant nothing 'beyond the fact that the holder of *mansab* was the employee of the state'. R.P. Khosla in a way reiterates the same when he remarks, 'In the Mughal state the army, the peerage and the civil administration were all rolled into one'.

Categories or grades of *Mansabdars*

In AD 1573-1574, the *mansabdars* were classified into thirty-three grades ranking from commanders of ten to those of 12,000. Those who held command of ten to 400 were called *mansabdars*. Higher up, those who held the command of 500–2500 were styled as *amirs*, while the holders of 3000 and upward were known as *Amir-i-Azam* or *Umra*. The highest graded commanders from 8000–12,000 were reserved for the princes of the royal blood. A common official could not hold a *mansab* beyond 7000.

Appointment of the *Mansabdars*

The emperor used to appoint the *mansabdars* personally and they could retain the *mansab* so long as he desired.

Pay and allowances of the *Mansabdars*

The *mansabdars* during the Mughal period were very highly paid. They were generally given salary in cash. Sometimes, the revenue of a particular *jagir* was assigned to them as salary.

They had to manage their own horsemen and the expenditures of horses from their own salary. They were necessary for the transport of the army. Prof. Satish Chandra says regarding the pay of the Mughal *mansabdars*, 'The Mughal *Mansabdars* were paid very handsomely; in fact, their salaries were probably the highest in the world, at that time'. A *mansabdar* of 5000 got from ` 28,000 – ` 30,000, out of which he would spend ` 16,000 to maintain the soldiers and the other obligations. A *mansabdar* of 1000 got nearly ` 8000 of which ` 3000 were spent to meet his obligations. Moreover, there was no income tax in those days. The purchasing power of the rupee in those days has been calculated to be sixty times of what it was in 1966. Even though the nobles had to spend roughly half of their personal salary in the keep up of the animals for transport and in the administration of their *jagirs*, they could lead lives of ostentation and luxury.

Duty of the *mansabdars*

Mansabdars could be sent to the battlefield on military campaigns as the military commanders or under some commander, who himself was a *mansabdar*. They could be called upon to quell a revolt, conquer new area or perform non-military and administrative duties. Sometimes, they were allowed to recruit their own troops and to purchase their equipment.

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Restrictions on *mansabdars*

Great care was taken to ensure that the *sawars* recruited by the *mansabdars* were experienced and well mounted. Akbar started the practice of keeping a record of the description (*huliya*) of each horseman under a *mansabdar* and of branding their horses (*dag*) to prevent the *mansabdars* from going as they pleased. Each horse bore two marks—the government mark on the right thigh and the *mansabdar*'s mark on the left thigh. Every *mansabdar* had to bring his contingent for a periodic inspection before persons appointed by the emperor for the purpose. The horses were carefully inspected and only good quality horses of Arabic and Iraqi breeds were employed. For every ten cavalymen, the *mansabdar* had to maintain twenty horses. This was so because the horses had to be rested while on march, and replacements were necessarily in the times of war.

Pure and mixed troops of *mansabdars*

Generally, a provision was made that the contingents of the nobles should be mixed ones, and drawn from all the groups—Mughal, Pathan, Hindustani, Muslims, Rajputs, etc. Thus, Akbar tried to weaken the forces of tribalism and parochialism. The Mughal and Rajput nobles were allowed to have contingents exclusively of the Mughals or the Rajputs, but in course of time, mixed contingents became the general rule.

Recruitment, promotion and dismissal

During the Mughal period, the recruitment, promotions and dismissals of *mansabdars* were in the hands of the emperor. A person desirous of joining the Mughal service may contact the emperor through a *mansabdar* or through *mir bakshi* to the emperor. It was up to the mood and satisfaction of the emperor to accept the recommendation of *mir bakshi* to assign a *mansab* to the concerned person. If he was granted a *mansab*, his whole record, known as '*hakikat*' was prepared. Promotions of the *mansabdars* were also in the hands of the emperor and were made generally on such occasions as (i) before and after an expedition, (ii) at the time of vacancy and (iii) on some auspicious occasions or festivals. A *mansabdar* could be dismissed at any time by the emperor if the latter felt that the former was disloyal or dishonest to him or had lost his utility for the empire.

***Mansabdari* System during the Reign of Akbar's Successors**

- (i) **Difference in the highest *mansab*:** In Akbar's time, the smallest *mansab* was of ten *sawars* and the highest of 10,000 even though, initially, *mansabs* higher than 5000 were given only to princes. Later on, Akbar increased the *mansab* of the princes to 12,000. He gave a *mansab* of 7000 only to three of his very famous *amirs*, namely Mirza Shah Rukh, Aziz Koka and Raja Man Singh. After Akbar's death, for ordinary *mansabdars*, the highest *mansab* remained that of 7000, but *mansab* of the princes was raised to 40,000 during Jahangir's time and 60,000 during Shah Jahan's time. Shah Jahan gave to his father-in-law a *mansab* of 9000 and Jahangir gave to Asaf Khan a *mansab* of 9000.
- (ii) **Rise of a new class of *sawars*:** The end of Jahangir's reign saw the rise of a new class of *sawars*. It was known as *do aspa sih aspa*, i.e., two-three horses. The *mansabdars* were to maintain additional horsemen and draw special allowance.

- (iii) **Reduction in the number of soldiers:** Shah Jahan reduced the number of soldiers kept by the *mansabdars* to one-third the original number. According to some historians, sometimes this number was even reduced to one-fourth or one-fifth of the original number. In other words, during the reign of Shah Jahan, a *mansabdar* of 6000 kept only 2000 soldiers. If any *mansabdar* was given the additional rank of *do aspa sih aspa*, he could keep 2000 soldiers.
- (iv) **Difference in the categories of *Mansabdars*:** Adul Fazal in his book *Akbarnamah* had mentioned thirty-three categories of *mansabdars* during the period of Akbar. During the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, this was reduced to eleven, and during Aurangzeb's time, their number was reduced to three.
- (vi) **Relaxation in rules:** After the death of Akbar, the Mughal Emperors started relaxing the rules of muster and descriptive roles, and also became less watchful on their activities, which resulted in degeneration and an inefficiency in administration.

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Merits of the *Mansabdari* System

- **End of the main defects of the *Jagirdari* system:** The *mansabdari* system brought to an end many of the defects of the *Jagirdari* system. The *mansabdars* had to come to the emperor every month for their pay. The emperor could maintain direct contact with the *mansabdars* every month.
- **Increased military efficiency:** The *mansabdari* system was an improvement over the military establishment of the medieval period. It was a sort of a compromise between the tribal chieftainship and the feudal system of giving troops. It combined the advantages of both the systems. Moreover, it was designed to tap every source of fighting strength in the country. Various units were particularly suited to certain special kinds of military duties. For example, certain Rajput *mansabdars* were diplomatically used against certain Rajput chiefs with whom they were at feud.
- **No more loss to royal treasury:** Under the *jagirdari* system, the *jagirdars* were assigned *jagirs* that covered huge areas of land, which resulted in a great loss to the royal treasury. In the *mansabdari* system, all the land became the state land. All the *mansabdars* were paid in cash on a fixed salary basis. This prevented extra revenues from going to the *jagirdars*, and the state treasury, thus, was enriched.
- **End of corruption:** According to some historians, the *mansabdari* system raised the moral standard of the military officials because after the death of a *mansabdar*, all his property used to be confiscated, and therefore, they did not indulge in dishonesty or show greed for hoarding more and more money.
- **Merit as the basis of selection:** All the ranks in this system were given keeping in view the ability of the officers. Moreover, incompetent officers were promptly removed from their positions. The son of a *mansabdar* did not inherit the *mansab* after the death of his father. With the appointment of efficient and able officials on different posts, all parts of the administrative machinery functioned smoothly.
- **Caste feeling and discrimination weakened:** People from different castes and religions formed the military group of *mansabdars*. This helped to weaken the feeling of caste and discrimination between the Hindus and the Muslims.

Thus, this system helped to create an atmosphere of emotional integration in the country.

Demerits of *Mansabdari* System

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- (i) Very expensive system: The fat salaries paid to the *mansabdars* made the whole army system of the Mughals very expensive, and later on, in Aurangzeb's time, this proved to be one of the factors which brought the downfall of the Mughal Empire.
- (ii) Within a *mansabdar's* division, there was no classification of the troops into regiments. All the troops were immediately under him and every soldier had personal relations with him. Nor was the numerical strength of each army regulated or fixed in a *mansabdar's* contingent.
- (iii) Each system was a great defect of the whole system. Hawkins, Bernier and Peter Mondy have referred to this in their accounts. Whenever a particular *mansabdar* died, his property was confiscated by the state. This made the nobles and the *mansabdars* lead a luxurious life, for they thought and very rightly too, that their savings could not be inherited by their children. Therefore, they spent whatever they possessed. This led to many corrupt practices in their private life. This generation of the nobility later on proved to be a potent cause of the downfall of the Mughal Empire.
- (iv) Corruption in some form or the other was unavoidable in a system which left the duties of the recruitment and the administration of the army to the *mansabdars*, i.e., the commanding officers themselves.
- (v) Moral degradation – Dishonest officials and dishonest *mansabdars* used to tally together, and during inspection, used to borrow horses from the other *mansabdars* and used to maintain their full quota only on paper.
- (vi) The *mansabdars* drew the money from the king and paid the troops their salaries with the result that the troops were more loyal to the *mansabdars* than to the king.

1.4.2 Din-i-Ilahi

Contacts with the leaders of various religions, reading of their learned works, meeting with the Sufi saints and yogis gradually convinced Akbar that while there were differences of sect and creed, all religions had a number of good points which were obscured in the heat of controversy. He felt that if the good points of various religions were emphasized, an atmosphere of harmony and amenity would prevail which would be for the good of country.

Further, he felt that behind all the multiplicity of names and forms, there was but one God. As Badauni observed, as a result of all the influences which were brought to bear on His Majesty,

‘There grew gradually as the outline of stone, the conviction in his heart that there were some sensible men in all religions. If some true knowledge was thus everywhere to be found, why should truth be confined to one religion.’ Hence, he brought a solution of the problem, i.e., of having a religion that has the excellent points of the existing creeds and the defects of none. So, he consulted the foremost leaders of the various religious communities and unfolded to them his scheme of having a religion which should

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be the combination of the merits of all the faiths and the defects of none. He said, 'We ought, therefore to bring them all into one but in such fashion that there should be both one, and all, with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. In that way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the people and security to the empire.' So, having put together the general principles of all religions, he established a synthesis of various creeds and called them *Din-i-Ilahi*.

Main Principles of *Din-i-Ilahi*

Mohsin Fani, the author of *Debistani-i-Mazahib*, described some of the leading principles of *Din-i-Ilahi*:

- (i) Liberality and beneficence
- (ii) Abstinence from the worldly desires
- (iii) Forgiveness to the evil doer
- (iv) Soft voice, gentle words, pleasure speeches for everybody
- (v) Good treatment to all those who come in contact
- (vi) Dedication of the soul in the love of God

The whole philosophy of Akbar was 'the pure weapon (shastra) and the pure sight never err.' He found that the narrow minded religiously zealous was a menace to the society. Accordingly, he made an attempt to bring about a synthesis of all the important religions and styled it *Din-i-Ilahi* or *Tauhid-i-Ilahi* (Divine Monotheism). It was a socio-religious order—a brotherhood designed to cement diverse communities in the land. The followers of this religion believed in the following principles:

- (i) God is one and Akbar is his Caliph or representative. In this way its basis was the Unity of God, the cornerstone of Islam.
- (ii) The followers of this religion used to greet each other by one saying 'Alla-ho-Akbar' and the other replaying 'Jall-a-Jolalohu' when they met.
- (iii) As far as possible, the followers of his religion abstained from meat eating.
- (iv) The followers used to worship Sun God and considered the fire sacred.
- (v) The followers of this religion were opposed to child marriage and marriage of old women.
- (vi) The neophyte in the religion used to bow before the Emperor on Sunday and the Emperor used to instruct him and the neophyte used to repeat the instruction again and again.
- (vii) Every member used to host a party on his birthday and used to give charity.
- (viii) Apart from their own instructions the followers were not to honour any other ritual, place of worship or sacred book.
- (ix) Every follower vowed to keep his character high and do good to others.
- (x) The followers of this religion used to respect all religions equally.

Propagation of *Din-i-Ilahi*

Although there were a number of adherents of the so-called Divine Faith, it did not live for long after Akbar. Blochman has collected from Abul Fazlal and Badayuni the names of eighteen prominent members, Raja Birbal being the only Hindu in the list. The herd of

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the unnamed and the unrecorded followers probably never numbered. In order to complete the subject, it may be noted that in September, 1595, Sadr Jahan, the Mufti of the empire, with his two sons, took the Shasi joined the Faith, and was rewarded with a command of 1,000.' At the same time sundry other persons conformed and received commands' ranging from 100 - 500. Father Pinheiro, writing from Lahore on 3 September, AD 1595, mentions that in that city the royal sect had many adherents, but all for the sake of the money paid to them. No later contemporary account of the *Din-i-Ilahi* has been found.

Din-i-Ilahi perished with Akbar's death though Jahangir continued to make disciples after Akbar's fashion. Both Smith and Woolsey Haig have condemned Akbar for promulgating what they have termed a religion of his own. The Divine Faith' says Dr Smith, was a monument of Akbar's folly and not of his wisdom. Elsewhere, he calls it 'a silly invention'.

Following Badayuni, a bigoted and over-strict Muslim, with whom the omission of a single ceremony of Islam amounted to apostasy, and adopting the same line of argument as he, they have inevitably come to the same conclusion. As a profound student of India, as well as Islamic history, Akbar made a direct appeal to the innermost sentiments of his subjects by giving his Sangha a religious character. Neither the aim of the order nor the object of its author can be duly appreciated unless it is regarded as an instrument with which the master-mind endeavored to consolidate the Mughal Empire by eradicating from the minds of the ruled their sense of subordination to the Muslim rulers. The chief motive underlying the promulgation of the Divine Faith was the unification of India. Lanepool justly observes, 'But broad minded sympathy which inspired such a vision of catholicity left a lasting impression upon a land of warring, creeds and tribes and for a brief while created a nation where before there had been only factions.

According to a renowned historian S.M. Zaffar, 'The Divine Faith had far-reaching consequences. It completely changed the character of the Muslim rule in India. The Mughal Emperor was no longer regarded as a foreigner, trampling upon the lives and liberties of the sons of the soil and depriving them of their birth-rights. The members of the different Faith had bound themselves by an oath to stand by the emperor in weal and wore to sacrifice the religion, honour, wealth, life, liberty and all for him'. Prof. R.S. Sharma also supports the same view. According to him, Akbar's aim in propagating this Doctrine was political not religious but Dr Satish Chandra does not accept the view, he gives certain logic. First, the number of people embracing this religion was very small and even amongst them many were Akbar's personal friends. Second, when Akbar propagated this religion (AD 1582) then he had already consolidated his empire. In our view, Akbar was a true national leader. He started *Tauhid-i-Ilahi* only with the purpose to bring about harmony and peace amongst the various sects. He was the most liberal exponent of the principles of universal toleration. To his open mind there was truth in all faiths, so he did not permit anybody to be persecuted on the score of his religion. *Solh-i-Kull* (peace with all) was the principle he acted upon. The Hindus, the Christians, the Jains, and the followers of other religions enjoyed full liberty, both of conscience and public worship. Even when he promulgated the new religion of *Din-i-Ilahi* he never sought converts either by force or coercion. By starting *Din-i-Ilahi*, he promoted the feeling of cultural unity and humanism to an extent.

Check Your Progress

5. When did the Second Battle of Panipat occur?
6. List some of the merits of *Mansabdari* system.
7. What are the main principles of *Din-i-Ilahi*?

1.5 EARLY CAREER AND ACCESSION OF SHAH JAHAN

Shah Jahan ruled the Mughal Empire from AD 1628–1658. The son of Emperor Jahangir and his Rajput Queen, popularly called Jodhabai, Shah Jahan was born on 5 January 1592. Subsequent to the death of his father, he proclaimed himself the Emperor of the Mughal Dynasty. He extended the political supremacy which was established in India by Akbar. The kingdom enjoyed peace and opulence during his reign. His reign was said to be the golden age of Mughal Empire in India.

Reign of Shah Jahan

The reign of Shah Jahan was marked as the golden age of the Mughal dynasty. Shah Jahan was well educated and cultured, and was known to have provided protection to scholars. Persian and Sanskrit literature flourished during his reign. He also patronized fine arts, appreciated music, painting and structural design. He had several wives; nonetheless, he was devoted to them. He constructed the Taj Mahal to commemorate his love for Mumtaz Mahal. He loved his children and gave them all necessary training and comforts. He was a hard fighter and an accomplished commander. He participated in all important campaigns not only during his life time, but also had led most of the conquests for his father Jahangir. Soon after he occupied the throne, he started his military campaigns and busied himself with extending the boundaries of the Mughal Empire. During his reign, Ahmednagar was completely annexed to the Mughal dominion, and Bijapur and Golconda were enforced to accept the suzerainty of the royal leader. He even attempted to conquer Central Asia and recover Kandahar.

Shah Jahan was a just sovereign and solemnly desired the welfare of his subjects. Trade, industry and agriculture flourished and the state as well as the subjects enjoyed prosperity during the entire period of his reign. He worked hard and personally supervised the administration of the Empire. He brought about enhancement in the *mansabdari* system. He helped his subjects generously in times of famines and natural calamities. With regard to religious affairs, he was unquestionably orthodox when compared with Jahangir and Akbar; yet he did not get in the way of the daily life of the Hindus and the Christians. He participated in fairs and festivals of the Hindus and he continued the practices of *Jharokha Darshan* and *Tula Dan* as before. He continued the policy of his father and grandfather towards the Rajputs and commanded their respect and loyalty. Trade activities flourished between Delhi, Agra, Lahore, and Ahmedabad during the reign of Shah Jahan as a result of improved network of roads and waterways.

The greatest achievement of this great good judge of art was the architectural structures and gravestones erected by him during his life time. A major revolution that occurred during his period was the replacement of red sandstone with the more expensive marble as the construction material as seen in the *Diwan-i-am* (hall of public audience) or the black marble exhibition area of the Shalimar Gardens in Srinagar. The Jama Masjid, the Moti Masjid and the tomb of Jahangir in Lahore unquestionably deserves mention here. The most famous of all his works is the legendary Taj Mahal at Agra built as a tomb for his wife, Empress Mumtaz Mahal.

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Achievements of Shah Jahan

Shah Jahan pursued the same guiding principles of his ancestors Akbar and Jahangir regarding the extension of the Empire's boundaries towards south India. Moreover, the fact that the states of south India sheltered the rebels in opposition to the Mughals did not sit well with Shah Jahan and hence, he desired to get the better of these states. In AD 1633 Ahmednagar was annexed to the Mughal Empire. The ruling family of Golconda was *Shia* and its rule had refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mughals. Shah Jahan desired to conquer Golconda. He was able to manage this when Abdullah Qutub Shah ascended the throne, and he agreed to the terms and conditions of the Mughal Emperor. In AD 1636, Shah Jahan attacked Daulatabad. Bijapur was weak at that time due to rebellious attempts of its nobles. Consequently, Muhammad Adil Shah voluntarily agreed for peace and an agreement was signed between the two parties. The Deccan guiding principle of the Mughals proved fairly triumphant for the duration of the period of influence of Shah Jahan. Since the annexation of Ahmednagar, both Bijapur and Golconda also accepted the suzerainty of the royal leader. The rulers of these kingdoms were obligatory to pay the annual acknowledgment from time to time and parts of their territories for the Mughals to establish their forts and watch stations. Some other minor invasions also occurred during Shah Jahan's rule. These conquests include the following:

- The Bhils of Malwa and Gonda
- Raja Pratap of Palam
- The Raja of Little Tibet

Raja Pratap of Palam and the Raja of Little Tibet were pardoned after they accepted the suzerainty of the Mughals. Moreover, Assam was forced to establish trade relations with the Mughal kingdom after constant fighting for over a decade spanning from AD 1628 – 1639.

War of Succession

Chaos and bloodshed related to wars of succession for the throne had become the order of Mughal Era. All the four sons of Shah Jahan – Dara Shikoh, Shah Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad, started fighting among themselves during the last years of Shah Jahan's rule. Shah Jahan personally chose Dara as the would-be-heir. But the Muslim nobles disliked the popular Dara for his liberal mindset. Ultimately, Aurangzeb cleansed all obstructions through coercion and bloodshed. He imprisoned Shah Jahan, and murdered Murad and Dara, while the helpless Shah Shuja ran away from India. Shah Jahan died on 22 January 1666, in Agra.

1.5.1 Shah Jahan: Art and Architecture

Shah Jahan was one of the greatest builders of the Mughal Empire. During his time, the arts of the jewellery and the painting were blended into one. The important buildings of Shah Jahan were the Diwan-i-aam and Diwan-i-khas in the Red Fort of Delhi (Figure 1.3), the Jama Masjid, the Moti Masjid and the Taj Mahal in Agra. It is pointed out that the palace of Delhi is the most magnificent in the East. The Diwan-i-khas is more highly ornamented than any other building of Shah Jahan.

The mosques built by Shah Jahan are of two kinds. The beauty of the Moti Masjid lies in its simplicity. The perfection of proportions and harmony of constructive designs make it one of the purest and most elegant buildings of its class to be found anywhere.

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Fig. 1.3 Red Fort, New Delhi

The Jama Masjid in Delhi (Figure 1.4) is vast in size and more impressive than Moti Masjid. The interior of the Jama Masjid at Delhi is simple.



Fig. 1.4 Jama Masjid, New Delhi

Percey Brown opined, ‘Augustus boast that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble, its counterpart in the building productions of Shah Jahan who found the Mughal cities of sandstone and left them of marble’.

In the fort of Agra and Lahore and at other places, Shah Jahan demolished many of the sandstone structures of his predecessors and in their places constructed marble palaces. During his time, the building art acquired a new sensibility. Instead of the rectangular character of the previous period, there arose the curved line and flowing rhythm of the style of Shah Jahan. Most of the ornamentation was however of a much more subtle nature, colour and ornamentation being introduced. However, perhaps the most striking innovation was the change in the shape of the arch. At Agra and Lahore, the palaces within the forts were largely reconstructed and all the cities of Mughals display examples of Shah Jahan’s fondness for buildings.

The greatest monument of Shah Jahan's era the Taj Mahal (Figure 1.5). It is the symbol of love and is considered as an architectural wonder in the world. It is the most graceful and impressive of the structures of the world.

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Fig. 1.5 Taj Mahal, Agra

The Taj Mahal was built by Shah Jahan in the memory of his beloved queen Arjumand Bano (Mumtaz Mahal) who died in 1630. Prominent artisans were invited from various countries to help in designing and constructing the Taj. To begin with, a model of the Taj was prepared in wood and this was followed by the artisans. Finally, the Taj Mahal was constructed at Agra under the guidance of Ustad Isa and he was paid a salary of 1000 per month. It took twenty-two years to complete the construction of the Taj. It was estimated to have cost about three crores.

According to Percy Brown, 'It may be noted that while the structural portions seem to have been principally in the hands of Mohammedans, the decoration was mainly the work of Hindu craftsman, the difficult task of preparing the pietra dura, especially entrusted to a group of the latter (Hindu craftsman) from Kanauj'. At some other place, he says, 'The main dome by its shape is plainly of Timurid extraction, its remote ancestor being the dome of the rock at Jerusalem; on the other hand, the copulas with their wide caves are of indigenous origin being derived from the overlapping rings of masonry, which formed the vaulted ceiling of the Hindu temple'.

However, scholars describe the Taj as the finest monument of conjugal love and fidelity in the world. It is flawless in design and execution and it is a dream in the marble.

Later Mughal rulers and Mughal architecture

After the death of Shah Jahan, Mughal architecture began to decline. Aurangzeb was not interested in architecture. He built a small mosque in the fort of Delhi for his own use. He has also built a mosque at Banaras on the ruins of the famous Kashi Vishwanath temple in 1660. The Badshahi Mosque was built at Lahore in 1674, which is the largest Mosque in the Indian subcontinent. However, it is a poor imitation of the Jama Masjid at Delhi.

Aurangzeb also destroyed several Hindu temples like the Keshava Rai temple, built by Raja Bir Singh in Mathura, the Kashi Vishwanath temple constructed by Raja

Man Singh in Banaras, besides several others in Kuch Bihar, Udaipur, Jodhpur and other places in Rajasthan.

After the death of Aurangzeb, Mughal architecture completely deteriorated. The buildings that were constructed in the eighteenth century during the time of later Mughals demonstrate the bankruptcy of taste and poverty of design, finishing and decoration.

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1.6 SUMMARY

- Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur was the son of Umar Sheikh Mirza, a descendent of the famous invader Timur Lane. His mother Qutulug Nigar Khanam belonged to the family of Genghis Khan, the great Mongol invader.
- When Babur was born in AD 1483, his father was the ruler of a small principality of Farghana in Turkistan. In AD 1494 Babur inherited the petty Kingdom of Fargana from his father.
- The first half of the 15th century witnessed political instability with the disintegration of the Tughlaq Dynasty. Both the Saiyyad (1414–1451) and the Lodi (1451–1526) rulers failed to cope with ‘the disruptive forces’.
- The Mughals called themselves so after their Mongol ancestry. Unlike the Delhi Sultanate, which was ruled by many dynasties, the Mughal period witnessed the rule by a single dynasty for nearly two- and- a -half centuries.
- Babur’s character has been praised by all historians—both modern and contemporary. He was numberless man of many virtues and excellences.
- The great grandson on Timur and Genghis Khan, Babur was the first Mughal emperor in India. He confronted and defeated Lodi in AD 1526 at the First Battle of Panipat, and so came to establish the Mughal Empire in India.
- Sher Shah Suri is one of those great men in history who achieved greatness from a very ordinary position. The dynasty founded by him is known as the Sur dynasty. He was born in ad 1472.
- He was one of the eight sons of Mian Hassan Khan Sur, an employee of the governor of Punjab, Jamal Khan.
- During Sher Shah’s time there were seven main sources of state income—land revenue, *kham*s, custom, *Jaziya*, *nazrana*, royal currency and sales tax.
- On 19 February 1556, Akbar was declared the Emperor at Kalanaur when he had just turned thirteen.
- The Second Battle of Panipat was a battle between Hemu and Akbar in which Akbar won to re-establish the Mughal Empire.
- The *mansabdars* during Mughal period were very highly paid. They were generally given salary in cash. Sometimes, the revenue of a particular *jagir* was assigned to them as salary.
- *Din-i-Ilahi* perished with Akbar’s death though Jahangir continued to make disciples after Akbar’s fashion.
- Shah Jahan ruled the Mughal Empire from AD 1628–1658. The son of the royal leader Jahangir and his Rajput Queen, popularly called Jodhabai, Shah Jahan was born on 5 January 1592.

Check Your Progress

8. When was Shah Jahan born?
9. List some important buildings of Shah Jahan.

- Shah Jahan was one of the greatest builders of the Mughal Empire.
- The greatest monument of Shah Jahan's era the Taj Mahal. It is the symbol of love and is considered as an architectural wonder in the world.

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1.7 KEY TERMS

- **Tughluquid style:** It is the first Indian Islamic architecture to have integrated indigenous design components (pillars, beams and brackets) and local techniques (air cooling systems using water) with recognizably Islamic design elements (arches, vaults and domes).
- **Akbarnamah:** It is the Persian term for 'History of Akbar', is a book written by Abul Fazl Allami that traces the life and times of the earliest Mughal emperors in India.
- **Delhi Sultanate:** A term used to cover five Islamic kingdoms or sultanates of Turkic origin in medieval India, which ruled Delhi between AD 1206 and AD 1526.
- **Langar:** This term is used for common kitchen/canteen where food is served to all the visitors (without distinction of background) for free.
- **Makhtab:** It is an Arabic word meaning elementary schools. Though it was primarily used for teaching children in reading, writing, etc.
- **Mansabdar:** It is the generic term for the military-type grading of all imperial officials of the Mughal Empire. The mansabdars governed the empire and commanded its armies in the emperor's name. The term is derived from *mansab*, meaning 'rank'.

1.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The various factors that prompted Babur to conquer India are as follows:
 - Miserable political conditions of India
 - Immense richness of India and legal right to occupy some area
 - Meagre income from Kabul
 - Fear of Uzbeks
2. The following was the impact of the First Battle of Panipat:
 - End of the rule of Lodi dynasty
 - Foundation of the Mughal empire
 - Use of artillery in India
 - Tulugama became popular in India
3. Sher Shah Suri was born in AD 1472.
4. According to Sher Shah Suri, the major aim of the state was public welfare.
5. The Second Battle of Panipat occurred in November 1556.
6. Some of the merits of *Mansabdari* system are as follows:
 - End of the main defects of the Jagirdari system
 - Increased military efficiency

- No more loss to royal treasury
 - End of corruption
7. The main principles of *Din-i-Ilahi* are as follows:
- (i) Liberality and beneficence
 - (ii) Abstinence from the worldly desires
 - (iii) Forgiveness to the evil doer
 - (iv) Soft voice, gentle words, pleasure speeches for everybody
 - (v) Good treatment to all those who come in contact
 - (vi) Dedication of the soul in the love of God
8. Shah Jahan was born on 5 January 1592.
9. The important buildings of Shah Jahan were the Diwan-i-aam and Diwan-i-khas in the Red Fort of Delhi, the Jama Masjid, the Moti Masjid and the Taj Mahal in Agra.

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1.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the establishment of the Mughal Empire in India.
2. Trace the advent of Mughals and the establishment of the Mughal Dynasty in India.
3. Give an account of Sher Shah's conquests after becoming the emperor.
4. Analyse the features of the religious policy adopted by Akbar.
5. Why is the reign of Shah Jahan often referred to as the 'golden age' of the Mughal Empire?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe the political scenario in India on the eve of Babur's invasion.
2. Analyse the various factors that prompted Babur to conquer India.
3. Describe the early career and conquests of Sher Shah Suri.
4. Highlight the features of Din-i-Ilahi.
5. List the various achievements of Shah Jahan.

1.10 FURTHER READING

- Habib, Irfan 1982. *Atlas of the Mughal Empire*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Nizami, K.A. 1966. *Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture*. New Delhi: Kitab Mahal.
- Smith, V.A. 1917. *Akbar the Great Mogul, 1542–1605*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

UNIT 2 CRISIS OF MUGHAL EMPIRE

Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Unit Objectives
- 2.2 Emergence of Aurangzeb
 - 2.2.1 Aurangzeb: Administration
 - 2.2.2 Policies of Aurangzeb
 - 2.2.3 Achievements of Aurangzeb
- 2.3 Marathas
 - 2.3.1 Administration of Shivaji
 - 2.3.2 Coronation and Death of Shivaji
 - 2.3.3 Successors of Shivaji: Mughal-Maratha Relations and Rule of Peshwas
- 2.4 Rise of Regional Polities: Bengal, Awadh and Mysore
 - 2.4.1 Bengal
 - 2.4.2 Awadh
 - 2.4.3 Mysore
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 Key Terms
- 2.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 2.8 Questions and Exercises
- 2.9 Further Reading

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2.0 INTRODUCTION

In the war of succession amongst Shah Jahan's sons Aurangzeb occupied Agra and put Shah Jahan in prison. Aurangzeb put to death not only Dara and his other brothers, but also all other rivals. Shah Jahan died a broken man in AD1666 and was buried beside his wife. In this unit, you will learn about the life and times of Aurangzeb, who according to historians heralded the era of downfall of the Mughals. The unit also discusses the various policies adopted by Aurangzeb and analyses the reasons for the numerous rebellions during his life time.

The death of Aurangzeb was soon followed by the succession war among the Mughal princes. The Mughal Empire which gave Indian history an era of splendid accomplishments disintegrated with the irreparable mistakes of emperors like Aurangzeb.

At the time of the Mughal Empire, a powerful group emerged in the Deccan known as the Marathas. They were great warriors. When the Bahmani Empire collapsed, many Hindu kingdoms rose to high positions; Marathas were also among them. They lived in the Deccan, in the region of present Maharashtra and north Karnataka. Shivaji and Peshwa Baji Rao were the prominent Maratha rulers and they challenged the supremacy of the Mughal Empire. However, the Third Battle of Panipat shattered the dream of the Marathas to establish their supremacy on the whole of India and gave the opportunity to the East India Company to establish its rule in India. In this unit, you will also study about the historical background of the Marathas and the causes and consequences of the Third Battle of Panipat.

With fall of the Mughal Empire, the territories under its reign witnessed chaos and were fragmented into small princely states. Regional rulers who had till now nourished dreams of throwing out the Mughals started waging bitter wars. States like Bengal,

NOTES**2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES**

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the war of succession after Shah Jahan
- Discuss the early career and accession of Aurangzeb
- Explain the religious policy of Aurangzeb
- Discuss the early career and conquests of Shivaji
- Analyse Mughal-Maratha relations
- Analyse the Peshwas and expansion of Maratha power
- Explain how the British annexed Awadh
- Outline the rise of Tipu Sultan and the interpret the Anglo-Mysore wars

2.2 EMERGENCE OF AURANGZEB

The war of succession after Shah Jahan was a fierce battle waged by the sons of the royal leader—Shah Shuja, Dara Shikoh, Aurangzeb and Murad—in order to seize the Mughal throne. Emperor Shah Jahan fell critically ill in November 1657. When he recovered from his illness and because of the embarrassment caused by his illness (dysentery and strangury), he commanded the fortress doors to be closed to everybody, except his elder son Dara Shikoh and daughter Jahanara. Moreover, he asked his faithful Rajputs, Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur and Ram Singh, to set a guard in his fort. This resulted in the rumours among the local population that the Emperor had passed away.

The news reached Shah Shuja. He instantaneously gathered a force of 40,000 cavalry and an authoritative infantry and marched towards Delhi with the intention of seizing the throne. Contrary to the prevalent rumours, Shah Jahan recovered completely from his ailments, even though Aurangzeb later confined him to a cell till his death in the Agra fort. At Dara's commencement, Shah Jahan sent a letter to his son telling him of his recovery. But Shuja's advisers told him that this might be a ruse and urged him to proceed with his revolt. In retaliation, the Emperor sent Suleman Shikoh with a strong force to oppose him. Despite the fact that he was very courageous and intellectual, he lacked the field know-how and was consequently backed by Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur and Daler Khan the Pathan. They laid an ambush for Shah Shuja and the prince walked into it. His force was in flight and he just about managed to break away from, abandoning his combat elephants, artillery and men.

Aurangzeb was in the Deccan when he heard of the rumours of the death of his father. Being a thorough diplomat, he started plotting the actions and being an experienced strategist, he bided his time. Murad Bakhsh's initial reaction, on the other hand, was to congregate a small armed force and rush to his father's side. He suspected someone had tried to poison him. Aurangzeb realized that whatever course events took, he would become involved in the conflict, so he took procedures to ensure an impermanent peace in his province. He struck conformity with Shivaji Bhonsle to ensure he would remain neutral and not rampage the prefecture in his absence. In return, the Maratha rebel

demanded a share of the revenue of the Deccan, and it is said he had the pact decorated on a golden-haired tablet. The Emperor, frightened by the news that his third son was also getting ready to attack the capital, returned to Agra, and Dara Shikoh wrote a threatening letter to Aurangzeb warning him against committing treason.

Aurangzeb's next move was to win Murad's confidence. He wrote to him suggesting an association. He averred that he had decided to maintain the claim of his youngest brother to the throne for the reason that of his zeal for the Holy Quran, and that he had long since relinquished the desire for power and had made a serious vow to spend his last part of his days in Mecca. On a more matter-of-fact level, he also sent Murad a war chest to help invest in his troops, which would seem to make believe that he was full-heartedly encouraging Murad to join the fray. Murad, little knowing the true intentions of Aurangzeb, even thanked his brother and congratulated him for his 'prudence' in supporting him and the zeal he had shown in this regard. He promised to take care of his family, as it was his significant privilege, and approved that his other brothers would obliterate the religious conviction if they gained power. Aurangzeb overwhelmed the naive Murad with obsequiousness to the point of bewitching him. Following this, Murad, intoxicated by these compliments, completely trusted his elder brother.

The Imperial family by then was once and for all split apart. This internal conflict also put other branches of the family in grievous dilemmas. Leaving Moazzam Shah in Aurangabad, Aurangzeb left his capital on 5 February AD 1658, reaching Burhanpur thirteen days later. On 20 March, he incarcerated his father-in-law, who had tried to oppose him. By 3 April, he crossed the river Narmada with his troops. Murad Bakhsh had left Gujarat with 70,000 cavalry, and the two joined up on the banks of Lake Ujjain. They halted at Dharmatpur. On 20 April, they encountered and overpowered Jaswant Singh's Rajput strength. Then the two armies had to cross the deep and turbulent Chambal River. They found a ford at a place called Kanira, but Siphur Shikoh (Dara's son) ambushed them while they were crossing and they lost 5,000 men by drowning and to the young prince's guns. Finally, on 29 May 1658, at Sambugarh, eight miles east of Agra, the two armies met Dara Shikoh who had been raising his army since 11 May. He had been able to gather a force of 30,000 cavalry, 20,000 infantry and musketeers, and 200 European artillery men. Transportation and supplies were carried by elephants and 500 camels. The army was a combination of butchers, barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths—in short, inexperienced men and many of the nobles had deserted because they were disappointed by Dara. However, he was better aided by his allies and generals. Khalilullah Khan commanded 30,000 Mughals; Ram Singh Rathore had 15,000 Rajputs, and Rustam Khan, 15,000 cavalry. They camped on the banks of the Yamuna River, between Agra and the joint armies of his two brothers.

Aurangzeb, accompanied by his son Mohammad Sultan, had fewer troops, 30,000, but they were more experienced. His collaborator Bahadur Khan commanded 15,000 cavalry, and Najabat Khan led 15,000 archers and musketeers. Murad Khan, supported him with Rajputs, 50,000 armed cavalry, and artillery. He had taken along his youngest son, who was still just a child

Dara made the mistake of letting the two armies settle down for the reason that his astrologers had advised against attacking after dusk. At sunrise, Aurangzeb's officers Asalat Khan, Safshi Khan, and Sheikh Mir got underway the attack. Their troops surrounded Dara's, who stood their ground. The Rajputs entered the fray courageously. They rushed into battle and were mown down by Aurangzeb's artillery. Ram Singh lay dead on the battlefield. Dara's archers responded by beginning a rain of arrows. On the

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other side, Khalilullah, a friend of Dara advised him to dismount from his elephant, as he presented himself as a clean target for stray arrows. But when the nobles and soldiers saw Dara dismounting, they thought he was abandoning the battle and were stricken with panic and started to abandon their posts. Dara's decision to come down from his howdah was a disaster. Dara and Siphur Shikoh managed to escape.

Aurangzeb sent 4,000 Afghan cavalymen after them, but they were able to reach Delhi. Shah Jahan had advised his son to flee Agra and go to Delhi, which was easier to defend. Helped by Jahanara, he provided his son with a war treasury, and then Dara fled and became a fugitive. Still united, Aurangzeb and Murad marched towards Agra and halted near Mathura, fifty miles from Agra, where they camped in the green *Bagh-i-Dara*, in a hunting pavilion. Here, they were visited by Jahanara who had brought a message from the Emperor which chastized them for their attempt to seize the throne while their father was alive. She commanded them to give away their struggle for power and submit themselves to his wishes. This drew an indignant reply from Aurangzeb, who pointed out how Dara had always worked to alienate them from Shah Jahan and accused him of having violated the *Shariah*. He recalled that his father had occupied the throne for thirty-two years, peacefully and munificently, but he was now seventy years old and his faculties no longer functioned appropriately. As he was not able to perform his duties of supervision and administration satisfactorily for the sake of his subjects, it was now incumbent on the two brothers to substitute him. A very disillusioned Jahanara returned instantaneously to her father and reported that the princes demanded his renunciation of the throne.

Aurangzeb then began his negotiations. He first sent his eunuch Fahim to negotiate with his father, but these talks failed, so he sent his son, hoping he would be able to convince him. Meanwhile, according to the chronicler Ishwardas Nagar, Aurangzeb had one cannon placed on Jahanara's mosque and another on Dara Shikoh's residence on the banks of the Yamuna River. After three days and three nights, Aurangzeb shattered the fort's artillery. Seeing his defences shattered, Shah Jahan commanded the Tartar, Uzbek, and Afghan guards as well as the Turkish and Abyssinian slaves to protect him, about 15,000 troops in total. He then tried, unsuccessfully, to draw Aurangzeb to cross the threshold of the fort so that he could have him assassinated by his guards.

Mir Jumla's sons, Shaista Khan and Amin Khan, welcomed the prince as he advanced to a position near the Taj Mahal, opposite the fort of Agra, which Shah Jahan had left to his commanding officer, Itibar Khan, to defend. Aurangzeb then sent a messenger to the master of the weaponry, ordering him to surrender. Earlier, the commander had consulted the prince's horoscope, which showed that he was going to be victorious. So in order to save his honour, he fired some empty shots from his cannon and put up no resistance when Aurangzeb's men entered the fort. Mohammad Sultan entered the fort with some cavalry, closed the arsenals and magazines, imprisoned the servants, and put people he could rely on in their place. All the noblemen submitted to the two princes, and Shah Jahan's rule was over.

After the victory in Sambugarh, the two brothers went to Mathura, to the *Bagh-i-Dara*, where Murad tended to the appalling arrow wounds on his face, and at the same time as he was consequently laid up, Aurangzeb dealt with matters arising from their accomplishment. Aurangzeb invited his brother to dinner which he accepted even despite the fact that his eunuch and other officers expressed their suspicions about this hospitality. When Murad arrived, his brother treated him with eagerness and grace. He invited Murad to spend the night at his place where he was later overpowered by the

Prince's men in his sleepy and intoxicated condition and bound him with golden chains. He was first imprisoned in Salimgarh, which was guarded by four thousand soldiers, and later transferred to Gwalior on 25 June. Shah Shuja was defeated by Aurangzeb's forces at Khwaja on 9 January 1659; after that he without explanation disappeared. After a long chase, on 9 June 1659 Dara and his son Siphur were captured and Dara was beheaded and killed. The victorious Aurangzeb ascended the throne on 23 May 1658. On 8 June, Shah Jahan, Jahanara, and some other members of the royal family were made virtual prisoners in the palace at Agra.

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2.2.1 Aurangzeb: Administration

Aurangzeb was the son of Shah Jahan and he ascended the throne as the sixth Mughal Emperor in AD1658. Even though he was an extremely able administrator, it was his religious intolerance and fanaticism which created unrest among his subjects and led to the gradual undoing of the Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb was the third son of Shah Jahan and among the last great Mughal Emperors to rule over India. He was born in AD 1618 at Dohad near Ujjain.

Aurangzeb was a hardworking and thorough man who had proved himself as an able administrator in the years that he spent in the Deccan as well as other regions of the Empire. He learnt all the tactics of diplomacy due to his expertise as a skilled soldier and general. All this came handy when he waged the war of succession with his father and his brothers. The end of the conflict was marked by Aurangzeb succeeding his father to the throne. On taking authority as the supreme ruler of the mighty dynasty, he assumed the title of Alamgir (conqueror of the world), followed by Badshah (Emperor) and then Ghazi (Holy Warrior) to propound the essence of the roles he would play. During the reign of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Dynasty was at its pinnacle with more regions of India becoming part of the Empire. From the time he was young, Aurangzeb had occupied various important positions during his father's reign. Thus, when he usurped the power of his father and ascended the throne, he had the rich experience as the governor of Gujarat, Multan and Sind to aid him in his day-to-day affairs. Aurangzeb was a staunch Sunni Muslim and followed the principles of Islam. He led a disciplined life and abstained from drinking alcohol. He led a very simple life and spent little on his attire and food.

Administration of Aurangzeb

Having succeeded Shah Jahan to the throne, Aurangzeb had the dominion over the largest area under him as a Mughal Emperor, compared to both his predecessors and successors. He proved himself as a capable ruler and ruled with an iron fist and keen intellect. His empire extended from Ghazni in the west to Bengal in the east and from Kashmir in the north to the Deccan in the south. In fact, one of the reasons cited by prominent historians for the downfall of the Empire was the over-extended empire that Aurangzeb ruled. Since his youth, Aurangzeb, being a staunch Sunni Muslim, was deeply devoted to Islam. Soon after occupying the throne, he felt the need to rule the country as much as was possible along Islamic injunctions. Aurangzeb felt that he had become superior not only to administer the empire in a better way, but also to protect and strengthen Islam, particularly its Sunni faith.

Aurangzeb believed that all Mughal rulers who ruled prior to him committed one blunder—they did not try to establish the supremacy of Islam in India. He therefore tried to reverse this trend during his reign because he believed that it was the foremost duty of a Muslim king. This duty of Aurangzeb limited his vision, narrowed his concept of kingship

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and made him intolerant towards the majority of his subjects. As the first step towards establishing the Muslim supremacy in his empire, he introduced various policies, most of which were a simple reverse of the policies that were introduced by his forefathers. Thus, his administration saw the birth of a new class of people whose responsibility was to cleanse the society of various non-Islamic practices such as gambling, alcohol consumption and prostitution. Besides banning the cultivation and production of narcotic substances, he did away with many of the taxes which found no mention in the Islamic law. Besides all this, he also banned *Sati*, a Hindu practice which was common in his time. Most of these steps when implemented found favour among his people. But with the passing of time, and in his attempt to realize his bigger objective of fulfilling his religious vows, he adopted more puritanistic ways. Some of these factors that made him unpopular among his subjects included banning music at the court which led to a number of state musicians losing their jobs, festivities on the Emperor's birthday and giving of gifts to the emperor.

His religious intolerance was reflected in a number of ways. He stopped celebrating the Hindu festivals like Holi and Diwali at the court. He also framed certain laws to be observed by the Muslims as their religious duty. That is why even liberal *Shias* and *Sufis* were punished during the reign of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb became quite intolerant towards the Hindus and ordered the provincial governors to demolish the schools and temples of the Hindus. In April AD1679, *Jaziyawas* imposed on the Hindus. Pilgrimage tax on the Hindus was also revived and while the Muslim traders remained free from tax, their Hindu counterparts were asked to pay one part of the value of their commodities as tax.

While he went about with the demolition of schools and temples of Hindus, much resource were spent from the treasury for the construction of many masjids and the upkeep of the existing mosques and other Mughal buildings. Some popular and exquisite buildings that were erected during his time include the Moti Masjid in the Red Fort, which is a jewel in white marble, and the magnificent Badshahi Mosque in Lahore, with its imposing domes towering over the red sandstone walls.

Military Campaigns of Aurangzeb

As a statesman his achievements have been quite immense. For one, the strong kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda were captured in less than a year. It is a tribute to Aurangzeb's control over the affairs of the Empire that no major upheaval occurred in the north during his prolonged absence in the Deccan, but there are clear indications of many minor disturbances and a general slackening of administration.

Revolts during the Reign of Aurangzeb

The first organized revolt of the Hindus against the policy of religious persecution of Aurangzeb was that of the Jats. The Jats under their leader Gokul revolted against his tyranny in AD1669. To make matters worse Aurangzeb ordered to raze down the temple of Keshav Rai in AD 1670. With this incident, the Hindus rose up against him in the Battle of Tilpat, but however, they were defeated and the surviving Jat leaders were put to severe ordeal. The Jats who remained undaunted and determined, accumulated their forces under the leadership of Raja Ram and staged yet another revolt against the Moghul Emperor in AD 1686. Even though the outcome of the revolt was not a success for both the parties, the Jats continued their fight against the Mughals till the death of Aurangzeb. Finally, after his death, the Jats succeeded in founding their own independent kingdom and Bharatpur was made its capital.

Besides the Hindus, the Sikhs also had fallen out of the favour of the Emperor, who persecuted them also along with their Hindu brothers. The revolt of the Satnamis was also an important occurrence during the reign of Aurangzeb. They fought bravely but were ultimately defeated by the forces of Aurangzeb. The Sikhs under the leadership of Guru Gobind Singh revolted against Aurangzeb. Though they did not succeed much against the mighty power of the Emperor, but it made the Sikhs a powerful fighting community in Punjab because of which they played an important part in the future politics of Punjab. The Rajputs, who were in the good books of all the Mughal Emperors from Akbar, became an eyesore to Aurangzeb. Doubting the loyalty of the Rajputs, Aurangzeb began a series of conflicts with them and wished to end their independent status by annexing their states to the Empire.

Combat with the Marathas

Aurangzeb's aggressive Deccan Strategy turned to be a big blunder. His resolution was to subjugate the Shia states of Bijapur and Golconda. The people of Bijapur gave the Mughals a tough situation with the support of the Marathas and the Sultan of Golconda. The rise of Shivaji disrupted the dreams of Aurangzeb. The Mughal Governor, Shaista Khan could do no harm to the Marathas. But, the Mughals under Jai Singh, devastated Shivaji. However, in AD1665, Shivaji was forced to sign a peace treaty. All his lifetime, he thwarted Mughal programmes of quashing Maratha influence. He died in AD1680, asking his son Shambhuji to continue the war. Shambhuji gave shelter to Aurangzeb's rebellious son, Prince Akbar. This act bothered Aurangzeb who came down to the Deccan in AD 1682, to deal with the situation. After repeated efforts, on 22 September, AD 1682 he confiscated the land of the Bijapuris. Golconda too was besieged in AD1687. But the Marathas ignited a national resistance against the Mughals by AD 1691. Their resurgence continued beyond AD1700.

Aurangzeb was a well-read man and had command over Persian, Turkish and Hindi. He even wrote beautiful Persian poems. A selection of his letters ('Ruq'at-i-Alamgiri') is a testimony of simple and elegant prose composed by the Emperor. He understood music well, but he gave up this amusement in accordance with Islamic injunctions. However, his religious fanaticism did not allow the arts to flourish in his courts, as he disbanded the musicians, abolished the office of the poet-laureate, discontinued the work of the court chronicler, and offered little encouragement to painters. In the cultural field, the chief contribution of Aurangzeb was the spread of Islamic learning and general diffusion of education.

The Islamic academic curriculum, known as *Dars-i-Nizamiya*, began during his reign.

Aurangzeb resided in the Deccan till the last days of his life. Gradually with time, he could witness the errors he had committed in administration. His long-term warfare had turned the royal treasury bankrupt. He wrote to his son Azam, while brooding over his shortcomings. He died in AD1707. When he died, Aurangzeb left an empire faced with a number of menacing problems. The failure of his son's successors led to the collapse of the Empire in the mid-18th century.

2.2.2 Policies of Aurangzeb

In this section, you will learn about religious, Deccan and Rajput policies of Aurangzeb.

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Religious Policy of Aurangzeb

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Akbar had consolidated the Mughal Empire by his policy of religious tolerance. Jahangir had also followed the same religious policy. Though Shah Jahan was not liberal like his two predecessors, still he kept politics away from religion. But Aurangzeb was a staunch Sunni Muslim and a fanatic. He wanted to win the sympathy of the fanatic Sunni Muslims by means of his fanatic religious policy. Therefore, to convert Hindustan from *Dar-ul-Harb* to *Dar-ul-Islam* he adopted two types of measures – the first, which were in accordance with the Islam and the second, those which were against the non-Muslims and non-Sunnis.

Measures of Aurangzeb in accordance with Islam

First of all he brought to an end the musical gatherings, dances, painting, poetry reading, etc. Though, in spite of his restrictions on music, it continued among the ladies of the Harem and in the household of the chiefs. It is important that it was during his time that the most number of books were written in Persian on music. He ended the *Jharokha Darshan* describing it an individual worship, which was against Islam. He also ended the practice of *Tuladan* (Weighing of the Emperor with coins) thinking that it was a Hindu custom and a sort of superstition. Moreover, weighing the Emperor in gold caused a significant economic loss to the treasury. He also placed restrictions on the astrology and making of '*panchang*'. But he was not very much successful in this effort, because many members of the royal household and many chiefs continued to act against this order.

He also closed the brothels and gambling dens because Islam did not permit them. This act was morally and socially right. He decorated the royal court in an ordinary manner and the clerks were given mud-inkpots instead of silver ones. He gave up wearing silken clothes and in the *Diwan-i-Aam* golden railing was replaced by that of Lapiz Lazuli, which was inlaid with gold. These measures of Aurangzeb were commendable from an economic point of view. To decrease the state expenditure, he closed the government department responsible for recording history. He ended the inscribing of 'Kalma' on the coins so that it does not get dirty in exchange or it does not get trampled underfoot. He placed restrictions on *Nauroz* because it was a festival of the Parsis and it had the support of the Shias of Iran. He appointed *Muhatasibs* in all the provinces, whose main job was to see whether people lived according to the Shariat or not. They had also to check the people from indulging in liquor in the public places. The Emperor had issued clear instruction these that officials were not to interfere in the personal life of the people but to fully aid the government in raising the moral standards of the people. This encouraged the trading profession among the Muslims and Aurangzeb made it tax-free but when Muslim traders started indulging in dishonesty and started carrying the goods of the Hindu traders as their own, then this tax was reimposed on them. But still they had to pay only half the tax as compared to the Hindu traders. We can call it a discriminatory decision which proved to be dangerous for the Empire and he had to revise this decision very soon because of the opposition of the chiefs and the lack of able Muslims for the post. He also issued instructions to put an end to the practice of *Sati*. In fact, Aurangzeb took a commendable step in stopping this inhuman practice.

In view of the above-mentioned activities and measures of Aurangzeb, we cannot call him fanatic because these measures were inspired by different motives. Many of these measures were undertaken by Aurangzeb to fulfil his political and economic motives. Aurangzeb knew that in the Mughal Court there were a large number of members who

were influenced deeply by Islam. Yadunath Sarkar has pointed out towards the fact that Aurangzeb wanted to present himself as a strict Sunni and thus wanted to diminish the marks of his cruel treatment towards Shah Jahan. But whatever may have been his motives, it would have to be conceded that many of his measures were not in accordance with the liberal religious policy started by Akbar.

Anti-Hindu steps and activities

Now, we will turn our attention towards the measures which Aurangzeb took against non-Muslims and for which he is described by many historians as intolerant and fanatic. It is said that he destroyed many Hindu temples, did not give permission for repairing the old temples and placed restrictions on the building of new temples. Some modern historians defend Aurangzeb against the charge of fanaticism and hold that the *Firman* issued by Aurangzeb to the Brahmins of Banaras and Brindabana clearly show that he neither desecrated the old temples nor prohibited the repair of old temples. But even these historians agree that he did not give permission for the construction of new temples. According to them, Aurangzeb caused old temples to be destroyed to give warning and punishment to the elements which were against him. He considered the religious places of the Hindus to be a centre for propaganda against him. In fact, Aurangzeb did not issue any specific instructions for destructing the temples; temples were destructed only in times of war. Some of the temples that were destroyed during his time were the temples in Thatta, Multan and Banaras in AD 1669 and in Udaipur and Jodhpur in AD 1679-1680. Though we have very few instances of Aurangzeb giving grant to the Hindu temples, but often, he adopted a hostile attitude towards temple building.

Jaziya

In AD 1679, Aurangzeb revived *Jaziya*, the trade tax imposed on the Hindus. According to contemporary historians, he imposed it to oppress the Hindus. Some modern historians are of the opinion that Aurangzeb imposed this tax after considering its pros and cons. He spent much time in taking this decision—in fact, he introduced this tax only in his twenty-second year of rule under pressure from staunch Muslim chiefs. Italian traveller Manuchi wrote that ‘Aurangzeb wanted to improve his economic condition by means of the imposition of *jaziya*’. In fact, Manuchi’s view does not appear to be correct. Some scholars hold that he imposed this tax to attract the Hindus towards Islam. But like that of Manuchi, even this view does not appear to have been effective because the economic burden of this tax was very light. Moreover, it was not imposed on children, women and handicapped and even on the poor and the government servants. The truth is that Aurangzeb imposed *jaziya* due to both – political as well as principle reasons. According to Satish Chandra, ‘Its real motive was to organize the Muslims against the Marathas and the Rajputs, who were bent upon to start a war.’ The money collected by *jaziya* was given to *Ulemas*, as most of them were unemployed. But whatever might have been the reason for the imposition of *Jaizya*, it proved to be more harmful than beneficial. This tax was responsible for spreading discontent among a majority of Hindus because they considered it a discriminatory practice by the government, against themselves. Besides, the Hindus who came to pay the tax had to suffer humiliations at the hands of the *Ulemas*.

Removing the Hindus from the government posts

Another charge levelled at Aurangzeb was that he removed the Hindus from government posts. But recent research proves that this charge was false because during the later

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part of Aurangzeb's reign the number of the Hindus who were at government posts was more than in the time of Shah Jahan. It is said that whereas the Hindus enjoyed 25 per cent of posts under Shah Jahan, the number had increased to 33 per cent by the time of Aurangzeb.

Restriction on the festivals of the Hindus

Some scholars hold that Aurangzeb imposed a restriction on the celebration of the Hindu festivals like Holi, Diwali, and Dussehra in the cities. This charge appears to be true to a certain extent, but it will have to be conceded that Aurangzeb could not enforce this restriction on all the cities and towns of the Empire, and it was restricted to the areas in the neighbourhood of the royal palace.

Anti-Shia measures

Aurangzeb not only adopted anti-Hindu religious policy, but also an anti-Shia policy as well. In this context, two charges are levied on Aurangzeb that are worth mentioning. He removed the Shias from the government posts and annexed two Shia states of the Deccan—Bijapur and Golkunda to the Mughal Empire. But recent studies disprove both the charges. The historians who refuse the charges hold that many important Shia officials like Zulfikar Khan, Asad Khan and Mir Jumla enjoyed special favours from Aurangzeb. He followed only the traditional expansionist policy against Bijapur and Golkunda. He wanted their annexation to the Mughal Empire so that they are prevented from giving support to the rise of the Maratha power in the Deccan.

Consequences of the Religious Policy of Aurangzeb

Some scholars hold that Aurangzeb tried to bring about a transformation in the nature of state through his religious policy, but could not do so because he knew that in India the majority was Hindus and they were loyal to their religion. Though, Aurangzeb did emphasize Islam for his political motives, as he himself was a staunch Muslim. He wanted to enforce Shariat but his main aim was the extension and consolidation of his empire. Historians are of the opinion that the religious policy of Aurangzeb neither aided in the extension nor in the consolidation of the empire because it led to many revolts against him. Besides, most of the revolts against him such as that of the Jats, Sikhs, and Marathas occurred due to his religious fanaticism. Some scholars hold that the fanatic policy of Aurangzeb accelerated the process of decline and disintegration of the Mughal Empire. Because of this policy, very often, he had to adopt contradictory steps which ultimately proved injurious to the Empire.

Rajput Policy of Aurangzeb

Aurangzeb adopted many policies for Rajputs that were contradictory to those policies adopted by his ancestors—Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The Rajput policies were stern and he attempted to destroy the power of the Rajputs and annex their kingdoms. Aurangzeb reversed the policy which was enunciated by Akbar and pursued by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The Rajputs were the greatest obstacle in his pursuance of his policy against the Hindus. Aurangzeb, therefore, attempted to destroy the power of the Rajputs and annex their kingdoms. There were three important Rajput rulers at that time, viz. Raja Jaswant Singh of Marwar, Rana Raj Singh of Mewar and Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur. All the three were at peace with the Mughals when Aurangzeb ascended the throne. But, Aurangzeb never kept faith in the loyalty of these Rajput rulers.

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Aurangzeb deputed Raja Jai Singh in the Deccan where, ultimately he died in AD1666. Raja Jaswant Singh was deputed to defend the north-western frontier of the Empire. Two of his sons died fighting against the Afghan rebels and he himself died in Afghanistan in AD 1678. Aurangzeb was waiting for this opportunity. At that time, there was no successor to the throne of Marwar. He occupied Marwar immediately and, with a view to disgrace the ruling family, sold the throne of Jaswant Singh for rupees thirty-six lakhs. It seemed that the existence of Marwar was lost for ever. But, Marwar was saved. While returning from Afghanistan, the two wives of Rana Jaswant Singh gave birth to two sons at Lahore. One of them died but the other named Ajit Singh remained alive. Durga Das, the commander-in-chief of the Rathors came to Delhi with the prince and requested Aurangzeb to hand over Marwar to Maharaja Ajit Singh. Aurangzeb did not agree. Ajit Singh was declared the ruler of Marwar and the war of independence of Marwar commenced from that time.

Rana Raj Singh of Mewar, who realized that it was in the interest of Mewar to fight against the Mughals, gave support to Marwar. In AD1681, Akbar, the son of Aurangzeb revolted against his father with the support of the Rajputs. The revolt of Akbar failed and he fled to Maharashtra under the protection of Durga Das. Aurangzeb offered peace to Mewar and it was accepted. The Rathors of Marwar, however, continued their fight against the Mughals. Pursuing his son Akbar, Aurangzeb left for Deccan and could never return from there. Marwar fought against the Mughals till the death of the Emperor in 1707.

Thus, Aurangzeb failed to subdue either Mewar or Marwar. The only result of his policy against these states was that he lost the support of the Rajputs. The Rajputs, who were one of the best supporters of the Mughal Empire since the reign of Akbar, revolted against Aurangzeb. Their services could no more be utilized in strengthening the Mughal Empire. On the contrary, it added to the troubles of the Empire. It encouraged other revolts also. Thus, the Rajput policy of Aurangzeb was a failure that contributed to the failure of Aurangzeb and resulted in the weakening of the Mughal Empire.

The consequences of Aurangzeb's Rajput Policy can be summarized as follows:

- (i) The majority of Rajputs turned hostile towards the Mughals.
- (ii) Aurangzeb had to face many difficulties in his Deccan campaigns and even after a struggle of twenty-seven years he could not succeed in his campaign.
- (iii) Disorder spread in many parts of the empire; for example, in Malwa and Gujarat.
- (iv) For about thirty years the Mughal Empire had to suffer untold loss of mass and money.
- (v) In the absence of Aurangzeb, Mughal armies were defeated by Durga Das at many points which dealt a blow to the prestige of the Empire.
- (vi) The pace of disintegration and decline of the Mughal Empire was accelerated because of the fact that the Rajputs, instead of contributing to the security of the Mughal Empire had really created many problems for it.

Deccan Policy of Aurangzeb

The Deccan policy of Aurangzeb had political as well as religious purpose. The extension of the Empire was also one of the purposes of adopting this policy. Aurangzeb believed that the complete destruction of the states of Bijapur and Golconda was a prior necessity for the destruction of the power of the Marathas in the Deccan. Besides this political

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motive, he desired to annex these states because their rulers were Shias. Therefore, Aurangzeb was not satisfied simply by acceptance of his suzerainty by them, but he desired to annex them to the Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb remained busy in the north for the first twenty-five years of his rule. Therefore, the responsibility of looking after the affairs of the Deccan was left to his different nobles. Bijapur had failed to fulfil the terms of the treaty of AD1657. Therefore, Raja Jai Singh was deputed to attack it in 1665-66. But, Jai Singh failed to get the submission of Bijapur. The situation, however, changed when Adil Shah II died in AD1672 and was succeeded by his four-year son, Sikandar Adil Shah. The Sultan being minor failed to keep his nobles under control. The nobles were divided into two groups, viz. the foreigners and the Indian Muslims. Both these groups tried to capture the power of the throne which resulted in maladministration of the state. The Mughals took advantage of it and attacked Bijapur in AD1676, but with no results. The Mughals failed to get any success in the coming years till Aurangzeb himself reached the Deccan.

Aurangzeb deputed his son, Azam against Bijapur. Azam besieged the fort and Aurangzeb also reached there in person in July 1686. The fort surrendered in September, 1686. Sikandar Adil Shah was granted a pension and Bijapur was annexed to the Mughal Empire. Golconda was ruled by Abul Hasan Qutub Shah at that time. Aurangzeb deputed Prince Shah Alam to attack Golconda. Abul Hasan left Hyderabad and sought shelter in the fort of Golconda. He pleaded for a treaty with the prince, which he agreed. But Aurangzeb was not prepared for any treaty. He besieged the Golconda Fort in 1687 and captured it. Sultan Abul Hasan was imprisoned in the fort of Daulatabad and was given a pension for his life. Golconda was annexed to the Mughal Empire.

The conquests of Bijapur and Golconda were not the end of the conquests of the Deccan by Aurangzeb. The newly-risen power of the Marathas under Shivaji was yet a powerful challenge to him. Shivaji had established an independent kingdom in Maharashtra. In order to conquer it, Shivaji had to fight both against Bijapur and the Mughals. Shivaji first came into conflict with the Mughals in 1656. But Aurangzeb forced him to agree to peace in AD1657. When Aurangzeb became the emperor, he deputed Sayista Khan to suppress Shivaji. But Sayista Khan failed. Shivaji succeeded in making a surprise night-attack on him when he was resting at Pune and he fled away. Aurangzeb recalled him and deputed Raja Jai Singh to attack Shivaji. Jai Singh forced Shivaji to sign the Treaty of Purandar by which he surrendered three-fourths of his territory and forts. Shivaji visited Agra in AD1666 where he was virtually imprisoned. However, he managed to escape from Agra. He started fighting against the Mughals in AD1670. In AD1674, he held his coronation and made Raigarh his capital. Shivaji died in AD1680. But prior to his death he had succeeded in establishing quite an extensive kingdom in the south. He was succeeded by his son, Shambhuji. Prince Akbar, son of Aurangzeb sought shelter with him. But Shambhuji was an incapable ruler. Aurangzeb reached the Deccan in AD1682 and succeeded in capturing Shambhuji in AD1689. Shambhuji was killed and the whole of Maharashtra was occupied by Aurangzeb. This completed the conquest of the south by Aurangzeb. But, his success remained short-lived. The Marathas rose as one force against the Mughals to liberate their motherland. The Maratha War of Independence was first led by Raja Ram and then by his widow, Tara Bai. This war continued till the death of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb failed in subduing the Marathas and died in the Deccan fully realizing his failure against the Marathas. Thus, the Deccan policy of Aurangzeb, ultimately failed.

Even though the Deccan policy of the Mughals had reached the perfection of its success during the rule of Aurangzeb, it was only a temporary success. Aurangzeb

failed to consolidate his success. The Marathas rose against him and brought about the collapse of his Deccan policy. The failure of the Deccan policy of Aurangzeb also contributed to the disintegration of the Mughal Empire.

2.2.3 Achievements of Aurangzeb

Aurangzeb had made some remarkable achievements, both before and during his reign. His constant aim during the entire duration of his reign was to expand the boundaries of the Mughal Empire. One of his greatest achievements was the annexation of Bijapur and Golconda, which were Maratha strongholds, to the Mughal Empire.

Since the beginning of his reign right up till his death, he was engaged in almost constant warfare in order to try and increase the boundary of the Mughal Empire. He had managed to build up a huge army and started a programme of military expansion along all the boundaries of his empire. In keeping with this policy of expansion, he pushed northwest into Punjab and what is now Afghanistan and in the south towards Bijapur and Golconda.

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Fig. 2.1 Extent of Mughal Empire during Aurangzeb's Reign

Conquests of Aurangzeb in the East

The earliest conquests of Aurangzeb were in the eastern parts of the Empire. During the time when Aurangzeb was still fighting with his brothers, the Ghinud rulers of Cooch Behar and Assam had taken advantage of the troubled conditions and invaded certain imperial dominions. In AD 1660, on Aurangzeb's orders, Mir Jumla marched to Dhaka

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and occupied Cooch Behar within a few weeks. They then left for Assam and on 17 March 1662 the Ahom Kingdom was annexed and the Raja was forced to sign a humiliating treaty. The Mughals got an immense tribute and also conquered some forts and towns near the frontier of Bengal. Another major addition to the kingdom that came during this time was the Chittagong, which was a stronghold of the Arakan pirates who had made the entire area unsafe.

Chittagong was later renamed as Islamabad and proved to be a valuable addition to the kingdom.

The conquest of the region known as East Pakistan too was an achievement particularly of Aurangzeb's reign. The area that lies east of the Brahmaputra River had remained isolated from the rest of the subcontinent for a long time mainly due to its geographical situation, climate, terrain, and the ethnic origin of the population. The isolation of this region was broken during the reign of Aurangzeb and it became a part of the Mughal Empire.

Conquests of Aurangzeb in the Northwest

As soon as the eastern region was dealt with, trouble started in the north-west frontier regions of the empire. Bhaku, a Yusufzai leader, rebelled in AD 1667. Aurangzeb succeeded in suppressing this rebellion for some time. Later in AD 1672, trouble broke out again when large numbers of people from different tribes formed groups and revolted against the authorities. Though the governor of Kabul tried to take on the rebels he was defeated and Aurangzeb himself intervened in the situation. He directed the operations in the troubled area for a year and finally with the use of force and diplomacy was able to restore peace in the area. Despite all this trouble, Aurangzeb's reign saw a transformation of the Mughal–Afghan relations and order was established along the frontier regions.

Aurangzeb and the Sikhs

Aurangzeb faced a number of problems from the Sikhs. In fact, it was this community which ultimately played a pivotal role in weakening the Empire. Aurangzeb dealt with them in a harsh and ruthless manner. Initially, the relationship between the Sikhs and the Mughals had been quite friendly. When the religion of Sikhism had been established by Guru Nanak, it was seen as part of a general religious movement to bring Hinduism and Islam closer together. In fact, Emperor Akbar had also visited the third Sikh Guru and had gifted him the land on which the Golden Temple now stands. However, gradually conflicts started between the Sikhs and the Mughal authorities. Troubles started cropping up during Jahangir's reign following which the Sikhs started organizing armies which had only Sikh cadres. The ninth Guru, Guru Tegh Bahadur, became extremely authoritative and even started gathering tributes from the local population. He was defeated by the Mughal forces and taken to Delhi where he was put to death by Aurangzeb. The Hindu Rajas of the Punjab Hills were suffering due to the increased military strength of the Sikhs and at last they approached Aurangzeb for help. Aurangzeb sent forces to assist them and defeated the Guru in his stronghold at Anandpur.

Aurangzeb and the Marathas

Aurangzeb faced the biggest trouble from the Marathas and there ensued a long and bitter struggle between the Mughals and the Marathas. The Marathas were helped greatly in their uprising by the fact that in the Deccan, the Muslim conquest was not as extensive as in the north. Most of the high offices in the administrative set-up of the

region were occupied by the Hindus. Since Maratha statesmen and warriors controlled various departments of the Muslim states of Ahmednagar, Golconda and Bijapur, the conflicts of the Mughals with these states provided them with an opportunity to advance their sectional interests. Shivaji was among the most successful of the Maratha leaders who revolted against the Mughals. During the entire period of his reign, Aurangzeb sent out many Mughal generals to usurp the power of Shivaji. All his generals—Shayista Khan, Dilir Khan and Mirza Raja Jai Singh as well as his own son, Prince Muazzam failed in their attempts to overpower Shivaji. In the numerous conflicts that occurred between the two forces, Shivaji emerged successful to the indignation of Aurangzeb. Later, the atrocities unleashed against Muslims of Burhanpur by Shivaji's son Shambhuji was the last straw of patience for Aurangzeb, who then took things into his own hands. In the third week of March, AD 1682, he reached Aurangabad in his attempt to conquer the Deccan, and the last twenty-five years of his life were spent in that part of the subcontinent. Bijapur and Golconda which often gave shelter to the Maratha raiders were finally annexed in AD 1686 and AD 1687, respectively and Shambhuji was captured and executed in AD 1689. Even though the Mughals had many successes to their credit, they were all temporary. Following the death of Aurangzeb, the Marathas became a major factor in the downfall of the Mughal Empire.

Thus, the achievements of Aurangzeb have been quite a few and rather remarkable. His constant policy of expansion, even though it cost him many lives and an enormous amount of money from the treasury, led to a widening of the boundaries of the Mughal Empire and the quelling of long-drawn out issues of contention.

Revolt of Jats during Aurangzeb

Revolts of the Jats during the reign of Aurangzeb took place under the leadership of Gokul in AD 1669. The Jats organized the first revolt of the Hindus against Aurangzeb in AD 1669. The local Muslim officer at Mathura, Abdul Nabi destroyed the temples of the Hindus and disrespected their women. In the year AD 1661, Abdul Nabi destroyed a Hindu temple and raised a mosque on its ruins. The Jats under their leader Gokul revolted against the oppression in AD 1669, killed Abdul Nabi and looted the *Tehsil* of Sadabai. In AD 1670, the temple of Keshav Rai was destroyed on the orders of Aurangzeb. It further inflamed the Hindus and Gokul could collect 20,000 followers and he defeated a few small Muslim forces which were sent against him. He was, however, defeated and killed at the Battle of Tilpat. The Jats were punished severely. But, the Jats remained undaunted. In AD 1686, they again raised the standard of revolt under their leader Raja Ram who gave serious trouble to the Mughals for many years, defeated a few Mughal officers and attacked even Agra. Raja Ram was, however, defeated and killed in AD 1688. Following the death of Raja Ram, Churaman, his nephew led the Jats. This revolt of the Jats continued till the death of Aurangzeb and, ultimately, the Jats succeeded in establishing their independent kingdom with its capital at Bharatpur.

2.3 MARATHAS

At the beginning of the 17th century, most parts of Maharashtra were under the possession of Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and Adil Shah of Bijapur. They took the help of local Marathi speaking people to run their administration. They recruited a large number of Maratha sardars and soldiers in their armies. The Mores, Ghatages, Nimbalkars, Jadhavs, Gorpades, Sawants and Bhonsales were sardar families who rose to fame during the

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Check Your Progress

1. When was Aurangzeb born?
2. List the measures of Aurangzeb in accordance with Islam.

16th and 17th century. The Desphandes and Deshmukhs traditionally performed the duty of collecting land revenue. They were granted tax-free land in return for their services. Such a land grant was called *watan*.

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The Bhonsle family of Pune district acquired military and political prominence in the Ahmadnagar kingdom at the close of the 16th century. Shahji Bhonsle was the major ruler of this clan and he was married to Jijabai. He sought his fortune under the Sultan of Bijapur and had his *jagir* at Pune.

Shivaji was the son of Shahji Bhonsle. Shivaji was born in AD 1630 as the second son of Shahji and Jijabai. The early life of Shivaji was led in great simplicity and austerity, influenced by his mother's beliefs. Dadaji Kondadev was entrusted with the responsibility of being a guardian to Shivaji. He showed rather early signs of rebellion in opposition to the Muslim rule as he was highly resentful of the inequality that existed between the Mughal rulers and the Hindu subjects.

The early life of Shivaji was conditioned to a great extent by his mother, Jijabai. When he was fourteen years old, his father entrusted the administration of the Pune *jagir* to him. The peasants living in Shivaji's *jagir* had grown tired of the despotic rule of the *watandars*. Shivaji's administration responded to the aspirations of the masses. Shivaji realized that he could establish a welfare state for the benefit of his subjects only by controlling the neighbouring forts and building new ones.

Shivaji showed his mettle at the young age of eighteen, when he overran a number of hill forts near Pune—Rajgarh, Kondana and Torana in the years, AD 1645–1647. Shivaji began his real career of conquest in AD 1656, when he conquered Javli from the Maratha chief, Chandra Rao More. The Mughal invasion of Bijapur in AD 1657 saved Shivaji from Bijapuri reprisal. In AD 1659, Bijapur, free from the Mughal menace, sent in the army against Shivaji under Afzal Khan, whom he murdered treacherously. In AD 1660, the combined Mughal–Bijapuri campaign started against Shivaji. In AD 1663, Shivaji made a surprise night attack on Pune, wounded Shaista Khan (maternal uncle of Aurangzeb) and killed one of his sons. In AD 1665, the Purandhar Fort, at the centre of Shivaji's territory was besieged by Jai Singh and a treaty was signed between the two. Shivaji's visit to Agra and his escape from detention in AD 1666, proved to be the turning point of the Mughal relations with the Marathas.

The Treaty of Purandhar was signed in AD 1665, according to which Shivaji agreed to help the Mughals against Bijapur. Shivaji ceded twenty-three forts to the Mughals and agreed to visit the royal court of Aurangzeb. Shivaji reached Agra in AD 1666, and was admitted in the Hall of Public Audience. The Emperor gave him a cold reception by making him stand among the *mansabdars*. A humiliated and angry Shivaji, walked out of the court. He was put under house arrest, along with his son. However, they tricked their guards and managed to escape in a basket of sweets which was to be sent as a gift to the Brahmins. Shivaji reached Maharashtra in September, AD 1666. After consolidating his position and reorganizing his administration, Shivaji renewed his war with the Mughals and gradually recovered many of his forts. Shivaji declared himself the independent ruler of the Maratha kingdom and was crowned Chattrapati in AD 1674. Politically speaking, two factors contributed to the rise of Maratha power under Shivaji. These were as follows:

- (i) The comparatively advantageous position of the Marathas under the Deccan Sultanates

- (ii) The threat to Bijapur and Golkonda from the annexationist policy of the Mughal Empire

The poets and writers of Maharashtra played a significant role in provoking and sustaining the national spirit of the Marathas. Among the poets, special mention should be made of the following:

- Jnaneswar and Namdev (13th and 14th centuries)
- Eknath and Tukaram (15th and 16th centuries)
- Ramdas (17th century)

Apart from the above reasons, the Mughals' control over the Deccan had weakened. Also, the Marathas had worked out a revenue system by which they attained large revenue and could maintain strong armies.

Shivaji's coronation symbolized the rise of people to challenge the might of the Mughals. By coronating himself king under the title *Haindava Dharmodharak* of the new and independent state *Hindavi Swarajya*, Shivaji proclaimed to the world that he was not just a rebel son of a *sardar* in Bijapur court, but equal to any other ruler in India. Only a coronation could give Shivaji the legitimate right to collect revenue from the land and levy tax on the people. This source of income was necessary to sustain the treasury of the new kingdom.

Shivaji's Relation with Aurangzeb

Shivaji's relations with the Mughals may be discussed under the following heads:

1. Struggle against Shaista Khan

The Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb became very much worried upon seeing the growing Maratha power in the Deccan. He ordered his maternal uncle Shaista Khan (who was a newly appointed Mughal Subedar of Deccan) to invade Shivaji's territory and the Sultan of Bijapur was asked to cooperate with him. It is said that in accordance with the instructions of Aurangzeb, the Sultan of Bijapur at first sent his General Siddi Jauhar who besieged Shivaji in Panhala, but Shivaji managed to escape from there and the fort of Panhala was occupied by the Bijapur army.

After this, the ruler of Bijapur thought that he could use the Marathas as a shield in the struggle between the Mughals and Bijapur and he showed no interest in taking further any action against Shivaji. It is said that he entered into a secret understanding with Shivaji. On the other hand, the Mughal governor of the Deccan, Shaista Khan occupied Pune in AD 1600 and made it his headquarter. Shivaji was on the lookout for a suitable attack. His headquarter at Poona disguised as a marriage procession. Shivaji's army managed to kill one of Shaista Khan's sons and one of his generals and Shaista Khan himself were wounded badly. Aurangzeb was so annoyed that he transferred Shaista Khan from the Deccan to the Bengal and did not even see Shaista Khan at the time of proceeding of the transfer as was the usual custom.

2. Plunder of Surat

The success in Poona against Shaista Khan greatly increased the morale of Shivaji and the Maratha army. Immediately, he resorted to one more attack and launched a terrible attack on the Mughal port of Surat. From 16 – 20 January, 1664 he plundered the rich city to his heart's content. Shivaji got enormous wealth from this first plunder of Surat City.

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3. The campaigns of Muazzam and Jai Singh against Shivaji and the Treaty of Purandar

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The earlier-mentioned activities of Shivaji made the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb very worried. He sent a vast army against Shivaji under the leadership of his principal advisor. Jai Singh of Amer and his own son, Prince Muazzam Rai, Jai Singh was given all the necessary military and administrative rights so that he did not have to depend upon the Mughal Governor of Deccan. He was also ordered to keep in direct contact with the Emperor himself. Jai Singh was an able and brave general and a far-sighted politician. He did not commit a mistake like his predecessors in assessing the military strength of Shivaji. He tried first to win over all the opponents of Marathas to his side and also manage to win over the Sultan of Bijapur to his side. Then, with full military preparations attacked the main centre of Shivaji, viz. the fort of Purandar. Shivaji's treasury was there and he lived there, with his family. He besieged the fort of Purandar and appointed an army to plunder and terrorize the Maratha regions. Not seeing any help coming from anywhere, Shivaji thought it necessary to start negotiations for peace because in the fort of Purandar, families of the *amirs* also lived and Shivaji considered it his duty to protect their lives and honour. Shivaji met Jai Singh and settled the peace terms. This treaty is famous in history as the Treaty of Purandar (June 1665). The terms of this treaty were as follows:

- (i) Shivaji had to surrender to the Mughals twenty-three of his thirty-five forts yielding an annual land revenue of 4 lakh Huns. Shivaji was left with just twelve forts of one lakh Huns of the annual land revenue.
- (ii) Shivaji promised to remain loyal to the Mughal Emperor.
- (iii) Shivaji's hold over the Konkan region yielding 4 lakh Huns annually was allowed to remain as before.
- (iv) Besides some regions in Balaghat yielding 5 lakh Huns annually which Shivaji had yet to conquer from Bijapur were allowed by Mughals to remain with him. In return, Shivaji had to give to the Mughal 40 lakh Huns in installments.
- (v) Shivaji was granted the permission not to go personally to the Mughal court but his son Sambhaji was granted a *mansab* of 5000.
- (vi) Shivaji promised to help the Mughals against Bijapur.

As far as a critical assessment of the treaty of Purandar is concerned, it would have to be conceded that the treaty represented a great political and diplomatic success of Jai Singh against Shivaji. Within a short period of three months Jai Singh forced a rapidly rising Maratha leader and the rising power of Marathas, to accept Mughal sovereignty. With great cleverness he sowed the seeds of a conflict between Bijapur and Shivaji. But the success of the treaty's settlement depended on the extent to which the Mughals helped Shivaji to conquer the regions of Bijapur to enable him to pay the instalment of the war indemnity. This plan could not come through. Aurangzeb was yet not assured about Shivaji and viewed suspiciously any prospect of a combined attack by the Mughal and Shivaji on Bijapur. Jai Singh wanted to take Shivaji to Agra so that he could enter into a permanent with him. According to Jai Singh for the conquest to Deccan, friendship with Shivaji was essential for the Mughals. Shivaji was suspicious of Aurangzeb and he did not agree to go to Agra till Jai Singh assured him completely by putting the responsibility of his protection on his son Ram Singh. Probably, Shivaji also wanted to go to the north to view the situation there and prepared a group of his supporters in the Mughal court. He also expected that by negotiating with Aurangzeb he would get Mughal

help to conquer Janzira island and thus safeguard his western-frontier. Jai Singh started on his first campaign against Bijapur in alliance with the Marathas. But it was not successful. Shivaji was given the task of conquering the fort of Panhala but even he did not succeed. Seeing his plans failing like this, Jai Singh persuaded Shivaji to come to Agra and meet the emperor and Shivaji reached Agra in AD 1666.

4. Shivaji in Mughal court and his successful escape from prison

Shivaji came to the Mughal Court on 12 May, AD 1666 along with his son Sambhaji and 350 soldiers. Aurangzeb made him stand among 'Panch Hazaris' and did not even talk to him. Shivaji was very annoyed. Aurangzeb made him and his son prisoners, but after some time both effected their escape from the prison through a clever device and in the guise of Sadhus reached Raigarh on 22 September, AD 1666. Aurangzeb held his own carelessness responsible for this successful escape of Shivaji. After reaching the Deccan, Shivaji was quiet for about two years. Actually, Aurangzeb did not give much importance to the friendship with Shivaji because for him Shivaji was no more than a petty *Zamindar*. But subsequent events showed that this disregard of Shivaji and the Maratha power by Aurangzeb proved very dangerous for the Mughals.

5. Second plunder of Surat, conquest of other Mughal territories

Shivaji started his second campaign against the Mughals in AD 1666–1670. Though he had started his campaign against Bijapur a short while before but he did not gain anything from Bijapur side so he started his campaign against the Mughals again. He reconquered gradually all the twenty-three forts he had surrendered to the Mughals by the treaty of Purnadar. Shivaji plundered Surat the second time on 6 October, AD 1670. In a plunder of three days he got about 66 lakh rupees. According to J.N. Sarkar, 'This plunder of Surat affected trade quiet adversely and the merchants of Surat stopped getting goods from the internal parts of the country.' After this Shivaji attacked Barar, Badlana and Khandesh and conquered the forts of Salher and Muler. So much was the terror of Marathas in the Deccan and they even exacted *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from Mughal regions there. *Chauth* was one-fourth of the revenue of a province effected as tribute by Marathas as a tax of their protection against the Mughals and *sardeshmukhi* was an additional surcharge of one-tenth of the land revenue. In return, the Marathas protected these regions from the external attacks. Mughals were fighting the Afghans in the North-West at this time, therefore, they could not pay much attention towards Shivaji. Shivaji renewed his struggle against Bijapur also. Through bribery he occupied Panhala, and Satara and also attacked the region of Canara.

2.3.1 Administration of Shivaji

Shivaji is famous in Indian history not only as a brave and daring person, a successful general and the founder of an empire, but also as a great administrator and a ruler who had the well wishes of his subjects at heart. He laid the foundation of a strong administrative system. To some extent his administration was based on those of the Deccan administration system, but it had some original features of its own. A study of the various levels of his administration and the administration of its various departments can be made under the following heads.

Central Administration

1. **The King:** Shivaji was a despotic and an autocratic ruler who enjoyed all sovereignty. All the powers of the state were vested in him. He was the supreme

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judge, administrative head, law giver and the General. In spite of being autocratic, he never used his power for meeting his selfish ends. He used to run his administration with the help of a council of ministers called the *Ashtapradhan*. It consisted of eight ministers who were responsible to Shivaji. Their continuation in office depended upon the wishes of Shivaji.

2. **Ashtapradhan:** To help Shivaji with the work of administration, there was a Council of eight ministers called the *Ashtapradhan*. The ministers were as follows:
 - (a) *Peshwa or Mukhya pradhan:* The Prime Minister was known as the Peshwa or Mukhya pradhan. His main task was to look after the efficiency of administration. For the fulfilment of this duty he kept a control over all officials of the government. He acted on behalf of the king in his absence. In all governmental documents there was his stamp and signatures below those of the Chhatrapati. He had to follow the instructions of the Chhatrapati.
 - (b) *Sare-Naubat or Senapati:* He was responsible for the organization and supervision of the army, he used to command the army in the battlefield. He used to give an accurate account of the booty to the Chhatrapati. It was he who informed the Chhatrapati about the requests and requirements of the soldiers. His main duties were recruitment of soldiers, organization of army and maintenance of discipline.
 - (c) *Amatya or Finance Minister:* He was in charge of the income and expenditure of the state. He was not only the finance minister, but also had to perform active military service at the time of war. He had to acknowledge the orders of the 'Chhatrapati' in all the acts performed by him.
 - (d) *Sumant or Foreign Minister:* He used to perform all the functions connected with the foreign affairs. He used to look after the foreign ambassadors and deputies and acquired a knowledge about the political activities of the other states through the spies. The king took his advice at the time of entering into peace treaties with the enemy rulers.
 - (e) *Sachiv or Shurunvish:* He was a sort of superintendent in the central ministry. His main duties were the arrangement for the official posts and to set the language and style of royal letters right.
 - (f) *Wakianavis or Mantri:* He kept an account of the daily activities of the king and the important events at the court. He also prepared a list of the people desirous of visiting the king and kept a strict watch over the food, etc. prepared for the king.
 - (g) *Panditrao or Danadhyaksha:* Panditrao or Danadhyaksha was in charge of religious activities. His main function was the hospitality of the Brahmins on behalf of the king, to give them donation and prizes and to fix dates for religious activities, to arrange for the punishments for anti-religious or other perverse activities, to make the regulations for religious ceremonies, etc. and to give his decisions on the religious questions. It was his responsibility to reform the conduct of the people.
 - (h) *Nyayadhisha:* He was the highest official of judicial department. He heard both the civil and the criminal cases. He also decided about the land-right and chefship, etc. It was also his duty to implement the decisions of the Gram Panchayat. He also interpreted the law. Out of the above mentioned eight ministers, everybody had to perform military service at the time of necessity except Panditrao and Nyayadhisha. With the exception of Senapati

and Wakianavis, very often all the members of the Ashtapradhan were Brahamins. No office was hereditary. On all official documents, firmans and peace documents, on the top there were the signatures of the king, then the Peshwa and at the bottom were those of Amatya, Wakianavis, Sachiv and Sumant.

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Provincial and Local Administration

Shivaji had divided his whole empire into four provinces:

1. **Northern provinces:** This part included Balaghat, Kori region, Southern Surat, Northern Konkan, Northern Bombay and Poona. It was under Peshwa Maro Trimbak Pingle.
2. **Southern provinces:** This part included Southern Bombay, Southern Konkan, Coastal regions, Samantvari regions, etc. This province was under Annaji Pant.
3. **South eastern province:** This province included the regions of Satara, Koljpur, Belgaon and Dharwad and Kopal. Its Sar-Karkun was Dattaju Trimbak.
4. **Four southern provinces:** These included districts from Kopal to Vellure like Zinzi, Velari, Chennai, Chittore and Arcot. This province was under the military officials.

These provinces were known as *Swarajya*. Every provincial ruler respected the wish of the king. Like at the centre, there was a committee of eight ministers in every province.

In order to maintain central hold over the Sar-i-Karkun or the Prantpati and the provincial ministers, Shivaji did not make their offices hereditary and to some extent kept central hold on their appointments under the Prantpati or the Sar-i-Karkun and the Subedars. Perhaps, Karkun was responsible for the maintenance of the empire and Subedars was in charge of the land yielding about ` 1 Lakh annual revenue. According to one estimate, Shivaji got the income of ` 3.5 crores annually barring the income from the *chauth*. On the basis of this account, it can be maintained that there were about 350 subedars in his empire. The office of Subedar was generally given to the Brahmins. In the local administration of Shivaji, forts played an important part. The responsibility for the defense of the neighbouring area of the fort was of the Havaladar. He made arrangements for all administration of the fort. Shivaji's empire included about 240 forts. Thus, he had appointed about 240 Havalgars. The post of the Havalgar was generally given to a Maratha. He managed the entire administration of the fort. In every fort, besides the havalgar, there were two other officials of equal rank – first *Sar-i-Naubat* (who was generally a Maratha), who led and supervised the army stationed in the fort and the other equal ranking officer was *Sabnis*. He was generally a Brahmin. The financial arrangements of the fort and the neighbouring area, the correspondence and the management of the official stores were his responsibilities. *Karakhanis* (who were generally Kayasthaa) helped him. Shivaji paid all his provincial or local officials either in cash or ordered their salaries to be given out of the revenues of a particular area.

Military Administration/Army Organization

The organization and discipline of Shivaji's army was worth emulating. He paid cash salaries to his soldiers. He adopted the practice of branding the horses and writing the descriptive rolls of the soldiers. Soldiers of his army did not carry their wives with them. Shivaji ordered his soldiers to carry a minimum burden or luggage so that the mobility of

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the army should be efficiently maintained. His army had the four branches of cavalry, infantry, artillery and navy.

Cavalry consisted of two parts. The horsemen who were provided horses and weapons on behalf of the state were called the *Bargirs* and the horsemen who arranged for their own horses and weapons were called *Siledars*. All cavalry was under *Sar-i-Naubat*. Infantrymen were good archers. Shivaji recruited the Mawalis in big numbers in his army. His army had 700 Pathan soldiers as well. Shivaji's artillery consisted of only the mortar guns. It was managed by the Portuguese. Shivaji got gunpowder, etc. from the French of Bombay. The main purpose behind organizing the navy was to arrest the plunder of the Abyssinians.

The army remained in the cantonment only for the period of four months of rainy season. During the remaining eight months, it went out either to conquer fresh territory or to collect supplies from the enemy-land. Every article of every soldier was accounted before he left the cantonment and when he returned to it, so that no soldier will possibly hide his booty. Shivaji formed elaborate rules and regulations to maintain discipline in the army and all of them were rigorously enforced. Consequently, he succeeded in organizing a well-disciplined, strong and highly mobile army for the period of his own life-time. The forts and their security occupied an important place in the army organization of Shivaji. Shivaji had as many as 250 forts which were important for him both for purposes of defence and offence. Consequently, he took all necessary measures for the security of his forts. There were three important officers, viz., a *havaladar*, a *sabnis* and a *sar-i-naubat* in every fort. All the three were jointly responsible for the safety of their fort. The *sar-i-naubat* and the *havaladar* were Marathas at the same time as the *sabnis* was a Brahmana by caste. There was a mother officer called *kharkhana-navis* who was responsible for the maintenance of all sorts of supplies in the fort. He also kept an account of every income and expenditure incurred in the fort. The *havaladar* had to look after the working of his subordinates, the right to dismiss them, to receive and dispatch letters, to close the gates of the fort in the evening, to open the gates in the morning and to check the measures taken for the security of the fort. Shivaji maintained a navy as well. Once he conquered the Konkan coast, it became necessary for him to safeguard his coastal territory from the invasion of the Sidis of Janjira. Shivaji had four hundred ships of different types in his navy. The navy was divided into two parts and each part was commanded by *daria nayak* and *mai nayak* respectively. The navy of Shivaji fought against the Dutch, the Portuguese and the English at several occasions.

Land Revenue Administration

Shivaji organized his land revenue administration most probably after the pattern of that of Malik Amber, the minister of Ahmednagar. Four main sources of revenue in his kingdom were the land revenue, custom, *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. He brought the *jagir* system under control to some extent to make his land revenue system effective and successful. In AD 1679, Annaji Datta made a revenue survey of the cultivable land and fixed the land revenue according to the productivity of the soil. Initially, he fixed it 30 per cent of the produce but later on it was increased to 40 per cent. To protect the peasants, Shivaji exempted the revenue demands at the time of natural calamities and gave them Takavi loans to purchase seeds, etc. Takavi loans were taken back in easy instalments. According to some historians, Shivaji completely ended the Zamindari or Deshmukhi system but it does not appear to be correct from our point of view because he gave salary to many officials in the form of *jagir* though they were kept under control. During his time there was strict supervision over the officials who acquired a

hereditary right over land. Shivaji did not permit them to keep soldiers or build forts in their *jagirs* and took from every *jagir* a fixed amount as the State's share. Besides revenue, a fixed percentage of the custom duty was charged on the import and export of the goods of businessmen. Shivaji augmented his income by exacting revenue from the neighbouring regions of the Mughals. This was one-fourth of the revenue imposed on the land and was called the *chauth*. Probably, it was a sort of military tax. It was levied on those regions where Marathas promised not to have any military raid. A similar type of tax was *sardeshmukhi* which was one-tenth of the state income. It was levied on those Maratha Deshmukhs who acknowledged Shivaji as their Sardeshmukh. By levying this tax, Shivaji proved that he was very farsighted and the builder of a strong empire. By means of the *sardeshmukhi* tax he achieved success in bringing the various Maratha Chiefs under one sovereign power and established the Maratha empire. Recent research has proved that the financial system of Shivaji was beneficial to the people.

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Judicial System

Shivaji did not establish organized courts like the modern courts nor did he establish any Law Code. His judicial administration was based on the traditional ways only. At the centre, the eight ministers of the *Ashtapradhan*, viz. *Nyayadhis* decided both the civil and the criminal cases according to the Hindu Scriptures only. In the provinces same function was performed by the provincial judges only. In the villages judicial work was performed by the Panchayats. Justice was impartial and the penal code was strict.

In brief, Shivaji was an able administrator and he laid the foundations of a powerful empire. Undoubtedly his kingdom was a regional kingdom but it was based on popular will. Shivaji adopted a secular policy in his empire. In the words of Dr Ishwari Prasad, he organized an administrative system which in many respects was better than even that of the Mughals.

2.3.2 Coronation and Death of Shivaji

Although Shivaji was able to conquer land and gather enough power, he was not considered a ruler or a superior. This led Shivaji to organize a formal coronation.

Coronation of Shivaji

Shivaji had conquered a large tract of land. He also started behaving like an independent ruler. Yet, the Sultan of Bijapur considered him no more than a rebel Jagirdar. The Mughal Emperor considered him as just a petty *Zamindar*. Many Maratha families looked upon him only as a *Nayab Amir* or *Zamindar* whose ancestors were just ordinary peasants. To prove his superiority among other Maratha families also Shivaji thought it advantageous to get his coronation done in a formal manner. On 15 June, AD 1674, Shivaji held his coronation with great pomp and show. On the auspicious occasion, Pandit Gang Bhatt who presided over the function proclaimed Shivaji to be a high ranking *Kshatriya*. To improve his social standing, Shivaji entered into matrimonial relations with traditional Maratha families like Mohite and Shirke. The coronation greatly enhanced Shivaji's political position. Now he could enter into the independent treaty relationship with the Sultans of the Deccan or the Mughal Emperor unlike previously when he was treated like a powerful dacoit or a rebel *Jagirdar*.

Conquests after Coronation and Death of Shivaji

In AD 1675, Shivaji again started encounters with the Mughals and acquired a lot of booty by defeating the Mughal commander Bahadur Khan. In AD 1676, he took an

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important step. With the help of the two brothers Madanna and Akhanna in Hyderabad he decided to attack Bijapuri Karnataka. Seeing the growing power and influence of Shivaji, Abul Hassan Qutubshah of Golkunda accorded a grand welcome to Shivaji in his capital and a peace treaty was signed between the two. Abul Hassan Qutubshah promised to pay Shivaji one lakh Huns annually and permitted him to reside at his court. Shivaji took upon himself the responsibility of defending Golkunda from the foreign invasions. Shivaji and the Golkunda ruler also decided to divide among themselves the wealth of Karnataka and its conquered areas. Abu Hassan Qutubshah gave to Shivaji his artillery and adequate money for the military expenditure. This treaty proved to be very advantageous for Shivaji. He seized Vellore and Zinji from the Bijapuri commanders and got enough money from the region of Karnataka. When Shivaji returned after the conquest, the ruler of Golkunda asked for his share. But Shivaji gave him neither territory nor money. This made Abul Hassan Qutubshah angry and he entered into an agreement with Bijapur to lessen Shivaji's power, but at that very time Mughal army under Diler Khan attacked Bijapur and the ruler of Bijapur instead of fighting against Shivaji requested his help against the Mughals. Shivaji rendered him help immediately. Shivaji made Bijapur agree to many favourable terms in favour of Velari. It is said that Adil Shah not only gave him the areas of Kopal and Belldibut, but also abandoned his claim over Tanjore and the Gagir of Shahaji Bhonsle. Shivaji also established his hold over many areas of his stepbrother Ekoji. Karnataka expedition was the last of Shivaji's important campaigns.

After establishing administrative arrangements in Karnataka, Shivaji came back to Maharashtra. In AD 1678, he and his stepbrother Ekoji entered into an agreement with each other and Shivaji returned him all his areas which he had conquered. But that very year his eldest son Sambhaji started behaving like an independent young man and he first went over to the Mughals and later to Bijapur. Though he came back to Shivaji after remaining rebellious for about a year, yet Shivaji was very unhappy with his conduct and behaviour.

With this very worry and after an illness of just twelve days he died on 12 April AD 1680, at the age of fifty-three.

Shivaji had begun his life as a manager of his father's *jagir* at Pune and succeeded in establishing an independent kingdom due to his military ability and qualities of character.

Maharashtra, Konkan and a large part of Karnataka were included in his empire. His kingdom had about 240 forts. He laid the foundation of a strong administrative system in his kingdom. He proved himself to be an able military commander and a capable politician. He kept check over the power of the Deshmukhs and laid the foundation of a powerful empire which lasted for a long time, even after his death.

2.3.3 Successors of Shivaji: Mughal-Maratha Relations and Rule of Peshwas

Shivaji had two wives. Following his death in AD 1680, their sons got into a fight over the throne of the newly created Maratha kingdom. Let us read about this in more detail.

Successors of Shivaji and Mughal-Maratha Relations

1. Shambhaji (AD 1680–1689)

There was a dispute about succession between the two sons of Shivaji (Sambhaji and Rajaram) from his two different wives. Finally, after deposing Rajaram from the throne, Sambhaji or Sambhuji ascended the throne on 20 July 1680. For more than a year

afterwards, however, his position continued to be insecure. As a matter of fact, his whole reign was disturbed by frequent conspiracies and desertions among, his officers. Shambhaji, the eldest son of Shivaji, found a faithful adviser in a Kanauji Brahmin on whom he conferred the title of *Kavi Kalash*. Aurangzeb was determined to crush Shambhaji. In AD 1689, Shambhaji and *Kavi Kalash* were captured by a Mughal general and put to death.

Rajaram was crowned by the Maratha ministers at Raigarh as Shambhaji's son Shahu, was too young. Then Raigarh was captured by the Mughals. By the end of AD 1689, Aurangzeb's Deccan policy appeared to have achieved complete success. However, animated by desire to avenge their wrongs, the Maratha bands spread over the Mughal territories harassing Mughal armies, destroying their outposts. The Mughals could not deal effectively with such raiders. When Aurangzeb died in AD 1707, he was aware that his efforts to crush the Marathas had failed.

2. Rajaram (AD 1689 – 1700)

At the time of Sambhaji's death, his son Sahu was only seven years old. Rajaram, the younger son of Shivaji and stepbrother of Sambhaji, who had been kept in prison by the latter, was proclaimed King by the Maratha Council of Ministers and crowned at Raigarh in February AD 1689. But soon thereafter, apprehending a Mughal attack, Rajaram left Raigarh and, moving from one place to another, ultimately reached Jinji (South Arcot district, Tamil Nadu). The Maratha Council of Ministers and other officials also joined him at Jinji which, till AD 1698, became the centre of Maratha activity against the Mughals.

Shortly after Rajaram's flight to Jinji, the Mughals under Zulfiqar Khan captured Raigarh in October 1689 and all members of Sambhaji's family, including his son Sahu, fell into Mughal hands. Although, Sahu was given the title of Raja and granted a *mansab*, he virtually remained a prisoner in the hands of the Mughals till the death of Aurangzeb (AD 1707). Thus, at the close of AD 1689, the situation in the Maratha kingdom had completely changed. The royal family was virtually immobilized, the Maratha country no longer had a common head or a central government and the whole of the Deccan was divided into different spheres of influence under various Maratha commanders. With a nominal Maratha king living at a distance from the Maratha homeland, the resistance to the Mughals in the Deccan was organized by the Maratha leaders and commanders. This situation changed the basic character of the Mughal–Maratha struggle into a civil war or a war of independence.

Tarabai (1700–1707)

After Rajaram's death, his minor son by his wife Tarabai, named Shivaji II, was placed on the throne. Tarabai's energy and ability made her the de facto ruler of the state. She saved the Maratha state during a period of grave crisis. The succession to the throne was in dispute. Personal jealousies divided the throne in dispute. It divided the Maratha leaders. Several thousands of *mavles* (Maratha hill infantry) were in the Mughal pay.

Aurangzeb, after the fall of Jinji, concentrated all his resources on the siege of successive Maratha forts. In this situation, Tarabai played a role which elicited high praise from the hostile Muslim historian Khafi Khan who says 'Under Tarabai's guidance, Maratha activities began to increase daily. She took into her own hands the control of all affairs, such as the appointment and change of generals, the cultivation of the country and the planning of raids into the Mughal territory. She made such arrangements for

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sending troops to ravage the 'six subahs' of the Deccan and winning the heart of her officers to the extent that all the efforts of Aurangzeb against the Marathas down to the end of his reign failed.'

Tarabai moved from place to place with a view to guiding the Maratha operations against the Mughals.

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Sahu's release from Mughal captivity and the rise of the Peshwas

Nearly three months after Aurangzeb's death, Sambhaji's son Sahu (born 18 May 1682) who had been in Mughal captivity since 3 November 1689 was liberated on 8 May 1707 by Aurangzeb's second son, who ascended the throne as Bahadur Shah I. Sahu was recognized as the king of the Marathas and his right to the Maratha swaraj and to *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of the Deccani *subahs* of the Mughals was also probably recognized. The Mughal suzerainty was protected through the arrangement that he would rule as a vassal of the Empire. The intention of the Mughals was to end long-drawn wars in the Deccan or to create dissensions in the Maratha camp. Both situations were advantageous to the Mughals and they were not disappointed. Sahu's release was followed by a civil war between the forces of Tarabai and Sahu, which lasted up to AD1714.

Balaji Viswanath (AD1713–1720) — Rise of Peshwas

Balaji Viswanath began his career as a small revenue official and was given the title of 'Sena Karte' (maker of the army) by Shahu in AD1708. He became *Peshwa* in AD 1713 and made the post the most important and powerful as well as hereditary. He played a crucial role the final victory of Shahu by winning over almost all the Maratha sardars to the side of Shahu.

He concluded an agreement with the Sayyid brothers (AD1719) by which the Mughal Emperor (Farukhsiyar) recognized Shahu as the king of the Swarajya. Balaji's character and capacity and the peculiar circumstances of the country favoured the rise of the Peshwas to power and renown. One of the first things Balaji was called upon to do was to secure the restoration of Sahu's mother to him from the custody of the Mughals who had detained her at Delhi as hostage for the good behaviour of her son Sahu. Balaji opened direct negotiations with the Saiyyid brothers and in February 1719 all his demands were accepted.

Accordingly, Sahu's mother and family was released, he was recognized as the ruler of Shivaji's home dominions and was allowed to collect *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from the six *subahs* of the Deccan, as also in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. In return for all this, the Marathas were expected to keep a contingent on 15,000 horses in the service of the Mughals and to maintain order in the Deccan. Balaji's success in Delhi greatly increased his power and prestige.

Balaji Vishwanath has been rightly called the 'second founder of the Maratha state'. He perceived that the revival of Maratha power in its old monarchical form was no longer possible and it would be difficult to harness the nation's military resources to the common cause unless concessions were made to the great warlords who had won an important place for themselves. He made them subordinate allies or confederates of the sovereign, granting them a free hand in administering their conquests and called from them no greater sacrifice than uniting on matters of common policy. This arrangement, however, left too much authority in the hands of these chiefs, without providing for checks to call them to account, which was responsible for the speedy

expansion of the Maratha power and its rapid dissolution. The term of Balaji's Peshwaship marks the transition from the royal period to the age of the Peshwas.

Balaji was credited with 'a mastery of finance'. Though constantly engaged in war and diplomacy, he took firm measures to put a stop to anarchy in the kingdom. He suppressed freebooters and restored civil government. Solid foundations were laid for a well-organized revenue system in the Swaraj territory, which was under direct royal administration.

Baji Rao I (AD 1720–1740)

Baji Rao, the eldest son of Balaji Viswanath, succeeded him as *Peshwa* at the young age of twenty. He was considered the greatest exponent of guerrilla tactics after Shivaji and Maratha power reached its zenith under him.

Under him, several Maratha families became prominent and got themselves entrenched in different parts of India. Some of these places were as follows:

- Gaekwad at Baroda
- Bhonsles at Nagpur
- Holkars at Indore
- Scindias at Gwalior
- Peshwas at Poona

After defeating and expelling the Siddhis of Janjira from the mainland (AD1722), he conquered Bassein and Salsette from the Portuguese (AD1733). He also defeated the Nizam-ul-Mulk near Bhopal and concluded the Treaty of Durai Sarai by which he got Malwa and Bundelkhand from the latter (AD1737). He led innumerable successful expeditions into north India to weaken the Mughal Empire and to make the Marathas the supreme power in India. He said 'Let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree and the branches will fall of themselves.'

Balaji Baji Rao (AD 1740–1761)

Balaji Baji Rao was popularly known as 'Nana Saheb'. He succeeded his father at the age of twenty. After the death of his father, the management of all state affairs was left in his hands. In an agreement with the Mughal Emperor (Ahmad Shah), the Peshwa (AD1752) was to protect the Mughal Empire from the internal and the external (Ahmad Shah Abdali) enemies in return for the *Chauth*. He remained dependent on the advice and guidance of his cousin Sadashiva Rao Bhau.

With regard to the future policy of his government, he asked Sadashiva Rao Bhau to continue the policies of his father and said 'The elder Bajirao achieved great deeds in the devoted service of the king. But his life was cut short. You are his son, and you ought to consummate his policy of conquering the whole of Hindustan and establish an Empire and lead your horses beyond Attock.'

One of the earliest achievements of Nana Saheb was better financial management of the Empire by exercising careful supervision over all financial transactions. He later discussed the affairs of northern India with Holkar and Scindia and in April 1742 marched northwards to consolidate the Maratha authority in Bundelkhand. In AD 1743 he undertook the second expedition to the north to help Ali Vardi Khan (in Bengal) whose territories had been ravaged Raghuji Bhonsle. The Peshwa reached Murshidabad and met Ali Vardi Khan who agreed to pay him the *chauth* for Bengal and ` 22 lakh to the Peshwa

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for the expenses of his expedition. By this arrangement the Peshwa freed Ali Vardi Khan's territories from the ravages of Raghuji's troops. During the first half of his Peshwaship he established Maratha supremacy in Karnataka and sent expeditions to Rajputana.

Shahu died childless on 15 December 1749. He had nominated Ramaraja, a grandson of Tarabai, as his successor before his death. Ramaraja was crowned as Chhatrapati in January 1750. Since, he was weak and incompetent, Tarabai tried to make him a puppet in her own hands, which caused utter confusion and crisis in the Maratha kingdom; it deepened further when the Peshwa learnt that Ramaraja was not the grandson of Tarabai but an impostor. When this fact came to knowledge, the Chhatrapati was virtually confined in the fort at Satara and lost all contacts with political developments. Hence forth, Pune became the real capital of the Maratha Confederacy, and the Peshwa its virtual ruler. During the second period of Balaji's regime (AD1751–1761), four campaigns were organized in the north. The Punjab politics was at the time in a confused state and as a result the first two invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the subahs of Lahore, Multan and Kashmir were annexed by Abdali to his dominions. After the third invasion, the Mughal wazir, Safdarjung, persuaded the Emperor to enter into an agreement with the Marathas in May 1752 for undertaking defence of the Empire against its internal and external foes. In return the Marathas were to get the *Chauth* of the north-western provinces usurped and occupied by the Afghans. However, that *Chauth* could only be secured by the actual conquest. The Marathas were also given the subahs of Agra and Ajmer. As a result of this agreement the Maratha military force was posted at Delhi and they repeatedly interfered in the politics of North India and established their supremacy at Delhi.

This arrangement would have marked the fulfilment of Balaji Baji Rao's dream of 'a Mughal–Maratha alliance for the governance of India as a whole'. But Safdarjung lost his wazirship and retired to Awadh in AD1753, and power in the imperial court passed to Imad-ul-Mulk, grandson of Nizam ul-Mulk. He terrorized the helpless Emperor with Maratha help and secured the office of *wazir*, dethroned Ahmad Shah and placed Alamgir II, grandson of Bahadur Shah, on the imperial throne in AD1754.

There was never a wazir of Delhi whose rule was so barren of good result and so full of misery to himself and to the Empire, to his friends and foes alike, as Imad-ul-Mulk's. At first he 'clung like a helpless infant to the breast of the Marathas'; but being unable to pay 'the cash nexus on which alone Maratha friendship depended', he agreed to Ahmad Shah Abdali's project of ousting the Marathas from the Doab and Shuja-ud-daula of Awadh, son and successor of Safdarjung, from provincial governorship (AD1757). This drew Shuja-ud-daula, Surajmal Jat and the Marathas together and left Imad-ul-Mulk utterly friendless during the absence of Abdali from India. As per the above arrangements early in AD1758, Raghunath Rao, accompanied by Malhar Rao Holkar, entered the Punjab. He was joined by Adina Beg Khan and the Sikhs.

Sirhind fell, Lahore was occupied and the Afghans were expelled (April 1758). Timur Shah fled, pursued by the Marathas up to the river Chenab. They did not cross the river because it was too deep for fording and the districts beyond it were inhabited mostly by the Afghans.

Raghunath Rao returned from the Punjab after leaving the province in charge of Adina Beg Khan. Confusion followed the latter's death a few months later (October 1758). The Peshwa sent a large army under Dattaji Scindia who reached the eastern bank of the Sutlej (April 1759), and sent Sabaji Scindia to Lahore to take over the governorship of the province.

Within a few months, a strong army sent by Abdali crossed the river Indus. Sabaji fell back precipitately, abandoning the entire province of the Punjab to the Afghans. Abdali established his government at Lahore, resumed his march and entered Sirhind (November 1759).

The Maratha adventure in the Punjab has been acclaimed by some historians as ‘carrying the Hindu paramount up to Attock’. It is doubtful if the Maratha army actually advanced as far as Attock and the collection of revenue in the trans-Chenab district was a purely temporary affair. The Peshwa did not realize that the Punjab could not be retained without keeping a large well-equipped force constantly on the spot. This was not possible because the necessary funds were not available and no Maratha soldier could stand the winter of Lahore. No first-rate Maratha general was posted in the Punjab as warden of the North-west frontier. The Peshwa sanctioned ‘a provocatively advanced frontier’, which made war with Abdali inevitable, but he made no adequate arrangement for its defence.

North India: Bhau’s expedition (AD1760)

On return towards Delhi (May 1759) after the conquest of Punjab, Dattaji Scindia was involved in hostilities with Najib-ud-daula in Rohilkhand. He suffered defeat and retreated towards Panipat (December 1759), and heard that Abdali’s forces were advancing from Sind and had occupied Ambala. His resistance failed and he was killed in a battle with Abdali at Barari, some 16 km north of Delhi (January 1760). Malhar Rao Holkar was routed by the Afghans at Sikandarabad. Thereafter, the Maratha army in Hindustan ceased to exist.

When the news of these disasters reached the Peshwa at Pune, he realized that ‘all his gains in North India had been wiped out, and he must again fight for the Maratha control over the Delhi Empire and build up his supremacy in Hindustan from the very foundations.’ This crisis could be met only by sending a strong army to the North. Soon the Peshwa dispatched the Maratha troops under his cousin Sadashiv Rao Bhau and his eldest son Vishwas Rao. The Maratha artillery was to be commanded by Ibrahim Khan Gardi. In July 1760, the Marathas occupied Delhi. This small success added to the prestige of the Marathas, but they were friendless in the whole of North India. Even the Jat king Surajmal deserted them at the last moment. On the other hand, Ahmad Shah Abdali had been able to secure the support of the Ruhela Chiefs Najib-ud-daula and Nawab Shuja-ud-daula of Awadh. During this period some futile attempts were made for peace between Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Peshwa, but they could not succeed due to the exorbitant demands of the Marathas and self-interest of the Muslim rulers. This culminated in the unfortunate and disastrous battle of Panipat. The Battle of Panipat (14 January 1761) resulted in the death of Viswas Rao (son of Nana Saheb).

Madhav Rao (AD 1761–1772), Narayana Rao (AD 1772–1773), Sawai Madhav Rao (AD 1773–1795), and Baji Rao II (AD 1795–1818) succeeded him thereafter.

2.4 RISE OF REGIONAL POLITIES: BENGAL, AWADH AND MYSORE

In this section, we will learn about the rise of regional polities in Bengal, Awadh and Mysore.

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Check Your Progress

3. What were the two factors that contributed to the rise of Maratha power under Shivaji?
4. What were the main duties of the *Sare-Naubat* or *Senapati*?
5. List the four main sources of revenue under the administration of Shivaji.

2.4.1 Bengal

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In 1717, the Mughal emperor issued a *farman* by which it granted special benefits to the English East India Company, namely, exemption of taxes on goods imported and exported from Bengal. However, this concession did not ensure that they could trade in Bengal without paying any taxes. The Company servants like other Indian traders had to pay taxes. This misinterpretation of the *farman* became a constant cause of dispute between the nawabs of Bengal and the Company. All the nawabs of Bengal, beginning from Murshid Quli Khan to Alivardi Khan, refused to sympathize with the Company's misconstrued explanation of the *farman* and even forced them to pay a huge amount as indemnity if they used the *dastaks* wrongly.

In 1741, when Muhammad Shah Rangila was the Mughal sovereign, Alivardi Khan, the governor of Bengal, announced himself independent and established his capital at Murshidabad. In 1756, with Alivardi's demise, and in the absence of any rightful successor, several factions vied with each other to make their chosen candidate the Nawab of Bengal. Though Alivardi wanted his grandson, Siraj-ud-Daulah, son of his youngest daughter, to acquire the nawabship, the latter's succession to the throne was not accepted by other contenders, such as Shaukat Jang (*faujdar* of Purnea) and Ghasiti Begam, eldest daughter of Alivardi. In the wake of increasing court intrigues, the English East India Company took the opportunity to win factions in their favour and work against the Nawab, and thereby lead to a headlong confrontation with the Nawab.

As Bengal, in the 18th century, was the most prosperous province, the English East India Company considered it economically and politically extremely lucrative. Hence, it is natural that they wanted to consolidate their position further in Bengal. They wanted to base their operations in Calcutta. There were other European contenders too in Bengal, namely, the Dutch, having their factory at Chinsura, and the French with their factory at Chandernagor.

Siraj-ud-Daulah became the Nawab of Bengal in 1756. Apart from having several foes in the family who were not happy with the succession, he was immature and lacked adequate skills to tackle the situation. In the South, the English East India Company and the French were vying against each other. Without seeking Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah's consent, the English began to build fortifications in Calcutta. They even chose to disregard the Nawab's order to curtail augmentation of their military resources and abuse the use of *dastaks* granted to them by the *farman* of 1717. Also, Company servants began misusing the concessions granted by the *farman* of 1717 by extending the privileges over their private trade too. Causing further economic loss to Bengal, the officials began to profit by selling off the *dastaks* to the Indian merchants. Another cause of discontentment towards the English for Siraj was their conscious move to give protection to Siraj's foe Krishna Das, the son of Raja Rajballava.

2.4.2 Awadh

The second half of the 18th century witnessed gradual expansion of the British East India Company's role in North India and this had a strong bearing on the economy and politics of Awadh. Until 1801, Awadh was treated as a buffer state protecting Bengal against the powers to the Marathas and the question of encroachment and annexation did not arise. It was only around the turn of the 19th century that Awadh became a block to further British expansion. This eventually led to the takeover of the province in 1856.

The enmity between Awadh and the English started in 1764 with the Battle of Buxar. In this battle, the English defeated the combined forces of the Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula of Awadh, Mughal emperor Shah Alam and Nawab of Bengal, Mir Qasim. After the battle, the Treaty of Allahabad was signed between Nawab of Awadh and the British. According to this treaty, Shuja-ud-Daula was allowed to retain Awadh. However, Kora and Allahabad were ceded to the Mughal emperor. A war indemnity of ` 50,00,000 to be paid in instalments was imposed on Shuja who entered into a reciprocal arrangement with the company for defence of each other's territory. The nawabs were aware of the company's burgeoning strength and aspirations and, like the Bengal nawabs, they were not prepared to let go without at least a semblance of a struggle. This assumed in the initial stages the form of a concerted drive against British commercial penetration of Awadh. Alongside, a major reorganization and reform of the Awadh army was initiated.

The military reforms initiated by Shuja-ud-Daula after the humiliation at Buxar were not intended to either intimidate the English or promote a war against them. Rather, it would seem that the overall military effort reflected the Nawab's anxiety to defend his political authority at a time when it was being steadily undermined by the alien company. For the Company, Awadh was too important and lucrative a province to be left alone. Its vast amount of revenue could be used to subsidize the company's armies. In carefully planned stages, the company stepped up its fiscal demands. In 1773 the first definitive treaty was concluded between Awadh and the English East India Company. By this treaty, the Nawab agreed to pay ` 2,10,000 monthly for each brigade of company troops that would remain present in Awadh or Allahabad. This provision established the beginning of Awadh's chronic indebtedness to the company and represented the initial British thrust into the region's political system.

It was in and after 1775 that the vulnerability of the nawabi came into sharp focus. It was also in these years, ironically enough, that the emergence of a provincial cultural identity centered on the new court and capital at Lucknow (the capital had been shifted from Faizabad) was more clearly identifiable than before. Asaf-ud-Daula's succession to the throne in 1775 went without a hitch notwithstanding the hostility of some of Shuja's courtiers and of the opposition faction of his brother Saadat Ali, the governor of Rohilkhand. Soon, however, under the stewardship of Murtaza Khan (Asaf's favourite who received the exalted title of Mukhtar-ud-Daula), the stability of the existing political set up was strengthened as older nobles and generals were displaced. Furthermore, Mukhtar allowed the Company to negotiate a treaty with the Nawab ceding to English control the territories surrounding Benaras, north to Jaunpur and west to Allahabad, then held by Chait Singh. The treaty also fixed a larger subsidy than before for the Company brigade and excluded the Mughal emperor from all future Anglo-Nawabi transactions. Finally all diplomatic transactions and foreign intelligence were to be controlled by the English through the Resident at the Nawab's court. The disintegration of the political system, the blatant intervention of the English in Awadh's affairs and Asaf-ud-Daula's excessively indulgent disposition and disregard of political affairs alarmed a sizeable section of the Awadh nobility. The situation worsened as troops were in arrears and at places mutinied. These acts of disturbance and lawlessness smoothened the way for British intervention. In the 1770s, the English East India Company persistently eroded the basis of Awadh's sovereignty. The rapid inroads of the English made by virtue of their military presence seriously undermined the Nawabi regime which in 1780 came up with the first declaration of protest. The supreme government in Calcutta was forced to realize that unremitting pressure on Awadh's resources could not be sustained indefinitely

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and that the excessive intervention of the English Resident would have to be curtailed if Awadh's usefulness as a subsidiary was to be guaranteed.

Thus, in 1784, Warren Hastings entered into a new series of arrangements with Asaf-ud-Daula which reduced the debt by ` 50 lakh and thereby the pressure on the Awadh regime. In the following decade and a half, the Awadh regime continued to function as a semi-autonomous regional power whose relations with the company were cordial. This state of affairs lasted until 1797, the year of Asaf's demise, when the British once more intervened in the succession issue. Wazir Ali, Asaf's chosen successor, was deposed in favour of Saadat Ali. With Saadat Ali a formal treaty was signed on 21 February 1798 which increased the subsidy to ` 76 lakh yearly.

A more forward policy was initiated by Lord Wellesley who arrived in 1798 only to reject the Awadh system. The Nawab's declaration of inability to pay the increased financial demand of the company gave Wellesley a suitable pretext to contemplate annexation. In September 1801, Henry Wellesley arrived in Lucknow to force Saadat's surrender of his whole territory. After protracted negotiations, the company accepted the perpetual sovereignty of Rohilkhand, Gorakhpur and the Doab which yielded a gross amount of ` 1 crore 35 lakh. The annexations inaugurated a new era in Anglo-Awadh relations. The shrunken subah could no longer pose a threat to the stability of the Company dominions nor did the rulers of Awadh entertain any notion of resistance to the relentless forward march of the English. Deprived of their army and half of their territory, they concentrated their energies in cultural pursuits.

In this, they were following the footsteps of Asaf-ud-Daula who had built up around the Lucknow court a vibrant and living cultural arena. The patronage extended to luminaries and poets like Mirza Rafi Sauda (1713-86) and Mir Ghulam Hasan (1734-86). Lucknow had been a second home for these sensitive men of letters who had left Delhi and lamented for the world they had loved and lost. The assumption of imperial status by Ghazi-ud-din-Hyder (1819) and the formal revocation of Mughal sovereignty was an integral part of the blooming court culture of Awadh. But this coincided with the decline in the ruler's control over the administration and province. The heavy price that had to be continually paid to the Company for 'protection', the devolution of administrative responsibility to ministers, and the dominant position of the British Resident, were facts which no regal pomp and ceremony could conceal.

The Nawab of Awadh had many heirs and could not, therefore, be covered by the Doctrine of Lapse. Some other pretext had to be found for depriving him of his dominions. Finally, Lord Dalhousie hit upon the idea of alleviating the plight of the people of Awadh. Nawab Wajid Ali Shah was accused of having misgoverned his state and of refusing to introduce reforms. His state was, therefore, annexed in 1856. Undoubtedly, the degeneration of the administration of Awadh was a painful reality for its people.

2.4.3 Mysore

Mysore, which lies between the two Ghats—the eastern and western—were ruled by the Wodeyar dynasty. However, between 1731 and 1734 there began a fierce contest between Devaraja, the head of the army, and his brother Naniaraja, the guardian of the state's finances, to gain suzerainty over Mysore. Corresponding to this phase, the entire Deccan had become a battleground for several powers, namely, Marathas, the Nizam, English and the French.

Owing to frequent Maratha invasions, Mysore had become financially insolvent, making it more susceptible to attacks. Being under Mughal suzerainty earlier, Mysore, in the Nizam's eyes, was a legitimate part of his kingdom.

Hence, began the scramble for power over Mysore between the Peshwa and the Nizam. The French and the English also became a part of this struggle with the involvement of the English during the Second Carnatic War. Nanaraja had approached the English for help. However, loyalty towards the French later, embroiled both the English and the French in the political tussle in Deccan.

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Haider Ali (1760–1782)

Hyder Ali was a great Indian general whose outstanding martial splendour saw him become the factual ruler of the Kingdom of Mysore in south-western India. Haider Ali's father, Fatah Mohammad, belonged to the lineage of Qurush of Mecca, and was an administrative servant in Mysore. From such humble parentage, Haider Ali brought himself into limelight by annexing Devanhalli in 1749 and by raiding Hyderabad and amassing a large booty. Using the looted resources, he strengthened his army. With French aid, Haider Ali trained his troops as well. In 1775, as *faujdar* of Dindigul he brought the Poligars under his control. Soon, with the help of French engineers, he set up an arsenal.

Subsequently, using the enmity that existed between the Raja of Mysore and Nanajaraja, he took over the reins of administration in his own hands in 1761, making the Raja, a de jure head, who had practically no powers and received a fixed amount as pension. Interestingly, Haider Ali never wanted to proclaim himself with a new title or establish a new dynasty as an independent ruler. Even the term 'Sultan', in the name of his son and successor Tipu Sultan, did not denote any title, but was a part of the name.

In 1760, Haider Ali was defeated by the Marathas. He could only establish himself firmly after the Battle of Panipat, where the Marathas faced a humiliating defeat. During the period between 1764 and 1776, Haider Ali was engaged in constant wars with the Marathas, whom he managed to appease by offering a huge booty or by granting territories.

However, post 1776, Haider Ali retrieved all lands granted earlier, and brought under his sway the strategically significant areas lying in the Krishna–Tungabhadra Doab. His stance posed to be most challenging to the English. He overwhelmed the English in the First Anglo–Mysore War (1767–69) with the help of the French and the Nizam and in 1769 compelled them to draw an embarrassing pact with him. During the Second Anglo–Mysore War (1780–84) he faced the English with a combined army comprising the Nizam and the Maratha forces. In 1782, Arcot was annexed by Haider after crushing the English forces. However, on 7 December 1782 Haider Ali died during the course of the war. His son Tipu Sultan took over the reins of Mysore to fulfill his father's unaccomplished mission and carried on fighting against the English.

Tipu Sultan (1782–1799)

The eldest son of Hyder Ali, Tipu ascended the throne on his father's death in 1782, following the Second Mysore War. The Second Anglo–Mysore War, which was prolonged further under Tipu Sultan's leadership, finally ended in 1784 when both parties had been waned of their resources. The Treaty of Mangalore was drawn in March 1784, and both parties agreed to compensate each other for the losses suffered.

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Under Tipu Sultan, Mysore's hegemony increased further; this caused its foes, the Marathas and the Nizam, to ally against him. But, showing his astounding military skills, Tipu Sultan resisted such attempts and defeated them. This in turn prompted the Marathas and the Nizam to look for help from the English, who wanted to take revenge of their earlier defeat. This culminated into the Third Anglo–Mysore War (1790–92). With the cooperation of the Marathas and the Nizam, the English proceeded to Srirangapatnam.

Despite putting up a fierce resistance, Tipu Sultan failed to quell the combined forces for long. The Treaty of Srirangapatnam was signed in March 1792, owing to which Tipu Sultan had to give away more than fifty per cent of his kingdom. In 1799, with the conclusion of the Fourth Anglo–Mysore War, Tipu Sultan lost his suzerainty completely. The Fourth Anglo–Mysore War was triggered by English accusations against Tipu of having conspired with the Marathas and the Nizam to launch an attack against the English in India. They claimed that to attain his goal, Tipu had sent embassies to Arabia, Afghanistan, the French in Mauritius and to Versailles.

Lord Wellesley as Governor-General of India became increasingly concerned at Tipu Sultan's growing power and acquisitions. Though Tipu had put up a brave resistance against the English, he lost his life in May 1799 during the course of the war. With Tipu's demise, Mysore lost its autonomy and the English finally became successful in ousting their most formidable foe. The East India Company captured larger portions of Mysore state. Following Lord Wellesley's subsidiary alliance, a minor from the Hindu royal family was put on the throne of Mysore.

Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan were remarkable rulers of the second half of 18th century. They were benevolent and allowed the practice of all religions. As the Peshwa remained subordinate to Shahu and accepted the latter as the *de jure* head of the state, so also Haider Ali refrained from assuming any title. However, in 1786, Tipu Sultan proclaimed himself to be the Sultan after dethroning the king. Coins belonging to Haider and Tipu's regime show images of Hindu deities and refer to the Hindu calendar, which reflect on the tolerant attitude of the rulers.

Jagadguru Shankaracharya of Sringeri was greatly regarded by Tipu Sultan and the latter had even provided monetary aid for the restoration of temples. Being competent rulers Haider and Tipu were also great patrons of architecture. It is interesting to note that Tipu Sultan even tried to restructure his administration according to the Western model, a novel step initiated for the first time by an Indian ruler. He considered the Almighty to be the real sovereign for whom his subjects had complete faith. He encouraged trade, both internal and foreign. He looked after the welfare of the peasants. He was fair and just with judicial disputes. Office holders in his administration were selected because of their merit and not owing to their lineage to a particular social strata, race or religion. Hence, the dynamism of the reign of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan has left a permanent mark in the history of India as no other sovereign of the period showed such vibrancy.

First Anglo-Mysore War (1767–1769)

To oust Haider Ali, the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Marathas joined hands with the English. This led to the First Anglo-Mysore War (1767–1769). The key factors that led to the war are listed below.

- Haider Ali's desire to oust the English from the Carnatic and establish his suzerainty, and the English apprehension of him being an obstacle to their imperial designs.

- The formation of a coalition among the English the Nizam and the Marathas to expel Haider Ali.
- Haider Ali's proclamation of war against the English after being able to split the tripartite coalition formed against him.

Being a competent general and an astute diplomat, Haider Ali was able to rupture the coalition formed against him. Following his instructions, Tipu Sultan paid a visit to the Nizam and appeased him by addressing him at the Nizam's court as Nasib-ud-daulah (the Fortune of the State) and Fateh Ali Khan Bahadur. Tipu always provided with the necessary aid whenever required. In Tiruvannamalai, when Haider was embroiled in a difficult situation Tipu saved his father. Their combined efforts won them the forts of Tirupattur and Vaniyambadi. With the annexation of Mangalore by Tipu, Haider drove out the English from the Malabar Coast. This crystallized into the signing of the Treaty of Madras between the English and Haider Ali, whereby the English had to comply with Haider's demands.

Treaty of Madras (1769)

The signatories of this treaty were Haider Ali and the East India Company with its allies – the Raja of Tanjore and the sovereign of Malabar. The clauses of the treaty were as follows:

- Apart from Karur and its districts, which would remain with the ruler of Mysore, the other annexed territories would be restored back.
- Each party to the treaty was to be mutually responsible to help each other if attacked. Prisoners belonging to the Madras government were to be freed by Haider Ali.
- The Raja of Tanjore was to be accepted as friend of Haider Ali.
- The Bombay Presidency and English factories were to get back their trading benefits.

Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780–1784)

The important events that led to the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Mysore War are listed as follows:

- When the Marathas attacked Haider Ali in 1771, the English refused to come to Haider's aid, thereby refuting the clause of mutual assistance as agreed earlier in the Treaty of Madras. The antagonism between the English and the French during the American War of Independence was extended to the Indian soil. As Haider was an ally of the French, the hostility against the French was directed against Haider too. Mahe, a French settlement in Haider Ali's territories, was captured by the English.
- Haider Ali created anti-English coalition with the Nizam and Marathas in 1779.

The attack on Mahe by the English triggered the Second Anglo-Mysore war (1780–1784). Haider and Tipu immediately proceeded to strike Arcot, the capital of Carnatic, to oust the English from the Carnatic, and simultaneously attacked Porto Novo where the offensive was led by Karim, Haider's second son. At Perambakkam, where Tipu disrupted the troops led by Baillie, the English suffered defeat. Tipu's constant assaults on Baillie's troops, prevented the latter from reaching and annexing Conjeeveram.

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When Tipu advanced his offensive against Baillie, the latter mistook Tipu's extremely disciplined infantry to be English troops, headed by Hector Munro, sent to his aid. At the end, Baillie had no option but to accept defeat. Thomas Munro had commented that Baillie's defeat was 'the severest blow that the English ever sustained in India.'

However, Haider had made a slight miscalculation. While Tipu was fighting Baillie, if he had ousted Munro too, he could have also captured Madras. But he sent Tipu armed with a small contingent after Munro. Such was the progress of events in the earlier half of September 1780. Thereafter, Tipu made a series of annexations: Arcot, Satghur, Ambar and Tiagar forts. His plan to advance to Wandiwash was marred when he learned about Haider's defeat at Porto Novo.

After ousting Col. Braithwaite at Tanjore in February 1782, Tipu, with French assistance, proceeded to annex the Malabar Coast, but knowing about his father's death, he had to withdraw. On 7 December 1782, Haider Ali died at Narasingarayanpet near Chittoor. It is believed that he died from multiple carbuncles. To prevent any outbreak of any possible rebellion in the army, his death was not declared till the time Tipu arrived. Tipu became Haider's successor to a huge empire that stretched from river Krishna in the north to Travancore and Tinnevely in the south, Eastern Ghats in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west. He declared himself as Nawab Tipu Sultan Bahadur. After consolidating his newly acquired empire, he resumed the Anglo-Mysore War. However, in 1784, the parties of the war were too tired to continue further. They understood the need to conclude a peaceful treaty and concluded the Treaty of Mangalore on 11 March 1784.

Treaty of Mangalore (1784)

The Treaty of Mangalore was signed between Tipu Sultan and the British East India Company on 11 March 1784. It was signed in Mangalore and brought an end to the Second Anglo-Mysore War.

The terms of the treaties were as follows:

- None of the parties could offer direct or indirect help to the foes of any party to the treaty. Neither could they declare war against any of the allies of the parties to the treaty. Apart from restoring the former trading benefits granted by Haider Ali in 1770 to the Company, no further privileges were to be given.
- Except the Amboorgur and Satgur forts, the parties acceded to grant the territories back. Tipu also promised to refrain from raising any cause of contention over the Carnatic. Around 1,680 captives of war were to be freed by Tipu.
- Tipu consented to reinstate all benefits enjoyed by the Company until 1779 as well as the factory at Calicut.

In return, Tipu Sultan gained back all territories, which he had lost to the English during the war. Both sides mutually agreed to refrain from helping each other's foes, directly or indirectly, or to declare war against their allies. Owing to this clause, the Treaty of Salbai became inconsequential.

Consequence: For Tipu, the Treaty of Mangalore was a great diplomatic feat. The treaty was beneficial for the English who signed it when they realized that they could not afford to continue with the war further. With this treaty, Tipu got an opportunity to strengthen his position, and look into the organization of the administrative machineries and army. He emulated his administrative structure on the Mughal and Western models

and named it Sarkar-i-Khudadad (Government given by God). As Dodwell observes, 'Tipu was the first Indian sovereign to seek to apply western methods to his administration'.

Third Anglo-Mysore War (1790–1792)

Pursuing his father's dream of gaining control over southern India, in 1789, Tipu struck Travancore. This aroused Cornwallis' apprehensions of affecting British interests. Even the Marathas and the Nizam were more skeptical about Mysore's annexation policies than that of the English. Fear of Tipu became the common ground for the English, Marathas and Nizam for forging a coalition against him. In 1790, the English planned a three-pronged attack and advanced towards Mysore. General Medows headed the army towards Coimbatore, while another brigade proceeded towards the Malabar Coast. However, seeing Tipu's prompt defensive measures, Lord Cornwallis decided to head the English troops. After annexing Bangalore, Cornwallis proceeded to Srirangapattinam. Though Tipu had managed to put the English forces under pressure by cutting off their food supplies, the Marathas rescued the latter by providing them with large quantities of grain. When the English occupied Srirangapattinam in January 1792, Tipu had got no other option but to agree to the Treaty of Srirangapattinam (23 February 1792).

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Causes of Third Anglo-Mysore War

The key factors that led to the Third Anglo–Mysore War are listed as follows:

- Tipu's accomplishment in consolidating his empire internally through several reforms made his stance against the other powers more formidable
- Tipu's policy of annexation posed a serious threat to the British, Nizam and Marathas
- Tipu's plans to seek the help of France and Turkey against the British as evident by the envoys he sent to these countries posed a direct threat to British interests
- Tipu's policy of annexation, incorporating the territories of his neighbouring kingdoms, namely, the kingdom of the Raja of Travancore, an ally of the British (1789), aroused British apprehensions.

Treaty of Srirangapatna

The parties to the treaty were Tipu Sultan and the English along with their allies. The terms of the treaty are listed as follows:

- Former treaties between the English and the sovereigns of Mysore were reaffirmed.
- Fifty per cent of Tipu's territories were to be distributed among the allies of the British.
- Tipu had to pay three crores and thirty lakh rupees, in gold or bullions, as indemnity. Out of this amount, a crore and sixty-five lakh rupees, had to be paid immediately, while the remaining amount could be paid in three installments, within the span of a year.
- All captives of war were to be freed.
- Till the time, the treaty was completely realized, Tipu's two sons, Abdul Khaliq (eight years) and Muiz-ud-din (five years old), to remain in English custody. Both of them were looked after well and it is believed that Cornwallis had even gifted them gold watches.

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The main cause of Tipu Sultan's failure was that he had three foes that had to keep under control individually. If Tipu were given the task of only tackling the English, he would have been successful. Such an assumption is confirmed by Cornwallis' comment, 'Tipu's looties were the best troops in the world for they were always doing something to harass their enemies' and Munro's observation that 'Cornwallis could not have reduced Tipu without the assistance of the Marathas.'

Another reason for Tipu's failure lay in the fact that he was stronger in his offensive attacks than in his defensive actions. Hence he remained unsuccessful in defending Bangalore and Srirangapattinam. Also, had he decided to proceed beyond Arikere on 15 May 1791 after defeating the English troops and taking advantage of their weakness he would have inflicted formidable damage to them. Even Haider Ali had made a similar miscalculation during the Second Anglo-Mysore War. However, it must be noted that the European army was generally superior to the Tipu's forces as they had access to more advanced military equipments and had a more structured military organization.

Despite having modernized their troops Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan failed to raise an equally strong infantry and artillery as possessed by the English army. The English enjoyed the advantage of getting constant supplies of men, money and material from England, as well as from the Nizam and the Marathas. However, Tipu had to constantly struggle to maintain his supplies of recruits and money as they were often disrupted by Maratha incursions. Overcoming all such drawbacks, Tipu had faced the English and their allies bravely and had kept them at bay for almost two years. Even after the Treaty of Srirangapattinam, his indomitable spirit could not be dampened. The English had realized that without surrendering Mysore, they could not become the 'Power Paramount' in India. This led Lord Wellesley, as soon as he became Governor-General, to draw Tipu Sultan into the Subsidiary Alliance, and Tipu's reluctance perpetuated the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War (March–May 1799).

Fourth Anglo-Mysore War (March–May 1799)

The primary causes behind Fourth Anglo-Mysore War have been listed below:

- Tipu Sultan's determination to win back his lost territories and his ability to make Mysore regain its strength
- Tipu's attempts to obtain aid from France and the Muslims of Arabia, Kabul and Turkey to oust the English from India
- Lord Wellesley's firm plan to eliminate all possibilities of attack from Mysore permanently

By forging a neutral pact with its allies against Tipu, the English again followed a three-pronged offensive: one under General Harris, the second led by General Stewart, and the third headed by Arthur Wellesley marched from three different directions on Tipu's kingdom.

Stewart defeated Tipu Sultan at Sedasere on 8 March while Harris inflicted a crushing blow on 27 March. On 17 April Srirangapattinam was besieged and Mir Sadiq, betrayed Tipu and allowed the English to attack the fort. Despite putting up a brave fight, Tipu was killed on 4 May 1799. Lord Wellesley succeeded in imposing the subsidiary alliance by placing Krishnaraja, a descendant of the Woodeyar dynasty on the throne.

Check Your Progress

6. When did Lord Wellesley come to India?
7. How did Dalhousie annex Awadh?
8. What are the factors that led to the first Anglo-Mysore war in 1767?
9. Who all signed the Treaty of Mardas?
10. When did Haider Ali die?
11. Who succeeded Tipu after his death?

2.5 SUMMARY

- The war of succession after Shah Jahan was a fierce battle waged by the sons of the royal leader—Shah Shuja, Dara Shikoh, Aurangzeb and Murad—in order to seize the Mughal throne.
- Aurangzeb was the son of Shah Jahan and he ascended the throne as the sixth Mughal Emperor in AD1658.
- Aurangzeb believed that all Mughal rulers who ruled prior to him committed one blunder—they did not try to establish the supremacy of Islam in India.
- His religious intolerance was reflected in a number of ways. He stopped celebrating the Hindu festivals like Holi and Diwali at the court.
- The first organized revolt of the Hindus against the policy of religious persecution of Aurangzeb was that of the Jats. The Jats under their leader Gokul revolted against his tyranny in AD1669.
- Aurangzeb not only adopted anti-Hindu religious policy, but also an anti-Shia policy as well.
- The Deccan policy of Aurangzeb had political as well as religious purpose. The extension of the Empire was also one of the purposes of adopting this policy.
- Aurangzeb believed that the complete destruction of the states of Bijapur and Golconda was a prior necessity for the destruction of the power of the Marathas in the Deccan.
- At the beginning of the 17th century, most parts of Maharashtra were under the possession of Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and Adil Shah of Bijapur. They took the help of local Marathi speaking people to run their administration.
- Shivaji was the son of Shahji Bhonsle. Shivaji was born in AD 1630 as the second son of Shahji and Jijabai. The early life of Shivaji was led in great simplicity and austerity, influenced by his mother's beliefs.
- Shivaji is famous in Indian history not only as a brave and daring person, a successful general and the founder of an empire, but also as a great administrator and a ruler who had the well wishes of his subjects at heart.
- In AD 1675, Shivaji again started encounters with the Mughals and acquired a lot of booty by defeating the Mughal commander Bahadur Khan.
- As Bengal, in the 18th century, was the most prosperous province, the English East India Company considered it economically and politically extremely lucrative.
- The second half of the 18th century witnessed gradual expansion of the British East India Company's role in North India and this had a strong bearing on the economy and politics of Awadh.
- The enmity between Awadh and the English started in 1764 with the Battle of Buxar.
- Mysore, which lies between the two Ghats—the eastern and western—were ruled by the Wodeyar dynasty.
- Hyder Ali was a great Indian general whose outstanding martial splendour saw him become the factual ruler of the Kingdom of Mysore in south-western India.

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- The eldest son of Hyder Ali, Tipu ascended the throne on his father's death in 1782, following the Second Mysore War. The Second Anglo–Mysore War, which was prolonged further under Tipu Sultan's leadership, finally ended in 1784 when both parties had been waned of their resources.
- Stewart defeated Tipu Sultan at Sedasere on 8 March while Harris inflicted a crushing blow on 27 March. On 17 April Srirangapattinam was besieged and Mir Sadiq, betrayed Tipu and allowed the English to attack the fort.

2.6 KEY TERMS

- **Shias:** Shia Islam is the second largest denomination of Islam, after Sunni Islam. The followers of Shia Islam are called Shi'ites or Shias. The term 'Shia' refers to 'followers of Ali', 'faction of Ali', or 'party of Ali'.
- **Sunni Muslims:** People of the tradition of Muhammad and the community. Sunni Islam is sometimes referred to as the orthodox version of the religion.
- **Peshwas:** The Peshwas were the Brahmin prime ministers to the Marathas who began commanding Maratha armies and later became the de facto rulers of the Maratha Empire.
- **Nyayadhisha:** He was the highest official of judicial department in the Maratha Empire. He heard both the civil and the criminal cases.
- **Chauth:** A tax or tribute imposed from early 18th century by the Maratha Empire.

2.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Aurangzeb was born in AD 1618 at Dohad near Ujjain.
2. The measures of Aurangzeb in accordance with Islam were as follows:
 - (i) Anti-Hindu steps and activities
 - (ii) Jaziya
 - (iii) Removing the Hindus from the government posts
 - (iv) Restriction on the festivals of the Hindus
 - (v) Anti-Shia measures
3. The two factors that contributed to the rise of Maratha power under Shivaji were as follows:
 - (i) The comparatively advantageous position of the Marathas under the Deccan Sultanates
 - (ii) The threat to Bijapur and Golkonda from the annexationist policy of the Mughal Empire
4. The main duties of the *Sare-Naubat* or *Senapati* were recruitment of soldiers, organization of army and maintenance of discipline.
5. The four main sources of revenue under the administration of Shivaji were the land revenue, custom, *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*.
6. Lord Wellesley came to India in 1798.
7. The Nawab of Awadh had many heirs and could not, therefore, be covered by the Doctrine of Lapse. So, Lord Dalhousie accused Nawab Wajid Ali Shah of having

misgoverned his state and of refusing to introduce reforms. His state was, therefore, annexed in 1856.

8. The key factors that led to the first Anglo–Mysore war were:
 - (i) Haider Ali’s desire to oust the English from the Carnatic and establish his suzerainty, and the English apprehension of him being an obstacle to their imperial designs.
 - (ii) The formation of a coalition among the English the Nizam and the Marathas to expel Haider.
 - (iii) Haider’s proclamation of war against the English after being able to split the tripartite coalition formed against him.
9. The signatories of the Treaty of Madras were Haider Ali and the East India Company with its allies, the Raja of Tanjore and the sovereign of Malabar.
10. Haider Ali died on 7 December 1782 at Narasingarayanpet near Chittoor.
11. After Tipu Sultan’s death on 4 May 1799, Lord Wellesley imposed the subsidiary alliance and placed Krishnaraja, a descendant of the Woodeyar dynasty on the throne of Mysore.

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2.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What was the outcome of the Deccan Policy of Aurangzeb?
2. Summarize the various achievements of Aurangzeb.
3. Write about the nature and consequences of various conquests of Aurangzeb with the Marathas.
4. Highlight the important features of Shivaji’s administration.
5. Analyse the military organization adopted by Shivaji.
6. Trace the events that led to the coronation and later the death of Shivaji.
7. Why was Asaf-ud-Daula’s succession a turning point in the history of Awadh?
8. Name the various treaties signed between the Maratha chiefs and the Company.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe the War of Succession after Shah Jahan.
2. Discuss the early career and accession of Aurangzeb.
3. Explain the religious policy of Aurangzeb, with special reference to the revolt by the Jats.
4. Describe the early career and conquests of Shivaji. Add a note on Shivaji’s relations with Aurangzeb.
5. Discuss the events that led to the Third Battle of Panipat. What were the consequences of the battle?
6. Discuss the annexation of Awadh.
7. What led to the second Anglo-Mysore war? What were its consequences?
8. What were the causes of Tipu Sultan’s failure in the late 18th century? Discuss in detail.

2.9 FURTHER READING

NOTES

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UNIT 3 STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY: EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION OF COLONIAL RULE

*Struggle for Supremacy:
Expansion and
Consolidation of
Colonial Rule*

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Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
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 - 3.4.1 Warren Hastings
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- 3.5 Resistance to British Rule: Maharashtra, Punjab, Sindh and Mysore
 - 3.5.1 Maharashtra
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- 3.9 Questions and Exercises
- 3.10 Further Reading

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The 18th century in India was an important period of transition and remains the subject of continuing debate among scholars of late medieval and modern Indian history. The two main debates on the 18th century are the nature of transition from a centralized Mughal polity to the emergence of regional confederations, and the nature of the transformation brought about by the increasing role of the English East India Company in the economic, commercial, and financial life of the subcontinent. We see the rise of a new economic order, and decentralization of political power which went hand-in-hand with a broader localization process.

As you learnt, the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 laid bare a patchwork of several sovereignties, a network of fragmented and layered forms of regional political powers that had been partly masked and managed by the practices of Mughal state and sovereignty. The 18th century was marked by the emergence of regional polities, the so-called successor states like Awadh, Bengal and Hyderabad, although they were politically and financially independent from Mughal state, but always used the Mughal symbols and titles for legitimacy and political stability. It is generally viewed that the East India Company's expansion in India took place due to a power vacuum left after Aurangzeb's death. In the debates of continuity and change, historians have presented enduring

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socio-economic structures such as financial institutions and information networks that emphasize the utility of Indian agents or collaborators in facilitating early company rule.

In this unit, you will get acquainted with the advent of British rule in India, as well as resistance to it.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss various aspects of the Anglo-French rivalry
- Critically analyse the Battle of Plassey
- Describe the system of dual government
- Examine the events that led to the Battle of Buxar
- Identify the key aspects of administration under Warren Hastings
- Explain the system of judicial administration under General Charles Cornwallis
- Describe Lord Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse
- Discuss the struggle of Maharashtra, Punjab, Sindh and Mysore against the British rule

3.2 ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY

Compagnie des Indes was the first French company to establish trading relations with India. Louis XIV, the then king of France, granted authority for this company in 1664. After this, the planning of this French company was done by Colbert, the then finance minister of France.

Under this company, the first factory was established in 1668 at Surat. The founder of the first factory was Coron, a Dutchman in the French Service. The next factory was set up in 1669 at Masulipattinam. In 1674, Pondicherry became their capital. From 1690 to 1692, the French set up one more factory at Chandra Nagar, Bengal on the bank of river Hugli. Mahe (now Malabar) and Karikal (now Coromandel) were acquired by the French in 1725 and 1739 respectively.

The company was given a loan of 3,000,000 livres by the king. For this loan, the king did not charge any interest. The Company had the monopoly for 25 years to conduct trading activities from the Cape of Good Hope to India and the South Seas. Aurangzeb gave a *farmaan* in the favour of the company according to which the company had the permission to conduct trading activities in the Gujarat coast as well.

The English

The Company named 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading in the East Indies' was granted a royal charter by Queen Elizabeth. The company was given rights for carrying out trading activities in the East. Later, the company became popular as the English East India Company.

For many years, the company traded only with Java, Sumatra and the Moluccas. At this time, they dealt only in the trading of spices. In 1608, Captain William Hawkins met Jahangir. He showed him the letter which he brought from James I, King of England.

In this letter, James I had requested Jahangir to allow the English merchant to establish trade in the country. The merchants of Portugal and Surat strongly opposed the establishment of the English merchant in India. Thus, Jahangir had to decline the request of James I.

In 1609, Jahangir gave permission to the English to set up their factory at Surat. The company also received permission from the Sultan of Golkunda to trade in Golkunda. However, for this the sultan made a condition that the company will have to pay fixed custom duty of 500 pagodas per year. In 1651, Nawab Shuja-ud-din permitted the company to continue their trading activities for which the company would be obliged to pay ` 3,000 annually.

In 1656, the English was given the security of trade as well. According to this directive, the English received permission to carry on their import and export activities on land as well water without the need to pay customs or tolls.

In 1691, Ibrahim Khan who was the successor of Shaista Khan issued a *farmaan* in the favour of the English. According to this *farmaan*, the English were given permission to carry out duty free trade, but they were asked to pay ` 3,000 annually. After 1691, the company prospered by leaps and bounds in Bengal. In the year 1696, the company gave an excuse that it is at risk from Sobha Singh, a zamindar of Burdwan as he might rebel against the company. With the help of this excuse, the company got the rights for the fortification of their factory.

The zamindari of three villages: Sutanuti, Govindapur and Kalighata or Kalikata, was given to the English in 1698. In return, they were to pay ` 1,200 to Sabarna Chaudhari who was the zamindar of these three villages before the zamindari was granted to the English. In 1700, a separate President and Council took charge of the factories of Bengal. Also, the English constructed a fort. This fort was named after King William II of England. Later, this fort became the seat of the Council which took charge of the factories. The first President and Governor of this Council was Sir Charles Eyre.

In 1714, the English sent John Surman to the Delhi court to arrange all trading facilities for the East India Company. When he met Emperor Farukhsiyar, the emperor issued a *farmaan* by which the company was granted permission to carry on custom free trade in Bengal, Madras and Bombay. In addition to this, the company was also allowed to mint his own coins.

The French vs The English

In 1749, the French company seemed to a serious rival of the English Company, but it could not survive for a long time due to the following reasons:

- The French Company was controlled by the government, but the government was not too interested in the company's affairs. On the other hand, the English company was a private concern company.
- The English company had more money as compared to the French company. The area of the English trade was also vast.
- The English were strong on the waters as well. They had big ships and their merchants made regular voyage for trading activities.

War between the English and the French

From 1746 to 1763, the English East India Company and French East India Company fought with each other in India. These wars are known as the Carnatic wars. They

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fought with each other in order to get monopoly over trade in India. The Indian rulers, the Mughals, the subedar of Deccan did not participate in these wars.

The First Carnatic War (1746–1748)

The First Carnatic War was directly linked to the events in Europe. The English and French were fighting on the issue of Austria's succession (1740–48). Once the war broke in March 1740, the two companies in India started preparing for it. Dupleix, the French Governor-General in India since 1742, was the first to realize the necessity of obtaining political influence and territorial control. But he had to face many difficulties. The French East India Company was the Government's company which was in trouble. Although the trade of the company had increased in recent past, its expenditure was more than its income. Naturally, it fell into heavy indebtedness. If this was not enough, the rivalry between two senior leaders-Dupleix and La Bourdonnais, worsened the situation for French. La Bourdonnais arrived near Pondicherry in July 1746 with 10 vessels, 406 canons, 2,350 white soldiers and 700 black soldiers. He wanted to act with complete independence, while Governor-General Dupleix considered himself superior.

On September 21, 1746 the French troops, led by La Bourbonnais, captured Madras, an important English trading centre since mid-17th century. Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of Carnatic, sent a large Indian army to drive the French out of Madras. He was 'guided' by the English. In the Battle of St. Thonie (November 4, 1746) situated on the bank of Adyar river, Mahfuz Khan, son of Anwaruddin, was defeated by French captain Paradis. He had less than a thousand soldiers and had to fight 10,000 men. But the disciplined and organized army of the French, led by capable officers, won the battle.

The English on the other hand besieged Pondicherry from 6th September to 15th October 1748. But Dupleix made a strong defense and forced the English to retreat. This triumph of Dupleix made him a known and popular figure in the Indian courts. The war came to an end by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), under which Madras was given back to the English. The French got Quebec (Canada) in exchange of Madras. The English promised not to attack Pondicherry.

The first Carnatic war taught the lesson to the French that a small army of Europeans, aided by Indian troops and trained after the European fashion could easily defeat much larger Indian armies.

To secure political advantages, Dupleix started interfering in the internal matters of Hyderabad and Carnatic. Chin Qilich Khan Nizam-ul-Mulk, the founder of independent Hyderabad kingdom, died in 1748. Dupleix supported Muzaffar Jang, the grandson of Nizam instead of Nasir Jung, the son. The Nawab of Carnatic, Anwaruddin also died in 1749. Dupleix supported Chanda Sahib to the throne of the Carnatic as against Mohammad Ali, the illegitimate son of late Nawab. The English had no other option except to support Nasir Jung for Hyderabad and Mohammad Ali for Carnatic. Thus the war of succession in these two kingdoms led to second Anglo-French War (1749–1754).

The Second Carnatic War (1749–1754)

The war started at the time when the English and French had peace in Europe. This proved that the two were fighting in India for commercial supremacy and not merely because of their traditional rivalry.

On 3 August, 1749, French soldiers with sepoys (from 'Sipahi' of Persian) attacked Arcot in Ambur, the capital of Carnatic. Anwaruddin was killed and his elder son, Mahfuz Khan was captured but his younger son Mohammad Ali Khan Wallajah fled. He took

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shelter at Trichinopoly, proclaimed himself the Nawab of Arcot and received support from the English. Chanda Sahib and the French officer, Jacques Law seized Trichinopoly. At this critical juncture, a young English officer, Robert Clive seized Arcot, the capital of Chanda Sahib on September 11, 1751 with only 200 European soldiers and 300 sepoys. The purpose was to free Trichinopoly from Chanda Sahib's seize. The plan worked and Chanda Sahib had to withdraw his large army from Trichinopoly to lay siege to Arcot to recapture it. Clive and his small army stood the siege for 50 days. Chanda Sahib had to withdraw; later the English defeated him and his Indian allies at several places; he surrendered and was finally executed, the French gave up their entire claim over Carnatic.

However, the French supremacy over Hyderabad continued. Muzaffar Jung was installed as the Nizam and Subedar of the Deccan. In return, the French got command of a vast area from Krishna to Cape Camorin which was the jagir of Valdavur. Though Muzaffar Jung was killed in 1751, his successor Salabat Jung continued his 'friendship' with the French. Bussy, the French officer at Hyderabad, even succeeded in obtaining 'farmaan' from the Mughal emperor Ahmad Shah, confirming Salabat as the ruler of the Deccan.

The failure of the French in Carnatic was a great setback. The French Government, which was always in trouble, could not bear this defeat. So it recalled Dupleix to France in 1754. The Second Carnatic War had ended with English acquiring dominance in Carnatic and French, a place in the Court of Nizam.

The Third Carnatic War (1758–63)

The Third Carnatic War (1758–63) began with the Seven Years' War (1756–63) of Europe. This war was no longer confined to Carnatic. Robert Clive, the English governor of Fort St. David and Lieutenant Colonel seized Chandan Nagar, the French settlement in Bengal in 1757. He was also responsible for the victory against Siraj-ud-daula, the Nawab of Bengal, in the Battle of Plassey (June 23, 1757). Thus, financially, English East India Company was more secured.

However, the most decisive battles of the war were fought in the Carnatic. The French appointed Count de Lally as the new governor of Pondichery. He besieged Fort St. David and captured on 2 June, 1758; also captured Nagur and entered Tanjore. He then attacked Madras where he called Bussy to assist him. This was a blunder because Hyderabad was well under French control. Bussy himself was reluctant to come. The British forced Salabat Jung to cede 80 miles long and 20 miles wide territory to them. After their victory over Plassey, the English troops led by Col. Forde, captured Northern Sarkar (December 1758) and Masulipattinam (April 1759). But the most decisive battle was fought at Wandiwash (January 22, 1760) where Lally was defeated by English troops, led by Eyer Coote. Lally retreated to Pondicherry, which was besieged by the English and Lally was forced to surrender in 1761.

The Seven Years' War ended in 1763 and a treaty was signed at Paris (February 10, 1763). Among other things, it was decided that Pondicherry would go to France along with five trading ports and various factories but merely as a trading centre without any fortification and armies.

Lally, was accused of treason and executed when he returned to France. He was made a scapegoat. It is wrong to blame only Lally for French failure. Though, some of his moves like calling Bussy from Hyderabad (1758)-were blunders but the real reason for French failure lies in the structure of its company and the policies and attitude of the French Government.

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The French East India Company was a state undertaking company whose directors were appointed by the crown. The lethargy and bureaucratic control of this company could be compared to the bureaucratic control of many public sector companies of post Independent India. The English East India Company, on the other hand, was a private undertaking based on free enterprise and individual initiative. It earned profits from the Asian trade and did not depend on the state.

The French could never focus towards India as their priority remained Europe whereas England gave their full attention to the oceans and distant lands, especially India. The French failed to understand the complex political situation of India unlike the British. The French also failed to compete with the English in naval supremacy.

Thus, the third Carnatic war ended the French challenge in India and paved the way for the establishment of the British Empire in India.

Causes for the success of the British against the French

1. The English company was a private enterprise-this created a sense of self-confidence among the people, the French Company was state-owned.
2. Superior geographical position of England in Europe. France had to pay more attention to its border while at war as compared to relative secure position of England.
3. The English navy was superior to the French navy. It helped to cut off the link between the French possessions in India and France.
4. French government never took interest in Indian affairs.
5. The English held three important places i.e. Calcutta, Bombay and Madras whereas the French had only Pondicherry.
6. The French subordinated their commercial interest to territorial ambition, which made the French Company short of funds.

Check Your Progress

1. Name the first French company to establish trading relations with India.
2. Which state became the Dutch capital in India in 1674?
3. Why did Jahangir decline the request of James I to let Captain William Hawkins establish trade in India?
4. In 1691, Ibrahim Khan, who was the successor of Shaista Khan, issued a *farmaan* in favour of the English. What was this *farmaan* all about?

3.3 ADVENT OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

In 1717, the Mughal emperor issued a *farmaan* by which it granted special benefits to the English East India Company, namely, exemption of taxes on goods imported and exported from Bengal. However, this concession did not ensure that they could trade in Bengal without paying any taxes. The Company servants like other Indian traders had to pay taxes. This misinterpretation of the *farmaan* became a constant cause of dispute between the nawabs of Bengal and the Company. All the nawabs of Bengal, beginning from Murshid Quli Khan to Alivardi Khan, refused to sympathize with the Company's misconstrued explanation of the *farmaan* and even forced them to pay a huge amount as indemnity if they used the *dastaks* wrongly.

In 1741, when Muhammad Shah Rangila was the Mughal sovereign, Alivardi Khan, the governor of Bengal, announced himself independent and established his capital at Murshidabad. In 1756, with Alivardi's demise, and in the absence of any rightful successor, several factions vied with each other to make their chosen candidate the Nawab of Bengal. Though Alivardi wanted his grandson, Siraj-ud-Daulah, son of his youngest daughter, to acquire the nawabship, the latter's succession to the throne was not accepted by other contenders, such as Shaukat Jang (*faujdar* of Purnea) and Ghasiti Begam, eldest daughter of Alivardi. In the wake of increasing court intrigues, the English

East India Company took the opportunity to win factions in their favour and work against the Nawab, and thereby lead to a headlong confrontation with the Nawab.

As Bengal, in the 18th century, was the most prosperous province, the English East India Company considered it economically and politically, extremely lucrative. Hence, it is natural that they wanted to consolidate their position further in Bengal. They wanted to base their operations in Calcutta. There were other European contenders too in Bengal, namely, the Dutch, having their factory at Chinsura, and the French with their factory at Chandernagor.

Siraj-ud-Daulah became the Nawab of Bengal in 1756. Apart from having several foes in the family who were not happy with the succession, he was immature and lacked adequate skills to tackle the situation. In the South, the English East India Company and the French were vying against each other. Without seeking Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah's consent, the English began to build fortifications in Calcutta. They even chose to disregard the Nawab's order to curtail augmentation of their military resources and abuse the use of *dastaks* granted to them by the *farmaan* of 1717. Also, Company servants began misusing the concessions granted by the *farmaan* of 1717 by extending the privileges over their private trade too. Causing further economic loss to Bengal, the officials began to profit by selling off the *dastaks* to the Indian merchants. Another cause of discontentment towards the English for Siraj was their conscious move to give protection to Siraj's foe Krishna Das, son of Raja Rajballava.

The Battle of Plassey (1757)

To punish the highhandedness of the Company, Siraj-ud-Daulah retaliated by striking Calcutta on 16 June 1756 and bringing it under his sway by 20 June 1756. The English were caught unawares and the Nawab's huge force was no match to their troops. Most Englishmen escaped to Fulda, only twenty miles down the Hoogly, and the rest were held back as prisoners.

It was Siraj's folly to have allowed the English to flee to Fulda and not annihilate them entirely from Fulda. Again, after capturing Calcutta, he did not attempt to consolidate his position and ensure its defense from any counter attack. Such errors are seldom overlooked in history. In January 1757, the English troops, headed by Robert Clive and Watson, attacked Calcutta and recaptured it. Siraj-ud-Daulah was compelled to consent to the Treaty of Alinagar (as Calcutta was renamed in 9 February 1757), agree to all their claims. Having strengthened their position, the English wanted to embarrass the Nawab further and in March 1757, they sent their troops to strike at the French settlement at Chandernagor.

As Siraj wanted to seek French support in his fight against the English, he requested Clive to refrain from aggression towards the French. This prompted Clive to conspire against the Nawab and ally with those in the court and army who were dissatisfied with Siraj's succession to the throne, namely, Mir Jafar, Mir Bakshi, Jagath Seth and Amin Chand.

Owing to the betrayal of Mir Jafar and Rai Durlab, Siraj, despite being armed with a huge contingent, was defeated by the small army of English soldiers under Robert Clive in the Battle of Plassey (23 June 1757). Siraj-ud-Daulah was held captive and finally was killed by Mir Jafar's son Miran. Clive placed Mir Jafar on the throne of Bengal. In lieu of nawabship, Mir Jafar had to pay a huge sum to the English, and part with the 24 Parganas. The enormity of the wealth looted from Bengal can be gauged by the fact that almost 300 boats were required to carry the spoils to Fort William.

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The Battle of Plassey was not a battle in the real sense, as the Nawab's army was headed by Mir Jaffer and Rai Durlabh, who had shifted their allegiance towards the English and made no effort to contest the English troops. As demands for more presents and bribes from the Company's servants increased, the coffers of Mir Jafar soon became barren. When Mir Jafar became unable to meet the Company's expectations any further, the English replaced him by his son-in-law Mir Qasim. The newly appointed nawab won the favour of the English by granting them the zamindari of the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong and rewarding them with expensive gifts.

Consequences of Plassey

According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, an eminent historian, 23 June 1757, marked the end of the medieval period in India and the beginning of the modern period. Retrospectively speaking, in the years following Plassey (1757–76), that not even covered a single generation, one notices the waning out of the medieval practice of theocratic rule, which can be considered as a fallout of the Battle.

The Company's resident at the Nawab's *darbar*, Luke Sraffton, in his observations on post-Plassey Bengal had commented, 'The general idea at this time entertained by the servants of the Company was that the battle of Plassey did only restore us to the same situation we were in before the capture of Calcutta (by Siraj-ud-Daulah); the *Subah* (*subedar*) was conceived to be as independent as ever, and the English returned into their commercial character...' This observation overlooks the fact that most of the restrictions inflicted on the nawab post Plassey had been already been enforced on Mir Jafar in a treaty signed (5 June 1757) before the onset of the battle.

However, Plassey did not make the English the rightful legal rulers of Bengal. The Supreme Court of Calcutta even pointed out that apart from those living in Calcutta, other English officials were not British subjects. Thus, post Plassey, the English did not shed their 'commercial character'. This was all the more evident when the English won the Battle of Buxar (1764). However, the commercial activities of the English were gradually becoming political as Clive, determined to yield more benefits, pressurized the meek puppet nawab, Mir Jafar, to concede more privileges. During this period, the Marathas also suffered a crushing defeat at Panipat and the French underwent heavy losses owing to a shipwreck in South India, thereby leaving no serious contenders to challenge the English in Bengal.

After Plassey, it was quite unexpected that the Marathas would be routed, or the French would be subdued, thereby allowing the English to gain control over Bengal. It was the event of the next ten years that turned paramount influence into a new regime.

The English obtained a few immediate military and commercial benefits after Plassey. They worked their way to consolidate their position politically in the 'three provinces abounding in the most valuable production of nature and art'. Their confidence got further boosted when the French were ousted from Bengal. They took this opportunity to consolidate their position in the south. In fact, foreseeing perhaps the potentials of the English, Clive had advised Pitt the Elder, a prominent member of the King's government in London, to request the Crown to take over direct control over Bengal and lay the foundation of the British Empire.

3.3.1 Dual Government

In Bengal's history, the Treaty of Allahabad (1765) is extremely significant as it ushered in a new administrative mechanism, which laid down the foundation of the British

administrative system in India. Hence, the Nawab's administrative powers were clipped, bringing in a new mechanism of power devoid of responsibility and vice versa.

We need to understand the meaning of the *diwani* and *nizamat* functions to understand the dual system of government better. The provincial administration in the Mughal period was divided into two levels: the *nizamat* (military defense, police and administration of justice) functions which were looked after by *subedar* or governor and his officials, and the *diwani* affairs (management of revenues and finances) which were handled by another similar set of officials under another *subedar*. These officers were answerable to the central government and they kept a check on each other. Murshid Quli was in charge of Bengal, when Aurangzeb died.

By signing the treaty of Allahabad (with Shah Alam II), the English obtained *diwani* and *nizamat* rights in lieu of ` 26 lakh as annual pension and ` 53 lakh, respectively. However, the Company had received the *diwani* rights from the Mughal emperor and the *nizamat* powers from the nawab. In a treaty signed earlier in February 1765 with Nawab Najm-ud-Daulah, the Company had already secured all *nizamat* powers, including military, defence and foreign affairs. Though the Company kept all administrative matters under his control, the *diwani* and the *nizamat* operations were handled by its Indian representatives. As this administrative mechanism involved both the Nawab and the Company, it is referred as the Dual or double Government of Bengal.

The Dual Government had badly affected the administration. While there was no discipline and order, trade and commerce suffered, and merchants almost became paupers, thriving industries, such as of silk and textiles, collapsed, agriculture was evaluated by the Company to be unyielding and thereby, peasants were subjected to dire poverty. The outbreak of the great famine of 1770 reflected the flaws of the Company's indirect governing policy. Around 10 million people lost their lives in the famine, which meant almost a third of the population of Bengal and Bihar. However, during this period of utter distress when the people in desperation were even feeding on the dead to survive, Company's servants and *gomastas* continued with their illegal private trade. While exercising monopoly over the obtainable grain, they even seized the seeds to be used for successive harvests from the peasants.

The Company, under Cartier's governorship (1769–1772), chose to overlook the high mortality and the reduction of cultivable land, granted absolutely no remittance on land revenue, instead increased it by 10 per cent for the following year.

The high mortality rate affected the obtainable quantum of production from agriculture and seriously upset the economic well-being of the province. As the revenue-paying capacity dwindled, the zamindars failed to collect adequate revenue. This in turn had an impact on the Company's income and as it lost its cultivators and artisans.

East India Company as Sovereign Ruler of Bengal

Clive's Dual Government proved to be a complete failure. In 1772, Warren Hastings became the governor of Bengal, and embarked upon an offensive plan that would remove 'the mask of Mughal sovereignty' from the soil of Bengal, and make the English the rightful rulers. The Company servants were made responsible for dual administration. The Nawab practically had no share in administration. The pension granted to Shah Alam II was discontinued and he was compelled to part with Allahabad and Kora, which were sold out to shuja-ud-Daulah.

In this way, within a span of two decades, the reins of Bengal's administration passed over to the Company. Unfortunately, under Company rule, the most prosperous

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and industrially developed province soon became steeped in abject poverty and suffering that became augmented in the wake of famines and epidemics. Gaining control over Bengal, the English had become successful in founding a colonial empire and fulfill its imperial designs.

3.3.2 Battle of Buxar

The Battle of Buxar (1764) was fought between the forces under the command of the British East India Company led by Hector Munro, and the combined armies of Mir Qasim, the Nawab of Bengal; Shuja-ud-Daula the Nawab of Awadh; and the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II.

When Robert Clive and his Company officials had emptied the Nawab's treasures completely, they thought Mir Jafar to be incapable of yielding any further benefits. Few English officials like Holwel were lobbying against Mir Jafar. Mir Qasim, son-in-law of Mir Jafar replaced him as nawab on 27 September 1760. As rewards of his nawabship, Mir Qasim had to concede Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagaon to the East India Company. He shifted the capital to Munger. Though during the initial years, he accepted British domination, however, the increasing misuse of the *dastaks* by the Company servants and the consequent losses to the treasury exasperated him to abolish the *dastak* system and exempt duties on trade for all. This precipitated the deposition of Mir Qasim, with Mir Jafar being reinstated to nawabship. Mir Qasim planned an offensive at Buxar (22 October 1764) against the English by allying with Shah Alam II, the Mughal king and Shuja-ud-Daulah, the Nawab of Awadh. However, the joint forces of the Indian sovereigns could not win against the well-trained and regulated English troops, armed with advanced ammunitions. The failure at Buxar made it evident that India lacked in industrial and technological development.

After reinstating Mir Jafar to the throne of Bengal, the English negotiated a treaty with Shah Alam at Allahabad in 1765 by which the latter conceded *diwani* rights to the Company in lieu of a pension of ` 26 lakhs from the Company and ` 53 lakhs from the Nawab of Bengal. Shuja-ud-Daulah, who was a party to the same treaty had to agree to give Allahabad and Kara to the Mughals as well as part with the zamindari of Banaras to Balwant Rai, who was an English loyalist.

In Bengal, between 1765 and 1772, an innovative governing machinery, the dual system of administration, was introduced. With the Company's consent, the Nawab appointed Raja Shitab Rai and Reza Khan as deputy *diwans*, who in actual terms were delegated to work for the English rather than the Nawab. By acquiring the *diwani* rights (authority of revenue collection), the Company virtually became the de facto power, while the Nawab remained the titular head responsible for civil and criminal administration. The inhabitants of the region suffered the most through this arrangement. To understand the motive behind such a decision, it may be reasoned out that this system of administration reflected the Company's inexperience in matters related to administration, as the Company was essentially a trading body.

Since 1765, the Company became the actual sovereign of Bengal, gaining exclusive rights over all military and political affairs. The Nawab was made responsible for the defense of the British, within and outside Bengal. The East India Company exercised direct control over *diwani* functions, which gave them the right to collect the revenues of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Company had indirect hold over the *nizamat* functions, namely, judicial and police rights, also possessing the right to nominate the deputy subedar.

Political Implications of the Battle of Buxar

The Battle of Buxar established British control over Bengal. Buxar revealed the political and military shortfalls of the Indian rulers and the decadence of the Mughal Empire. With increasing intrigues and factionalism at the Nawab's court, and with vested interests coming into play, corruption increased and Company officials like Clive used the opportunity to become wealthy. The Treaty of Allahabad signed by Shuja-ud-Daulah and Shah Alam II with the English granted the latter the right to trade freely in Awadh. Moreover, the English possessed the right to station an army at Awadh, which were to be maintained by Shuja-ud-Daulah. In lieu of transferring the *diwani* rights over Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the English, Shah Alam II received Kora and Allahabad and an annual pension of ₹ 26 lakhs.

Consequences of the Battle of Buxar

Though the Battle of Buxar was precipitated by the alliance drawn by Mir Qasim with Shuja-ud-Daulah and thereby had caused political repercussions in Bengal, Mir Qasim's decision to break up the alliance even before Munro's attack, saved him. It appears that Shuja-ud-Daulah was the most affected by the defeat at Buxar, making him a nominal power. The influential position that he held in North India got curbed overnight. To get back his lost prestige, he tried to annex Varanasi, Chunar and Allahabad, but could not progress further when his troops abandoned him. Trying to launch another offensive against the English, he went from place to place to ally with other powers. He even sought shelter from the Ruhelas and Bangash Afghans, who had been traditional enemies of his family. However, with all his attempts becoming futile, he surrendered to the English in May 1765 and sought shelter. Prior to Shuja's surrender, Shah Alam had accepted the English supremacy and remained under their protection.

Militarily Buxar was very significant for the English. The English victory at Plassey was not entirely commendable as Siraj suffered defeat when his generals betrayed him. However, there was no instance of betrayal at Buxar. The English troops emerged victorious defeating an experienced politically influential personality like Shuja. After having established their position in Bengal, Buxar laid out the path for British supremacy over north India.

Treaty of Allahabad

In May 1765, Clive was entrusted the governorship of Bengal for the second time. The Company officials were looking for the appropriate means to tackle Shuja and Shah Alam. There were no further annexation plans with regard to Shuja's territories, which was already under the sway of the English forces. The newly acquired responsibility of governing both Awadh and Allahabad prompted the English to look for innovative designs.

According to the Treaty of Allahabad, the concluding agreement drawn with Shuja-ud-Daulah, (16 August 1765), the territories earlier belonging to Shuja, except Allahabad and Kora, were given back. Shah Alam was given Allahabad and Kora. Also, Shuja was assured regular revenue payment from his zamindari of Varanasi, which was presented by the English to Balwant Singh for having helped them during Buxar. In this way, the Company established 'Perpetual and universal peace, sincere friendship and firm union' with the Nawab. It was also agreed that if a third party attacked any one of the powers, the other party to the Treaty would assist him in ousting the intruder by sharing his troops

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totally or partially. The Nawab had to bear the expenses of the Company's army if it assisted the Nawab. However, it is not clear if the Company met the expenses of the Nawab's army when the Company used its services. Also, the Nawab had to pay ` 50 lakh as compensation for the war, and grant permission to the Company to continue duty-free trade in his territories.

The Puppet Nawabs of Bengal

Post-Buxar, Mir Jafar was reinstated to the throne of Bengal by the English. By agreeing to reduce his troops, Mir Jafar had curbed the military powers of the nawab further. He was unable to bring in any formidable political or administrative changes in Bengal at this stage because he had a very weak personality and had developed a negative approach considering the unpleasant political situation he had to tackle and his ailment (believed to be suffering from leprosy). The English success at Buxar, followed by Mir Jafar's demise sealed the fate of the nawabs in Bengal and laid the foundation of the British empire in Bengal.

The Company made Najm-ud-Daulah, Mir Jafar's minor son, the nawab and signed a treaty with him that made the throne completely subservient to the English. Muhammad Reza Khan was appointed deputy governor by the nawab under English directives. Khan looked after the entire administration, and he could only be replaced with the approval of the governor and Council. The governor and Council's approval were also essential while appointing or removing revenue collectors.

Subsequently, the Nawab's status deteriorated further. After resuming for his second term of governorship in May 1765, Clive pressurized Najm-ud-Daulah to grant all the revenues to the Company in exchange of an annual pension of ` 50 lakh. When Najm-ud-Daulah died in 1766, he was succeeded by his minor brother Saif-ud-Daulah, who was granted a pension of ` 12 lakh only. Before his death (1770), he had signed a treaty with the English in 1766 by which he had granted all matters related to the administration and protection of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the English.

The pension amount was further reduced to ` 10 lakh when Najm-ud-Daulah was succeeded by his minor brother Mubarak-ud-Daulah. That the powers of the nawabs had been completely curbed is evident from the following comment made by a judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta in 1775 regarding the status of the nawab and calling him as 'a phantom, a man of straw'.

Check Your Progress

5. What was the outcome of the dual government?
6. Identify the warring sides in the Battle of Buxar.
7. Outline the political implications of the Battle of Buxar.
8. What were the consequences of the Battle of Buxar?

3.4 HASTINGS, CORNWALLIS, WELLESLEY AND DALHOUSIE

Let us now study the efforts taken by the following British Governor Generals of India.

3.4.1 Warren Hastings

Working as an administrative clerk in the East India Company, Warren Hastings reached Calcutta in 1750. He gradually climbed up the ladder and was appointed as the President of Kasimbazar, by Governor of Bengal in 1772. Later, he became Governor General of Bengal in 1774 under the Regulating Act.

Administrative reforms

Warren Hastings embarked upon the task of initiating the following administrative measures:

- **Setting up a Board of Revenue at Calcutta:** Replacing the *diwans*, a Board of Revenue was created at Calcutta. It was entrusted with the task of overseeing the collection of land revenue.
- **Appointment of English collectors:** Revenue was to be collected by English collectors directly chosen by him.
- **Transfer of treasury from Murshidabad to Calcutta:** Bengal became the administrative capital when the coffer was shifted to Calcutta.
- **Reorganization of the Nawab's affairs:** Munni Begum, the widow of Mir Jaffer was given the responsibility to supervise household affairs and become the regent to the minor Nawab.
- **Stoppage of tribute to Shah Alam:** Hastings discontinued the payment of pension to Shah Alam II.
- **Reduction of pension of the Nawab of Bengal:** The pension to the Nawab of Bengal was decreased to ₹ 16 lakh.

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Judicial reforms

The judicial reforms, initiated by Hastings include:

- Clipping judicial powers of zamindars
- Setting up civil and criminal courts in every district
- Creating the Sadar Diwani Adalat
- Writing out judicial proceedings
- Selecting the Indian judges in criminal courts
- Changes initiated in existing rules and laws wherever deemed necessary
- Meting out justice to Muslims as per the Quran, and insisting on following the *shastras* to settle matters related to marriage, succession and religion

Financial reforms

To improve the financial status of the Company, at a time when the treasury was almost bare and the Company was compelled to take loans, Hastings introduced the following measures:

- In lieu of a payment of ₹ 30 lakhs, the districts of Kara and Allahabad were sold to Shuja-ud-Daulah—Nawab of Awadh.
- The annual tribute to the Nawab of Bengal was reduced to ₹ 16 lakhs from ₹ 32 lakhs.
- To enhance the financial position of the Company, he wanted to develop trade relations with Bhutan and Tibet where he sent a mission.
- When Shah Alam sought Maratha protection, he stopped the payment of the annual pension of ₹ 25 lakh payable to him.

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- In lieu of the district of Benaras and a sum of ₹ 40 lakh, he agreed to assist Shuja-ud-Daulah.
- To reduce expenditure the amount of money given as pension to Company servants were reduced.
- Currency was regularized.
- Unyielding offices were closed to minimize expenditure.

Revenue reforms

The following revenue reforms were proposed by Hastings:

- British land revenue collectors were directly chosen by him to collect land revenue and execute the reforms.
- The Board of Revenue at Calcutta was appointed to supervise land revenue administration.
- The Quinquennial land revenue system was initiated.
- To help the members of the Revenue Board, local officers called *Rai Rayan*, were appointed.
- The Quinquennial system was replaced by the one-year settlement which was decided in favour of the highest bidder.
- Understanding the sufferings of the people, other taxes were removed, but land revenue was collected at a set rate.

Commercial reforms

Hastings introduced the following commercial reforms:

- **Decreasing customs duties:** Apart from salt, betel nut and tobacco, duties on all goods were decreased by 2.5 per cent. Both locals and Europeans had to pay customs duties.
- **Removing numerous customs posts:** As trade got affected owing to a large number of customs posts, only five customs posts were retained, namely, Calcutta, Hughli, Murshidabad, Patna and Dhaka.

Abolition of the *dastak* system

With the removal of *dastaks*, the Company servants had no option but to pay duties for their personal goods, which reduced corruption and augmented the Company's revenues.

Sending commercial mission to other countries: To improve trade, commercial missions were dispatched to countries like Bhutan, Tibet and Egypt.

Social reforms

To encourage Islamic studies, he founded the Calcutta Madrasa in 1781, which was the first educational institution founded by the British Government. Thereafter, the Sanskrit College was established at Benaras by Jonathan Duncan in 1792. Under Hastings' patronage William Wilkins had translated the *Gita* and Nathaniel Halhed had compiled a digest of Hindu laws.

Consequences of these Reforms

Though he succeeded in improving the governing machinery, he did not receive adequate government support. Also, he had to entertain the whims and fancies of his seniors who

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wanted to fill up the posts by their favoured candidates and not by those chosen on the basis of their merit. Struggling against all odds, he managed to provide his successor, Lord Cornwallis, with a strong administrative structure. Hence, it may well be said that if Lord Clive had established the territorial foundation of the British Empire in Bengal, Hastings had given the British administrative structure a solid foundation.

Impeachment

In protest against the Pitts India Bill, Warren Hastings resigned from office in 1785. Accused of the Rohilla War, Nand Kumar's murder, the case of Chet Singh and for having accepted bribes, he was impeached for seven years from 1788 to 1795. By the time he was acquitted (23 April 1795), he had no money left and had become a pauper.

Regulating Act of 1773

The British government directed the affairs of the Company through the Regulating Act, 1773. It was particularly initiated with to serve this purpose. Warren Hastings was formally declared to be as Governor General of Bengal and he was to be assisted by an executive council comprising four members.

The Act empowered the Governor General-in-council to make rules, ordinances and regulations that were meant to bring order and establish civil government. Through this Act, Hastings was able to convert a trading company into an administrative body that formed the basis of the British Empire in India.

Main Provisions

The main specifications of The Regulating Act, 1773 are listed below:

- The King of England was in charge of the East India Company. High officials of the company, judges and member of the court of directors were to be nominated.
- The qualifying sum to gain voting right in the court of proprietors was increased from £500 to £1000.
- The directors, who were earlier elected annually, had to continue office for four years, and a quarter of the number were to be re-elected annually.
- A Supreme Court comprising a Chief Justice and three other judges was established in Bengal. Apart from the Governor General and the members of his Council, it entailed civil, criminal, admiralty and ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all British subjects in the Company's dominions.
- The Governor General and his four councillors were to look after civil and military affairs and they who were mentioned in the Act in the first instance. They were to hold office for five years and during their tenure they could only be removed by the king on the representation of the court of directors.
- Though he had a casting vote which were to be used to break a stalemate, the Governor General had to abide by the decision of the majority of the Council.
- In matters of war and peace, the Governor General's decision was considered final, above the opinions expressed by the Governors of Madras and Bombay. Salaries were augmented if officers showed better merit. Company servants were not permitted to accept presents or bribes and indulge in private trade.
- Only with the prior permission of the Home Secretary could the Governor General-in-council make rules.

- The Governor General-in-council had the right to issue rules, ordinances and regulations, though they had to be registered in the Supreme Court.

Important Features of the Act

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Important features of this Act include:

- It made it clear that the administration of Indian territories was not a personal affair of the Company servants. The British Parliament was empowered to make amendments.
- This Act initiated the course of territorial integration and administrative centralization in India.
- It started a process of parliamentary control over administrative decisions taken by the Company.
- The Act set up a Supreme Court of Judicature comprising a Chief Justice and three other members. The Act provided the license to the British government to have a say in the internal affairs of the Company.
- A council of four members was established to help the Governor General. Though these members were to hold office for five years, they could only be removed by the British Crown.
- The Supreme Government was entrusted 'from time to time to make and issue rules, ordinances, and regulations the good order and civil government' of the British territories.
- The Presidency of Bengal was made superior to other presidencies and the governor of Bengal was appointed as Governor General. Governors and the Councils of Madras and Bombay were had to follow the decisions taken by the Governor General and Council of Bengal.

The Defects of the Regulating Act

The defects of the Regulating Act of 1773 have been outlined below:

- The Governor General did not have any veto power. Hastings often had to struggle with his councillors who could easily impose their decisions on him by majority voting.
- The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and its relation with the Governor General in Council was not specified.
- The presidencies of Madras and Bombay often declared war, without consulting the Governor General and Council of Bengal. In case of Marathas and Haidar Ali, the Bombay government and Madras Council, respectively, chose to decide on their own.
- The reports sent by the Governor General in council in India was not considered seriously and was not analyzed systematically.
- The Court of Directors had become 'more or less permanent oligarchy' Also, the Court of proprietors enjoyed immunity from any scrutiny based on moral grounds. These privileges gave them allowance to participate in intrigues and create factions which plagued the home government internally.

Relations with Gurkhas

The Gurkhas wanted to expand their territory. Thus, they annexed approximately two hundred villages from Darjeeling to Seimle, and Gorakhpur as well. Lord Minto sent

them an ultimatum of protest but they ignored it. They invaded two districts named Sheroraj and Butwal. Hastings again sent a message to the Gurkhas to leave these districts, but they did not pay heed to his message. Thus, Hastings declared war on Nepal.

For the preparation of the war, Hastings borrowed one crore rupees from the Nawab of Awadh. He decided to send four armies in the war against Nepal. The Gurkhas defeated three of these armies, however, they were defeated by the fourth. Then, Hastings forced the Gurkhas to sign the Treaty of Sanguali in the year 1816.

The Treaty of Sugauli (1816)

As per this treaty, the Nepalese had to surrender districts of Garhwal and Kumaon to the Company. These districts were situated on the west coast of the River Kali. A British resident was appointed at Kathmandu. However, the English agreed that he would not interfere in the internal affairs of the country. Also, Nepal lost the right to employ Americans or Europeans in its country without seeking permission from the English. Some of the features of this treaty were as follows:

- The treaty benefitted the English in many ways, for instance, the Nepalese supported the English in the ‘mutiny’ of 1857.
- The East India Company started employing Gorkha soldiers in the English army.
- The territory under the British increased.
- The treaty ensured perpetual peace and friendship between the Company and Nepal.

Relations with Sikhs

Anglo-Sikh relations can best be described as strained not just during the time of Warren Hastings, but even before and after. Moreover, the history of the Anglo-Sikh relations also reflects the changing face of the East India Company from a mere commercial enterprise into a political power. The consolidation of Bengal and Oudh under the Company was crucial in establishing the British as a formidable power gradually setting up base in the Indian subcontinent. By August 1765, through the grant of the *diwani* rights to the Company, Shah Alam concluded the transfer of power to the British, thereby making them the supreme ruling authority over Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. During 1765—1767, the numerous invasions of India by Ahmad Shah Durrani was observed by Robert Clive (the victor of Plassey and Governor of Bengal), with curious anticipation.

Warren Hastings, became the Governor General in 1773. He was concerned about the increasing power and influence of the Sikhs. He made great efforts to know more about them. Examples of this can be seen in the different publications and travelogues that were submitted to the Company on the Sikhs. Louis Henri Polier, a Swiss engineer in the Company’s military service submitted a detailed account of the Sikhs in the year 1776. Even though never published, this paper was quoted by George Forster, a civil servant of the Company who at the behest of Warren Hastings, journeyed through the regions of Punjab, Kashmir and Afghanistan disguised as a Turkish traveller and wrote *A Journey from Bengal to England*.

Punjab

Ranjit Singh made himself the master of Punjab. The first regular contact between Ranjit Singh and the British seems to have been made in 1800, when India was threatened

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by an invasion of Zaman Shah, the Afghan ruler who had been invited by Tipu Sultan, a bitter enemy of the British. As a precautionary measure, the British sent Munshi Yusuf Ali to the court of Ranjit Singh with rich presents to win the Maharaja over to the British side. Soon, however, he learnt that the danger of Zaman Shah's invasion receded and Yusuf Ali was recalled.

The second contact was made in 1805, when the Maratha chief Holkar entered Punjab with help from Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh had gone to conquer Multan and Jhang but came to Amritsar on learning about Holkar's arrival. He called a meeting of a Sarbat Khalsa to decide about the policy to be followed towards Holkar. Fateh Singh Ahluwalia and Bhag Singh of Jind advised Ranjit Singh not to come in conflict with the British by helping Holkar. Ranjit Singh told Holkar politely that he would not help him against the British. General Lake and Maharaja Ranjit Singh concluded an agreement in January, 1806.

As the danger of French invasion on India became remote, the English adopted a stern policy towards Ranjit Singh. He was given a note by the Governor General Metcalfe which contained some soft-worded warnings against his aggressive policy. Ranjit Singh was asked to restore all the places he had taken possession of since 1806 to the former possessors which will confine his army right to the bank of the Sutlej. Ranjit Singh was not prepared to accept the demand. However, he withdrew his troops from Ambala and Saniwal but continued to retain Faridkot. Ranjit Singh fortified the fort of Govindgarh. But in the last stage, Ranjit Singh changed his mind and agreed to sign the Treaty of Amritsar in 1809.

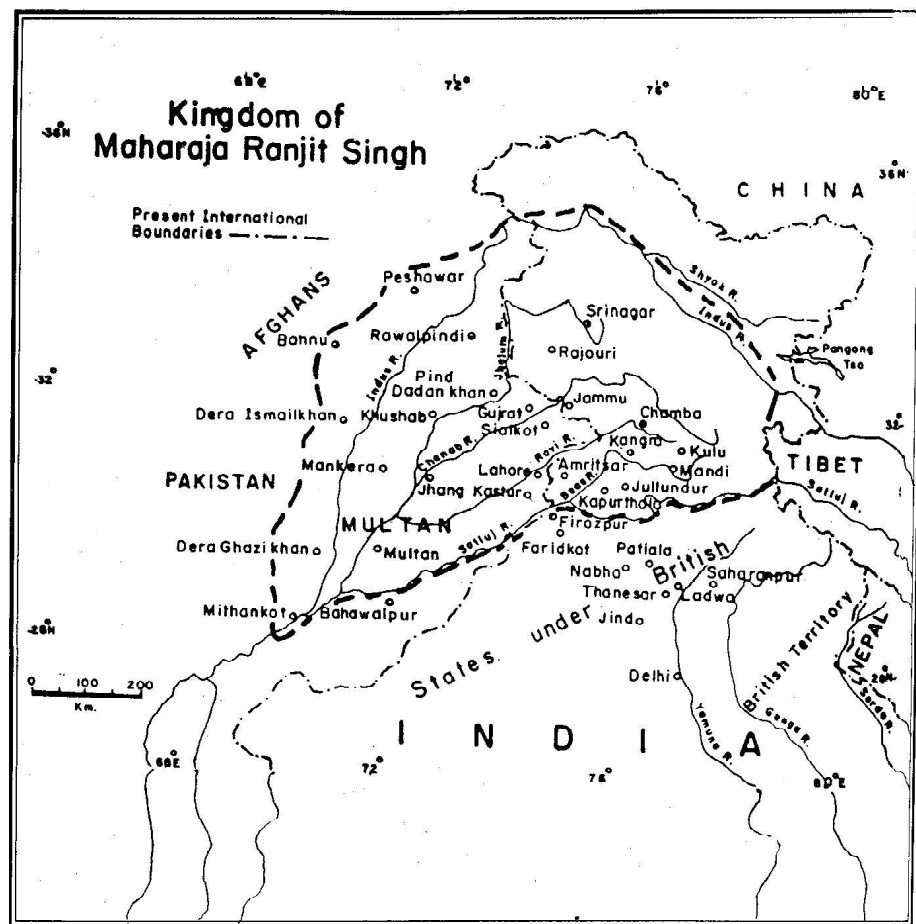


Fig. 3.1 Kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh

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One of the effects of the treaty of Amritsar was that the British government was able to take the Sutlej states under its protection. Ranjit Singh's advance in the east was checked but he was given a *carte blanche* so far as the region to the west of the Sutlej was concerned.

The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in June 1839 was followed by political instability and rapid changes of government in the Punjab. Selfish and corrupt leaders came to the front. Ultimately, power fell into the hands of the brave and patriotic but utterly indisciplined army. This led the British to look greedily across the Sutlej upon the land of the five rivers even though they had signed a treaty in 1809. Figure 3.1 shows a map displaying the kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

First Anglo-Sikh War (1845–1846)

The First Anglo-Sikh War was fought at Mudki on 18 December 1845 in which the Sikhs were defeated. The English again won the battle at Ferozepur on December 21. The Sikhs, under Ranjit Singh Majithia, however, defeated the English at Buddwal on 21 January 1846. But, the Sikhs were again defeated at Aliwal on January 28. The decisive battle was fought at Sobraon on 10 February 1846 and the Sikhs were routed. The English then crossed the Sutlej on February 13 and captured the capital of Lahore on February 20. Under these circumstances, many people advised Lord Hardinge to annex the Empire, but he did not accept this.

The war came to an end by the Treaty of Lahore which was signed on 9 March, 1846. This treaty left the Sikhs with no capacity for resisting the English. Another treaty was made with the Sikhs on 16 December 1846. This treaty is known as the Second Treaty of Lahore or the Treaty of Bhairawal.

Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848–1849)

The Sikhs considered their defeat in the first Sikh War as a great humiliation. They had been accustomed to victories during the time of Ranjit Singh and this defeat gave a rude shock to their mentality. The Sikhs wanted to restore the fallen fortunes of their kingdom and the Second Anglo-Sikh War was fought between them in 1848–1849.

Lord Gough, the British Commander-in-Chief, reached Lahore with the grand army of the Punjab on 13 November. On 22 November, the rebels were defeated in a battle at Ramnagar. Another indecisive action was fought at Sadullapur on 3 December.

Third Anglo-Sikh War (1849)

The third battle was fought on 13 January 1849 at Chelianwala. On 21 February, Lord Gough met the Sikhs in another battle at Derajat. The Sikhs were utterly defeated. They surrendered themselves at Rawalpindi.

The complete defeat of the Sikhs sealed the fate of their kingdom. Lord Dalhousie, on his own responsibility, annexed Punjab on 29 March, 1849.

The annexation of Punjab extended the British territories in India up to the natural frontiers of India towards the north-west. Besides, after the destruction of the power of the Sikhs, there remained no active power which could pose a threat to the security of the English in India.

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Relations with Rajputs

The establishment of British influence over Rajput states and some minor states in Central India was presided over by Lord Warren Hastings. Due to a large number of internal and external factors, the Rajputs became prey to external aggression at hands of the Pindaris, Pathans and Marathas. The rulers of Rajasthan had lost their former glory because of petty skirmishes within their territories as well as pseudo norms of heroism and chivalry. These factors combined with other serious administrative lapses led to anarchy, plunder and economic ruin. Bankrupt and vulnerable, the Rajputs were ready to acknowledge British supremacy.

In consolidating the Mughal Empire in India, the Rajputs had played a significant role. The English realized the strategic advantage of forming an alliance with the Rajput states would give them the boost they needed to establish control over central India. Moreover this (the alliance with the Rajputs) was something that the Marathas had failed to achieve in their expansionist strategies.

Thus, with the sanction of the home authorities he opened negotiations with the following Rajput States, which, one by one, entered into treaties of defensive alliance, perpetual friendship, protection and subordinate cooperation with the Company: the State of Kotah, then under the able guidance of Zalim Singh, on 26 December, 1817; Udaipur on 16 January, 1818, Bundi on 10 February, 1818; Kishangarh, near Ajmer, and Bikaner, in March, 1818; Jaipur on 2 April, 1818; the three kingdoms of Pratapgarh, Banswara and Dungarpur, branches of the Udaipur house and situated on the border of Gujarat, on 5 October, 5 December, and 11 December, 1818, respectively; Jaisalmer on 12 December, 1818 and Sirohi in 1823.

In other words, the Rajput states, who as per Hastings' account, proved to be an asset to the Company, subordinated their independence to British supremacy and secured their protection. It is difficult to agree with Prinsep that the 'good government and tranquillity' of Rajputana were 'the exclusive aims' of the Company in interfering in its affairs. In fact, the guiding considerations of Lord Hastings in his relations with the Rajput States were political expediency and convenience and strategic advantages.

Relations with Pindaris

Pindaris were a group of plunderers. The Pindaris included fugitives from justice, disbanded soldiers and idle people. They came to be known to people during wars between the Marathas and the Mughals.

Causes of the Pindari war

Lord Hastings was angry at the plunders of Pindaris in the dominions of Nizam, Northern Circars and the Gangetic valley. Thus, he took permission from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to exterminate them. After getting permission from the Directors he waged a war against the Pindaris.

Events of the war

To begin his preparations for the War, he tried to understand several powers which were active in India. After this, he made a military plan to surround the Pindaris. This campaign by Hastings came to be known as the Pindari War or the Third Anglo-Maratha War.

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He made a plan to attack the Pindaris from the west from Gujarat, from the east and North from Bengal and from the south from the Deccan. Thus, he wanted to surround the Pindaris from all sides. He created a strong and big army of 1,20,000 men and 300 artillery pieces to kill Pindaris. The Pindaris made three groups and their leaders named Chitu Pindari, Karim Khan Pindari and Wasil Muhammad Pindari led these groups in the war.

When Karim Khan Pindari came to know that the British are going to attack the Pindaries, he tried to persuade other Pindari leaders to make a plan for defence. However, the Pindari leaders did not agree to him. Karim Khan and Wasil Muhammad went to Gwalior for the war and Chitu Pindari united with the forces of Holkar. After some time, all Pindari parties went back to south as they had a base in south. Towards the end of December, Jaswant Rao Bhau invited Karim Khan Pindari, thus, he went to north and Chitu Pindari went to the area near Jawar. After making a number of failed attempts to reach an agreement with the British, almost all the Pindari leaders gradually surrendered in February, 1819.

The English made arrangements at Gorakhpur for the settlement of Pindari leaders and their families. They gave them pensions and lands.

3.4.2 Cornwallis

Charles Cornwallis was sent to India by the Court of Directors in the year 1786. He was entrusted the responsibility of executing the policy of peace given in Pitt's India Act and to restructure the administrative system in India. Some of his major responsibilities were as follows:

- To find out a solution for land revenue problem.
- To set up a judiciary which is honest as well as efficient.
- To restructure the commercial division of the East India Company.

In order to restructure the administrative system, Cornwallis used the basic structure of administration designed by Warren Hastings and made some modifications in it. The structure designed by Cornwallis remained in force till 1858.

Reforms in Judicial Administration, Public Revenue and Other Services

Cornwallis became Governor General of Bengal and he introduced a number of reforms, which are as follows:

- **Reforms in the judicial system:** Cornwallis believed that District Collector should have more authority than they already had. The Court of Directors had also instructed the same. Thus, in 1787, Collectors were appointed judges of *Diwani Adalats* and were given charge of districts. The District Collectors were given powers of Magistrates so that they could judge criminal cases. However, some limitations were imposed on them in trying these cases.

Some more changes were made in the administrative structure from 1790 to 1792. *Foujdari Adalats* were abolished and four circuit courts were established in their place. Out of these four circuit courts, three were for Bengal and one was for Bihar. The European servants were given the authority to preside over these courts. These European servants took help from Muftis and Qazis while trying the cases. These courts went to districts two times in a year and tried cases.

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The *Sadr Nizamat Adalat* at Murshidabad was also abolished. A Mohammedan judge used to preside over this court. In place of this court, another court was established in Calcutta. These courts consisted of the Governor General and members of the Supreme Council. The Chief *Qazis* and two Muftis assisted them.

Thus, the new judicial system had petty courts, districts courts, four provincial courts and *Sadr Diwani Adalat*. *Daroga* courts and district courts, four circuit courts and *Sadr Nizamat Adalat* were established for trying criminal cases.

- **Cornwallis code:** In 1793, Cornwallis made a code of regulations for guiding those servants of the East India Company who were working in the judicial department. Cornwallis took Sir George Barlow's help for preparing this code. The commercial and administrative services were demarcated clearly in this code. Before the preparation of this code, Cornwallis realized that the Board of Revenue was not able to settle a large number of cases. In order to solve this matter, *mal adalats* were formed in every district. Collectors were made the heads of these courts and they were given revenue powers as well. The administrative structure was in existence even before Cornwallis but he was the one who made the system harmonious and cohesive.

Cornwallis introduced a system in which people could lodge a complaint against collectors and servants for not fulfilling their duties. The government could also be sued in the court. He abolished inhuman punishments such as capital punishment and mutilation of limbs. The European people living in the districts had to follow the new judicial system.

- **Reforms in Public Services:** The servants of East India Company wanted to earn a lot of money. Since, the salaries of these servants were low, they accepted bribe from people in order to earn more money. They also confiscated the lands of zamindars in an unjust manner. In order to solve these problems, Cornwallis raised their salaries and terminated some of the servants. After this, he hired employees for the Company solely on the basis of their merits. He did not allow any of the employees to carry out trade in their private capacity.

He did not trust Indians and behaved with them in a scornful manner. Thus, his behaviour towards Indians was criticized. He did not recruit Indian on high posts and gave such posts to Europeans. He divided districts into small units and took away police powers from the zamindars. A superintendent and representative of the company, who resided in those districts, were given the charge of these units.

- **Reforms in the Commercial Department of the Company:** When the Board of Trade was established, it were asked to obtain goods from Indian and European contractors. These contractors supplied goods of inferior quality at a very high price. The Board instead of checking these practices, took bribe through them. Due to these corrupted practices of the commercial department, Cornwallis took action against the Board of Trade. He reduced the number of Board members from eleven to five. The method of obtaining goods was also changed and the Board was instructed to obtain goods from commercial agents and residents. This way, he brought reforms in the commercial department.
- **Reforms in the Collection of Revenue and Permanent Settlement:** It is really important to find a suitable method for revenue collection in order to improve the condition of farmers. The methods used by Robert Clive and Warren Hastings worsened the situation of farmers. Thus, in 1786, the Court of Directors

recommended that Cornwallis should make ten years settlement with zamindars which can later be made permanent. Cornwallis with the help of John Shore tried to find a suitable method for revenue collection. To solve this problem, they had a discussion on the following three questions:

1. Should the settlement be made with zamindars or tillers?
2. How much share should the state get in the produce of land?
3. Should the settlement be permanent or for a fixed term?

On the first question, John Shore believed that settlement should be made with zamindars as they own the lands. Cornwallis was an English landlord, thus, he agreed with John Shore. Moreover, the Court of Directors also supported Cornwallis.

On the second question, Shore believed that the state's share should be decided on the basis of the actual collection of the year 1790–1791. Cornwallis was also of the same opinion.

However, their opinions differed on the third question. Shore believed that settlement should be made for ten years, but Cornwallis wanted permanent settlement of revenue. Finally, in the year 1790, he declared settlement to be for ten years but in 1793, the settlement was made permanent. Therefore, permanent settlement was made in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Benaras and Northern part of Tamil Nadu.

Permanent Settlement

Some of the important features of Permanent Settlement were as follows:

- The settlement was made with zamindars as they were recognized as owners of land as long as they pay revenue.
- Zamindars were asked to pay land revenue to the government. The amount of land revenue was made fixed and they were promised that it would not be increased. In case zamindars failed to pay revenue, the government had the authority to sell their land through public auction. They were required to pay 89 per cent of the collected rent to the state and could keep the rest with themselves.
- Zamindars were allowed to sell or mortgage their land. They were also allowed to give their land to someone else if they wanted to.
- It was expected that zamindars would make efforts to improve the conditions of the farmers or tillers who were working on their land.
- The Government promised them that it would not interfere in its matters till the time they pay their revenue in time.

Merits of Permanent Settlement

Some of the merits of permanent settlement are as follows:

- Under Permanent Settlement, zamindars had to pay fixed amount as land revenue. In cases when zamindars were not able to pay their land revenue, the government used to sell their lands to recover their land revenue. Thus, the British government was sure of its income.
- The fixed income in the form of fixed land revenue gave economic stability to the British government. This made the province of Bengal prosperous.
- Permanent Settlement saved the British government from the expenditure which it had to incur in order to extract land revenue from zamindars. Earlier the British government spent a lot of money in order to assess land on a regular basis.

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- This settlement encouraged zamindars to improve the agricultural land to earn more money. Earlier the zamindars did not make efforts to improve their land as the British government used to take away most of their profit in the name of land revenue.
- This settlement made zamindars wealthy and they could invest money in trade, commerce and industry. It helped the provinces to prosper at a fast pace.
- The settlement made zamindars loyal to the British so much so that they supported the British even during the rebels in India.
- Though the government could not increase the amount of land revenue yet it could extract more money from the zamindars in the form of taxes.

Demerits of Permanent Settlement

Some of the demerits of permanent settlement were as follows:

- Since the zamindars did not take part in the cultivation of land, they moved to cities to spend a luxurious life. Before moving to cities, they appointed some middlemen to take care of their land. These middlemen exploited the farmers and tillers and made their lives miserable.
- The system of the Permanent Settlement ignored the interests of peasants, farmers and tillers. They were left on the misery of zamindars who oppressed them for earning more.
- In the long run, the Permanent Settlement proved disadvantageous to the government as they could not increase the amount of land revenue when the prices of the crops increased.

3.4.3 Wellesley

Though the Subsidiary Alliance System was formed in the second half of the 18th century, yet the credit of this policy goes to Lord Wellesley as it developed from 1798 to 1805 when Lord Wellesley was the Governor General of India.

The system of Subsidiary Alliance was introduced by Dupleix, the French Governor by giving his army to Indian rulers on rent. The same policy was adopted by many Governor Generals of the East India Company such as Robert Clive. In 1765, the English signed a treaty with Awadh at Allahabad. As per this treaty, the English promised that their troops would protect Awadh and the Nawab would bear the expenses of the troops. They also appointed an English resident in the court of the Nawab and was asked to bear his expenses as well.

In 1787, when Lord Cornwallis was the Governor General, the Nawab of Carnatic promised that he would not take help from any foreign power without obtaining permission from the Company. Similarly, in 1798, the Nawab of Awadh promised Sir John Shore that no European would be employed in Awadh.

In this way, the Subsidiary alliance system was in existence even before the Governor Generalship of Lord Wellesley. However, the system developed fully when he added some elements in this system. Indian states were asked to yield some of the territories to the Company if they wanted to sign this treaty. This way, the company succeeded in expanding its empire in India. Let us study the development stages of the policy of Subsidiary Alliance:

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Stage 1: The Company offered its army on rent to Indian states. These states were asked to pay cash in return. In 1768, Hyderabad signed this pact.

Stage 2: The Company offered that it would keep its army 'near the boundaries of Indian states' in order to 'protect' the states. In lieu of this service, the state was asked to pay an annual fee. In 1784, Sindhia accepted this offer.

Stage 3: The Company offered that it would keep its army 'inside the boundaries of Indian States' to 'protect' the state. The states were asked to pay annual fee in return. In 1798, Hyderabad agreed to sign treaty with the company.

Stage 4: The Company offered to keep its army inside the boundaries of the Indian states to protect the state. In lieu of this 'service', the company asked the states to give some part of their territory. In 1800, Hyderabad signed this treaty and in 1801, Oudh also signed the treaty with the Company.

Features of the Subsidiary Alliance

Some features of the Subsidiary Alliance were as follows:

- The Company promised to protect the states from outside attack.
- The rulers had to bear the expenses of the British force which was employed for the protection of the state.
- The rulers could not employ any foreigner in their states without the permission of the Company. They could not build diplomatic ties with other States.
- The rulers had to bear the expenses of the British resident which was appointed in their court.
- The Company followed the policy of non-interference as far as the internal matters of the states were concerned.

Advantages of the Subsidiary Alliance to the Company

The Subsidiary Alliance benefited the Company in the following ways:

- The Subsidiary Alliance proved advantageous for the Company in many ways.
- With the help of this system, the Company maintained a large army at the expense of the Nawabs. They could use this army in annexing other territories or protect their own empire.
- As per the treaty, the Nawabs were not allowed to employ any foreigner in their states without their permission. This reduced the threat which the Company had from Europeans and the French.
- Since the states were not allowed to build ties with other states, the Company felt secured in India as Indian states could not stand united to rebel against the Company.
- The treaty made Nawabs puppets in the hands of the Company as they had to seek permission from the Company on a number of issues.
- In lieu of the 'services', the Company asked for fertile lands of the territories of Nawabs so that they could earn more money with the help of these lands. This way, Nawabs lost a lot of money of the States and this made the states poor.

3.4.4 Lord Dalhousie: Doctrine of Lapse

The youngest Governor General of British India was Lord Dalhousie. His methods of annexing Indian States were as follows:

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(a) Annexations by conquest

1. **Punjab:** The Sikhs were defeated by the British in the First Sikh War but had not made Punjab part of the Empire. Even after the defeat the Sikhs were strong and powerful. They were keen on taking revenge. Lord Dalhousie was part of the second war. After the war, Punjab became part of British Empire. Maharaja Dalip Singh sent to England on a pension. Under Sir John Lawrence as Chief Commissioner of the province, Sikhs became loyal to the British. After this, he made the settlement of the province.
2. **Sikkim:** When the King of Sikkim arrested two British officers, Dalhousie attacked Sikkim and made it a part of the Empire.
3. **Lower Burma.** After the defeat of Burma after the Burmese War in 1824, trade relations were established with Burma and it also became part of the Empire.

(b) Doctrine of Lapse

The rulers of Indian princely states had the right to adopt a child and make that child the successor. The British government agreed to this and made this right official by declaring, 'Every ruler, under Hindu laws, is free to nominate his successor, real or adopted son. The Company's government is bound to accept this right'. In 1831, the Company declared, 'The Government may accept or reject, according to the situation, the application of Indian rulers to nominate his adopted son as his heir.'

The policy of the British administration was not clear. At times it rejected such an application at times it accepted. There was no real logic given behind such decisions. For example, it permitted Baijabai, the widow of Daulat Rao Sindhia, to nominate Jankoji, her adopted son, as the successor king in 1827. However, the Company rejected the claim of Ram Chandra Rao's adopted son at Jhansi in 1835.

Lord Dalhousie made three distinct categories for Indian States:

1. British Charter created states: If there was no biological heir then the British Empire would annex the state.
2. Subordinate States: Permission of the East India Company was needed to validate the heir in case of adoption.
3. Independent States: These had the freedom to appoint any heir as they chose.

The first policy was called the Doctrine of Lapse. Satara was the first State to which this policy was applied in 1848. Appa Sahib, the king of this state, did not have any child and before his death he had adopted a son. Other states to which this policy was applied were Jaipur, Sambhalpur, Baghat, Udaipur, Jhansi and Nagpur.

The queen of Jhansi, Rani Laxmi Bai stood up for her right and fought the British. But when her struggle was not successful she rebelled against the Empire in the revolt of 1857.

Dalhousie also annexed the state of Karoli and did not accept the adopted son as heir. But this decision was overruled by the court. The rules of annexure between the second and third category were not clear. Even though many of the states so annexed were under the control of the Mughals, they had no power to decide the legality of the heir, as the East India Company by then had become very powerful. And on the pretext of some excuse or the other, the states were annexed.

This arbitrary rule of annexure became one of the reasons for the Revolt of 1857 and all united to stand up against the British. Lord Canning another Governor General, later legalized adoption.

Reforms

Lord Dalhousie also brought about many reforms, such as follows:

- (a) **Social Reforms:** He enacted the Widow Remarriage Act. And also amended the conversion laws of Hindus which made it possible for Hindus who converted into other religion to inherit. Even though this could have led to opposition from orthodox Hindus, it was a bold step on his part.
- (b) **Administrative and Military Reforms:** He revamped the working of the administration and made different departments for different jobs and got rid of old systems. He appointed a separate Lieutenant Governor for Bengal. A separate District Magistrate was appointed for each district and given greater powers. He introduced Non Regulation System in newly conquered territories. In newly annexed states of Punjab and Pegu in Burma he made many new administrative changes which were appreciated widely. By appointing a Chief Commissioner with civil and military powers the efficiency of the Government improved. This system was introduced in Punjab, Central Provinces, Oudh and Burma. The Commissioner reported directly to the Governor General and Simla became the summer capital of India.

The policies helped expand the British Empire. This enabled to take strategic steps regarding deploying of troops. Thus the headquarters of the Bengal Artillery were shifted from Calcutta to Meerut. Simla became the permanent headquarters of the army.

- (c) **Commercial Reforms:** Lord Dalhousie advocated a free trade policy which immensely benefitted the British.
- (d) **Establishment of Public Works Department:** The public works department that he set up made roads, bridges and canals. The Grand Trunk Road and a road from Dhaka to Arakan made it possible for army movement from Bengal to Burma. He modernized the postal and telegraph system in India. He was the one who introduced a uniform postage stamp for all in India. Through irrigation canals and steamer services on major water ways like Hooghly, Indus and Irravaddy also improved and so did other means of communication.
- (e) **Educational Reforms:** Many reforms were also made in the field of education, one of them being the introduction of the Indian Civil Services Examination. In 1853 Sir Charles Wood sent out a policy document on education. This was known as the Woods Dispatch.
 - Regional language was to be taught in the Anglo-Vernacular Schools
 - Universities were set up in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras
 - Colleges offering degrees were affiliated to the Universities
 - Education was made secular in nature
 - Each province set up an education department
 - Teacher's Training Institutions were to be set up
 - Privatization of education was encouraged and Government aid was given
 - A Director General of Education was recommended for the whole of India

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- (f) **Post, Railways, and Telegraph:** A lot of attention was paid to this area as the defense and law and order of the country depended on this. Through this he encouraged British enterprises to invest in India. Lord Dalhousie also promised all facilities to these companies. The railways changed the face of the country and brought people from all corners and regions together.

3.5 RESISTANCE TO BRITISH RULE: MAHARASHTRA, PUNJAB, SINDH AND MYSORE

The advent of British Rule was opposed by the rulers of the following states:

3.5.1 Maharashtra

The tale of the struggle of Marathas under the British rule will be described in the following sections.

Maratha Confederacy

The word 'Confederacy' is derived from Anglo-French word '*Confederate cie*', which means a league or union, whether of states or the individuals. After the death of Shivaji in 1680, there was no great leader among the Marathas who could unite them. Sahu, the grandson of Shivaji, was under Mughal custody (between 1689 and 1707), which made him weak, passive and dependent on others. The emergence of Peshwa as the 'de facto' ruler is directly linked with the weak character of Sahu. When Balaji Vishwanath served as Peshwa (1713–1720), he made the king a puppet in his hands and his own post hereditary.

However, the Maratha Confederacy really began in the Peshwaship of Baji Rao I (1720–1740), son of Balaji Vishwanath, when the Maratha Empire expanded in the North and South India. The Peshwa put large areas under the control of his following subordinates:

- Gwalior under Ramoji Scindia
- Baroda under Damaji Gaekwad
- Indore under Malhar Rao Holkar
- Nagpur under Raghuji Bhonsle

Peshwa's seat was at Poone and Sahu was relegated to being only a nominal king. The confederacy was strictly controlled by the two Peshwas:

- Baji Rao I (1720–1740)
- Balaji Baji Rao (1740–1761)

The defeat of the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat by the Afghan army of Ahmad Shah Abdali made the post of the Peshwa very weak. He was now dependent on Phadnis and the other Maratha chiefs.

The origin of the Maratha confederacy may be traced to the revival of the *jagir* or *saranjam* system by Rajaram. However, it was only in the time of Baji Rao I that the system made a base for itself. In this process, Sahu issued letters of authority to his various Maratha sardars for collecting *Chauth* and *Sardeslunukhi* from various parts of

Check Your Progress

9. What was the consequence of abolishing the *dastak* system?
10. Mention any one social reform that was implemented under Hastings.
11. What were the charges levelled against Warren Hastings that resulted in his impeachment?
12. What was the Cornwallis code?

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India. These letters of authority were called 'saranjam'. The holders of these *saranjams* were called *saranjamdars*. They merely recognized the Maratha Peshwas as their nominal head after the death of Sahu. In this way arose the Maratha confederacy, consisting of very important Maratha jagirdars. Some of them were as follows:

- Raghuji Bhonsle of Berar
- Gaekwad of Baroda
- Holkar of Indore
- Scindia of Gwalior
- The Peshwa of Poona

The First Anglo-Maratha War (1775–1782)

The first Anglo-Maratha War started when Raghunath Rao, after killing Peshwa Narayan Rao, claimed the post of Peshwa. But the widow of Narayan Rao gave birth to Madhav Rao Narayan. The Maratha Sardars, led by Nana Phadnis, accepted the minor Madhav Rao Narayan as Peshwa and rejected Raghunath Rao, who in search of a friend concluded a treaty with the English at Surat on March 7, 1775. This treaty led to the first war among the British and the Marathas.

Causes of the First Anglo-Maratha war

The causes of the first Anglo-Maratha war were as follows:

- Friendship with Ragunath Rao
- Defeat of British by the Marathas at Talegoan (1776)
- March of the British army under Goddard from Calcutta to Ahmedabad through central India (which itself was a great military feat in those days) and the brilliant victories on the way (1779–1780)
- Stalemate and deadlock for two years (1781–1782)

Results

The results of the first Anglo-Maratha war were as follows:

- Treaty of Salbai (1782) by which the status quo was maintained, and gave the British twenty years of peace with the Marathas.
- It also enabled the British to exert pressure on Mysore with the help of the Marathas in recovering their territories from Haider Ali.

Treaty of Surat: Provisions

The provisions of the Treaty of Surat were as follows:

- The English agreed to assist Raghunath Rao with a force of 2,500 men.
- Raghunath Rao agreed to give Salsette and Bassein to the English and as security deposited six lakhs.
- The Marathas would not raid in Bengal and Karnataka.
- Some areas of Surat and Bharuch would be given to the English.
- If Raghunath Rao decided to enter into a pact with Poone, the English would be involved.

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The Calcutta Council became more powerful by the Regulating Act, 1773, than by the Government of Bombay and Madras. The Council condemned the activities of Bombay Government as 'dangerous', 'unauthorized' and 'unjust' and rejected the Treaty of Surat. It sent Lieutenant on to Poone who concluded the Treaty of Purandhar on March 1, 1776.

Treaty of Purandhar: Provisions

The provisions of the Treaty of Purandhar were as follows:

- The English and the Marathas would maintain peace.
- The English East India Company would retain Salsette.
- Raghunath Rao would go to Gujarat, and Poone would give him ` 2,500 per month as pension.

This time, the treaty was not acceptable to the Bombay Government, and Poone was also not showing any interest in its implementation. In the mean-time American War of Independence started (1776–1781). In this war the French supported the Americans against the English. French, who were old rivals of English East India Company, came closer to the Poone Darbar. The Court of Director of English East India Company was worried with the new political development, so it rejected the Treaty of Purandhar. The Government of Bombay was more than happy and the Calcutta Council, obviously, felt insulted. The Bombay Government renewed its ties with Raghunath Rao (The Treaty of Surat) and a British troop was sent to Surat (November 1778) but the British troop was defeated and the Bombay Government was forced to sign Treaty of Wadgaon (1779) with Poone Durbar.

Treaty of Wadgaon: Provisions

The provisions of the Treaty of Purandhar were as follows:

- The Bombay Government would return all the territories, which it occupied after 1773, to the Marathas.
- The Bombay Government would stop the English army coming from Bengal.
- Scindia would get some income from Bharuch.

Once again the treaty created a rift between the Calcutta Government and the Bombay Government. Warren Hastings, the Governor General (1773–1785), rejected the Convention of Wadgaon. An army, led by Godard, came from Bengal and captured Ahmedabad (February, 1780) and Bassein (December, 1780). But the English army was defeated at Poone (April, 1781). Another British army led by Captain Popham came from Calcutta and won Gwalior (August 3, 1780), Scindia was also defeated at Sipri (February 16, 1781) and agreed to work as a mediator between the English and the Poone Darbar resulting into the Treaty of Salbai (May 17, 1782).

Treaty of Salbai: Provisions

The provisions of the Treaty of Salbai were as follows:

- The British would support Raghunath Rao, but he would get pension from Poone, the headquarters of Peshwa.
- Salsette and Elephanta were given to the English.
- Scindia got the land to the west of Yamuna.
- The Marathas and the English agreed to return the rest of the areas to each other.

The Treaty of Salbai established the status quo. It benefited the company because they got peace from Marathas for the next twenty years. They could focus their energy and resources against their bitterest enemy in India, which was Mysore.

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The Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803-1806)

The internal conflict of the Maratha Confederacy brought them once again on the verge of war. The Peshwa, Baji Rao II, after killing Bithuji Holkar, the brother of Jaswant Rao Holkar, fled from Poone. Holkar installed Vinayak Rao as Peshwa at Poone. Baji Rao came to Bassein and signed a treaty with the English on December 31, 1802. The Company, which was always in search of such situation, made Peshwa virtually a puppet.

Treaty of Bassein: Provisions

The provisions of the Treaty of Bassein were as follows:

- The English would help Peshwa with 600 troops and artillery.
- Peshwa agreed to cede, to the Company, territories yielding an income of 26 lakhs rupees. Territories included Gujarat, South of Tapti, territories between Tapti and Narbada and some territories near Tungabhadra.
- Peshwa promised that he would not keep any European in his army other than the English.
- Peshwa would give up his claim over Surat.
- Peshwa would not have any foreign relationship with other states without the English approval.
- Peshwa would settle all its disputes, if any, with Nizam of Hyderabad and Gaekwad of Baroda with Company's mediation.

The Peshwa, with the help of Arthur Wellesley, entered Poone on May 13, 1803 and captured it. However, the Treaty of Bassein was perceived as a great insult by the other Maratha chiefs. Daulat Rao Scindia and Raghuji Bhonsle joined hands together against the British. Instead of bringing peace, this was the treaty which brought war. The war started in August 1803 from both North and South of the Maratha Kingdom. The Northern Command was led by General Lake and Southern Command by Arthur Wellesley. The British started fighting in Gujarat, Bundelkhand and in Orissa. The strategy was to engage all the Maratha chiefs at different places, and not allow them to unite. On September 23, 1803, Arthur Wellesley defeated a joint army of Scindia and Bhonsle at Assaye, near Aurangabad. Gwalior fell on December 15, 1803. In the North, General Lake captured Aligarh in August, Delhi in September and Agra in October 1803. Scindia was defeated again at Laswari (November 1803) and lost south of Chambal river. The English also captured Cuttack and succeeded in Gujarat and Bundelkhand.

This humiliating defeat forced Bhonsle and Scindia to conclude similar kind of treaty, as signed by the Peshwa. On December 17, 1803, Bhonsle at Dergaon, and on December 30, 1803, Scindia at Surajgarh Gaon signed the 'Peace Treaty'. Bhonsle gave Cuttack, Balasore, and Western part of Wardha River to the British. Scindia gave Jaipur, Jodhpur, North of Gohad, Ahmednagar, Bhadach, Ajanta and all their territory between Ganga and Yamuna. Both agreed that in resolving their outstanding issues with Nizam and Peshwa, they would seek English 'help'. They agreed that they would not allow any enemy of English to stay in their territory, that they would keep a British Resident in their capital and they would accept the Treaty of Bassein. Holkar, so far aloof from the war, started fighting in April 1804. After defeating Colonel Monson in the

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passes of Mukund Dara near Kota, he advanced towards Delhi and made an unsuccessful attempt to seize Delhi. He was defeated at Deeg on November 13, 1804 and at Farrukhabad on November 17, 1804. Finally, he too concluded a treaty with the British on January 7, 1806 at Rajpurghat. He agreed to give up his claims to places north of the river Chambal, Bundhelkhand and Peshwa's territory. He promised not to entertain any European, other than English, in his kingdom. In return, the British promised not to interfere in the southern territory of river Chambal.

Treaties signed by the Maratha chiefs and the Company

- **Treaty of Surat (1775):** Signed by Raghunath Rao, wherein he promised to hand over Bassein and Salsette and a few islands near Bombay to the British
- **Treaty of Purandhar (1776):** Signed by Madhav Rao II; the Company got a huge war indemnity and retained Salsette
- **Treaty of Salbai (1782):** Signed by Mahadji Scindia, whereby the British influence in Indian politics and mutual conflicts increased amongst the Marathas
- **Treaty of Bassein (1802):** Signed between Baji Rao II; The treaty gave effective control of not only Maratha but also Deccan regions to the Company
- **Treaty of Deogaon (1803):** By Bhonsle, assured British supremacy over the Maratha kingdom
- **Treaty of Surji-Arjangaon (1803):** By Daulat Rao Scindia; assured the British supremacy over the Maratha kingdom

The Third Anglo-Maratha War (1817–1818)

The third Anglo-Maratha war was partly related with the British imperialistic design in India and partly with the nature of Maratha state. In 1813, the Charter Act was passed, which ended the monopoly of English East India Company. All the English Companies, now, were allowed to sell their products in India and purchase raw material from India. The British capitalists were in search of a greater market. Annexation of Indian territories meant a big market for British goods in India and cheap raw materials for British industries. English cotton mills were heavily dependent on Indian cotton and Deccan region was famous for cotton produce. The policy of 'non-interference', with Indian States, was no longer relevant.

The Company was in search of an excuse to wage war against the Marathas. The issue of Pindaris provided an opportunity. The Pindaris, who consisted of many castes and classes, were attached to the Maratha armies. They worked like mercenaries, mostly under the Maratha chiefs. But once the Maratha chief became weak and failed to employ them regularly, they started plundering different territories, including those territories which were under the control of the Company or its allies. The Company accused the Maratha for giving them shelter and encouragement.

Lord Hastings, the Governor-General (1813–1823), made a plan to surround the Pindaris in Malwa by a large army and to prevent the Marathas from assisting them. By the end of 1817 and early 1818, the Pindaris were hunted across the Chambal. Thousands of them were killed. Their leaders, Amir Khan and Karim Khan, surrendered while the most dangerous, Chitu, fled into the jungles of Asirgarh. The direct conflict between the English and the Marathas, however, started when Gangadhar Shastri, the ambassador of Gaekwad, was killed by Tryanbakji, the Prime Minister of Peshwa. The English Resident, Elphinston told Peshwa to hand over Tryanbakji, but he escaped. Colonel

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Smith besieged Poone and forced the Peshwa to sign the Poone Pact (June 13, 1817). The Maratha confederacy was dissolved and Peshwa's leadership was brought to an end. The fort of Ahmednagar, Bundelkhand and a vast territory of Malwa was ceded to the Company. Peshwa agreed to keep English troops at Poone and his family under British custody till Triyanbankji was arrested or surrendered.

The Pune Pact was, once again, humiliating for the Marathas. The Peshwa too was unhappy. He started thinking of revenge so he burnt the British Residency and started war against the English. He was defeated at Kirki in November 1817. In the same month Appaji, the Bhonsle chief, was also defeated at Sitabaldi. In the Battle of Mahidpur (December, 1817), Holkar was defeated and was compelled to sign a treaty at Mandsor (January, 1818). He had to cede Khandesh and the vast territory across the river Narmada.

The Peshwa continued the war but he was defeated again at Koregaon (January, 1818) and finally at Ashti (February, 1818), he surrendered. A small part of his territory was given to the descendent of Shivaji, based at Satara, whereas a large part of his territory was annexed including Pune. The post of Peshwa was abandoned and Baji Rao was sent to Bithur (near Kanpur). An annual pension was fixed for him. With this defeat the British supremacy in Maratha kingdom was already established and the hopeful successor of Mughals lost all hopes.

Causes of the Third Anglo-Maratha war

The causes of the third Anglo-Maratha war were as follows:

- Resentment of the Marathas against the loss of their freedom to the British
- Rigid control exercised by the British residents on the Marathas chiefs

Results of the Third Anglo-Maratha war

The results of the third Anglo-Maratha war were as follows:

- Dethronement of the Peshwa (he was pensioned off and sent to Bithur near Kanpur) and the annexation of all his territories by the British (the creation of the Bombay Presidency)
- Creation of the kingdom of Satara out of Peshwa's lands to satisfy Maratha pride

Thus, after this war the Maratha chiefs too existed at the mercy of the British.

3.5.2 Punjab

Ranjit Singh was the king of Punjab during the 18th century. The first regular contact between Ranjit Singh and the British seems to have been made in 1800, when India was threatened by an invasion of Zaman Shah, the Afghan ruler who had been invited by Tipu Sultan, a bitter enemy of the British. As a precautionary measure, the British sent Munshi Yusuf Ali to the court of Ranjit Singh with rich presents to win the Maharaja over to the British side. Soon, however, he learnt that the danger of Zaman Shah's invasion receded and Yusuf Ali was recalled.

The second contact was made in 1805, when the Maratha chief Holkar entered Punjab for help from Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh had gone to conquer Multan and Jhang but came to Amritsar on learning about Holkar's arrival. He called a meeting of a Sarbat Khalsa to decide about the policy to be followed towards Holkar. Fateh Singh Ahluwalia and Bhag Singh of Jind advised Ranjit Singh not to come in conflict with the British by

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helping Holkar. As a result, Ranjit Singh refused to help Holkar against the British. General Lake and Maharaja Ranjit Singh concluded an agreement in January, 1806.

As the danger of French invasion on India became remote, the English adopted a stern policy towards Ranjit Singh. He was given a note by the Governor-General Metcalfe which contained some soft-worded warnings against his aggressive policy. Ranjit Singh was asked to restore all the places he had taken possession of since 1806 to the former possessors which will confine his army right to the bank of the Sutlej. Ranjit Singh was not prepared to accept the demand. However, he withdrew his troops from Ambala and Saniwal but continued to retain Faridkot. Ranjit Singh fortified the fort of Govindgarh. But in the last stage, Ranjit Singh changed his mind and agreed to sign the Treaty of Amritsar in 1809.

One of the effects of the treaty of Amritsar was that the British Government was able to take the cis-Sutlej states under its protection. Ranjit Singh's advance in the East was checked, but he was given a Carte Blanche so far as the region to the west of the Sutlej was concerned.

The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in June 1839 was followed by political instability and rapid changes of government in the Punjab. Selfish and corrupt leaders came to the front. Ultimately, power fell into the hands of the brave and patriotic, but utterly undisciplined army. This led the British to look greedily across the Sutlej upon the land of the five rivers even though they had signed a treaty in 1809.

The First Anglo-Sikh War (1845–1846)

The First Anglo-Sikh War was fought at Mudki on December 18, 1845. The Sikhs were defeated. The English again won the battle at Ferozepur on December 21. The Sikhs, under Ranjit Singh Majithia, however, defeated the English at Buddwal on January 21, 1846. However, the Sikhs were again defeated at Aliwal on January 28. The decisive battle was fought at Sobraon on February 10, 1846 and the Sikhs were routed. The English then crossed the Sutlej on February 13 and captured the capital of Lahore on February 20. As the Sikhs were absolutely beaten, many people advised Lord Hardinge to annex the Empire, but he did not accept this.

The war came to an end by the treaty of Lahore which was signed on 9th March, 1846. This treaty left the Sikhs with no capacity for resisting the English. Another treaty was made with the Sikhs on 16th December, 1846. This treaty is known as the 'Second Treaty of Lahore' or the 'Treaty of Bhairawal'.

The Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848–1849)

The Sikhs considered their defeat in the first Sikh War as a great humiliation. They had been accustomed to victories during the time of Ranjit Singh and this defeat gave a rude shock to their mentality. The Sikhs wanted to restore the fallen fortunes of their kingdom and the Second Anglo-Sikh War was fought between them in 1848–1849.

Lord Gough, the British Commander-in-Chief, reached Lahore with the grand army of the Punjab on 13th November. On 22 November, the rebels were defeated in a battle at Ramnagar. Another indecisive action was fought at Sadullapur on 3rd December.

The Third Anglo-Sikh War (1849)

The third battle was fought on 13 January 1849 at Chelianwala. On 21 February, Lord Gough met the Sikhs in another battle at Derajat. The Sikhs were utterly routed, surrendered themselves at Rawalpindi, and thus, the game came to an end.

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The complete defeat of the Sikhs sealed the fate of their kingdom. Lord Dalhousie, on his own responsibility, annexed Punjab on 29 March, 1849. The annexation of Punjab extended the British territories in India up to the natural frontiers of India towards the north-west. Besides, after the destruction of the power of the Sikhs, there remained no active power which could pose a threat to the security of the English in India.

3.5.3 Sindh

During the Governor-Generalship of Bentinck, Sindh was divided into small states. These states were ruled by Amirs. The reason behind the division of Sindh was that Amirs were suspicious of Maharaja Ranjit Singh due to his growing powers. Bentinck, in order to take advantage of their suspicion, sent Colonel Pottenger for convincing the Amirs of Sindh to sign a commercial treaty with them.

When Amirs did not agree with his proposal, Pottenger forced them to sign the treaty in 1832. As a result of this treaty, the English could trade in Sindh. However, the Amirs did not allow the English merchants to live in Sindh on permanent basis.

After this treaty, Bentinck made efforts to establish friendly relations with Ranjit Singh. In spite of the fact that the English did not like Ranjit Singh's power yet Bentinck wanted to establish friendship with him so that he could take his help in case of Rajputs' invasion in the British frontier. For this purpose, he sent Robert Burnes to Lahore.

Though, Robert Burnes was successful in establishing friendship with Ranjit Singh yet Bentinck wanted to meet Ranjit Singh personally. He went to meet Ranjit Singh in 1831 and assured him that the English are also interested in Sindh as he is.

Mysore

You already learnt about the situation in the Mysore Kingdom in the 18th century. After the Fourth Mysore War, the British took control of the kingdom and became the paramount power in India.

3.6 SUMMARY

- Compagnie des Indes was the first French company to establish trading relations with India.
- Louis XIV, the then king of France, granted authority for this company in 1664.
- The Company named 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading in the East Indies' was granted a royal charter by Queen Elizabeth.
- From 1746 to 1763, English East India Company and French East India Company fought with each other in India. These wars are known as Carnatic wars.
- The First Carnatic War was directly linked to the events in Europe. The English and French were fighting on the issue of Austria's succession (1740–48).
- In 1717, the Mughal emperor issued a *farman* by which it granted special benefits to the English East India Company, namely, exemption of taxes on goods imported and exported from Bengal.
- To punish the highhandedness of the Company, Siraj-ud-Daulah retaliated by striking Calcutta on 16 June 1756 and bringing it under his sway by 20 June 1756.
- According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, an eminent historian, 23 June 1757, marked the end of the medieval period in India and the beginning of the modern period.

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- In Bengal's history, the Treaty of Allahabad (1765) is extremely significant as it ushered in a new administrative mechanism, which laid down the foundation of the British administrative system in India.
- The Battle of Buxar (1764) was fought between the forces under the command of the British East India Company led by Hector Munro, and the combined armies of Mir Qasim, the Nawab of Bengal; Shuja-ud-Daula the Nawab of Awadh; and the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II.
- Working as an administrative clerk in the East India Company, Warren Hastings reached Calcutta in 1750. He gradually climbed up the ladder and was appointed as the President of Kasimbazar, by Governor of Bengal in 1772.
- Charles Cornwallis was sent to India by the Court of Directors in the year 1786. He was entrusted the responsibility of executing the policy of peace given in Pitt's India Act and to restructure the administrative system in India.
- The youngest Governor General of British India was Lord Dalhousie.
- The word 'Confederacy' is derived from Anglo-French word '*Confederate cie*', which means a league or union, whether of states or the individuals.
- As a result of the Third Anglo-Maratha War, the Peshwa was dethroned and all his territories were annexed by the British.

3.7 KEY TERMS

- **Farmaan:** *Farman* was a royal order bearing the seal of the emperor during the Mughal period of Indian history.
- **Nawab:** Nawab is an honorific title ratified and bestowed by the reigning Mughal emperor to semi-autonomous Muslim rulers of princely states in South Asia.
- **Subedar:** *Subedar* is a historical rank in the Nepal Army, Indian Army and Pakistan Army, ranking below British commissioned officers and above non-commissioned officers.
- **Dual government:** The dual government of Bengal was a double system of administration, which was introduced by Robert Clive. The British East India Company obtained the actual power; whereas the responsibility and charge of administration was entrusted to the Nawab of Bengal.

3.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Compagnie des Indes was the first French company to establish trading relations with India.
2. In 1674, Pondicherry became the Dutch capital.
3. Jahangir declined the request of James I to let Captain William Hawkins establish trade in India because the merchants of Portugal and Surat strongly opposed the establishment of the English merchant in India.
4. In 1691, Ibrahim Khan, who was the successor of Shaista Khan, issued a *farmaan* in the favour of the English. According to this *farmaan*, the English were given permission to carry out duty free trade but they were asked to pay ` 3,000 annually.

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5. The outcome of the Dual government was that it had badly affected the administration. There was hardly any discipline and order and commerce suffered heavy losses.
6. The Battle of Buxar (1764) was fought between the forces under the command of the British East India Company led by Hector Munro, and the combined armies of Mir Qasim, the Nawab of Bengal; Shuja-ud-Daula the Nawab of Awadh; and the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II.
7. The Battle of Buxar established British control over Bengal. Buxar revealed the political and military shortfalls of the Indian rulers and the decadence of the Mughal Empire.
8. The consequences of the Battle of Buxar are as follows:
 - English supremacy was accepted by Shah Alam.
 - Militarily Buxar was very significant for the English.
9. The consequence of abolishing the *dastak* system was that Company servants had no option, but to pay duties for their personal goods, which reduced corruption and augmented the Company's revenues.
10. Warren Hastings, to encourage Islamic studies, founded the Calcutta Madrasa in 1781 which was the first educational institution founded by the British government.
11. Warren Hastings was impeached for seven years from 1788–1795 on the charges of having accepted bribes, the Rohilla war, Nand Kumar's murder as well as the case of Chet Singh.
12. The Cornwallis Code was created in 1793 for the purpose of guiding those servants of the East India Company who were working in the judicial department.
13. The word 'Confederacy' is derived from Anglo-French word '*Confederate cie*', which means a league or union, whether of states or the individuals.
14. The areas of Northern and Southern India that came under control of the Marathas, during the leadership of Bajji Rao I were as follows:
 - Gwalior under Ramoji Scindia
 - Baroda under Damaji Gaekwad
 - Indore under Malhar Rao Holkar
 - Nagpur under Raghuji Bhonsle
15. Ranjit Singh agreed to sign the Treaty of Amritsar in 1809.

3.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Which was the first French company that succeeded in establishing permanent trade relations in India?
2. When did the Third Carnatic War begin?
3. What were the reasons that encouraged the British to come to India?
4. What were the features of the Dual government?

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5. What were the causes that led to the Battle of Buxar?
6. What were the political repercussions of the Battle of Buxar?
7. What was the premise of the judicial reforms implemented by Warren Hastings?

Long-Answer Questions

1. How did the French established factories in India?
2. Give a detailed account of the British-French rivalry.
3. Give a detailed explanation of the Battle of Buxar, its political implications and consequences.
4. Describe the Battle of Plassey and its consequences.
5. Comment on the term: 'puppet nawabs' of Bengal with reference to the Treaty of Allahabad.
6. Highlight the importance of the Cornwallis Code with reference to reforms that were implemented in the judicial system.
7. Discuss the terms and conditions of the Doctrine of Lapse implemented by Lord Dalhousie.

3.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 EMERGING CONTOURS

Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 Renaissance-I: Raja Ram Mohan Roy
 - 4.2.1 Brahmo Samaj
- 4.3 Revolt of 1857: Causes, Nature and Significance
- 4.4 Renaissance II: Ramakrishna and Vivekananda
 - 4.4.1 Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati
- 4.5 Syed Ahmed Khan
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- 4.6 Summary
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- 4.9 Questions and Exercises
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4.0 INTRODUCTION

The Renaissance in India was highlighted by the quest for knowledge and development of science and arts. Leading reformists of that time had eagerly and enthusiastically taken up this task. Ram Mohan Roy had founded the Brahmo Samaj. He had pioneered movements for socio-religious reforms among Hindus. His influence on politics, social life, education and religion alike, was very strong. The Arya Samaj was founded by Swami Dayananda Saraswati on almost the same lines as the Brahmo Samaj. The Ramakrishna Mission was set up by Swami Vivekananda on 1 May 1897. The motto of this mission was to assist in welfare services. He was a promoter of Yoga and the *Vedanta* philosophy in India as well as the West. The Prarthana Samaj (prayer society in Sanskrit) was a movement to bring about reforms among Hindus, in terms of religion and social beliefs, in Maharashtra.

The Theosophical Society is a global organization, with universal brotherhood as its main goal. The base of this organization was awareness of life and its many forms. It was set up for the betterment of humanity. In the latter part of 1882, this society shifted to Adyar in Chennai. The society has a commendable library of rare oriental manuscripts written on palm leaves and parchments. These manuscripts are very valuable in terms of ancestry and archaeology.

Reform movements for Indian Muslims began in the second half of the 19th century. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the most prominent intellectual among Muslims, who strived hard to develop and educate Muslims. If the forerunner of regeneration among the Hindus was Ram Mohan Roy, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan can be accredited with the same title among Muslims of India. He founded the Translation Society which translated Western knowledge into Urdu. This society was later renamed as the Scientific Society. However, his greatest accomplishment was the setting up of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, at Aligarh. This college grew into a global centre of study.

The unit will also discuss the Revolt of 1857, its causes as well as its impact.

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4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the life of Raja Ram Mohan Roy including his early life and social, political and religious career
- Identify the issues that led to the Revolt of 1857
- Recognize Vivekananda as a philosopher of modern India
- Assess the founding principles of the Ramakrishna Mission
- Summarize the theories of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan
- Discuss the Aligarh Reform Movement

4.2 RENAISSANCE-I: RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY

Roy was born in Radhanagore, Bengal, into the Rarhi Brahmin caste. His family background displayed religious diversity; his father Ramkanto Roy was a Vaishnavite, while his mother Tarinidevi was from a Shaivite family. This was unusual for Vaishnavites did not commonly marry Shaivites at that time. Thus, one parent wanted him to be a scholar, a *sastrin*, while the other wanted him to have a career dedicated to the *laukik*, which was secular public administration.

Political and Religious Career of Roy

Ram Mohan Roy's impact on modern Indian history concerned a revival of the ethics and principles of the Vedanta school of philosophy as found in the Upanishads. He preached about the unity of God, made early translations of Vedic scriptures into English, co-founded the Calcutta Unitarian Society, founded the Brahmo Samaj, and campaigned against *sati*. He sought to integrate Western culture with features of his own country's traditions. He established schools to modernize a system of education in India.

During these overlapping periods, Ram Mohan Roy acted as a political agitator and agent, whilst being employed by the East India Company and simultaneously pursuing his vocation as a *Pandit*.

In 1792, the British Baptist shoemaker William Carey published his missionary tract 'An Enquiry of the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of Heathens'. In the following year, William Carey landed in India to settle. His objective was to translate, publish and distribute the Bible in Indian languages and propagate Christianity to the Indian peoples. He realized the mobile (i.e., service classes) Brahmins and *Pandits* were most able to help him in this endeavour, and he began gathering them. He learned the Buddhist and Jain religious works as a means to improve his argument in the promotion of Christianity in the cultural context. In 1795, Carey made contact with a Sanskrit scholar, the tantric Hariharananda Vidyavagish, who later introduced him to Ram Mohan Roy as Roy wished to learn English.

Between 1796 and 1797 the trio of Carey, Vidyavagish and Roy fabricated a spurious religious work known as the *Maha Nirvana Tantra* (or *Book of the Great Liberation*) and attempted to portray it as an ancient religious text on The One True God, which was actually the Holy Spirit of Christianity masquerading as Brahma. The document's judicial sections were used in the law courts of the English Settlement in Bengal as Hindu Law for adjudicating upon property disputes of the *zamindari*. However,

British magistrates and collectors began to suspect it as a forgery; its usage, as well as the reliance on *pandits* as sources of Hindu Law, was quickly deprecated. Vidyavagish had a brief falling out with Carey and separated from the group, but maintained ties to Ram Mohan Roy. The *Maha Nirvana Tantra*'s significance for Brahmoism lay in the wealth that Rammohan Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore accumulated by its judicial use, and not due to any religious wisdom within.

From 1803 till 1815, Ram Mohan served the East India Company's 'Writing Service', commencing as private clerk or '*munshi*' to Thomas Woodforde, Registrar of the Appellate Court at Murshidabad. Woodforde's distant nephew, also a Magistrate, later made a living off the spurious *Maha Nirvana Tantra* under the pseudonym Arthur Avalon. In 1815, Raja Ram Mohan Roy formed *Atmiya Sabha* and spent many years at Rangpur and elsewhere with Digby, where he renewed his contacts with Hariharananda. William Carey had, by this time, settled at Serampore and the trio renewed their association with one another. William Carey was also aligned with the English Company, then headquartered at Fort William, and his religious and political ambitions were increasingly intertwined.

The East India Company was taking money from India at a rate of three million pounds a year in 1838. Ram Mohan Roy estimated how much money was being driven out of India and where it was headed towards. He predicted that around half of the total revenue collected in India was sent out to England, leaving India to fill taxes with the remaining money.

At the turn of the 19th century, the Muslims, although considerably decreased after the battles of Plassey and Buxar, still posed a political threat to the Company. Ram Mohan was now chosen by Carey to be the agitator amongst them.

Under Carey's secret tutelage in the next two decades, Ram Mohan launched his attack against the bastions of Hinduism of Bengal, namely his own Kulin Brahmin priestly clan (then in control of the many temples of Bengal) and their priestly excesses. The social and theological issues Carey chose for Ram Mohan were calculated to weaken the hold of the dominant Kulin class. He focussed especially on their younger disinherited sons forced into service who constituted the mobile gentry or '*bhadralok*' of Bengal, from the Mughal *zamindari* system and wanted to align them to their new overlords of the Company. The Kulin excesses targeted included child marriage and dowry. In fact, Carey tried to convert Roy to Christianity and appointed a religious priest to try to convert Roy, although the priest later accepted Hinduism.

Socio-Religious Reforms by Raja Ram Mohan Roy

In 1830, Ram Mohan Roy travelled to the United Kingdom from the Khejuri Port, which was then the sea port of Bengal and is currently in East Midnapore, West Bengal. At the time, Roy was an ambassador of the Mughal emperor Akbar II, who conferred on him the title of Raja to convince the British government to provide for the welfare of India and to ensure that the Lord Bentick's regulation banning the practice of *sati* was not overturned. Roy also visited France.

Roy demanded property inheritance rights for women and, in 1828, Roy set up the Brahmo Sabha, which was a movement by reformist Bengalis formed to fight against social evils.

Roy's political background influenced his social and religious reforms of Hinduism. He wrote: 'The present system of Hindoos is not well calculated to promote their political

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interests.... It is necessary that some change should take place in their religion, at least for the sake of their political advantage and social comfort.'

Ram Mohan Roy's experience working with the British government taught him that Hindu traditions were often not respected or thought as credible by Western standards; this affected his religious reforms. He wanted to legitimize Hindu traditions to his European acquaintances by proving that 'superstitious practices which deform the Hindoo religion have nothing to do with the pure spirit of its dictates'. The 'superstitious practices' Ram Mohan Roy objected against included *sati*, caste rigidity, polygamy and child marriage. These practices were often the reasons British officials claimed moral superiority over the Indian nation. Ram Mohan Roy's ideas of religion sought to create a fair and just society by implementing humanitarian practices similar to Christian ideals and thus legitimize Hinduism in the modern world.

Roy died at Stapleton, which was then a village to the northeast of Bristol on 27 September 1833.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy: The Educationist

Roy believed education to be imperative for social reform. In 1817, in collaboration with David Hare, he set up the Hindu College at Calcutta. In 1822, Roy founded the Anglo-Hindu school, followed four years later by the Vedanta College, where he insisted that his teachings of monotheistic doctrines be incorporated with 'modern, western curriculum'; Vedanta College offered courses as a synthesis of Western and Indian learning. In 1830, he helped Alexander Duff in establishing the General Assembly's institution, by providing him the venue vacated by Brahmo Sabha and getting the first batch of students. Roy supported the induction of western learning into Indian education. He advocated the study of English, science, western medicine and technology. He spent his own money on a college to promote these studies.

Roy published magazines in English, Hindi, Persian, and Bengali. He published the *Brahmonical Magazine* in English in 1821. One notable magazine of his was the *Sambad Kaumudi*, published in 1821. In 1822, Ram Mohan published *Mirat-ul-Akbar* in the Persian language.

The *Brahmonical Magazine* ceased to exist after the publication of few issues. But *Sambad Kaumudi*, a news weekly, covered topics such as freedom of press, induction of Indians into high ranks of service and separation of the executive and judiciary. *Sambad Kaumudi* became bi-weekly in January 1830 and continued for thirty-three years.

He published the newspaper to register his protest against the introduction of Press Ordinance of 1823. The ordinance stated that a license from the Governor General in council would be mandatory to publish any newspaper. When the English Company censored the press, Ram Mohan composed two memorials against this in 1829 and 1830 respectively.

Tomb of Raja Ram Mohan Roy

The tomb was built by Dwarkanath Tagore in 1843, ten years after Ram Mohan Roy's death in Bristol on 27 Sep 1833. The tomb is located in the Arnos Vale Cemetery on the outskirts of Bristol. In 1845, Dwarkanath Tagore arranged for Ram Mohan's remains to be removed and returned to India through Roy's nephew, who had accompanied Dwarkanath to Britain for this purpose. Ram Mohan's relics were cremated by his family near Kolkata on February 28, 1846.

In September 2006, representatives from the Indian High Commission came to Bristol to mark the anniversary of Ram Mohan Roy's death. During the ceremony Hindu, Muslim and Sikh women sang prayers of thanks in Sanskrit.

Following this visit, the Mayor of Kolkata, Bikash Ranjan Bhattacharya, who was amongst the representatives from the Indian High Commission, decided to raise funds to restore the tomb.

In June 2007, businessman Aditya Poddar donated £50,000 towards the restoration of Ram Mohan's memorial after being approached by the Mayor of Kolkata for funding.

Legacy of Raja Ram Mohan Roy

Ram Mohan Roy was a major shaper of modern India. Consciously influenced by Christianity and by the social agenda of many missionaries, he was convinced that India's culture and religious tradition was rational and of profound spiritual value. Nehru describes Roy as a 'new type' of thinker 'combining in himself the old learning and the new.' 'Deeply versed,' wrote Nehru, 'in Indian thought and philosophy, a scholar of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, he was a product of the mixed Hindu-Muslim culture' of that part of India. Nehru cites Oxford's second Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Sir Monier Williams, on Roy as the world's first scholar of the science of Comparative Religion. While he remained rooted in Hinduism, Roy admired much of what he saw in Islam, Christianity and in the other religions which he studied, and believed that the same fundamental truths were the basis of all these religions. He held that the first principle of all religions is the 'Absolute Originator.' Against the criticism that it contained very little lasting worth, he set out to retrieve from India's heritage what could withstand the scrutiny of a rational mind. He went further than others in what he was prepared to abandon, which for him included the Vedas. For other reformers, such as Dayananda Saraswati, the Vedas contained all religious truth as well as ancient scientific knowledge, and were not to be thrown away. The organization he founded, the Brahmo Samaj, was a pioneer of social reform, an important promoter of education and of India's autonomy and eventual independence. Its basic ideals, including gender-equality and its rejection of class-based privilege, have become part of the social framework of Indian society, at least in theory.

The marriage of girls five or six years old, burning the wife with her dead husband whether she is willing or not, meaningless observance of festivals and worshipping for show, the worship of several gods and ranking gods as high and low, these were the practices that Ram Mohan was sick of. He had a high regard for Hinduism, but he felt that the Hindus had yet to understand their religion correctly. Ram Mohan felt that there should be equality between men and women and that people should give up superstitious beliefs. Many of Ram Mohan's friends accepted his line of thinking. An association of such close friends was formed. It was called '*Atmiya Sabha*' (The Society of Friends). Religious discussions took place there. The members had to give up idol-worship. They had to spread the Society's views on religion among the people. Many scholars opposed Ram Mohan. Ram Mohan wrote articles in reply to these objections. The people read them and understood what was said in the sacred books.

Personalities and Events Closely Associated with Raja Ram Mohan Roy

The following people were closely related with Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

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Dwarkanath Tagore (1794–1846)**NOTES**

Dwarkanath Tagore was one of the first Indian industrialists and entrepreneurs. He was the founder of the Jorasanko branch of the Tagore family, and is notable for making substantial contributions to the Bengal Renaissance.

Dwarkanath Tagore was the second son of Rammoni Thakur (employed in the Calcutta Police) and his wife Menaka.

His early education and upbringing was within the family house (Thakur Bari), but at age ten in 1804 he was admitted to Sherbourne's school on the Chitpur Road and become one of Mr Sherbourne's favourite pupils.

On 12 December 1807, Ramlochan died leaving all his property to Dwarkanath who was then a minor. Dwarkanath left school in 1810 at the age of sixteen and apprenticed himself under a renowned barrister at Calcutta (now Kolkata), Robert Cutlar Fergusson and shuttled between Calcutta and his estates at Behrampore and Cuttack.

On 7 February 1811 Dwarkanath was married to Digambaridevi (then nine years' old). Dwarkanath's family fortune took a decided turn for the better once she entered his house, also bearing him one daughter and five sons before her death in January 1839.

'As a *zamindar* Dwarkanath was mercilessly efficient and businesslike, but not generous'. Dwarkanath looked upon his investment in land as investment in any other business or enterprise and claimed what he deemed a fair return. In later years Dwarkanath would appoint European managers for his estates at Sahajadpur and Behrampore. He knew that the *ryots* were more amenable to the disciplinary control of British managers than their Bengali counterparts. In time Dwarkanath would convert his estates to integrated commercial-industrial complexes with indigo, silk and sugar factories. In the cut-throat world of *zamindari* politics Dwarkanath took no nonsense and gave no quarter to either Europeans or natives. His knowledge of the tenancy laws stood him in good stead. Unlike his good friend Ram Mohan Roy who pleaded for the rights of the poor *ryots*, Dwarkanath's sympathies were more one sided and tilted towards his own class.

Tagore was a western-educated Bengali brahmin and an acknowledged civic leader of Kolkata who played a pioneering role in setting up a string of commercial ventures—banking, insurance and shipping companies—in partnership with British traders. In 1828, he became the first Indian bank director. In 1829, he founded Union Bank in Calcutta. He helped found the first Anglo-Indian Managing Agency (industrial organizations that ran jute mills, coal mines, tea plantations, etc.) Carr, Tagore and Company. Even earlier, Rustomjee Cowasjee, a Parsi in Calcutta, had formed an inter-racial firm but in the early nineteenth century, Parsis were classified as a Near Eastern community as opposed to South Asian. Tagore's company managed huge *zamindari* estates spread across today's West Bengal and Orissa states in India, and in Bangladesh, besides holding large stakes in new enterprises that were tapping the rich coal seams of Bengal, running tug services between Calcutta and the mouth of the river Hooghly and transporting Chinese tea crop to the plains of Upper Assam. This company was one of the Indian private companies engaged in the opium trade with China. Opium was produced in India and was sold in China. Tagore founded the first Indian coal mine in Runigunj. Very large schooners were engaged in shipments. This made Dwarkanath extremely rich.

A restless soul, with a firm conviction that his racial identity was not a barrier between him and other Britons as long as he remained loyal to the British Sovereign,

Tagore was well-received by Queen Victoria and many other British and European notables during his two trips to the West in the 1840s; he died in London after a brief illness. Historiographers have often been flummoxed by his inability, despite a great desire, to be honoured by the Queen with a baronetcy (his grandson, Rabindranath, received the honour but returned it following British atrocities at the Jallianwala Bagh in the Punjab, 1919).

It is widely held in Bengal that he did go entirely bankrupt by the end of his life and left only a small fraction of his earlier stature and wealth to his descendants.

Some scholars have been puzzled by the paucity of documents concerning Dwarkanath in the Tagore family collections spread over many generations. There are scanty references to him in the records of Debendranath Tagore, his eldest son who founded the Brahmo religion. There is absolutely no mention of Dwarkanath (except in a personal letter) in the monumental body of writings by his grandson Rabindranath. The established academic view is that Dwarkanath's concept of equating the colonizer with the colonized was found galling by his countrymen in the context of the nationalist awakening in Bengal and India, in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The first Indian entrepreneur who thought globally thus remains an oddity in the country's socio-cultural history.

Dwarkanath Tagore died 'at the peak of his fortune' on the evening of Saturday 1 August 1846 at the St. George's Hotel in London.

In 1822, Dwarkanath, while carrying on his private ventures, carried out additional services for the British East India Company as *Shetidar* to Trevor Plowden Collector for the twenty four *Parganas*. Although the pay was meagre at under ` 500 per year, the prestige and avenues for additional income was considerable and gave Dwarkanath an intimate insight into the functioning of the government. However, by June 1834 he had had enough of government service and resigned to launch his spectacular career as a full time entrepreneur.

Dwarkanath Tagore was of the firm conviction that at those times 'the happiness of India is best secured by her connection with England'. Dwarkanath was no doubt a loyalist, and a sincere one at that, but he was by no means a flatterer. Servility was as far from his character as was lack of generosity from his nature. He was also firm in defending the interest and sentiments of his people against European prejudices. With this in view he established an Association for Landholders (later known as the Landholder's Society) on 21 March 1838. The association was overtly a self-serving political association, founded on a large and liberal basis, to admit landholders of all descriptions, Englishmen, Hindus, Muslims and Christian. It was the first political association in India to air the grievances of the people or a section of them that were outspoken in a fair and unbiased manner. From this grew the British India Association, the precursor to the Indian National Congress.

William Adam (1796–1881)

William Adam, born in Dunfermline, Fife, Scotland, began his ministry as a Baptist missionary in India. His labours in India made him into a linguist, a biblical scholar, and a Unitarian. Thereafter for years, Adam tried to elicit support for his work as a Unitarian missionary, first in India and later in the United States and Canada. His career illustrates the meagre support for and the difficulties of Unitarian missionary endeavours of the nineteenth century.

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As a young man, Adam was deeply influenced by the famous Scottish churchman Thomas Chalmers. Chalmers interested Adam in India and got him to join the Baptist Missionary Society. The Society sent him for his education to the Baptist College in Bristol and to the University of Glasgow. Adam set out in September, 1817, for William Carey's Baptist mission station in Serampore, India, north of Calcutta. He reached his destination in six months, in March, 1818.

After mastering the classical Sanskrit and Bengali languages, Adam joined a group of men who were revising the Bengali translation of the New Testament. The group included Ram Mohan Roy. Roy convinced Adam that the meaning of the Greek preposition *dia* required that Jn 1:3, a verse of the prologue to John's Gospel, be translated as the Bengali equivalent of the English words, 'All things were made through the Word. . .' not 'by the Word'. Translators of New Testament Greek in later generations would come to agree, but in 1821 the view of nature of Christ, supported by this translation and espoused by Adam and Ram Mohan, was rejected by orthodox Christians as the Arian heresy (named for the fourth century CE dissident, Arius). For this reason colleagues nicknamed him 'the second fallen Adam'.

Adam soon resigned his position as a Baptist missionary and, along with Ram Mohan and a few other Indian and European friends, formed the Calcutta Unitarian Society. Adam sent ardent appeals to British and American Unitarians for financial support. Support was both slow in coming and quite inadequate when it came. Nevertheless, the Calcutta Unitarian Society remained fitfully active and viable for seven years. However in 1828, its Hindu supporters finally chose to create a new Unitarian form of Hinduism, Brahmo Samaj, leaving behind Unitarian Christianity.

Adam was the first international Unitarian of modern times. His convert's enthusiasm was much damped by the lukewarm response of both British and American Unitarians to his requests for their support of his work as a Unitarian missionary in India. Ultimately, he was disappointed in the Unitarian movement as a whole.

At the time Adam regretted that Ram Mohan Roy and his Hindu friends chose a Unitarian Hindu faith in preference to Unitarian Christianity. Yet without Adam's dedicated initiative and drive, the reformed Unitarian Hindu movement, the Brahmo Samaj, might never have come into being. The distinguished leaders of the Brahmo Samaj nurtured and propagated what became, in effect, a 'school of thought', which flowered into the famous Bengal Renaissance, a great burst of modern, yet distinctively Indian political theory, idealism and poetry. The Brahmo Samaj, first established in part by an ill-supported and mostly forgotten Unitarian missionary, immensely influenced the intellectual and political culture of all India.

Sambad Kaumudi

Sambad Kaumudi was a Bengali weekly newspaper published from Kolkata in the first half of the 19th century by Ram Mohan Roy. It was a noted pro-Reformist publication that actively campaigned for the abolition of *sati*.

In the prospectus for the *Sambad Kaumudi*, published in English and Bengali in November 1821, Ram Mohan appealed to his countrymen to lend him 'the support and patronage of all who feel themselves interested in the moral and intellectual improvement of our countrymen'. In the same prospectus, he further stated that religious, moral and political matters, domestic occurrence, foreign as well as local intelligence including original communications on various hitherto unpublished interesting local topics, etc. would be published in the *Sambad Kaumudi* every Tuesday.

Although Ram Mohan Roy was the owner, *Sambad Kaumudi* was actually published in the name of Bhabani Charan Bandhopadhyay. The latter soon found Ram Mohan's ideas too radical and parted company to start a rival newspaper called *Samachar Chandrika*, which became the mouthpiece for orthodox Hinduism. According to a different source, *Kaumudi* was started by Tarachand Dutta and Bhabani Charan Bandhopadhyay. The first issue of *Sambad Kaumudi* appeared on 4 December, 1821. It contained an 'Appeal to the Bengali Public' in which it proclaimed that the primary object of its publication was to promote the 'public good'. On 20 December, 1821, the *Calcutta Journal* brought out an editorial, commenting on the publication of this 'new Bengali newspaper edited by a learned Hindoo'. It also reproduced the prospectus and the 'Appeal to the Bengali Public'. In the appeal, Ram Mohan Roy said:

'It is our intention hereafter to give further currency to the Articles inserted in this paper, by translating the most interesting parts in the different languages of the East, particularly Persian and Hindoostanee; but all this will entail considerable expense, the accomplishment of it will, of course, depend upon the encouragement which we may be able to obtain. The foregoing being an outline of what we are desirous of performing, our countrymen will readily conclude that although the paper in question be conducted by us, and may consequently be considered our property, yet virtually it is the 'paper of the public' since in it they can at all times have inserted, anything that tends to the public good ...'

Though Bhabani Charan Bandyopadhyay was nominally in charge of this weekly till the publication of its thirteenth issue, Ram Mohan was its promoter, and for all practical purposes, also its editor. After Bhabani Charan Bandyopadhyay, Harihar Dutta was the editor for some time, followed by Gobinda Chandra Kongar. Due to lack of sufficient patronage *Kaumudi* had to stop publication in October 1822. In April 1823 a license was granted under the new Press Regulation to Gobinda Chandra Kongar to publish and Ananda Gopal Mukherji to edit the newspaper.

Sambad Kaumudi regularly ran editorials against *sati*, denouncing it as barbaric and un-Hindu. It was the main vehicle of Ram Mohan Roy's campaign against *sati*. The editorial in the *Calcutta Journal* on 14 February 1823 observed, 'The paper which was considered so fraught with danger and likely to explode over all India like a spark thrown into a barrel of gunpowder, has long since fallen to the ground for want of support; chiefly we understand because it offended the native community by opposing some of three customs, and particularly the burning of Hindoo widows, etc.' Governor-General Bentinck, largely (though not exclusively) instigated by Ram Mohan Roy, responded to the growing public outcry by outlawing *sati* in 1829.

The government viewed the newspaper with an eye of suspicion. The officials believed that the newspaper was inspired by the *Calcutta Journal* and patronized by its owner James Silk Buckingham. The Asiatic Journal, the unofficial organ of the East India Company published from London took Buckingham to task for encouraging and patronizing an Indian newspaper like the *Sambad Kaumudi* which, it thought, could serve no other purpose than to promote Indian disaffection against British rule.

The press in India as perceived today had its origin in Bengal in the late 18th century as a vehicle for promoting missions – James Augustus Hicky's *Gazette* or *Calcutta General Advertiser* set out on a mission to expose the corrupt practices of the British officers of the East India company for which he faced punishment and died a pauper. The Christian missionaries of Serampore set up a printing press and started three publications for the propagation of Christianity. Raja Ram Mohan Roy brought out

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Mirat-ul-Akhbar and later *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* which dealt with social and administrative evils and critically examined British policies both in India and in Ireland. He emphasized social reforms within the country especially the abolition of *sati*.

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4.2.1 Brahmo Samaj

The Brahmo Samaj is the societal component of the Brahmo religion which is mainly practiced today as the Adi Dharm, after its eclipse in Bengal, consequent to the exit of the Tattwabodini Sabha from its ranks in 1859. It was one of the most influential religious movements responsible for the making of modern India. It was conceived at Kolkata in 1830 by Dwarkanath Tagore and Ram Mohan Roy as a reformation of the prevailing Brahminism of the time (specifically Kulin practices) and began the Bengal Renaissance in the 19th century, pioneering all religious, social and educational advancement of the Hindu community. From the Brahmo Samaj springs Brahmoism, the most recent of India's faiths recognized by law as a distinct religion in Bangladesh, reflecting its non-syncretic 'foundation of Ram Mohun Roy's reformed spiritual Hinduism (contained in the 1830 Banian deed) and inclusion of root Hebraic – Islamic creed and practice.' After the publication of Hemendranath Tagore's *Brahmo Anusthan* (code of practice) in 1860 which formally divorced Brahmoism from Hinduism, the first Brahmo Samaj was founded in 1861 at Lahore by Pandit Nobin Chandra Roy.

Doctrine of the Brahmo Samaj

The following doctrines, as noted in the renaissance of Hinduism, are common to all varieties and offshoots of the Brahmo Samaj:

- Brahmo Samajists have no faith in any scripture as an authority.
- Brahmo Samajists have no faith in *Avatars*.
- Brahmo Samajists denounce polytheism and idol-worship.
- Brahmo Samajists are against caste restrictions.
- Brahmo Samajists make faith in the doctrines of *karma* and rebirth optional.

Principles of Brahmo Samaj

The following principles are accepted by the vast majority of Brahmos today:

- **On God:** There is always Infinite Singularity – immanent and transcendent Singular Author and Preserver of Existence. He who is manifest everywhere and in everything, in fire and in water, in the smallest plant to the mightiest oak.
- **On Being:** Being is created from Singularity. Being is renewed to Singularity. Being exists to be one (again) with Loving Singularity.
- **On Intelligent Existence:** Righteous actions alone rule Existence against Chaos. Knowledge of pure conscience (light within) is the One (Supreme) ruler of Existence with no symbol or intermediary.
- **On Love:** Respect all creations and beings but never venerate (worship) them for only Singularity can be adored.

Divisions of the Brahmo Samaj

After the death of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, serious differences regarding creed, rituals and the attitude of the Brahmos to the social problems of the day, had arisen between

Debendranath Tagore and Keshub Chandra Sen (who joined the Samaj in 1857). Tagore and Sen possessed radically different temperaments. As a result, in 1866, the Brahmo Samaj soon split up into two groups—the old conservatives rallying round Debendranath and the young reformists led by the Keshub Chandra. The two rival bodies—the **Adi Brahmo Samaj** (led by Debendranath) and the **Brahmo Samaj of India** (inspired and led by Keshub Chandra)—came into existence. The Brahmo Samaj of India started to carry out its spiritual and social reforms and achieved remarkable success within a short span of time. The Samaj now adopted a much more radical and comprehensive scheme of social reform. It placed much greater stress on female emancipation, female education and a total abolition all caste distinctions. Its two important achievements were the formation of the Indian Reform Association in 1870 and the enactment of the Indian Marriage Act of 1872. The latter authenticated inter-caste marriages. The blend of *bhakti* (intense devotional fervour) and Brahmoism rendered it more soothing, emotional and attractive to the common people.

Despite the vibrant progress of the Brahmo movement under Keshub, the Samaj underwent a second schism on May, 1878 when a group of Keshub Chandra Sen's followers deserted him to establish the **Sadharan Brahmo Samaj**. The founders of this new outfit demanded the introduction of a democratic constitution in the church, which was not conceded by Keshub Chandra and his followers. The two other factors responsible for division in the ranks of the Brahmo Samaj of India were Keshub's doctrine of *adesha* (Divine Command) and the marriage of Keshub's daughter with the prince of Cooch Bihar allegedly in violation of the provision of the Indian Marriage Act of 1872. The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, led by the veteran Derozian Shib Chandra Dev, consisted of some of the most talented youth of the time, such as Sivnath Shastri, Ananda Mohan Bose and Dwarkanath Ganguli. They were all great supporters of democracy and promptly framed a full-fledged democratic constitution based on universal adult franchise, for their new organization. A number of them took active part in the activities of the Indian League (1878), the Indian Association (1878) and the nascent Indian National Congress.

4.3 REVOLT OF 1857: CAUSES, NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE

In 1857, the British completed hundred years of stay in India since the Battle of Plassey. During this time the Indian rulers were unhappy for the loss of former glory and the peasants were discontent at having been reduced to serfs. The traditional craftsmen and artisans were robbed of their livelihoods. And now the colonial powers had all control over trade, commerce, and industries. This was leading to a steady outflow of India's wealth. This period saw a lot of aggressiveness from the British government in consolidating the princely states and strengthening the power of the Colonial rulers.

Dalhousie was responsible for the rising discontent among native states. Lord Canning, who succeeded him shortly before the revolt, could read the writing on the wall and said grimly, 'we must not forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, at first no bigger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin'.

Causes of the Revolt of 1857

The following are the causes of the Revolt of 1857.

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Check Your Progress

1. When was *Atmiya Sabha* formed and by whom?
2. Who founded the Brahmo Samaj?

NOTES**1. Political Causes**

One of the main causes of the Revolt was the Doctrine of Lapse. The arbitrary ways in which adopted sons were not allowed to succeed led to much resentment. The states which were affected were Satara (1848), Jaitpur, Sambhalpur (1849), Baghat (1850), Udepur (1852) Jhansi (1853) and Nagpur (1854). The annexation that caused the most controversy was that of Awadh in 1856. Even though the Nawab of Awadh, Wajid Ali Shah was loyal to the British he was accused of mis-governance. The company's soldiers were now upset as they were loyal to the Nawab and the annexation of Awadh meant that the soldiers and their relatives would have to pay higher taxes. A new land revenue act was introduced and this meant higher taxes for the landowners. The Zamindars also were against their lands being confiscated. The company also stopped the annual pension of Nana Sahib, the adopted son of last Peshwa Baji Rao II. He proved to be a deadly enemy of the British.

There was unemployment also because the people who did not know English lost their jobs since now Persian and Urdu were no longer acceptable in government jobs. These people were called Ashrafs and held posts in the judicial and revenue department and they joined the revolt as they wanted to get back their jobs and prestige.

2. Military Causes

The soldiers or sepoys of the British Army revolted mainly because the cartridges used in the guns were coated with grease made from cow and pig fat. Soldiers who belonged to the upper caste among Hindus protested for the cow fat and the Muslims for the pig fat. Earlier also many sepoys had shown resentment over having to cross the sea to go to Burma as that was considered against some Hindu ritual. They were also unhappy with the pay structure as some high ranking Hindu soldier would get less than a low ranking English soldier. There were bleak chances of getting promoted also. Many spend all their service life in the same post. Then there were rumours of sepoys being forcibly converted to Christianity.

3. Religious Causes

The large number of conversion being made by Christian missionaries were also cause of concern for the majority of Hindus and Muslims. There were news of humiliation by British on Hinduism and Islam. The efforts of some reformists were also seen as conspiracy against Hindu religion and interference in the internal matters of Hindus. Then a law was enacted in 1850, which also enabled those who converted into Christianity to inherit ancestral property. This was really opposed by the majority.

4. Administrative and Economic Causes

The complete monopoly of the British on trade and commerce of the country also led to a lot of resentment. The native trade, handicraft, and other livelihoods were being destroyed by the monopoly of the British traders. The revenue system was also breaking the back bone of the local economy. With the annexation of Indian states consumers for local Indian goods and industry was not patronized and British goods were promoted and this led to large scale unemployment. And all these people also joined the revolt.

Nature of the Revolt

The real nature and cause of the revolt is debatable. Each historian has his own interpretation. The most well known and acceptable one being the story of Mangal

Pandey, a sepoy of 34th native infantry of Bengal Army. When he fired at a Sergeant Major at Barrackpore on March 29, 1857 (Bengal), he did not realize that he was creating history. He was later executed but this led to wide spread revolts in Meerut where soldiers killed English officers and started marching towards Delhi.

Many historians like Ear Stanley, T.R Homes. Forest, Innes and Sir John Lawrence stated the greased cartridges as the cause of the mutiny and called it a barbaric act. Some like Sir James Outram and W. Taylor described it as a conspiracy by Hindus and Muslims. Some called it a national revolt.'

Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan, described it as a resentment for not having political organization in his book *Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind* (causes of the revolt of India). V.D. Savarkar in his book *War of Indian Independence* called it the first war of independence. Even though the revolt began in the army it soon spread to other areas as well. Some historians were of the view that this sowed the seeds of the cry for independence. Yet, there are the following contrarian views:

Events of the Revolt

From Meerut the Sepoys marched to Delhi and declared Bahadur Shah Zafar as the Emperor of India. Then they attacked Daryaganj near Chandni Chowk area. Here large number of English lived. Soon Delhi was a battle ground. In Delhi the leaders failed to lead well and soon the battle in Delhi was losing ground. Figure 4.1 depicts the centres of the revolt of 1857.

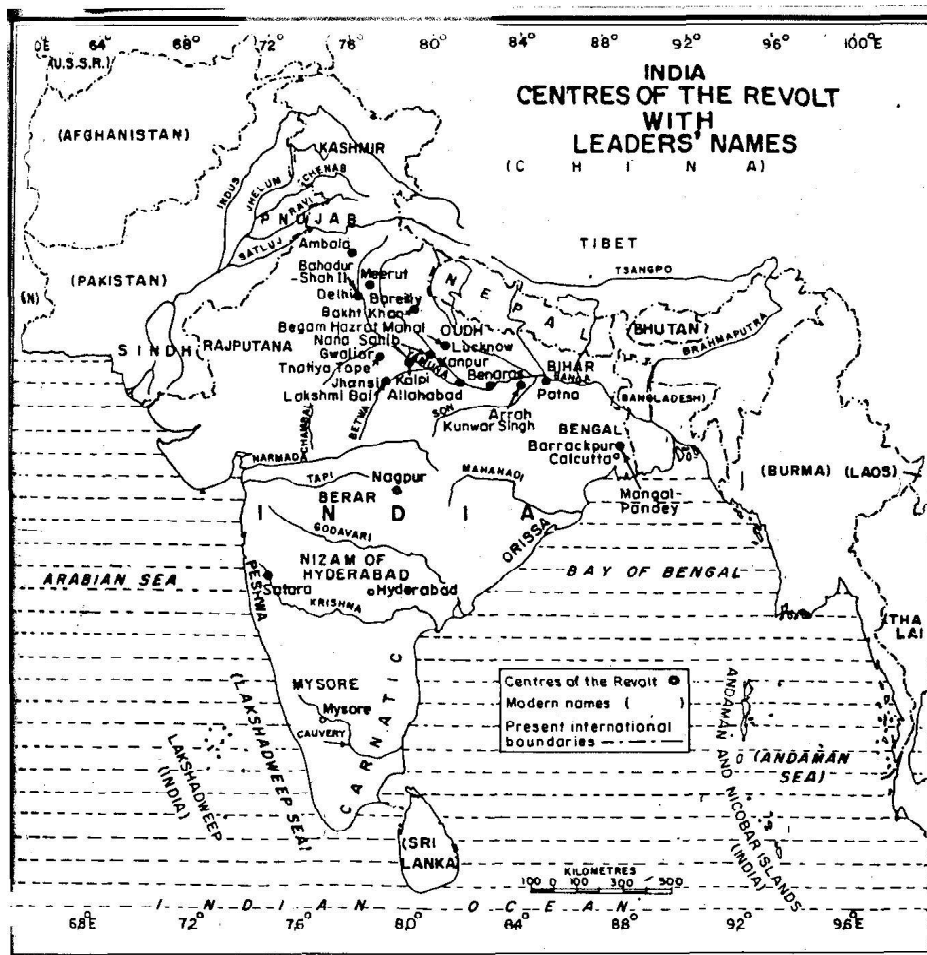


Fig. 4.1 Centres of the Revolt of 1857

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The revolt spread to different parts of the country after the outbreak in Delhi. Kanpur, Bareilly, Lucknow, Allahabad, Banaras, Faizabad, Jhansi, Jagdishpur (Arrah), Danapur and Patna were raging. In Lucknow, the revolt was led by Begum Hazrat Mahal who declared Birjis Qadar, her son, as the Nawab of Awadh. The British Resident Henry Lawrence was killed. Sir Colin Campbell tried to save the Europeans with the help of the Gorkha regiment.

From Kanpur, Nana Saheb with the support of Tatya Tope led the movement. Sir Hugh Wheeler, the commander of garrison surrendered on June 27, 1857. When Sir Campbell captured Kanpur, Tantia Tope escaped and joined Rani Laxmibai.

Rani Laxmibai, the ruler of Jhansi was a victim of the Doctrine of Lapse and revolted since her adopted son was not allowed to ascend to the throne and her state was being annexed by the British. She was declared ruler of Jhansi by the soldiers. Tatya Tope and Rani Jhansi together attacked Gwalior.

The Indian soldiers were with them but the ruler of Gwalior, Scindia, was loyal to the British. He escaped to Agra. Gwalior fell in June 1858. Rani died fighting on June 17, 1858. Tope was arrested and executed. At Jagdishpur (Bihar) Kunwar Singh led the revolt and defeated the British forces near Arrah.

At Bareilly, Khan Bahadur Khan led the revolt and in Faizabad, it was led by Maulvi Ahmadullah and in Patna by Maulvi Pir Ali. They were also part of the Wahabi movement and were against British so they joined the revolt.

Suppression of the Revolt**1. Delhi**

It was recaptured by General John Nicholson in September, 1857. However, he later died of his wounds. Lt. Hodson killed the Mughal Emperor's sons and a grandson. Bahadurshah was later sent to Burma on exile.

2. Kanpur

Sir Hugh Wheeler fought against Nana's forces. Many Englishmen, women and children were killed. Major General Havelock on 17th July defeated Nana and recaptured Kanpur after a tough battle. Many Indian were killed by Brigadier General Neill. After this Sir Colin Campbell he became the new commander in chief of the Indian Army in August 1857.

3. Lucknow

Death of Sir Henry Lawrence on 2nd July 1857; arrival of Havelock, Outram and Neill with reinforcements (25th September) and death of Neill; relief of the besieged British by Sir Colin Campbell on 17th November, death of Havelock in December 1857, and its occupation by Tope; its final reoccupation by Campbell on 21st March, 1858.

4. Jhansi and Gwalior

Jhansi's recaptured by Sir Hugh Rose on 4th April, 1858 and the escape of Rani Laxmibai; capture of Gwalior (whose soldiers revolted and drove out their ruler, Scindia) by Rani, death of Rani on 17th June, 1858 and recapture of Gwalior by Rose on 20th June.

5. Bareilly

Recaptured by Campbell on 5th May 1858.

6. Arrah

Suppression of the Bihar movement under Kunwar Singh by William Taylor and Vincent Eyre temporarily in August, 1857; escape of Kunwar to Awadh and his return to Bihar in April, 1858, to fight his last battle (he died on 9th May).

7. Banaras and Allahabad

Recaptured by Neill in June 1857.

8. Central India

The whole of central India and Bundelkhand was brought under British control by Sir Hugh Rose in the first half of 1858. But Tope, after losing Gwalior, escaped to Central India and carried on guerrilla war for 10 months. Finally, he was betrayed by Man Singh (a feudatory of Scindia) and was executed by the British on 18th April 1859. Nana Saheb, Begum of Awadh and Khan Bahadur escaped to Nepal in December 1858 and died there. Bakht Khan went to Awadh after the fall of Delhi, and died fighting the British on 13th May, 1859. Maulavi Ahmadullah was treacherously murdered by Raja of Puwain in June 1858.

Causes of the Failure of the Revolt

The main reasons why the revolt failed were as follows:

1. The revolt was not a national event and hence failed to leave an impact. The revolt had no effect on the southern states of India. The sepoys of Madras were loyal to the British. Sepoys of Punjab, Sindh, Rajputana and east Bengal did not join the mutiny and the Gorkhas were loyal allies of the British.
2. The British had very talented officers to lead the counter attack, some of them being Nicholson, Outram, Edwards etc.
3. Only the rulers who had lost their throne and state joined the revolt. Many remained loyal. Sir Dinkar Rao of Gwalior and Salar Jung of Nizam did not support the rebellion in fact they suppressed it. The British remained grateful to the Nizams for a long time for this.
4. The battle was lopsided towards the British as they had more resources.
5. Lack of leadership and proper strategies led to the failure of the revolt. There was no proper coordination. Bahadur Shah Zafar was a coward and was concerned about his own safety. He proved to be the weakest link. There was no faith in him.
6. There was no larger vision or goal for the revolt. It was led by feudal lords who did not have any game plan but to secure their own selfish interests. They hardly had anything new to challenge the mighty British rule.
7. Since the survival of the Zamindars and moneylenders depended on the British economy, they did not support the revolt.

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8. The educated middle class was not part of the revolt. The number of such people was small and they had not much say. And many of them were for British rule as they saw it as a means for the country's modernization.

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Impact of the Revolt

The base of the company's hold on India was shaken by the Revolt of 1857. Thereafter a stronger mechanism and administrative policy was placed in order to strengthen the British rule in India. The reactionary and vested interests were well protected and encouraged and became pillars of British rule in India. Since then the British adopted the divide and rule policy to weaken the back bone of India. Key positions in civil and military administration were now in the control of the British.

The various effects of the Revolt of 1857 may be summarized as follows:

- The revolt of 1857 marked the end of British imperialism. A new policy was passed by the Queen of England which announced that the Indian States would no longer be annexed. The Nizam, Rajput, Maratha and Sikh Chiefs were applauded for their loyalty and rewarded by certificates and *Sanad*.
- The number of Europeans in the Army was increased from 40,000 to 65,000 and that of Indian soldiers was reduced to 1.4 lakhs from 2.38 lakhs. The ratio of Indian to English soldiers in the Bengal army was made 1:2 and in Madras to 1:3.
- After the Revolt of 1857, the British pursued the policy of divide and rule.
- The Doctrine of Lapse was withdrawn.
- In August 1858, the British Parliament passed an Act, which put an end to the rule of the Company. The control of the British government in India was transferred to the British Crown. A 15-member council of India headed by Secretary of State for India was formed. The Secretary of State was made responsible for the Government of India.
- The British Governor-General of India was now also given the title of Viceroy, who was also the representative of the Monarch.
- Total expense of the suppression of the Revolt was borne by Indians.
- The Revolt of 1857 led to the rapid growth of nationalism among the literate Indians. The formation of various political associations, such as the East India Association (1866), Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (1867), Indian League (1875), Indian Association (1876), Madras Mahajan Sabha (1884) and Bombay Presidency Association (1885), and finally the Indian National Congress (1885) was the result of growing national consciousness.
- The Revolt of 1857 saw for the first time unity among Hindus and Muslims. So in that sense it was a historic movement.

Government of India Act, 1858

The presence of the British in India can be divided into two phases. One phase was between 1772 and 1858, during which the East India Company traded with help from British army and the second phase was from 1858 to 1947, when the British Crown ruled.

Till the revolt the Charter Act of 1853 allowed the East India Company to rule India. After the Revolt of 1857 the British Empire ended the company's rule and proclaimed

India to be part of the British crown. The East India Company was held responsible for the revolt. Even though the company tried to show how it had been of great service to the Empire, the Empire did not pay heed.

The British Empire was convinced that rule of the company had to go and hence, Lord Palmerston, the British Prime Minister, introduced the Bill for Better Government of India, in February 1858. In an addressing to the House of Commons, he said, ‘the principle of our political system is that all administrative functions should be accompanied by ministerial responsibility to parliament but in this case the chief function in the government of India are committed to a body not responsible to parliament, not appointed by the crown, but elected by persons who have no more connection with India than consists in the simple possession of so much India Stock’.

After pointing out the drawbacks of the company and showing how this was leading to more confusion convinced the crown of its defects and the Parliament passed the Bill for a Better Government of India on August 1858.

Provisions

1. The rule of the East India Company was stopped by the Government of India Act of 1858 and the British parliament became responsible for all matters regarding India. A Viceroy was appointed as the representative of British Empire in India. Army and land erstwhile held by the company became part of the British Crown.
2. A council of 15 members was formed and the powers of the Court Director and the Board of Control were handed over to the Secretary of State for India. The task of administration and control was invested in the Secretary of State. He was also allowed to sit in the parliament.

Out of the 15 members of the council the British crown appointed 8 and the Court Directors appointed 7. It was mandatory that at least 9 members of the council must have served in India for not less than three years and they must not have been away from India for more than ten years at the time of their appointment. The members got £1200 per annum from India's exchequer.

3. The secretary of the state had powers to take decisions in the following areas and also the following duties like:
 - (i) He had the power of veto against the decision of council.
 - (ii) He had also the power of casting vote.
 - (iii) He had to honour the decision of council in the matters of revenue, appointments, purchase, mortgage and sale of properties of the Government of India.
 - (iv) He was permitted to write secretly to the Viceroy without informing the council.
 - (v) He had the power to make new rules for Indian Civil Services in which now Indians were allowed.
4. The British Crown had the power to appoint the Viceroy and Governor-General and governors of Bombay and Madras Presidencies. And the Viceroy had the power to appoint the Lieutenant Governor with the permission of the British Government.
5. It was the task of the secretary of state to make reports on Revenue, Law, Railways and Construction before the House of Commons, the lower house of British Parliament. The permission of the Parliament was needed to use the

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revenue for military expeditions outside India. The secretary of state was answerable to the British Parliament and the parliament had the right to remove him.

Lord Canning announced Queen Victoria's proclamation on 1st November 1858, at Allahabad. This proclamation used the term Viceroy for the first time. The proclamation also assured that no more annexation would be done of states, no one would be converted to Christianity and proper qualifications were laid out for employment to the government jobs. It was assured that laws enacted would take into account Indian traditions and culture. The ownership of properties and succession would be protected. The peasants were also promised rights on proper payment of taxes.

4.4 RENAISSANCE II: RAMAKRISHNA AND VIVEKANANDA

Swami Vivekananda was born in Calcutta (now Kolkata) on 12 January 1863, in a traditional Kayastha family, and was given the name Narendranath Dutta. Since his childhood, Narendranath had varied interests and a wide range of scholarship in philosophy, religion, history, the social sciences, arts, literature, and other subjects. He evinced much interest in the Hindu scriptures like the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Bhagavad Gita, the epics Ramayana and Mahabharata and the Puranas. Even when young, he questioned the validity of superstitious customs and discrimination based on caste and refused to accept anything without rational proof and pragmatic test.

Narendranath's family moved to Raipur in 1877 for two years. Since there were no good schools there, Narendranath spent time with his father discussing spiritual matters. For the first time the question of existence of god came to his mind. The family returned to Calcutta in 1879, but it is believed that these two years were the turning point in his life.

Joining the Brahmo Samaj

Narendranath started his education at home. He later joined the Metropolitan Institution of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar in 1871 and subsequently the General Assembly's Institution. During these years, he studied the history of European nations as well as Western logic and philosophy, including the writings of David Hume, Immanuel Kant, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill, and Charles Darwin. Narendra was fascinated with the evolutionism of Herbert Spencer and even translated Spencer's book on education into Bengali. Alongside his study of Western philosophers, Narendra was thoroughly acquainted with Sanskrit scriptures and many Bengali works.

Narendranath's initial beliefs were shaped by Brahmo concepts, which include belief in a formless god and deprecation of idol. Not satisfied with his knowledge of philosophy, he wondered if god and religion could be made a part of one's growing experiences and internalized. Narendra went about asking prominent residents of contemporary Calcutta whether they had come 'face to face with god' but could not get satisfactory answers.

His first introduction to Ramakrishna occurred in a literature class in General Assembly's Institution, when Principal Reverend W. Hastie told his students that if they wanted to know the real meaning of trance, they should go to Ramakrishna. This prompted Narendranath to visit Ramakrishna.

Check Your Progress

3. Which was the main political cause of the Revolt of 1857?
4. Why did the soldiers or sepoys of the British Army revolt?

Vivekananda writes on his first interaction with Ramakrishna thus,

'The magic touch of the Master that day immediately brought a wonderful change over my mind. I was astounded to find that really there was nothing in the universe but God! ... Everything I saw appeared to be Brahman. ... I realized that I must have had a glimpse of the *Advaita* state. Then it struck me that the words of the scriptures were not false. Thenceforth I could not deny the conclusions of the *Advaita* philosophy.'

Narendranath's meeting with Ramakrishna in November 1881 proved to be a turning point in his life. About this meeting, Narendranath said:

[Ramakrishna] looked just like an ordinary man, with nothing remarkable about him. He used the most simple language and I thought "Can this man be a great teacher?". I crept near to him and asked him the question which I had been asking others all my life: "Do you believe in God, Sir?" "Yes", he replied. "Can you prove it, Sir?" "Yes". "How?" "Because I see Him just as I see you here, only in a much intense sense." That impressed me at once. [...] I began to go to that man, day after day, and I actually saw that religion could be given. One touch, one glance, can change a whole life."

Even though Narendra did not accept Ramakrishna as his guru initially and revolted against his ideas, he was attracted by his personality and visited him frequently. As a member of the Brahmo Samaj, he revolted against idol worship and polytheism, and Ramakrishna's worship of Kali. He even rejected the *Advaitist Vedantism* of identity with absolute as blasphemy and madness.

Though at first Narendra could not accept Ramakrishna and his visions, he could not ignore him either. It had always been in Narendra's nature to test something thoroughly before accept it. He tested Ramakrishna, who never asked Narendra to abandon reason, and faced all of Narendra's arguments and examinations with patience. Five years under Ramakrishna transformed Narendra from a restless, puzzled, impatient youth to a mature man who was ready to renounce everything for the sake of god-realization. In time, Narendra accepted Ramakrishna as guru, completely surrendering himself as a disciple.

During the last days of Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and some of the other disciples received the ochre monastic robes from Ramakrishna, which formed the first monastic order of Ramakrishna. Vivekananda was taught that service to men was the most effective worship of God. Ramakrishna asked Vivekananda to take care of other monastic disciples and in turn asked them to look upon Vivekananda as their leader.

Foundation of the Ramakrishna Math

After the death of their master, the monastic disciples led by Vivekananda formed a fellowship at a half-ruined house at Baranagar near the river Ganges. This became the first building of the Ramakrishna Math, or the monastery of the disciples who constituted the first monastic order of Sri Ramakrishna.

Narendra and other members of the Math often spent their time in meditation, discussing about different philosophies and teachings of spiritual teachers including Ramakrishna, Adi Shankara, Ramanuja, and Jesus Christ. In the early part of 1887, Narendra and eight other disciples took formal monastic vows. Narendra took the name of Swami Bibidishananda. Later he was coronated with the name *Vivekananda* by Ajit Singh, the Maharaja of Khetri.

In January 1899, the Math was shifted to Belur, its current home.

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A Wandering Preacher

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In 1888, Vivekananda left the monastery as a *Parivrājaka*—the Hindu religious life of a wandering monk. His sole possessions were a *kamandalu* (water pot), staff, and his two favourite books—*Bhagavad Gita* and *The Imitation of Christ*. Narendranath travelled the length and breadth of India for five years, visiting important centres of learning, acquainting himself with the diverse religious traditions and different patterns of social life. Moved by the suffering and poverty of the masses, he resolved to uplift the nation. Living mainly on *bhiksha* or alms, Narendranath travelled mostly on foot and railway tickets bought by his admirers whom he met during the travels.

During his travel in the Himalayas, he reportedly had a vision of the macrocosm and microcosm, which seems to reflect in the *Jnana Yoga* lectures he gave later in the West. At the end of January 1891, the Swami journeyed to Jaipur, where he studied Panini's *Ashtadhyayi* with a Sanskrit scholar.

Continuing his travels, he visited Ahmedabad and Porbander, where he stayed for almost nine months, in spite of his vow as a wandering monk, to perfect his philosophical and Sanskrit studies with learned *pandits*; he worked with a court *pandit* who translated the *Vedas*.

In 1892, Vivekananda travelled to southern India and reached Kanyakumari on the Christmas Eve of 1892. At Kanyakumari, the Swami reportedly meditated on the 'last bit of Indian rock', famously known later as the Vivekananda Rock Memorial, for three days. Here he had the 'Vision of one India', also commonly called the 'Kanyakumari resolve of 1892'. He wrote:

At Cape Camorin sitting in Mother Kumari's temple, sitting on the last bit of Indian rock—I hit upon a plan: We are so many sanyasis wandering about, and teaching the people metaphysics—it is all madness. Did not our *Gurudeva* use to say, 'An empty stomach is no good for religion?' We as a nation have lost our individuality and that is the cause of all mischief in India. We have to raise the masses.

Parliament of World's Religions

It was in early 1892 that Vivekananda heard of the Parliament of the World's Religions and was urged by his followers to attend it. His disciples collected funds for the voyage to America and Vivekananda left for Chicago on 31 May 1893.

On arriving, the Swami learnt that no one without credentials from a *bona fide* organization would be accepted as a delegate. When Professor John Henry Wright of Harvard University learnt that he did not have the credentials to speak at the Parliament, Wright is quoted as having said, 'To ask for your credentials is like asking the sun to state its right to shine in the heavens.' Wright addressed a letter to the chairman in charge of delegates writing, 'Here is a man who is more learned than all of our learned professors put together.'

Representing India and Hinduism, Vivekananda began his speech with, 'Sisters and brothers of America!'. To these words he got a standing ovation from a crowd of seven thousand. He greeted the youngest of the nations in the name of 'the most ancient order of monks in the world, the Vedic order of *sannyasins*, a religion which has taught the world both tolerance and universal acceptance.' And he quoted two passages in this relation, from the *Bhagavad Gita*— 'As the different streams having their sources in different places all mingle their water in the sea, so, O Lord, the different paths which

men take, through different tendencies, various though they appear, crooked or straight, all lead to Thee!’ and ‘Whosoever comes to Me, through whatsoever form, I reach him; all men are struggling through paths that in the end lead to Me.’ Despite being a short speech, it voiced the spirit of the Parliament and its sense of universality.

Vivekananda attracted widespread attention in the press. The American newspapers reported him as ‘the greatest figure in the parliament of religions’ and ‘the most popular and influential man in the parliament’. All his speeches at the Parliament had one common theme—Universality—and stressed on religious tolerance.

After the Parliament of Religions, Vivekananda spent nearly two whole years lecturing in various parts of the United States. ‘I do not come’, said Swamiji, ‘to convert you to a new belief. I want you to keep your own belief; I want to make the Methodist a better Methodist; the Presbyterian a better Presbyterian.... I want to teach you to live the truth, to reveal the light within your own soul.’ He later founded the Vedanta Society of New York.

He travelled to England twice where he met Miss Margaret Noble, an Irish lady who later became Sister Nivedita. He also interacted with Max Müller, a renowned Indologist at Oxford University who wrote Ramakrishna’s first biography in the West.

From the West, he also set his Indian work in motion. He advised his followers and brother monks to launch a campaign of social service. ‘Go from door to door amongst the poor and lower classes...and teach them religion. Also, let them have oral lessons on geography and such other subjects. No good will come of sitting idle and...saying ‘Ramakrishna, O Lord!’—unless you can do some good to the poor.’

In 1895, the periodical called *Brahmavadin* was started in Madras, with the money supplied by Vivekananda, for the purpose of teaching the Vedanta.

Founding of Ramakrishna Mission

On 1 May 1897, Vivekananda founded the Ramakrishna Mission—the organ for social service. The ideals of the Ramakrishna Mission are based on *Karma Yoga*. This was the beginning of an organized social and religious movement to help the masses through educational, cultural, medical and relief work.

Two other monasteries were founded by Vivekananda—one at Mayavati on the Himalayas, near Almora called the *Advaita Ashrama* and another at Madras. Two journals were also started, *Prabuddha Bharata* in English and *Udbhodan* in Bengali.

Vivekananda’s Teachings and Principles

Swami Vivekananda believed that the essence of Hinduism was best expressed in the Vedanta philosophy, based on the interpretation of Adi Shankara. He summarized the principles of Vedanta as follows:

- Each soul is potentially divine.
- The goal is to manifest this divinity within by controlling nature, external and internal.
- Do this either by work, or worship, or mental discipline, or philosophy—by one, or more, or all of these—and be free.
- This is the whole of religion. Doctrines, or dogmas, or rituals, or books, or temples, or forms, are but secondary details.

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- He maintained, 'So long as even a single dog in my country is without food my whole religion is to feed it and serve it, anything excluding that is nonreligious.'

According to Vivekananda, an important teaching he received from Ramakrishna was that 'Jiva is Shiva (each individual is Divinity itself).' This became his mantra, and he coined the concept of *daridra narayana seva*, or the service of god in and through (poor) human beings. He concluded that the distinctions between men fade into nothingness in the light of the oneness that the devotee experiences in Moksha. What arises then is compassion for those who remain unaware of this oneness and a determination to help them.

Swami Vivekananda belonged to the branch of Vedanta that held that no one can be truly free until all of us are. Even the desire for personal salvation has to be given up, and only tireless work for the salvation of others is the true mark of the enlightened person. He founded the Ramakrishna Math and Mission on the principle of 'Atmano Mokshartham Jagat-hitaya cha' (for one's own salvation and for the welfare of the World).

Vivekananda advised his followers to be holy, unselfish and to have faith (*shraddha*). He encouraged the practice of *Brahmacharya* (celibacy) and attributed his physical and mental strengths and eloquence to this.

Vivekananda and Science

In his book *Raja Yoga*, Vivekananda explores traditional views on the supernatural and the belief that the practice of Raja Yoga can confer psychic powers such as reading another's thoughts, controlling the forces of nature, live without breathing, and levitation. Vivekananda advocated testing an idea thoroughly before making your decision of accepting or denying it:

It is not the sign of a candid and scientific mind to throw overboard anything without proper investigation. Surface scientists, unable to explain various extraordinary mental phenomena, strive to ignore their very existence.

He further says in the introduction of the book that one should take up the practice and verify these things for oneself, and that there should not be blind belief. In his paper read at the World Parliament of Religions, Chicago (1893), Vivekananda also hinted about the final goal of physics:

Science is nothing but the finding of unity. As soon as science would reach perfect unity, it would stop from further progress, because it would reach the goal...Physics would stop when it would be able to fulfill its services in discovering one energy of which all others are but manifestations.

All science is bound to come to this conclusion in the long run. Manifestation, and not creation, is the word of science today, and the Hindu is only glad that what he has been cherishing in his bosom for ages is going to be taught in more forcible language, and with further light from the latest conclusions of science.

The great electrical engineer Nikola Tesla, after listening to Vivekananda's speech on Sankhyaphilosophy, was much interested in its cosmogony and its rational theories of the *Kalpas* (cycles), *Prana* and *Akasha*. His notion based on the Vedanta led him to think that matter is a manifestation of energy.

Last Years of his Life

Vivekananda again left for the West in June 1899, and founded the Vedanta societies at San Francisco and New York. He also founded *Shanti Ashrama* (peace retreat) at

California. Later, he attended the Congress of Religions, in Paris in 1900. The Paris addresses are memorable for the scholarly penetration evinced by Vivekananda related to worship of *Linga* and authenticity of the *Gita*. However, tours, hectic lecturing engagements, private discussions and correspondence had taken their toll on Vivekananda's health. He passed away on 4 July 1902.

Vivekananda: A Source of Inspiration

Several leaders of 20th-century India and philosophers have acknowledged Vivekananda's influence. He is widely considered to have inspired India's freedom struggle movement. His writings inspired a whole generation of freedom fighters including Subhash Chandra Bose, Aurobindo Ghose and Bagha Jatin.

At the Belur Math, Mahatma Gandhi was heard to say that his whole life was an effort to bring into actions the ideas of Vivekananda. Many years after Vivekananda's death, Rabindranath Tagore, a Nobel Poet Laureate told Romain Rolland, 'If you want to know India, study Vivekananda. In him everything is positive and nothing negative.'

Vivekananda left a vast body of philosophical works. He observed that the billions of people on the earth could be classified into four basic types—those who were in constant activity (the *worker*); those who were driven by their inner urge to achieve something in life (the *lover*); those who tended to analyse the working of their minds (the *mystic*); and those who weighed everything with reason (the *philosopher*). His books (compiled from lectures given around the world) on the four Yogas (Karma Yoga for the worker, Bhakti Yoga for the lover, Raja Yoga for the mystic, and Jnana Yoga for the philosopher) are very influential and are still seen as fundamental texts for anyone interested in the Hindu practice of Yoga.

4.4.1 Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati

Dayanand Saraswati was born on 12 February in 1824, in the town of Tankara, near Morvi (Morbi) in the Kathiawar region (since India's independence in 1947 Rajkot district) of the princely state of Gujarat, into an affluent and devout Saryupareen Brahmin family. His parents were Karshanji Lalji Tiwari and his wife Yashodabai. Since he was born under *Mul Nakshatra*, he was named 'Mulshankar', and led a comfortable early life, studying Sanskrit, the Vedas and other religious texts to prepare himself for a future as a Hindu priest. A number of incidents in his early childhood resulted in Dayanand's questioning the traditional beliefs of Hinduism and inquiring about god. While still a young child, his family went to a temple for overnight prayers on the night of *Maha Shivratri*. He stayed up the entire night while his family slept, waiting for Lord Shiva to appear to accept the offerings made to his idol. Instead, Dayanand saw a mouse eating the offerings. He was utterly surprised and wondered how a god who cannot protect his own offerings would protect humanity. He argued with his father that they should not be worshipping such a helpless god.

The deaths of his younger sister and his uncle from cholera caused Dayanand to ponder the meaning of life and death and he started asking questions which worried his parents. He was to be married in his early teens, as was common in the 19th century India, but he decided marriage was not for him and in 1846 left home. Dayananda was disillusioned with classical Hinduism and became a wandering mendicant. He learned Panini's grammar to read Sanskrit texts, and understood from them that God can be found. After wandering in search of God for over two decades, he found Swami Virajananda near Mathura, Uttar Pradesh, who became his guru. Swami Virajananda

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told him to throw away all his books, as he wished Dayananda to start from a clean slate and learn directly from the Vedas, the oldest and most foundational scriptures of Hinduism. Dayananda stayed under Swami Virjananda's tutelage for two and a half years. After finishing his education, Virjananda asked him to spread the knowledge of the Vedas in society as his *gurudakshina*, or fees for the knowledge he had acquired from his teacher.



Fig. 4.2 Dayanand Saraswati

Mission of Saraswati's Life

Dayananda's mission was to teach humankind about universal brotherhood through nobility as spelt out in the Vedas. His first step was to take up the difficult task of reforming Hinduism with dedication despite repeated attempts on his life. He travelled the country challenging religious scholars and priests to discussions and won repeatedly on the strength of his arguments based on his knowledge of Sanskrit and Vedas. He believed that Hinduism had been corrupted by its divergence from the founding principles of the Vedas and that Hindus had been misled by the priests making rituals and prayers more elaborate and exaggerated. Hindu priests discouraged the common man from reading Vedic scriptures and encouraged rituals, such as bathing in the Ganges River and feeding of priests on anniversaries, which Dayananda pronounced as superstitions or self-serving practices. By encouraging the nation to reject such superstitious notions, his aim was to educate the nation to 'Go back to the Vedas'. While he wanted the people to follow the Vedic life, he also exhorted the nation to accept social reforms like the abolition of untouchability, *sati*, and dowry, education of women, *swadeshi* and importance of cows for national prosperity as well as the adoption of Hindi as the national language. Through his teachings, preachings, sermons and writings, he inspired the nation to aspire to *Swarajya* (self governance), nationalism, and spiritualism. He advocated for equal rights and respect for women and for the complete education of a girl child.

Swami Dayananda critically, logically and scientifically analysed all faiths, i.e., Islam and Christianity as well as other Indian faiths like Jainism, Buddhism and Sikhism. In addition, he denounced idolatry in Hinduism, as can be seen in his book *Satyartha Prakash*. He was against what he considered to be the corruption of the pure faith in his own country. Unlike many other reform movements within Hinduism, the Arya Samaj's appeal was addressed not only to the educated few in India, but to the world as a whole as evidenced in the sixth principle of the Arya Samaj. In fact, his teachings professed universalism for all living beings and not for any particular sect, faith, community or nation.

Arya Samaj allows and encourages conversion to Hinduism. Dayananda's concept of dharma is stated in the 'Beliefs and Disbeliefs' section of *Satyartha Prakash*. He said:

I accept as Dharma whatever is in full conformity with impartial justice, truthfulness and the like; that which is not opposed to the teachings of God as embodied in the Vedas. Whatever is not free from partiality and is unjust, partaking of untruth and the like, and opposed to the teachings of God as embodied in the Vedas—that I hold as adharma

He also said:

He, who after careful thinking, is ever ready to accept truth and reject falsehood; who counts the happiness of others as he does that of his own self, him I call just.

Dayananda's Vedic message was to emphasize respect and reverence for other human beings, supported by the Vedic notion of the divine nature of the individual – divine because the body was the temple where the human essence (soul or '*atma*') had the possibility to interface with the creator (*Paramatma*). In the ten principles of the Arya Samaj, he enshrined the idea that 'All actions should be performed with the prime objective of benefiting mankind', as opposed to following dogmatic rituals or revering idols and symbols. In his own life, he interpreted *moksha* to be a lower calling (due to its benefit to one individual) than the calling to emancipate others.

Dayananda's 'back to the Vedas' message influenced many thinkers and philosophers the world over. Taking the cue from him, Sri Aurobindo decided to look for hidden psychological meanings in the Vedas.

Dayananda Saraswati wrote more than sixty works in all, including a fourteen volume explanation of the six Vedangas, an incomplete commentary on the *Ashtadhyayi* (Panini's grammar), several small tracts on ethics and morality, Vedic rituals and sacraments and on criticism of rival doctrines (such as Advaita Vedanta, Islam and Christianity). Some of his major works are *Satyarth Prakash*, *Sanskarvidhi*, *RigvedadiBhashyaBhumika*, *Rigved Bhashyam* (upto 7/61/2) and *Yajurved Bhashyam*. The Paropakarini Sabha located in the Indian city of Ajmer was founded by the Swami himself to publish and preach his works and Vedic texts.

In 1883, Dayananda was invited by the Maharaja of Jodhpur to stay at his palace. The Maharaja was eager to become his disciple and learn his teachings. One day Dayananda went to the Maharaja's rest room and saw him with a dance girl named Nanhi Jan. Dayananda boldly asked the Maharaja to forsake the girl and all unethical acts and follow dharma like a true Aryan. Dayananda's suggestion offended the dance girl and she decided to take revenge. She bribed Dayananda's cook to poison him. At bedtime, the cook brought him a glass of milk containing poison and powdered glass. Dayananda drank the milk and went to sleep only to wake up later with a burning sensation. He immediately realized that he had been poisoned and attempted to purge his digestive system of the poisonous substance, but it was too late. The poison had already entered his bloodstream. Dayananda was bedridden and suffered excruciating pain. Many doctors came to treat him but all was in vain. His entire body was covered with large bleeding sores. On seeing Dayananda's suffering, the cook was overcome with unbearable guilt and remorse. He confessed his crime to Dayananda. On his deathbed, Dayananda forgave him and gave him a bag of money and told him to flee the kingdom lest he be found out and executed by the Maharaja's men.

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A man of spirit has passed away from India. Pandit Dayananda Saraswati is gone, the irrepressible, energetic reformer, whose mighty voice and passionate eloquence for the last few years raised thousands of people in India from lethargic, indifference and stupor into active patriotism is no more.

—Col Henry Steel Olcott

Swami Dayananda Saraswati is certainly one of the most powerful personalities who has shaped modern India and is responsible for its moral regeneration and religious revival.

—Subhash Chandra Bose

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Vedic Schools

Between 1869 and 1873, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, a native of Gujarat, made his first attempt at reform in his native India. This attempt took the form of the establishment of 'Vedic Schools' which put an emphasis on Vedic values, culture and religion to its students. The first was established at Farrukhabad in 1869, with fifty students. This initial success led to the founding of four additional schools in rapid succession at Mirzapur (1870), Kasganj (1870), Chhalesar (1870) and Varanasi (1873).

The Vedic Schools represented the first practical application of Swami Dayanand's vision of religious and social reform. They enjoyed a mixed reception. On the one hand, students were not allowed to perform traditional idol worship (*murtipuja* in Hindi) at the school, and were instead expected to perform *sandhya* (a form of meditative prayer using mantras from the Vedas) and participate in *agnihotra* twice daily. Disciplinary action was swift and not infrequently severe. On the other hand, all meals, lodging, clothing and books were given to the students free of charge, and the study of Sanskrit was opened to non-Brahmins. The most noteworthy feature of the schools was that only those texts which accepted the authority of the Vedas were to be taught. This was critical for the spiritual and social regeneration of Vedic culture in India.

The Vedic Schools soon ran into difficulties. Swami Dayanand had trouble finding qualified teachers who agreed with his views on religious reform, and there existed a paucity of textbooks which he considered suitable for instruction in Vedic culture. Funding was sporadic, attendance fluctuated considerably, and tangible results in the way of noteworthy student achievement were not forthcoming.

Consequently, some of the schools were forced to close shortly after opening. As early as 1874, it had become clear to Swami Dayanand that, without a wide and solid base of support among the public, setting up schools with the goal of imparting a Vedic education would prove to be an impossible task. He, therefore, decided to invest the greater part of his resources in the formulation and propagation of his ideology of reform. Deprived of the full attention of Swami Dayanand, the Vedic School system collapsed and the last of the schools (Farrukhabad) was closed down in 1876 due to Muslim takeover.

Setting up of the Arya Samaj

While travelling (1872–73), Swami Dayanand came to know of several of the pro-Western Indian intellectuals of the age, including Nobin Chandra Roy, Rajnarayan Basu, Debendra Nath Tagore and Hemendranath Tagore, all of whom were actively involved in the Brahmo Samaj. This reform organization, founded in 1828, held many views similar to those of Swami Dayanand in matters both religious (e.g., a belief in monotheism and the eternality of the soul) and society (e.g., the need to abolish the hereditary caste or

varna system and uplift the masses through education). Debendranath Tagore had written a book entitled *Brahmo Dharma*, which serves as a manual of religion and ethics to the members of that society, and Swami Dayanand had read it while in Calcutta.

From June to September 1874, Swami Dayanand dictated a comprehensive series of lectures to his scribe, Pundit Bhimsen Sharma, which dealt with his views and beliefs regarding a wide range of subjects including God, the Vedas, Dharma, the soul, science, philosophy, childrearing, education, government and the possible future of both India and the world. The resulting manuscript was published under the title *Satyarth Prakash* or *The Light of Meaning of Truth* in 1875 at Varanasi. This voluminous work would prove to play a central role in the establishment and later growth of the organization which would come to be known as the Arya Samaj.

On an invitation from Hargovind Das Dvarkadas, the secretary of the local Prarthana Samaj, Swami Dayanand travelled to Rajkot, Gujarat, arriving on 31 December 1874. Instead of delivering his standard programme of lectures, he allowed members of the audience to choose the topics they would like to have him discourse upon. A total of eight topics were chosen, and Swami Dayanand delivered impromptu lectures on all of them to the satisfaction of all present. Gifts were bestowed upon the Swami as tokens of gratitude for his masterly orations, and it was announced that the Rajkot Prarthana Samaj was henceforth dissolved and was ready to be reorganized as a new Samaj under the auspices of Swami Dayanand. The Swami, after much deliberation, chose the name 'Arya Samaj' or 'Society of Nobles'. Swami Dayanand drafted a list of twenty-eight rules and regulations for the Rajkot Arya Samaj, which he later had printed for distribution.

Swami Dayanand reached Bombay on 29 January 1875, and immediately the appeal to establish an Arya Samaj there was renewed. A membership drive was initiated which would circumvent the need for discussions. Within a short time, a hundred individuals enrolled themselves as prospective members. While the membership drive was underway, Swami Dayanand held a now famous discourse with the congregation at Mumbai. Someone in the audience asked the Swami, 'Should we set up a new Samaj?' Dayanand responded:

If you are able to achieve something for the good of mankind by a Samaj, then establish a Samaj; I will not stand in your way. But if you do not organize it properly, there will be a lot of trouble in the future. As for me, I will only instruct you in the same way as I teach others, and this much you should keep clearly in mind: my beliefs are not unique, and I am not omniscient. Therefore, if in the future any error of mine should be discovered after rational examination, then set it right. If you do not act in this way, then this Samaj too will later on become just a sect. That is the way by which so many sectarian divisions have become prevalent in India: by making the guru's word the touchstone of truth and thus fostering deep-seated prejudices which make the people religion-blind, cause quarrels and destroy all right knowledge. That is the way India arrived at her sorry contemporary state, and that is the way this Samaj too would grow to be just another sect. This is my firm opinion: even if there be many different sectarian beliefs prevalent in India, if only they all acknowledge the Vedas, then all those small rivers will reunite in the ocean of Vedic wisdom, and the unity of *dharma* will come about. From that unity of *dharma* there will result social and economic reform, arts and crafts and other human endeavours will improve as desired, and man's life will find fulfilment: because, by the power of that *dharma* all values will become accessible to him, economic values as well as psychological ones, and also the supreme value of *moksha*.

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On 10 April, 1875, the Bombay Arya Samaj was officially established. The membership amounted to a hundred persons, including Swami Dayanand. The members appealed to the Swami that he should serve as either the President or the Guru of the Samaj, but he gracefully declined, and instead requested that he be listed as a regular member.

Principles of Arya Samaj

Aum was considered by the Arya Samaj to be the highest and most proper name of God. On 24 June 1877, the second major Arya Samaj was established at Lahore. However, the original list of twenty-eight rules and regulations drafted by Dayanand for the Rajkot Arya Samaj and used for the Bombay Arya Samaj were deemed to be too unwieldy. Therefore, it was proposed that the principles should be reduced and simplified, while the bylaws should be removed to a separate document. Everyone present, including Swami Dayanand, agreed, and the Ten Principles of the Arya Samaj, as they are known around the world today, came into existence.

These principles are as follows:

1. God is the efficient cause of all true knowledge and all that is known through knowledge.
2. God is existent, intelligent and blissful. He is formless, omniscient, just, merciful, unborn, endless, unchangeable, beginning-less, unequalled, the support of all, the master of all, omnipresent, immanent, un-aging, immortal, fearless, eternal and holy, and the maker of all. He alone is worthy of being worshiped.
3. The Vedas are the scriptures of all true knowledge. It is the paramount duty of all Arya Samajists to read them, teach them, recite them and to hear them being read.
4. One should always be ready to accept truth and to renounce untruth.
5. All acts should be performed in accordance with Dharma, that is, after deliberating what is right and wrong.
6. The prime object of the Arya Samaj is to do good to the world, that is, to promote physical, spiritual and social good of everyone.
7. Our conduct towards all should be guided by love, righteousness and justice.
8. We should dispel *Avidya* (ignorance) and promote *Vidya* (knowledge).
9. No one should be content with promoting his/her good only; on the contrary, one should look for his/her good in promoting the good of all.
10. One should regard oneself under restriction to follow the rules of society calculated to promote the well being of all, while in following the rules of individual welfare all should be free.

All subsequently established branches of the Arya Samaj have been founded upon the ten principles. However, each new branch of the Samaj has a degree of freedom in determining the exact by-laws under which it shall operate. Everyone who wishes to become a member of the Society must agree to uphold these principles in their entirety. However, nothing beyond these ten principles has any binding force on any member of the Arya Samaj. For this reason, the early Samaj proved to be attractive to individuals belonging to various religious communities, and enjoyed a notable degree of converts from segments of the Hindu, Sikh, Christian and Muslim populations of Indian society.

The Arya Samaj performed simple weddings of girls from poor backgrounds. It also propagated inter-caste marriages to put an end to casteism.

Drawing what are seen to be the logical conclusions from these principles, the Arya Samaj also unequivocally condemns practices such as polytheism, idolatry, animal sacrifice, ancestor worship, pilgrimage, priest craft, the belief in Avatars or incarnations of God, the hereditary caste system, untouchability and child marriage on the grounds that all these lack Vedic sanction.

4.5 SYED AHMED KHAN

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, commonly known as Sir Syed, was born on 17 of October 1817. He was a social activist and Muslim philosopher in India in the 19th century. Born into the Muslim nobility, Sir Syed was bestowed with the title of Javad-ud- Daulah by Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar II in 1842.

During the Indian Revolution of 1857, he was accused of being loyal to the British. Subsequent to the Indian rebellion, he wrote *Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind*, a daring critique of the policies of British, which he blamed was the reasons for the rebellion. He was a strong believer that the future of Muslims was at risk because of their conventional mind-set. As a result of this, he started encouraging the western style of scientific education by launching modern schools and journals, e.g., the establishment of the Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College (Aligarh Muslim University) in 1875. This university was established on the sole objective of advancing social and economic development of Indian Muslims.

Early Life and Works

He was born in Delhi, which was then the capital of the Mughal Empire and became an educator, politician, an Islamic reformer and modernist. He and his family had migrated first to Iran from Saudi Arabia and then to Afghanistan, at the time of Akbar.

His elder brother initiated the city's first printing press in the Urdu language, along with a journal called the *Sayyad-ul-Akbar*. He pursued with his studies of medicine for many years but could not complete them because of financial constraints that occurred after his father's death. He rejected employment in the Mughal court and accepted the editorship of his brother's journal.

Career

Social reforms within the Muslim society was started by Abdul Latif, who started the Mohammedan Literary Society in Bengal. Sir Syed founded the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College. He fought against ignorance, superstitions and evil customs prevailed in Muslim society and believed that they would not progress unless they acquired western education and science. Realizing the political decline of the Mughals, he got enrolled into the British East India Company's civil services where he was appointed as *Serestadar* in the court of law at Agra. He was promoted as a Munshi in 1840 and in 1858, was appointed to a high-ranking position in the courts of Muradabad.

Causes of the Indian Revolt

While working in the courts of the East India Company, Sir Syed obtained some close information pertaining to colonial politics which he accumulated and shared as the root

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Check Your Progress

5. When was Swami Vivekananda born?
6. When did Vivekananda found the Ramakrishna Mission?
7. When was Dayanand Saraswati born?

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cause of Indian revolution in his renowned booklet, *Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind*, in 1859. He rejected the contribution of Muslim elites in the conspiracy, who feared the diminishing influence of the Muslims. On the contrary, he suggested the British Government to appoint Muslims in the administration to assist the government.

Scholarly works

Sir Syed's career as an author began at the age of 23, while he was working as a jurist. He wrote around 6000 pages in Urdu. His contribution came out in a series of publication in Urdu on religious subjects. In 1842, his work brought him the recognition of a great scholar on religious and cultural subjects. His writings helped in creating cordial relations between the British and the Muslim community.

Syed Ahmad throughout his life, spared time for literary and scholarly pursuits, which had wide range and scope that included—history, politics, archaeology, journalism, literature, religion and science. Some of his works are as follows:

Legal Works

1. Act No. 10 (Stamp Act) 1862
2. Act No. 14 (Limitation) 1859-1864
3. Act No. 16 (Regarding registration documents) – Allyson, 1864
4. Act No. 18 (Worked for Women Rights) Act 1866

Religious Works

1. *Ahkam Tu'am Ahl-Kitab*, Kanpur – 1868
2. *Al-Du'a Wa'l Istajaba*, Agra – 1892
3. *Al-Nazar Fi Ba'z Masa'il Imam Al-Ghazzali*, Agra
4. *Izalat ul-chain as Zi'al Qarnain*, Agra – 1889
5. *Zila al-Qulub ba Zikr al-Mahbub Delhi*, 1843
6. *Khulq al-Insan ala ma fi al-Quran*, Agra, 1892
7. *Kimiya-i-Sa'dat*, 2 fasl, 1883
8. *Mazumm ba nisbat tanazzul ulum-i-diniya wa Arabiya wa falsafa-i-Yunaniya*, Agra, 1857
9. *Namiqa fi Bayan Mas'ala Tasawwur al-Shaikh*, Aligarh, 1883
10. *Rah-i-Sunnat dar rad-i-bid'at*, Aligarh, 1883
11. *Risala Ibtal-i-Ghulami*, Agra, 1893
12. *Fisala ho wal Mojud*, 1880
13. *Risala Tahqiq Lafzi-i-Nassara*, 1860
14. *Tabyin-ul-Kalam fi Tafsir-al-turat-wa'l Injil ala Mullat-al-Islam* (The Mohomedan Commentary on the holy Bible)
15. *Tafsir-ul-Qura'n*
Vol. I Aligarh, 1880
Vol. II Aligarh, 1882, Agra – 1903
Vol. III Aligarh, 1885

Vol. IV Aligarh, 1888

Vol. V Aligarh, 1892

Vol. VI Aligarh, 1895

Vol. VII Aligarh, 1904

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16. *Tafsir al-Jinn Wa'l Jan ala ma fi al-Qur'an*, Rahmani Press, Lahore, 1893, Agra, 1891
17. *Tafsir-a-Samawat*, Agra
18. *Tahir fi Usul al-Tafsir*, Agra, 1892
19. *Tarjama Fawa'id al-afkar fi amal al-farjar*, Delhi 1846
20. *Tarqim fi qisa ashab al-kahf wal-Raqim*, Agra, 1889
21. *Tasfiyad al'Aquid* (being the correspondent between Syed Ahmed Khan and Maulana Muhammad Qasim of Deoband)
22. *Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind* (Reasons for the Indian Revolt of 1857) 1875

Historical Works

1. *A'in-e-Akbari* (Edition with Illustration), Delhi
2. *Asar-us-Sanadid* (i) Syed-ul-Akhbar, 1847, (II) Mata-i-Sultani, 1852
3. *Description des monument de Delhi in 1852*, D'a Pre Le Texte Hindostani De Saiyid Ahmad Khan (tr. By Garcin De Rassy), Paris, 1861
4. *Jam-i-jum*, Akbarabad, 1940
5. *Silsilat-ul-Muluk*, Ashraf ul Mataba', Delhi, 1852
6. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Edition), Asiatic society, Calcutta, 1862
7. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (edition Aligarh, 1864)

Biographical Works

1. *Al-Khutbat al-Ahmadiya fi'l Arab wa'I Sirat al-Muhammadiya*: Aligarh, 1900, English translation, London – 1869-70
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4. *Musalmanon ki qismat ka faisla* (taqarir-e-Syed Ahmad Khan wa Syed Mehdi Ali Khan etc.) Agra, 1894
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3. Lecture Madrasat ul-Ulum Aligarh Key Tarikhi halat aur jaded Waqi'at Par, Agra, 1889
4. Lecture Ijlas Dahum Muhammadan Educational conference, Agra, 1896
5. Lecture Muta'liq Ijlas Yazdahum Muhammadan Educational Conference, Agra, 1896
6. Majmu'a Resolution Hayd Dah sala (Resolution passed by the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational conference from 1886 to 1895) ed. By Sir Syed Ahmad, Agra 1896
7. Report Salana (Annual Report of the Boarding House of Madrasat-ul-Ulum 1879-1880)

Political Career

In 1878, Sir Syed was nominated for the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and in the same year, he laid the foundation of the Muhammadan Association to promote political cooperation within Muslims across the country. Later, in the year 1883, he instituted the Muhammadan Civil Service Fund Association to promote and facilitate the entrance of Muslim graduates in the Indian Civil Services.

All India Muslim League (AIML)

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan supported the organization of All India Muslim League and his educational propositions and political activism motivated elite Muslims to help AIML. The foundation of All India Muhammadan Educational Conference was originally laid in 1886 to promote western education, science and literature, in particular amongst Muslims in India.

Legacy

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the most powerful Muslim politician in India and was a renowned mentor of 19th and 20th century entrepreneurs and politicians of the Muslim community. He spent the last 20 years of his life in Aligarh. He was also nominated for the membership of the Civil Service Commission in 1887, by Lord Dufferin and awarded with LL.D Honoris Causa from Edinburgh University.

The Aligarh Muslim University was one amongst the most recognized universities. Pakistan also honoured him by establishing Sir Syed University of Engineering and Technology in Karachi, a leading technical institute in the country. Sir Syed Government Girls College in Karachi was also named in his honour. Sir Syed died on 27th March 1898, and was buried besides Sir Syed Masjid, inside the campus of the University.

4.5.1 The Aligarh Movement

The Aligarh Movement was a prominent Muslim socio-religious movement in India and was led by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was born into a prestigious family of Delhi and spent his childhood in and out of the Mughal court. He studied Arabic and Persian according to the older pattern and also studied the work of Shah

Wali Ullah. Though he did not receive any religious education, he demonstrated a personality more akin to a courtier or government official than to an Ulama. He believed that the future of Islam rested with the fortunes of Muslims, particularly those residing in northern India. He started to attract others with his writings and soon founded a variety of public forums for spreading his ideas. He soon emerged as a prominent leader of the Muslim community.

The Aligarh Movement was actually an educational movement with a view to purify Islam and it marked a sharp break with previous attempts to purify Islam and return it to its past glory. The vision of the movement was to create an administrative elite class that would govern in cooperation with the British, rather than focus its attention on the Ulama. Through the 1850s, Syed Ahmed Khan began developing a strong passion for education. While pursuing studies of different subjects including European jurisprudence, Sir Syed began to realize the advantages of Western-style education, which was offered at newly established colleges across India.

Despite being a devout Muslim, Sir Syed criticized the influence of traditional dogma and religious orthodoxy, which had made most Indian Muslims suspicious of British influences. He became increasingly concerned for the future of Muslim communities. A scion of Mughal nobility, Sir Syed had been reared in the finest traditions of Muslim elite culture and was aware of the steady decline of Muslim political power across India. The animosity between the British and Muslims before and after the rebellion (Independence War) of 1857 threatened to marginalize Muslim communities across India for many generations. He intensified his work to promote cooperation with British authorities, promoting loyalty to the empire amongst Indian Muslims. Committed to working for the upliftment of Muslims, Sir Syed founded a modern *madrassa* in Muradabad in 1859; this was one of the first religious schools to impart scientific education.

The Aligarh Movement was successful in spreading western education among Muslims without weakening their commitment to Islam. The second task it undertook was to introduce social reforms in the Muslim society. The Aligarh Movement strived to evolve the Muslim community as a distinct social and cultural community, on the lines of modernism. The Aligarh Movement was based on the interpretation of the *Quran*. It tried to blend Islam and the modern liberal culture. Inspired by the Aligarh Movement, several progressive movements came up in Bombay, Punjab, Hyderabad and other places.

Aligarh Reform Movement—Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

One of the prominent socio-religious movements within Islam in India has been the Aligarh movement, led by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was of the belief that the future of Islam was in hands of the Muslims, especially those who were residents of northern parts of India. Through the myriad of his writings, he made followers and formed variety of public forums to spread his ideas. He argued that the dilemma of Muslims in the country was due to the education that also disseminated elements of English knowledge within the Islamic context. To counter such an education, he advocated the idea of opening those educational institutions which would impart 'proper' education to the Muslims. Thus, in June 1875, he established the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh. The district contributed significantly to the education of the Muslim elite, and soon, its significance grew. At the same time, he became a prominent leader of the Muslim community.

One of the main objectives of founding the college was to prepare Muslims to serve the Qu'an and also give the society educated, honest, public-spirited leaders who

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can confidently work with the British government and also protect the interests of the Muslim community. With an educational perspective, the Aligarh movement also sought to purify Islam. It made a significant break from similar movements in the past which sought to purify the religion and bring it to its past glory. The Aligarh movement also sought to create an 'administrative elite class' which could govern people along with the colonizers than focusing its attention on the ulama.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan started to propagate education through the 1850s among the Muslims. He pursued studies of different subjects, including European jurisprudence and realized along the way the advantages of education of Western style which colleges across the country had started offering by that time. Even though he was a devout Muslim, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was critical of the influence of traditional dogma and religious orthodoxy, which made Indian Muslims wary and suspicious of British influences. He was deeply worried for the welfare of the Muslim community and, as scion of Mughal nobility who had been reared in the finest traditions of Muslim elite culture, he could anticipate the decline of Muslim political power across the country.

He was aware that the British and Muslims shared historical animosity, which had been heightened after the uprising of 1857. It, thus threatened to further deteriorate their relationship and marginalize the Muslims for many generations to come. Thus, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan sought to promote cooperation with the British authorities and promoted loyalty amongst Indian Muslims to the empire. He was also committed to uplift of downtrodden Muslims and thus founded a modern madrasa in Muradabad in 1859 which became one of the first religious schools to impart scientific education.

4.6 SUMMARY

- Roy was born in Radhanagore, Bengal, into the Rarhi Brahmin caste. His family background displayed religious diversity; his father Ramkanto Roy was a Vaishnavite, while his mother Tarinidevi was from a Shaivite family.
- Ram Mohan Roy's impact on modern Indian history concerned a revival of the ethics and principles of the Vedanta school of philosophy as found in the Upanishads.
- Ram Mohan Roy's experience working with the British government taught him that Hindu traditions were often not respected or thought as credible by Western standards; this affected his religious reforms.
- Ram Mohan Roy was a major shaper of modern India. Consciously influenced by Christianity and by the social agenda of many missionaries, he was convinced that India's culture and religious tradition was rational and of profound spiritual value.
- The Brahmo Samaj is the societal component of the Brahmo religion which is mainly practiced today as the Adi Dharm, after its eclipse in Bengal, consequent to the exit of the Tattwabodini Sabha from its ranks in 1859.
- In 1857, the British completed hundred years of stay in India since the war of Plassey. During this time the Indian rulers were unhappy for the loss of former glory and the peasants were discontent at having been reduced to serfs.
- The revolt of 1857 marked the end of British imperialism. A new policy was passed by the Queen of England which announced that the Indian States would no longer be annexed.

Check Your Progress

8. Who was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan?
9. What was the vision of the Aligarh Movement?

- Swami Vivekananda was born in Calcutta (now Kolkata) on 12 January 1863, in a traditional Kayastha family, and was given the name Narendranath Dutta.
- During the last days of Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and some of the other disciples received the ochre monastic robes from Ramakrishna, which formed the first monastic order of Ramakrishna.
- In 1888, Vivekananda left the monastery as a *Parivrâjaka*—the Hindu religious life of a wandering monk. His sole possessions were a *kamandalu* (water pot), staff, and his two favourite books—*Bhagavad Gita* and *The Imitation of Christ*.
- On 1 May 1897 Vivekananda founded the Ramakrishna Mission—the organ for social service. The ideals of the Ramakrishna Mission are based on *Karma Yoga*.
- Dayanand Saraswati was born on 12 February in 1824, in the town of Tankara, near Morvi (Morbi) in the Kathiawar region (since India's independence in 1947 Rajkot district) of the princely state of Gujarat, into an affluent and devout Saryupareen Brahmin family.
- Dayananda's mission was to teach humankind about universal brotherhood through nobility as spelt out in the Vedas.
- Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, commonly known as Sir Syed, was born on 17 of October 1817. He was a social activist and Muslim philosopher in India in the 19th century.
- The Aligarh Movement was a prominent Muslim socio-religious movement in India and was led by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.

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4.7 KEY TERMS

- **Sati:** *Sati* is the practice among some Hindu communities by which a recently widowed woman either voluntarily or by use of force or coercion commits suicide as a result of her husband's death. The best known form of sati is when a woman burns to death on her husband's funeral pyre.
- **Polytheism:** Polytheism is the worship of or belief in multiple deities, which are usually assembled into a pantheon of gods and goddesses, along with their own religions and rituals.
- **Macrocosm:** Macrocosm refers to the whole of a complex structure, especially the world or the universe, contrasted with a small or representative part of it.
- **Microcosm:** Microcosm is a community, place, or situation regarded as encapsulating in miniature the characteristics of something much larger.
- **Vedanta:** Vedanta is a Hindu philosophy based on the doctrine of the Upanishads, especially in its monistic form.
- **Brahmo Samaj:** Brahmo Samaj is a Hindu reform movement. It is the societal component of Brahmoism, a monotheistic reformist movement of the Hindu religion that appeared during the Bengal Renaissance.
- **Vedas:** The Vedas are a large body of knowledge texts originating in the ancient Indian subcontinent. Composed in Vedic Sanskrit, the texts constitute the oldest layer of Sanskrit literature and the oldest scriptures of Hinduism.

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4.8 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. In 1815, Raja Ram Mohan Roy formed the *Atmiya Sabha*.
2. The Brahmo Samaj was founded by Dwarkanath Tagore and Ram Mohan Roy.
3. One of the main causes of the Revolt was the Doctrine of Lapse.
4. The soldiers or sepoys of the British Army revolted mainly because the cartridges used in the guns were coated with grease made from cow and pig fat. Soldiers who belonged to the upper caste among Hindus protested for the cow fat and the Muslims for the pig fat.
5. Swami Vivekananda was born in Calcutta (now Kolkata) on 12 January 1863, in a traditional Kayastha family, and was given the name Narendranath Dutta.
6. On 1 May 1897, Vivekananda founded Ramakrishna Mission—the organ for social service.
7. Dayanand Saraswati was born on 12 February in 1824.
8. Syed Ahmed Khan was a social activist and Muslim philosopher in India in the 19th century.
9. The vision of the Aligarh Movement was to create an administrative elite class that would govern in cooperation with the British, rather than focus its attention on the Ulama.

4.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a note on the aims and objectives of the Brahmo Samaj.
2. List a few socio-religious reforms propagated by Ram Mohan Roy.
3. What was Ram Mohan Roy’s influence on Indian society?
4. How did Vivekananda present Hinduism to the Western world?
5. What are the contributions of Swami Dayanand Saraswati as a social reformer?
6. List the legal literary works of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.
7. What was Sayyid Ahmad Khan’s contribution in the Aligarh Reform Movement?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss Raja Ram Mohan Roy’s political and religious career.
2. Describe the causes and significance of Revolt of 1857.
3. Explain the nature of the Revolt of 1857.
4. Discuss Dayanand Saraswati’s early life.
5. Discuss the role played by Sir Syed in the education of the Muslim community in India.

4.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 5 INDIA NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Unit Objectives
- 5.2 Emergence of Nationalism
- 5.3 Predecessors of the Congress and Formation of the Congress
 - 5.3.1 Early Nationalists: Programmes and Policies
 - 5.3.2 Extremists
- 5.4 Mass Movements: Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience, Quit India and India's Independence
 - 5.4.1 Non-Cooperation
 - 5.4.2 Civil Disobedience
 - 5.4.3 Quit India
 - 5.4.4 India's Independence
- 5.5 Summary
- 5.6 Key Terms
- 5.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 5.8 Questions and Exercises
- 5.9 Further Reading

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5.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit you will learn about the emergence of nationalism in India, as well as the Indian Freedom Movement. The earlier reformers understood that colonization was the root cause to India's poverty and economic backwardness. The destruction of the rural and local self-sufficient economy and modern trade practices and setting up of factories on an all-India scale had increasingly made India's economic life a single whole and interlinked the economic fate of people living in different parts of the country. Furthermore, the introduction of the railways, telegraph and unified postal systems had brought the different parts of the country together and promoted mutual contact among the people, especially among the leaders. As a result of the spread of modern western education and thought during the 19th century, a large number of Indians imbibed a modern rational, secular, democratic and nationalist political outlook. The spread and popularity of the English language helped nationalist leaders of different linguistic regions to communicate with each other.

This unit focuses on the predecessors of the Indian National Congress, the foundation of the Indian National Congress and the programmes and policies of early nationalists. It then discusses the Indian Freedom Movement under the leadership of Gandhi, all the way to Indian Independence.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the emergence of nationalism
- Describe the foundation of Indian National Congress
- Explain the programmes and policies of the early nationalists

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- Describe the Non-Cooperative Movement
- Identify the importance of the Quit India Movement
- Explain the emergence of communal politics in India
- Assess the role of Indian National Army in India's freedom struggle
- Discuss the events that led to India's partition into two nations

5.2 EMERGENCE OF NATIONALISM

In India, during the 18th century, there were clashes, crises, calamities and problems between various groups of people. Uncertainties in the political scenario created hindrances in the evolution of Indian culture. The British made use of this scenario to fulfill their vested interests and deeply influence the lifestyle and culture of India. The manner in which India responded to this strategy of the British is the highlight of the contemporary history of India of the 19th century.

There was evolution from the Medieval Age to the Modern Age. Indians were exposed to new thought and ideas, owing to their encounter with the western forces. Hence, it is not surprising that a significant social and cultural evolution swept throughout the country. Indians were awakened from their lethargic sleep by the Renaissance of the 19th century and were filled with a desire to break away from the bonds that enslaved them. Bipan Chandra quotes, 'Thoughtful Indians began to look for the strength and weakness of their society and for ways and means of removing the weaknesses. While a large number of Indians refused to come to terms with the West and still put their faith in traditional Indian ideas and institutions, others gradually came to hold the elements of modern western thought that had to be imbedded for the regeneration of their society. They were impressed in particular by modern science and doctrines of reason and humanism. While differing on the nature and extent of reforms, nearly all 19th century intellectuals shared the conviction that social and religious reforms were urgently needed.'

The impact of British rule on the economic conditions and society of India was a factor that primarily contributed to the socio-cultural evolution of the 19th century. The imperialism of the British united the people of India politically and administratively. A uniform legal system and methods of communication were launched by the British rulers. The structure of the traditional economy fell apart when the British took over the country. In terms of economy and lifestyle, many Indians were interconnected. The economic exploitation by the colonial power played a significant role in igniting the spirit of nationalism. The growth of nationalism was motivated by the centralization of British rule in India. A new middle class emerged as a result of the influence of the West and its policies. This middle class operated like a creative minority group and directed its efforts to destroy all traditions. Thus, it helped in the rise of an enlightened India, which was filled with patriotism and rationalism. This dominant middle class seriously examined Indian society and tried their best to remove all ills from it. The revolution in India was also supported by the advent of Christian missionaries since the beginning of the 19th century. These Christian missionaries promoted literacy in many parts of India and a large amount of development work was taken up by them. Their faith was an attraction to some sections of the people of India.

The missionaries worked to condemn Hinduism through their functioning and satire. This ignited strong fundamental and rational responses. On one hand, those who

were traditional and old-fashioned were stubborn in their opposition towards Christianity and on the other; the liberals carried on with their introspection and worked to remove the social ills from their own religion.

Social and cultural enlightenment was also stimulated by the popularity and growth of western education. K.M. Panikar emphasized that English, introduced as a language, promoted a feeling of unity throughout the country, in the absence of which India would have been divided into as many parts as there are languages in India. According to Naoroji, 'The introduction of English education with its great, noble, elevating and civilizing literature and advanced science will forever remain a monument of good work done in India.' A.R. Desai quotes, 'the study of the English language unfolded the treasures of the democratic and nationalistic thought crystallized in precious scientific works.'

Young men, who had received their education in English, were critical about every Hindu tradition and custom. They even resorted to the use of intoxicating drinks to exhibit a feeling of modernism. However, they were rational in their examination of every aspect of life. This was instrumental in ushering in modernization. The British government zealously established many types of reforms such as removal of caste inequalities and prejudice towards women in Indian society. It caused the forces of development within India to become active. Media, news tabloids and literary works also played important roles in the spread of nationalism. The vivacious culture of India also supported the emergence and progress of Renaissance. India responded positively to this historical crisis.

When the influence of the West impacted India, the people were happy to accept the positive aspects of the western culture and got used to the changing situation. Hence, it can be concluded that many forces together resulted in a new evolution that led to the Renaissance in Indian way of thinking. This spirit of the Renaissance that was based on logical thoughts, led to development of a desire to reform.

The socio-cultural revolution of the 19th century played an important role in the Renaissance, in the history and culture of India. It modernized the history of India by ushering a flood of new ideas in an era of revolution within society, politics, economy, religion and culture. Socio-cultural evolution also transformed the definition of religion. Religious beliefs were scrutinized rationally. This rationalism brought about reforms with in Hinduism and worked to eliminate vices from it. It strengthened religion and prepared it to face the challenges of time. The essence of reformed religious thought comprised tolerance, universal brotherhood, adjustment and introspection. Social lifestyle was also subjected to revolutionary changes. A large number of medieval customs were discarded by the society itself. There was absolutely no support for social superstitions. A campaign was led by socio-cultural reformers against caste system, child marriage, female infanticide and several other social ills. A foundation was laid which established a base to uplift the downtrodden, fought for the cause of equality and campaigned for the freedom of women from social slavery. The socio-cultural awakening caused revival of a profound liking for India's glorious past. The people were filled with pride and ceased to remain lethargic and inactive. The spread of western education worked as a stimulus to give rise to a creative way of thinking and stirred ideals to inspire works of literary and artistic nature.

The politics of 19th century India was also impacted by socio-cultural awakening. Strong patriotic feelings were invoked in the minds of the Indian youths by the philosophies of learned saints and intellectuals. This played a significant role in the growth of nationalism and struggle for freedom. N.S. Bose fittingly says, 'The growth of political consciousness leading to the beginning of the national movement for independence was one of the

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striking trends of the Indian awakening. The remarkable transformation in the life and thought of the people, a new era of social, religious and educational reforms ushered in by great men of the age naturally accelerated the growth of Indian nationhood.' It was indeed true that the socio-cultural awakening of 19th century ignited a revolution in India and was a significant landmark in the birth of modern age.

Emergence of the Middle Class

Before the advent of the process of colonization of India through both political and armed means, the question of capitalism did not really rise. Though there were traders in India, there was no 'bourgeoisie' or 'middle class', as a distinct unit of society. It has been argued by many historians that the empire and the conditions of colonial rule helped in the creation of a capitalist society and was the agent of change in society.

While studying this phenomenon, it must be understood that the concept of the middle class actually arose due to certain conditions in European history. There were many constituents of this so-called middle class which included:

- Artists and others engaged in the performing arts
- Intellectuals, novelists, writers and
- Industrial bourgeoisie (those engaged in trade and manufacture)

While this term was not used by many Europeans for the local population, Viceroy Dufferin saw them as, 'certain number of leading natives who were well-meaning, intelligent and patriotic.'

This was a tacit agreement that there were a number of people, perhaps a minority, who were present. However, many did not ascribe to this thought and as late as 1893, Aurobindo Ghosh, an Indian freedom fighter and philosopher, described this group as the 'new middle class' which comprised traders, graduates, officials, doctors, barristers and journalists. Aurobindo Ghosh was of the view that they were not representatives of India in totality. However, this term has since gained wide acceptance while referring to such a class of people based on professional academics and intellect. In India, the term 'middle class' is applied to various groups that have varying scope of social standing and experience. It is a class neither in just the economic nor Marxist sense of the term. It comes with gender, caste and religious dimensions. This class also has a stamp of education which is colonial and western. To top it all, this group aspires to take on the leadership of India. It has displayed a 'cultural entrepreneurship' that has enabled it to define a culture which others would like to emulate to become socially mobile in the upward direction. While this concept of the middle class can be seen in the light of the advancement caused by colonial rule, can one assume that such a group existed for hundreds of years prior to British rule in India? This question becomes important when we consider the recent historiographical developments that investigate India's potential indigenous modernity prior to the coming of colonialism.

Chris Bayly, a British historian, has said that:

The group of people comprising Hindustani-writing literati, Indo-Islamic notables, religious leaders, and officers of the state participated in public debates about rights, duties and good kingship. This group of elect people, who were also joined by common people from time to time as participants in common public discussions, can be considered as constituting a public sphere in precolonial India. They also represented the 'opinion of the locality' to the authorities.

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Now the question arises as to whether there was any continuity between the 'group of people described by Bayly' in India before the colonial period and the 'middle class' of the colonial period. Intuition tells us that any such continuity should not be present. During the colonial period, there was a huge disconnect between the logic of the Indian society and the logic of the ruling state. The patronage given to this class by the traditional ruling elite disintegrated. This included the disuse of the traditional Indian languages like Persian and Urdu which were slowly replaced by English. The education system was changed. There was a shift from the earlier perception of the so-called middle class and a realignment with the new thought processes.

The essays of Dipesh Chakrabarty, Tanika Sarkar and Partha Chatterjee more or less seem to display a commonality of perspective. Based on this perspective, the middle class appears to be formed of educated elite, a group between the colonial rulers and the semi-literate or illiterate rural majority.

According to this perspective:

- The social universe of the colonial India was or may be viewed as a split of a private/spiritual and a public/material domain.
- Indians had no participation or equality as far as the public domain was concerned.
- Indians moved to the private domain to stress the sovereignty of the rising concept of nation.
- Indians defied all interference by the colonial power in their private domain.
- Indians professed that the Indian culture was superior to the western culture. They used this validity and uniqueness as the foundation for Indian nationalism
- The women of India have the task of acting as custodians of Indian culture.

According to B.B Misra, an Indian historian, the term middle class mainly refers to civil servants, salaried executives, proprietors of modern trading firms and merchants and such where the criteria are income and income source.

Jawaharlal Nehru said that the middle class had no capacity to perform either manual or technical work. They had been uprooted from their original culture, remained conservative socially, and were modern only in outlook, that too superficially. As can be noted from above, it seems quite possible that in a loosely defined manner, there was a presence of components of the middle class in India and as such the semblance of or the roots of a capitalist society.

One feature of commercial capitalism which needs to be looked at is the effect of monetization affecting India. This was connected with commercialization of both agrarian and urban economy, and the development of markets through distortion caused by trade and increasing European intervention in Indian markets. This affected both trade and manufacture. This was impacted because of the colonial occupation creating political monopoly and control over the taxation system to systematically benefit first the East India Company and then the British government directly. This helped to destroy competition and drive prices downwards in an increasingly competitive world caused by the effects of the Industrial revolution. The corollary was that until the mid-nineteenth century, India's integration into a colonial empire was marked by a broad-based process of under development of which deindustrialization was merely a part, and included the process of relative demonetization.

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The Indian Press had an important role to play in developing nationalism among the citizens of the country. Indian nationalists used the press as a powerful media to spread the message of nationalism. They also used the press to diffuse the spirit of patriotism and political ideas. The press was highly successful in mobilizing public opinion and promoting nationalism. Vernacular came to the rescue and newspapers and dailies such as *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, *Samachar Darpan* was instrumental in stimulating the growth of nationalism. The dailies blatantly exposed the fallacies of the foreign rule. In the words of B.B. Majumdar, 'Western education and the Indian press were the two of the most important agencies destined to infuse into the people of India the spirit of national unity and to inspire them to achieve independence without bloodshed.' Indian literature produced during this time was highly nationalistic and was thus responsible for creating a sense of national consciousness. The works of prominent Indian writers such as Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya and Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali, Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar in Marathi, Subramanyam Bharati in Tamil and others were instrumental in instilling a spirit of nationalism in the minds of the common people.

Economic Nationalism

Economic history of India is a late discipline. It started with critiques of imperialism and colonialism in the second half of the 19th century. In the 1850s, Karl Marx wrote a series of articles on the economic impact of colonialism. He further developed his critiques in *Capital* in the 1860s. Among the Indian writers, Mahadev Govind Ranade published his essays on economy less as a critique of colonialism than as a blueprint for development of the Indian economy. The most scathing attack on colonialism was Dadabhai Naoroji's *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* in which he argues that India's poverty was mainly due to the drain of wealth by the British government through tribute and home charges. R. C. Dutt, the first Indian ICS, published his *Economic History of British India*. Other economists like GB Joshi and Prithwis Chandra Ray, more or less on these lines, wrote the history of Indian economy in the British period.

A new dimension to the study of Indian economy opened up at the international level in the Comintern. M. N. Ray as the sole Indian representative in the Comintern contributed to the economic policy discussion in the organization, the value of which was recognized even by Lenin. A number of Soviet scholars joined a discussion on the impact of colonialism on India and the prospect of economic growth of India. A great debate raged on the role of the Indian bourgeoisie. These discussions governed the Communist movement in India even after the dissolution of the Comintern in 1945. After Independence, a professional discipline of economic history developed.

One of the earliest western writers Morris D Morris centered his argument of underdevelopment of independent India on her social structure. He was criticized by BR Tomlinson who accused Morris of a kind of circular logic and over simplification as if 'Indian industrial growth was retarded because she faces the distressing paradox, the high cost of being poor; while the most easily identifiable factor that restricted industry was shortage of capital. Irfan Habib questioned Morris's failure to address issues like de-industrialization in the 19th century or 'deleterious effects of currency manipulation by British interests'.

Indian scholars, thereafter, started working on industrial history, labour history, agrarian history, capital market and class contradiction. Habib is the foremost historian writing extensively on agrarian India. A K Bagchi worked on Private Investment in

India. Deindustrialization under British rule was a major focus of economic historians. Morris D Morris, Dipesh Chakrabaty and Ranajit Dasgupta contributed immensely to labour history. The stage of economic development encompassing agriculture and industry are the major point of contention among Indian economists.

In the 1970s, Ranajit Guha set up a new school of historiography with his study of East India Company's role in India, namely the subaltern school. Gradually economists started probing tribal economy, environment and women's questions suggesting that the colonial period displayed a disjuncture from the pre-colonial period. Researches in the 1990s made a shift from looking at the colonial policies, such as, revenue to agro-ecological conditions, market conditions and socio-cultural factors to determine the agrarian relations and divisions within the peasantry. Though studies on the larger administrative policies continued, focus was shifted towards select problematic areas like irrigation (M. Mufakharul), jute economy of Bengal (Omkar Goswami), rural credit market (Shahi Amin) and agrarian relations in Bengal (Sugata Bose). Some historians, however, took a revisionist position in respect to the question of de-industrialization. A leading voice in this category is that of Tirthankar Roy.

Nationalism and Economic History

M. G. Ranade is considered the pioneer of Indian nationalist economics. A teacher of economics, Ranade wrote mostly on poverty. He considered it a legacy of the pre-colonial India and said the heightened awareness towards this endemic was a product of the British rule. Poverty, he said, was a by-product of India's overdependence on agriculture. He, however, made no extravagant claim for the past nor did he put the blame for all ills entirely on foreign rule. He pointed out that traditionally the economy of the country did not represent a balanced growth. Agriculture was not supported by industries or the manufactures or distributors of the products, a collective interplay of all sections of the economy. Also, the fact that machine-made imported goods were cheaper than the domestic handicraft products was a cause of economic decline. Ranade was of the opinion that even if the Government of India had not helped the process in any way, British merchants and manufacturers would eventually have asserted their predominance in the Indian market. But what led to a rapid disintegration of the domestic economy was the government's support of British interest. Ranade's approach has been termed as a balanced growth argument. Basing his argument on the lines of German economist Friedrich List, Ranade defines economic development as the full and all-round development of the productive powers of society. In his initial writings, he often highlighted the government's failure to correct the imbalances in the economy through its policies. He argued that the government was more focused on exporting raw materials and improving channels of communication while ignoring its own industrial needs. 'This dependency has come to be regarded as a plantation, growing raw produce to be shipped by British agents in British ships, to be worked into fabrics by British skill and capital, and to be re-exported to the dependency by British merchants to their corresponding British firms in India and elsewhere.'

Again borrowing from List, Ranade talks of stages of growth, typically an economy should pass through. He applies these conditions to the Indian situation to gradually move from an agricultural and handicraft economy to agriculture along with manufacture and commerce. It was Ranade's understanding of economic development as a historical process that inspired his vision of India's industrialization. He wanted India to be industrialised, but was aware that it would not be an easy task. Ranade was one among the modern historians who advocated the government's assistance with labour migration

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as a means of economics development. He believed migration would relieve the pressure of population on the land. However, due to the immense dependency on land, even a low rate of population growth would have an adverse impact on the economy. Hence, he advocated emigration as he believed it would not only lessen the pressure on land, but indirectly benefit the economy.

Interestingly, though Ranade wanted more government support in industrializing India, he did not favour tariff protection. He argued the state could only support the industrial moves, but the maximum effort should come from organized private support. From this we cannot conclude that Ranade was an enthusiast of laissez-faire or socialism. He was aware of the obstacle Indian would face in becoming an industrial country. Ranade's approach to economic policy was guided by an over-riding objective: the development of productive capacity.

Contemporary historians as well as others enthusiastically received Ranade's push for industrial development, however, they did not support his idea of capitalist development in agriculture. GV Joshi, a follower of Ranade, favoured small peasant farming, which was to be maintained by vigorous tenancy legislation, cheap credit, and a low land tax. Such a policy required just the kind of continuing, long-run, legal and financial government intervention in agricultural activity which Ranade had criticised. He was highly critical of the investments in railways and wrote the same capital could have been used elsewhere. In fact, railway investment was seen as a substitute for investment in industry.

R. C. Dutt

A contemporary of Ranade, Dutt, too, was concerned with poverty. He held the British policies responsible for recurring famines, low productivity and decay of domestic industry in India. He admitted that shortage of rainfall led to famines, but blamed the government for lack of resources to the peasants. He took a different route from that of Ranade and claimed the emergence of industry not only destroyed the domestic cottage industry, but also led to a decline in agricultural productivity and increased the pressure on land. Oppressive taxation policies and insensitive administrative policies have aggravated the degradable situation of the peasants. According to him, the low standard of living of people was due to the high density of population, low agricultural prices, the land tenure system and the agrarian structure. Dutt wrote, 'While British political economists professed the principles of free trade from the latter end of the 18th century, the British nation declined to adopt them till they had crushed the manufacturing power of India. In India the manufacturing power of the people was stamped out by protection against her industries, and then free trade was forced on her so as to prevent a revival.' He said Indians paid 40 per cent more tax than the taxpayers of Great Britain and Ireland.

To check poverty, Dutt suggested two steps. The first was to revive the cottage industry to remove unemployment and underemployment outside cities. He also wanted the government to extend the irrigation facilities to decrease dependency on monsoon. Second, he wanted the government to be economical in its expenditure and lower the rate of interest on public debt. Dutt's aim was to curb the flow of wealth outside India.

Dutt's book, *Economic History of India*, is considered to be the most important historical work by a nationalist historian. It gives an authoritative and important account of socio-economic conditions of the masses under the colonial rulers. Like Ranade, he believed that political and economic policies were complementary to each other.

Bipan Chandra has presented his view that the capitalist nature of the Indian economy was acquired by the British and their ways of the capitalist economy. Although, there was distinction between the rich and the poor even before the coming of the British, money was not the most powerful commodity in the society. So, although there were numerous aspects that were of fascinating interest during the British rule of India, Bipan Chandra points out that the liberation movement, that was of course the most fascinating feature of the British period, and the change of the economic structure of the Indian society were the two most intriguing aspects during those times.

Bipan Chandra feels that the change of economic structure experienced by India during the British reign was a part of the change that was experienced worldwide under the European occupation of various colonies. He was of the opinion that the history of capitalism shows that it was not an independent move of any colony and that capitalism has always affected nations in a cluster. Bipan observed that although the Indian nation was deemed to be a democratic nation after independence, it was not a complete democratic structure as pure democracy is not possible under a capitalist environment. The methods of production and trade went through drastic changes after the British colonization.

Bipan Chandra also points out that the agrarianism and its rise was also something that happened during the British period. This was because of the fact that although the feudal structure still existed even during the times of the Mughals, the exploitation of the farmers was not so drastic. The British came to India with a frame of mind that was capitalistic to its core and they wanted to turn the traditional agricultural system in India into a capitalist agricultural system.

Influence of Marx

In the 1940s and 1950s, economists had lost interest in studying Indian economic history, and the focus had shifted to political history. However, Marxists ideas gave a new spur to the research, and we see new interpretations after Independence. In the 1950s, N K Sinha wrote three volumes on economic history of Bengal. Sumit Sarkar interpreted this change in historical sensibilities as something that has emerged from the 'conjuncture of the 1950s and 1960s, marked by a strong and apparently growing Left presence in Indian political and intellectual life... It was not mainstream British or American historiography, not even writings on South Asian themes, but a journal like *Past and Present*, the 'transition debate', and the work of historians like Hill, Hobsbawm and Thompson... that appeared most stimulating to Indian scholars exploring new ways of looking at history.'

As said earlier, Marxists ideologies opened up a whole new dimension of history writing, including economic history. Historian and economists now dealt with those aspects which were never discussed earlier. Issues such as demography, domestic trade, banking and currency were researched. In fact, Marxists ideologies influenced study of ancient and medieval history. According to Sarkar, studies on economic history saw major advancement. Agriculture, industrialization, and de-industrialization were some of the topics of discussion under the Marxist purview. Amiya Bagchi's study of manufacturing employment in 19th century Bihar may be the most important modern study of de-industrialization and sparked a renewed discussion and debate which drew participants from India as well as around the world. His main thesis of his work on *Private Investment of India* was that 'before the First World it was the governmental policy of free trade,

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and after the war it was the general depression in the capitalist system combined with the halting and piecemeal policy of tariff protection adopted by the Government of India, that limited the rate of investment in modern industry.' With this argument, Bagchi questioned all the thinkers who had debated that lack of development and slow growth of India was due to a shortage of capital and entrepreneurship.

Trithankar Roy

A professor at the London School of Economics, Roy based his arguments on continuity from colonial to post-colonial period. According to him, focusing at colonialism as the driver of India's economic history fails to capture the strings of continuity arising from the economic structure and social conditions. To him, the production process arising out of imperial demands led to economic growth based on labour-intensive production and natural resources. He saw the drawback in the dearth of public and private investments, lack of literacy, social inequalities and high population growth. Roy believes Independence did not bring a departure to these conditions, which, in fact, continued till 1990s. India shut itself from participating in the global economy and missed the economic boom the world economies experienced. After liberalization when India opened its gates to the world activities, the manufacturers were the most to benefit, who were intensive in semi-skilled labour. This he terms as 'welcome reversion to the colonial pattern of growth'.

Giving statistical proof, Roy shows that agriculture remained the mainstay of India's economy even after 50 years of Independence and a major contributor to the GDP (Gross Domestic Product). He further argued there was no significant change in the workforce today compared to that a century ago. He argues that 'India was more open economy in the colonial period relative both to the 18th century and to the first 40 years of its Independence. International flows of income and capital were also relatively larger in the colonial period than before or after'.

He further argued that 'money supply in colonial India was mainly influenced by the balance of payments. The primary objective of monetary policy was to stabilize the exchange rate. Stabilization of prices and outputs was meant to happen automatically. However, when Indian interests and Britain's interests came in conflict, stabilization in Britain's external account was usually in the minds of those who decided Indian affairs'.

For Roy, development and underdevelopment were not two sides of the same coin rather Britain and India in the 19th century were two different coins, influenced by global factors and by mutual interaction, but also by their differences. He argued that it would not be correct to think that the two countries would have taken the development path the same way, albeit for colonialism in India. He thought it was implausible.

In *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, Volume II, introduction, Sabyasachi Bhattacharya has raised doubts on whether Roy's theory of reordering of craft and production in the 20th century and perhaps a revival can be extrapolated into the colonial period in general. Though Roy has given several cases studies of leather, brass carpet making and so on, Bhattacharya says the 'changing organization of production and increasing subordination of the craftsmen fail to get sufficient attention' in his essays.

Indian Economy in the Mid-18th Century

The period between the 18th century and the middle of the 20th century saw the economy of India subjugated to the needs of the British Empire and the various pockets of European

influence scattered along the coastline of India. Along with agricultural resources, luxury trade became an important part of the economy. This was in close comparison with the Marxist statements of the capitalist elites using the poor, where the poor barely met their ends and the affluent class had much more than they needed.

The early 18th century (the period from 1707 onwards) saw a decline of the Mughal Empire. The decline became rapid under the rule of Farrukhsiyar who ruled between 1713 and 1719. It was during his reign in 1717 that the British were allowed to trade in Bengal without any duties. This period saw the rise of the Maratha Empire. Besides the Marathas, the large territories under various Nawabs were almost totally independent only giving titular homage to the Mughal emperor. Despite the decline of the Mughal Empire, the tax administration was almost intact. It is said that in 1750, the Indian economy was almost as big as that of the Chinese economy which was by then the largest economy in the world. This happened after Robert Clive's victory over the Nawab of Bengal in the Battle of Plassey. The battle established the Company rule in Bengal which expanded over much of India for the next hundred years. This allowed the British East India Company the right to collect taxes or *diwani*. This was followed by the Battle of Buxar in 1764 which further strengthened the Company's influence over a larger area in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. The growth steadily continued after the victories in the Anglo-Mysore wars between 1766 and 1799; and the Anglo-Maratha wars between 1772 and 1818. Victories in these wars gave the East India Company virtual control over most India south of the Sutlej. The British followed a two pronged policy of expansion. The first comprised outright annexation of Indian states. The second form of expansion was through the form of alliances with princely states. This enabled the British to extend their influence and increase their revenue without the burden of a direct cost of administering the areas or the political cost of subjugating entire local populations.

Under this policy, the East India Company began tax administration over an empire spread over 250 million acres. It is reported that the annual revenue was of the order of £111 million by 1800. Most of this revenue was diverted to assist the British Crown during the Napoleonic wars.

Economic impact of British imperialism

Whether the British rule had a great impact on the Indian economy has been bitterly debated by historians and even civil servants and parliamentarians. British politician Edmund Burke was one of the first to claim that Warren Hastings of the East India Company was responsible for the 'ruination' of the Indian economy and society.

Among the Indian historians this has been a common theme. The 18th century British rule laid the groundwork for the destruction of the traditional Indian economy. Such was the effect of inordinately high taxes that it depleted the food stocks of the peasants and resulted in the famine of 1770, which wiped out more than one third of the population of Bengal.

Dadabhai Naoroji was one of the first to propound the 'economic drain theory'. This theory essentially laid the ground for how the British rule and policies were structured in a manner so that there was a systematic drain of wealth from India to the coffers of the British.

P. J. Marshall, another British historian has taken a contrary view. His point of view is that the British generally continued with the same model of tax collection. His contention is that the British relied on the regional rulers and hence if there was a

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breakdown of the economy, it was more to do with the inherent inability of the local rulers to maintain prosperity.

Rural and Urban Economy—The Transition

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It can be said that India in the 18th century saw two phases—one which was ending and the other that was about to begin in the mid-18th century. The East India Company was a trading entity which transformed into a power centre by the end of the century through wars and consolidating areas under its control. This transition brought in a change in the nature of the Indian economy. The Indian economy primarily catered to domestic demand and was more of a rural nature. The arrival of the European power changed this nature and production began on large-scale, mainly for export. It was still the cottage industry that fed to the domestic demand.

Modern industry (or large-scale industry) involved use of machinery, regulation and factories subject to some form of modern managerial practices. By contrast, in traditional industrial firms, machinery, size, regulation and hierarchical management played no significant role. Both traditional and modern industry shared one feature: intensive use of labour and/or locally available raw materials.

5.3 PREDECESSORS OF THE CONGRESS AND FORMATION OF THE CONGRESS

Although unique to the modern world, the growth of nationalism as a phenomenon can be traced to the Middle Ages. By the Middle Ages, nation states had begun to be formed with definite boundaries. These nation states had a definite political system and a uniform law for the people inhabiting the state. People lived under the same political, social and economic system and shared common aspirations. The middle class had a significant role to play in the formation of the nation-states. In European countries like Italy and Germany, nationalism as a political ideologue emerged only in the 19th century. The French Revolution of 1789 ingrained the idea of nationalism and nation state. Since the 19th century, whenever there has been a call for a new sovereign state, violence has made its appearance. Two forces were always at work—nationalism and democracy. India as a nation was no exception to this rule. The mid-19th century saw the growth of nationalism in India. Colonial rule, destruction of the old social and political order, rise of a new social class—all contributed to the development of nationalism in India. The religious and social movements also contributed to the growth of nationalism.

During this period, reform movements were largely being swayed by two important intellectual principles — rationalism and religious universalism. A rational secular outlook was replacing blind faith that had crept into tradition and custom. Universalism was not purely philosophy. It affected political and social outlook till religious particularism took root in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The main objectives of this movement were liberal ideas, national unity, and progress. These could be achieved by removing the backward elements in traditional culture as well as the repressive elements in colonial culture and ideology. Jettisoning casteism and idolatry had to be done alongside an emphasis on reviving the vernacular languages. The plan included restoring the indigenous education system by restoring the ancient arts and medicine and reconstructing traditional Indian knowledge. The socio-religious movements were an essential part of the growing nationalist consciousness. At this point it was important to make Indians feel proud of

Check Your Progress

1. What primarily contributed to the socio-cultural evolution of the 19th century?
2. What promoted the growth of nationalism in India?
3. In the Indian context, what do you understand by the term 'middle class'?
4. Name two daily newspapers that helped in promoting nationalism in India.

being Indian, i.e., proud of their culture and heritage. This movement succeeded in doing that. The colonial cultural hegemonization process was stopped in its tracks.

Renaissance in India has been a great causal factor in the rise of modern Indian nationalism. It may also be regarded as an attempt on the part of scores of cultural factors to revive and reassert them: a sort of defensive mechanism against the impact of an alien political power in the country. A new humanist and cosmopolitan interpretation began to prevail upon the old belief. A radical trend emerged with representatives like Anantaranga Pillai, Abu Talib, Henry Vivian Derozio, and Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

There were a number of causes for the emergence of Indian nationalism. Some of these causes are as follows:

- (i) **British imperialism:** It facilitated in uniting Indians as during the British rule, the whole country came under one sovereign power. Before the arrival of the British, South India was separated from the rest of the country except for short intervals.
- (ii) **Role of transport and communication:** The advancement in the field of transportation and communication helped in accelerating the pace of the movement as leaders of the country were able to reach out to all Indians. The leaders were able to meet one another frequently and spread their ideas to parts of the country.
- (iii) **Administrative unification of India:** During the British rule, the administrative system was highly centralized. The British used modern administrative system to unify the whole country administratively. After the chaotic condition in the 18th century, due to waging of wars by European companies, the British rulers made efforts to establish peace and unified the country through their administrative system.
- (iv) **Influence of India's past:** Many European scholars such as Max Muller, Monier Williams, Roth, and Sassoon conducted historical researches on ancient Indian history. According to them, India had a glorious past and had a rich cultural heritage. These scholars appreciated the Vedas and Upanishads to a great extent. They also said that Indo-Aryans are from the same ethnic group to which Europeans belong. These studies and researches boosted the morale of Indians and instilled the spirit of nationalism and patriotism in them.
- (v) **Modern western thought and education:** Sir Charles E. Trevelyan, T.B. Macaulay and Lord William Bentick introduced English as a medium of instruction in the education system of the country. The introduction of English language was aimed at filling some clerical posts at the administrative level. However, it exposed the Indians to liberal and radical European thought. The outlook of European writers aroused the spirit of nationalism in Indians. Indians also learnt the ideals of secularism and democracy from these writers. Thus, English language became an important cause of Indian nationalism.
- (vi) **Impact of socio-religious reform movements:** Some of the prominent social and religious reformers of this period were Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Debendra Nath Tagore, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, and Vivekanand. These reformers influenced common people to a great extent.

When reformers learnt about western philosophy, ideals and science, they started examining the social practices, customs and beliefs of India in the light of western knowledge. These ideas gave rise to various social and religious reform movements

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like the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Theosophical Society, Ramakrishna Mission and many other movements for the reformation of Muslim, Sikh and Parsi societies.

These movements were aimed at reformation and re-organization of society. Therefore, these movements promoted the ideas of equality, liberalism and enlightenment, and attacked idol worship, superstitions, caste system, untouchability and hereditary priesthood. In this way, reform movements also helped in developing the spirit of nationalism and patriotism.

- (vii) **Influence of contemporary European movements:** Contemporary strong currents of nationalist ideas, which pervaded the whole of Europe and South America also stimulated Indian nationalism. The American Revolution of 1776 infused strong aspirations for liberation and nationalism. In Europe, the national liberation movements of Greece and Italy in general and of Ireland in particular encouraged Indians to fight for their independence. Indians were also greatly inspired by the French Revolution. We find Surendranath Banerji delivering lectures on Joseph Mazzini and the 'Young Italy' Movement organized by him. Lajpat Rai often referred to the campaigns of Garibaldi and the activities of Carbonaris in his speeches and writings.
- (viii) **Racialism:** Indians were discriminated and were considered inferior. They were not allowed to share train compartment with the British. They were humiliated by the British. The law and police system of the British was partial towards Englishmen. Whenever, an English person was involved in a dispute with an Indian, the court used to favour the White. Indians were not allowed to enter a number of public places. Thus, the contempt of the British towards Indians made them come together to fight against the British.
- (ix) **Economic exploitation:** The British destroyed the local self-sufficient economy of India and introduced modern trade and industry. Indians realized that they have been exploited by the British. Under British rule, the economic system of India was made in such a way that it befitted the Englishmen.

The interest and welfare of Indians was not kept in mind. The value of Indian rupee in terms of English pound was kept less to promote import from England and discourage export from India. Indian agriculture was encouraged to produce raw materials for the industries of England. This factor made Indians dependent on England for finished goods. Later free trade policy was introduced to help the British industrialists in exporting goods to India without any hassles. All these factors led to increase in public debt.

The extravagant civil and military administration, the denial of high posts to Indians, the ever-mounting 'Home Charges', and the continuous drain of wealth from India resulted in stagnation of Indian economy. Periodical famines became a common feature of Indian economic life. During the second half of the 19th century, 24 famines occurred in various parts of India taking an estimated toll of 28 million lives. What is worse is that even during the famine times, export of food grains from India continued. The acknowledged high priest of the 'Drain theory' was Dadabhai Naoroji. Indian nationalists like Romesh Chandra Dutt, G.K. Gokhale, Justice Ranade, K.T. Telang, etc., developed the 'theory of increasing poverty in India' and attributed it to Britain's anti-India economic policies. This

developed a hatred for foreign rule and love for Swadeshi goods and Swadeshi rule. The spirit of nationalism received a powerful stimulus in the process.

- (x) **Ilbert Bill controversy:** Lord Ripon made an attempt to address the problems of Indians, but Ilbert Bill controversy enraged the Europeans. The objective of this Bill was to bring Indian judges on the same level as that of the European judges in Bengal Presidency. According to this Bill, Europeans could be tried by Indian judges. This Bill enraged all the Europeans and all of them stood against this Bill. Later, the Bill was modified which defeated its original objective. Though this Bill could not favour Indians, yet it made them realize that organized agitation can help them.
- (xi) **Lord Lytton's policies:** The following short-sighted acts and policies of Lord Lytton acted like catalyst and accelerated the nationalist movement:
- To ensure that Indians are not able to share their opinion on a mass scale, Lytton passed Vernacular Press Act in 1878. This Act put a lot of restrictions on the Press. All Indians condemned this Act.
 - Lord Lytton organized the grand Delhi Darbar in 1877. At this time, South India was facing a severe famine. Many people condemned this indifference of Lord Lytton. To show this contempt, one of the journalists of Calcutta remarked 'Nero was fiddling while Rome was burning.'
 - Indians criticized Lytton a lot for the money he spent on the second Afghan War. This money was taken from the Indian treasury.
 - Before the rule of Lytton, the maximum age limit for Indian Civil Service (ICS) Examination was 21 years. He lowered this age limit to 19 years with the help of a regulation that was passed in 1876. This age limit made it almost impossible for Indians to sit for this examination.
 - Lytton passed one more Act in 1878 named the Arms Act. According to this Act, Europeans were given permission to keep arms, however, Indians could not keep arms without a licence. This Act clearly showed his policy of racial discrimination and his contempt towards Indians.
 - In order to help the British manufacturers, Lytton removed the import duty on cotton manufactures.

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Formation of Political Associations (up to 1885)

The British domination gave rise to some forces, which ultimately challenged British imperialism. For instance, the British forced English as medium of instruction in the education system of India, this went against the British as Indians came across the ideas of nationalism, political rights and democracy. These ideas resulted in a number of political associations, which were not known to Indians like then.

Many political associations were formed after 1836. In 1866, Dadabhai Naoroji organized the East-India Association in London. The objective of this association was to influence British 'to promote Indian welfare'. After some time, he opened its branches in various cities of India.

Political associations in Bengal

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the first Indian leader to start socio-political reform movements in India. He was greatly influenced by Western ideas. He supported a number of popular

movements all over the world. In 1821, when constitutional government was established in Spain, Ram Mohan Roy celebrated the event in Calcutta.

Rammohan Roy demanded liberty of the Press, appointment of Indians in civil courts and other higher posts, codification of law, etc. The task of organizing political associations was left to the associates of Rammohan Roy.

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- (i) **Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha:** The first such association called 'Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha' was formed in 1836. The association discussed various topics related to the policy and administration of the Government. It also sought redressal by sending petitions to the government.
- (ii) **Zamindari Association:** Formed in July 1837, it was more popularly known as the Landholders' Society. It was founded with an objective to safeguard the interests of the landlords in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. Although limited in its objectives, the Landholders' Society marks the beginning of an organized political activity. It used the methods of constitutional agitation for the redressal of grievances. The Landholders' Society of Calcutta cooperated with the British India Society, which was founded by Mr. Adams in London in the year 1839. The association functioned till 1844.
- (iii) **Bengal British India Society:** This society was formed in April 1843. The objective of this society was the 'collection and dissemination of information relating to the actual condition of the people of British India...and to employ such other means of peaceful and lawful character as may appear calculated to secure the welfare, extend the just rights, and advance the interests of all classes of our fellow subjects.' This organization merged with Zamindari Association in 1851 and formed the British Indian Association.
- (iv) **British Indian Association:** Due to the failure of the Landholder's Society and the Bengal British India Society, the two associations were merged on 29 October 1851 to form a new British Indian Association. This association was dominated by members of the landed aristocracy and the primary objective of this association was to safeguard the interests of this class. However, the association followed a liberal approach and when the time came for the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, it sent a petition to the Parliament in 1852. In this petition, it appealed for the establishment of a separate legislature of a popular character, separation of judicial from executive functions, reduction in the salaries of higher officers, abolition of salt duty, abkari and stamp duties. The appeals of the association were partially met and the Charter Act of 1853 provided for the addition of six members to the Governor-General's Council for legislative purposes. The British Indian Association continued its existence as a political body till 20th century even though it was over-shadowed by Indian National Congress.
- (v) **India League:** Babu Sisir Kumar Ghose founded this association in September 1875. The objective of this association was 'stimulating the sense of nationalism amongst the people'. This association also aimed at promoting political education.
- (vi) **Indian Association:** Within a year, the India League was superseded by the Indian Association. It was founded by Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjee on 26 July 1876. The Indian Association hoped to attract not only 'the middle classes' but also the masses, and therefore, it kept its annual subscription at ` 5 as opposed to the subscription of ` 50 p.a.

fixed by the British Indian Association. Soon, the Indian Association became 'the centre of the leading representatives of the educated community of Bengal.' The Indian Association merged with the National Congress in December 1886.

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Lytton's unpopular measures whipped up political activity in India. A regulation of 1876 reduced the maximum age for appearing in the ICS Examination from 21 to 19 years. Since the examination was held only in London, young Indians had to face innumerable difficulties. The Indian Association took up this problem and organized an all-India agitation against it, which was popularly known as the Indian Civil Service Agitation.

Political associations in Bombay

- (i) **Bombay Association:** Bombay Association was founded on the lines of the British India Association of Calcutta on 26 August 1852. The Bombay Association sent a petition to the British Parliament urging the formation of new legislative councils which should have Indian representative as well. The Association condemned the policy of exclusion of Indians from higher services, and lavish expenditure on sinecure posts given to Europeans. This association did not survive for long.
- (ii) **Bombay Presidency Association:** Policies of Lytton and Ilbert Bill controversy caused political turmoil in Bombay. This led to the formation of Bombay Presidency Association in the year 1885. It was formed by the popularly called brothers-in-law: Mehta, Telang and Tyabji, representing the three chief communities of Bombay town.
- (iii) **Poona Sarvajanik Sabha:** This was established at Poona by Justice Ranade and others in the 1870s, with the objective to serve as a bridge between the government and the people. The Bombay Presidency Association and the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha worked in close collaboration.

Political associations in Madras

- (i) **Madras Native Association:** This was set up as a branch of British Indian Association, Calcutta on 26 February 1852. The Madras Native Association also sent petition to the Parliament on the eve of the passing of the Charter Act of 1853. It made demands similar to that of the British Indian Association and the Bombay Association. However, the Madras Native Association was not popular.
- (ii) **Madras Mahajana Sabha:** This was formed by M. Vijayraghavachari, G. Subramanya Iyer, Ananda Charlu, Rangayya Naidu and others on 16 May 1884. It was aimed at coordinating the activities of local associations and providing a focus for the non-official intelligence spreading through the Presidency. It held two popular conferences: one was from 29th December to 31st December 1884, and second on 1st and 2nd January 1885. It demanded expansion of legislative councils, representation of Indians in legislative councils, separation of judicial from revenue functions, etc.

From the 1920s onwards till the last stages of the freedom struggle, Congress adopted Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's policy of non-violence and civil resistance. The period was also marked by Muhammad Ali Jinnah's constitutional struggle for the rights of minorities in India. Somehow left out of the mainstream freedom struggle, legendary figures like Subhas Chandra Bose later found it feasible to adopt a militant

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approach to attain freedom. Others like Swami Sahajanand Saraswati wanted both political and economic freedom for India's peasants and toiling masses. Poets like Rabindranath Tagore used literature, poetry and speech as mechanisms for political awareness. During the Second World War, campaigns such as the Quit India movement (led by 'Mahatma' Gandhi) and the Indian National Army (INA) movement (led by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose) immensely jolted the roots of the colonial tree in India and eventually resulted in the withdrawal of the British. Ultimately, these movements culminated in the Indian Independence Act 1947, which created the independent dominions of India and Pakistan. India remained a Dominion of the Crown till 26 January 1950, when the Constitution of India came into force, establishing the Republic of India. On the other hand, Pakistan remained a dominion till 1956.

Formation of the Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress was formed due to the efforts of a number of people. The presence of number of political associations across the country, and spread of the ideals of patriotism and nationalism prepared the foundation of the Indian National Congress. It was formed in the year 1885 but its origin is not known. According to Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, its origin is 'shrouded in mystery'. However, many people believe that A.O. Hume laid its foundation under Lord Dufferin. He formed the Indian National Congress to 'provide a 'safety-valve' to the anticipated or actual discontentment of the Indian intelligentsia and to form a quasi-constitutional party similar to Her Majesty's Opposition in England.' According to W.C. Banerjee, the First Congress President, the Indian National Congress was formed by Lord Dufferin, Viceroy of India. He also believed that Lord Dufferin formed it because he wanted a political organization which can understand the 'real wishes' of the people so that the British government could prevent political outbursts in the country.

On 1 March 1883, in an open letter, Hume had appealed to the students of Calcutta University to set up an organization in India. He officially clarified that his objective was 'to form a constitutional method to prevent the spread of dissatisfaction caused by western ideas, education, inventions, and machines and it was essential to take measures for the security and continuity of the British Government'. Some scholars believe that Ripon advised Hume to form an organization of educated Indians. Recently, some scholars analysed Dufferin's correspondence to Hume as well as the activities of the early nationalists, they concluded that the theory of 'safety valve' is a myth.

The Indian National Congress was founded on 28 December 1885 at Sir Tej Pal Sanskrit Vidyalaya, Bombay. It will not be correct to say that it was a sudden event rather it was as Bipan Chandra states, 'the culmination of a process of political awakening that had its beginnings in the 1860s and 1870s and took a major leap forward in the late 1870s and early 1880s'. Also, a lot of attempts were made by Indian Nationalists for the formation of a political organization on all-India scale. For instance, two National Conferences were organized by Indian Association.

A.O. Hume succeeded in forming an All India Party, which was attended by 72 delegates. Most of the Indian leaders could not attend this session as a National Conference was going on in Calcutta at the same time. The objectives of both these organizations were same. The Indian National Conference was later merged into the National Congress. It would be wrong to believe that he laid the foundation of the Indian National Congress single-handedly as many people were involved in its formation. Most of the leaders were able to accept Hume because they felt that he would not be biased

towards any region or caste. It is because he did not belong to any of these groups and he had a sincere love for India.

Some of the members of the Indian National Congress were Pherozeshah Mehta, W.C. Banerji, Anandamohan Bose, Badruddin Tyabji, Surendranath Banerji, and Romesh Chandra Dutt. This association was different from others as none of the earlier associations had complete independence as their agenda. The Congress made some demands, which can be divided into three categories: political, administrative and economic.

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(i) Political demands

- Greater power to the Supreme Council and local Legislative Council
- Discussion on budget to be held by the council
- Representation of the council through local bodies like Universities and Chambers of Commerce
- Creation of Legislative Assembly in Punjab, Awadh (NWP) and North-West Frontier Province (NWFP)

(ii) Economic demands

The Congress sessions, between 1855 and 1905, regularly passed resolutions for:

- Reduction in land revenue
- Establishment of agricultural banks
- Reduction in home charge and military expenditure
- Ending unfair tariffs and excise duties
- Enquiring the causes behind India's poverty and famines
- Providing more funds for technical education
- Development of Indian industries
- Better treatment for Indian coolies in foreign countries
- Change in forest laws so that tribal can use forest

(iii) Administrative demands

- ICS examination in India as well as England
- Increase Indian volunteer force
- Understanding of Indian needs on the part of administration
- Separation of Judiciary from Executive power and extension of trial by jury
- Higher posts in the army for Indians

Objectives of the Congress

The primary objective of the Congress was to make people feel that they belong to a single nation—India. The diversity in India in terms of caste, creed, religion, tradition, language made this a difficult task. However, it was not impossible. Many important people like Pherozshah Mehta, Dadabhai Naoroji, K.T. Telang and Dinshaw Wacha, attended the first session of the Indian National Congress. The objectives of the Congress laid down by W.C. Banerjee, the President of the first session of the Indian National Congress, are as follows:

- Promoting personal intimacy and friendship among people who are working for the cause of the country
- Eradicating prejudices related to race, creed and provinces through friendly interaction

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- Consolidating the sentiments of national unity
- Maintaining authoritative record of the educated Indians' views on the prominent issues of the day
- Determining methods by which native politicians can work towards public interest during the next twelve months
- Training and organizing public opinion
- Formulating and presenting popular demands before the government through petitions

The Congress was supported by people of all religions. W.C. Banerjee, the first President of the Indian National Congress, was an Indian Christian. The second President was Dadabhai Naoroji, who was a Parsee. The third President was Badruddin Tayabji who was a Muslim. The fourth and fifth Presidents were George Yule and William Baderburn who were Britishers.

5.3.1 Early Nationalists: Programmes and Policies

We have already seen that some of the educated Indians were playing major roles in cultivating a sense of nationalism. Some of the early nationalist, also known as the moderates, were the ones who set up the Indian national Congress. Here are some of the prominent names:

- 1. Allan Octavian Hume (1829-1912):** He was of Scottish descent. He joined the Bengal Civil Service in 1849 and made a lot of efforts to remove the social maladies of the country. His superiors did not favour him, thus, he had to retire in 1882. He took initiative to form the Indian National Congress in 1885. In 1889, he helped in setting up the British Committee of the Congress in London as well. This committee started its journal named 'India'.
- 2. Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917):** He was known as 'the Grand Old Man of India'. He was associated with the Indian National Congress right from its inception and became its president thrice: in 1886, 1893 and 1906. He was the first Indian to become a Member of the House of Commons on the Liberal Party's ticket. During his stay in England, from 1855 to 1869, he educated British public on Indian affairs through the London Indian Association and the East India Association. A book by Naoroji *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* was published in 1901. This book had statistics to prove that the drain of wealth from India to Great Britain was the cause of growing poverty in India.
- 3. Pherozeshah Mehta (1845-1915):** He was born in a middle class Parsi family of Bombay. He was one of the founders of the Bombay Presidency Association and the Indian National Congress. He was also a pioneer of the Swadeshi and founded the famous Bombay Chronicle in 1913.
- 4. Surendranath Banerjea (1848-1925):** He was an eminent leader who passed the ICS examination in 1871 and started his career as an Assistant Magistrate at Sylhet. A controversy with the government led him to leave the job. He was the founder of the Indian Association in 1876. In 1883, he convened a National Conference which was the precursor of the Indian National Congress. He presided over the Congress sessions twice. He was elected the first President of the Indian National Liberal Federation in 1918 and in 1921, he became a minister in Bengal.

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5. **Badruddin Tyabji (1844-1906):** He was the first Indian barrister at Bombay High Court and was nominated to Bombay Legislative Council in 1882. He was one of the founders of the Bombay Presidency Association and the Indian National Congress. He was the President at the third Congress session in Madras in 1887. He helped Muslims in the causes of educational advancement and social reforms as the Secretary and then as the President of the Anjuman-i-Islam of Bombay. He strongly pleaded for the education of women.
6. **Womesh Chander Banerjee (1844-1906):** He represented the Calcutta University in the Bengal Legislative Council. He was the first Congress President at Bombay in 1885. He left India in 1902 to settle in England to practise before the Privy Council. He financed the British Committee of the Congress in London and its journal 'India'.
7. **Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946):** He was born and educated at Allahabad. He started his career as a lawyer and as an able Parliamentarian. He was a member of the Provincial and Central Legislatures for several terms. He promoted the use of indigenous products and helped in organizing the Indian Industrial Conference and the UP Industrial Association at Allahabad in 1907. In 1926, he organized his own Nationalist Party. He also established the Banaras Hindu University and for several years served as its Vice-Chancellor.
8. **Tej Bahadur Sapru (1872-1949):** He was a conscientious and successful lawyer who specialized in constitutional law. He helped Mrs Besant to build up the Central Hindu College at Banaras and to establish the Banaras Hindu University in collaboration with Malaviya. He entered politics during the Home Rule movement and associated in drafting Nehru Committee Report of 1928. He participated in the Round Table conferences as well.
9. **Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915):** He was a follower of Mahadev Govind Ranade who was popularly known as the Socrates of Maharashtra. He joined the Deccan Educational Society founded by Ranade. He edited the quarterly journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha. He played a great part, officially and unofficially, in the formulation of the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. His principles attracted Gandhiji, who became Gokhale's pupil. In 1905, he laid the foundation of the 'Servants of India Society' for the training of national missionaries and to promote, by constitutional means, the true interests of the Indian people.
10. **Kashinath Trimbak Telang (1850-1893):** He was a co-founder of the Bombay Presidency Association. He was one of the leading men who founded the Congress and became its first 'hardworking secretary'. He was active in the sphere of social reforms and was the President of the National Social Conference. He rose to the position of a High Court Judge.
11. **Rashbehari Ghose (1845-1921):** After obtaining the Law degree, he enrolled himself as an advocate at the Calcutta High Court. He became a member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1889. He was the Chairman, Reception Committee of the Congress, in its Calcutta session in 1906. He was also the President-elect for the Surat session of the Congress in 1907. He was deputed by the Congress to proceed with its delegation to England and forward its point of view before the British Government.

Since its inception in 1885 till the time India won its Independence in 1947, the Congress was the largest and most prominent Indian political organization. In its initial stages, the Indian National Congress was a political unit, however, in due course of time

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it supported the cause of social reform and human development. The Indian National Congress is said to have also provided impetus to the spirit of nationalism. In its early stages, there was unity in the Indian National Congress and it was marked by the learning of democratic methods and techniques. The leaders of the INC believed that the British government was responsive to their needs and were willing to make changes accordingly. However, over a period of time, the Indian masses became disillusioned with the concept of nationalism. They suddenly became aware that their petitions not as fruitful as expected and that the British subtly avoided taking any action. Even in the phase of dissatisfaction, there were some Congress leaders who believed in the methods of the British government and came to be known as moderates. Since these moderate leaders failed to produce desired results, a new stream of leaders came up who were known as the extremists. These extremists disagreed with the traditional methods of moderates that were limited to writing petitions and conducting agitations to get themselves heard. The extremists were not satisfied with a dominion status and demanded complete independence from the British government.

Moderate

Due to the low-level of political awareness, the achievements of moderate nationalists were not immense. However, by 1907, the moderates were pushed to the background with the emergence of an extremist class in the Congress. The failure to produce any results for the welfare of the people resulted in the creation of an extremist group and the division of Congress into two factions. Leaders of moderate phase mainly came from Bombay, Bengal and Madras. For example, Badruddin Tayabji, Dada Bhai Naoroji, Pherozshah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, K. T. Telang and Govind Ranade were from Bombay. Wumesh Chander Banerji, Anand Mohan Bose. Surendra Nath Banerji and Ramesh Chandra Dutta were from Bengal. Similarly, Subamanya Ayer, Anand Charlu, and Raghavacharya were from Madras. Very few leaders like Madan Mohan Malaviya and Pundit D. P. Dhar came from north India. These moderate leaders treated British rule as a blessing. They sincerely believed that the British rule would make India a developed democratic and liberal country. They had the illusion that the British would introduce modern institutions and remove superstitious belief. They saw England as a source of inspiration and treated English as their political, guru. Many of these nationalist leaders had anglicized life style. All they wanted and expected from the British was a 'reform package' for Indians.

The moderates believed in peaceful methods to get their demands across. They believed in writing petitions and peaceful protests. Though the Moderates failed to make the same impact as the extremists, they petitioned a number of reforms during this time.

- 1. Constitutional reforms:** The Moderates demanded the expansion and reform of the existing Legislative Councils from 1885 to 1892. They demanded the introduction of the system of direct elections and an increase in the number of members and powers of the Legislative Councils. It is true that their agitation forced the Government to pass the Indian Councils Act of 1892 but the moderates were not satisfied with what was given to the people of India. No wonder, they declared the Act of 1892 as a 'hoax.' They demanded a large share for the Indians in the Legislative Councils. By the beginning of the 20th century, the Moderates put forward the claim for Swarajya or self-government within the British Empire on the model of the other self-governing colonies like Australia and Canada. This demand was made from the Congress platform by Gokhale in 1905 and by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1906.

2. Demand for economic reforms: The Congress opposed the British attempt to develop in India the basic characteristics of a colonial economy, namely, the transformation of India into a supplier of raw materials, a market for British manufactures and a field of investment for foreign capital. Moderates took note of all the three forms of contemporary colonial economic exploitation, namely through trade, industry and finance. They organized a powerful all-India agitation against the abandonment of tariff-duties on imports and against the imposition of cotton excise duties. The moderates carried on agitation for the reduction of heavy land revenue payments. They urged the government to provide cheap credit to the peasantry through agricultural banks and to make available irrigation facilities on a large scale. They asked for improvement in the conditions of work of the plantation labourers. They demanded a radical change in the existing pattern of taxation and expenditure which put a heavy burden on the poor while leaving the rich, especially the foreigners, with a very light load. They demanded the abolition of salt tax which hit the poor and lower middle classes hard. The moderates complained of India's growing poverty and economic backwardness and put the blame on the politics of the British Government. They blamed the government for the destruction of the indigenous industries like the traditional handicrafts industries in the country. They demanded the rapid development of the modern industries which would help in the removal of India's poverty. They wanted the government to give tariff protection to the Indian industries. They advocated the use of Swadeshi goods and the boycott of British goods. They demanded that the economic drain of India by England must stop. Most of them opposed the large scale investment of foreign capital in the Indian railways, plantations and industries on the ground that it would lead to the suppression of Indian capitalists and the further strengthening of the British hold on India's economy and polity.

3. Administrative and miscellaneous reforms: Moderates criticized the individual administrative measures and worked hard to reform the administrative system which was ridden with corruption, inefficiency and oppression. They demanded the Indianization of the higher grades of the administrative services; the demand was put forward on economic, political and moral grounds. Economically, the high salaries paid to the European put a heavy burden on Indian finance, and contributed to the economic drain. Indians of similar qualifications could be employed on lower salaries. Europeans sent a large part of their salaries back to England and also got their pensions in England. That added to the drain of wealth from India. Politically, the European civil servant ignored the needs of the Indians and favoured the European capitalists at the cost of their Indian counterparts. It was hoped that the Indianization of the services would make the administration more responsive to Indian needs. Morally, the existing system dwarfed the Indian character reducing the tallest Indian to permanent inferiority in his own country. Moderates demanded the separation of the judiciary from the executive so that the people might get some protection from the arbitrary acts of police and bureaucracy. They were opposed to the policy of disarming the people of India by the government. They opposed the aggressive foreign policy against India's neighbours and protested against the policy of the annexation of Burma, the attack upon Afghanistan and the suppression of the tribal people in North-Western India. They wanted the government to spend more money on the spread of education

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in the country. They also took up the cause of the Indians who had been compelled by poverty to migrate to the British colonies in search of employment. In many of these foreign lands they were subjected to severe oppression and racial discrimination.

4. **Defense of Civil Rights:** They opposed the restrictions imposed by the government on the modern civil rights, namely the freedom of speech and the press. Almost from the beginning of the 19th century, politically conscious Indians had been attracted to modern civil rights especially the freedom of the press. As early as 1824, Raja Ram Mohan Roy had protested against a regulation restricting the freedom of the press. In the period from 1870 to 1918, the main political task was that of politicization of nationalist ideology. The press was the chief instrument for carrying out this task. Indian newspapers began to find their feet in 1870's. The Vernacular Press Act of 1878, directed only against Indian language newspapers, was conceived in great secrecy and passed at a single sitting of the Imperial Legislative Council. The act provided for the confiscation of the printing press, paper and other materials of a newspaper if the government believed that it was publishing seditious material and had flouted an official warning. Indian nationalist opinion firmly opposed the Act. Various public bodies and the press also campaigned against the Act. Consequently, it was repealed in 1881 by Lord Ripon. Surendranath Banerjee was the first Indian to go to jail in performance of his duty as a journalist. However, the man who is most frequently associated with the struggle for the freedom of press during the nationalist movement was Bal Gangadhar Tilak. In 1897, B. G. Tilak and many other leaders were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for condemning the government through their speeches and writings. The Natu brothers of Poona were deported without trial. The entire country protested against this attack on the liberties of the people. The arrest of Tilak marked the beginning of new phase of the nationalist movement.

Failure of the Moderates

The basic weakness of the moderates lay their narrow social base. Their movement did not have wide appeal. In fact; the leaders lacked political faith in the masses. The area of their influence was limited to the urban community. As they did not have the support of the masses, they declared that the time was not ripe for throwing out a challenge to the foreign rulers. That was likely to invite mature repression. However, it must not be presumed that moderate leaders fought for their narrow interests. Their programmes and policies championed the cause of all sections of the Indian people and represented nation-wide interests against colonial exploitation.

Critically evaluating the work of the Moderates, it appears that they did not achieve much success. Very few of the reforms advocated by them were carried out. The foreign rulers treated them with contempt. The moderates failed to acquire any roots among the common people and even those who joined the Congress with high hopes were feeling more and more disillusioned. The politics of the moderates was described as 'halting and half-hearted.' Their methods were described as those of mendicancy or beggary through prayers and petitions.

Moderates failed to keep pace with the yearnings and aspirations of the people. They did not realize that the political and economic interests of the Indians and the

British clashed and consequently the British people could not be expected to give up their rights and privileges in India without a fight. Moreover, it was during this period that a movement started among the Muslims to keep away from the Congress and that ultimately resulted in the establishment of Pakistan. In spite of their best efforts, the moderates were not able to win over the Muslims.

The social composition of Congress remained, by and large the same till 1905. A. O. Hume tried his best to bring Muslims and peasants into the Congress fold, but with little success. The Muslim elite, especially from Aligarh, felt that they would lose from the elected councils and that the Hindus would dominate (Hindus were in majority in most places). The Muslim elite also opposed competitive examinations for the recruitment into civil services, as it was based on modern English education and the Muslims were far behind the Hindus in this field. They feared Hindu domination in the civil services too. All these factors kept Muslims away from the Congress; neither did the Congress give a serious look into inducting Muslims. This was a big mistake, as they realized in later years.

Thus, it is clear that the Congress was not only concerned with the issues of zamindars, capitalist and English educated professionals, but it also showed concern for almost all the sections of the society. The objectives of the Congress were never the reason for calling it 'moderate', rather its methods and style of functioning. The early Congress leaders believed in the constitutional method of struggle, i.e., through petitions, speeches and articles. One important reason for this was the social composition of early Congress leaders. They came from successful professional background (most of them were lawyers, journalists and academicians) and their personal life-style was anglicised. Perhaps, the first lesson they learned from the British was how to write applications and give petitions. Moreover, politics, for most of them, remained a part-time affair.

5.3.2 Extremists

The closing decade of the 19th century and early years of the 20th century witnessed the emergence of a new and younger group within the Indian National Congress, which was sharply critical of the ideology and methods of the old leadership. These 'angry young men' advocated the adoption of Swaraj as the goal of the Congress, which was to be achieved by more self-reliant and independent methods. The new group came to be called the extremists in contrast to the older one which began to be referred to as the moderates.

The militant form of nationalism was first found in the teachings and preaching of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Swami Dayananda Saraswati. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was inspired by the *Bhagavad Gita* and visualized a united India. Swami Vivekananda, who was called the prophet of nationalism by Bipin Chandra Pal, added spiritual dimension to the idea of nationalism. He inspired the youth of his time, more than anyone else. The root of extremism lies in two important factors—the policies of colonial rule, and the failure of moderate leaders to attract younger generation and common people.

Factors that Led to the Rise of Extremism

Following are the factors led to the rise of extremists:

- Enlightenment of the true nature of British rule
- Civil Services examinations was disallowed

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- Partition of Bengal
- The Indian Council Act, 1892, failed to introduce an elective element in India and provided for selection of some members
- Adoption of the Tariff and Cotton Duties Act of 1894 and 1896 by the Indians
- Curbing freedom of press (1904) and controlling universities through Indian University Act (1904)
- Defeat of Russia (1904-05) by Japan inspired the educated youth
- Circulation of Vernacular newspaper went up from 2,99,000 in 1885 to 8,17,000 in 1905. Some of the popular journals like *Kesari* (Marathi) and *Bangabhasi* (Bengali) opposed the moderate Congress
- The famine of Maharashtra in 1896

Objectives and Methods of Extremists

The new turn in Indian politics found expression in two forms—the formation of the extremist group within the Congress and the growth of terrorism or revolutionary movement in the country at large. Four prominent Congress leaders—Lokamanya Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh and Lala Lajpat Rai, defined the creed of the new group, gave articulate form to its aspirations and guided its operations. One of the earliest leaders who criticized the moderate politics systematically, in a series of articles titled ‘New Lamps for Old’ was Aurobindo Ghose. He did not like the constitutional method of struggle based on English model and attacked the soft attitude of the Congress. He told them not to take inspiration from England but to take inspiration from French Revolution (1789-99). He also suggested bringing the proletariat (working) class in the national movement. The emerging leaders in the Congress, like Bipin Chandra Pal, Ashwini Kumar Dutta, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, were not happy with the ‘prayers’ and ‘petitions’ methods. They were in favour of self-reliance, constructive work, mass contact through *melas*, public meetings, use of mother tongue in education and political works. They argued that ‘good government is no substitute for self-government’. The issue of Swadeshi Movement widened the gap between the moderates and the extremists. The extremists wanted to spread the movement in the entire country and complete non-cooperation with the government. Lajpat Rai and Tilak were more aggressive in their ideas and plans.

Lajpat Rai thundered ‘no national is worthy of any political status if it cannot distinguish between begging rights and claiming them’. He further argued that ‘sovereignty rests with the people; the state exists for them and rules in their name’. But the true founder of militant nationalism was Bal Gangadhar Tilak. He criticized the moderates in his unique style— ‘we will not achieve any success in our labours if we croak once a year like a frog’. He was quick to set the political goal of India, i.e., ‘Swaraj’ or self-government instead of reform in administration. He showed greater confidence and ability when he declared ‘Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it’. He was a pioneer in many ways. He used religious symbols and festivals, like Ganesh festival since 1894, to mobilize people and he made patriotic-cum-historical cult through Shivaji festival since 1896 to inspire the youth. He even carried out the no-revenue campaign in 1896–97, during severe famine in Maharashtra. He called upon the government to take those measures of relief, which were provided under law in the Famine Relief Code. Through his paper, *Kesari*, he made an appeal to the people to refuse to pay taxes. He wrote angrily, ‘Can you not be bold even in the grip

of death'. He also started Boycott Movement on the issue of countervailing Cotton Excise Duty Act of 1896. It should be clearly understood that the extremists' demand for Swaraj was a demand for 'complete freedom from foreign control and full independence to manage national affairs without any foreign restraints'. The Swaraj of the moderate leaders was merely a demand for colonial self-government within the Empire. The methods employed by the two groups (moderates and extremists) were different in their tempo and approach. The extremists had no faith in the benevolence of the British public or parliament, nor were they convinced of the efficacy of merely holding conferences. The extremists also affirmed their faith in passive resistance, mass agitation and strong will to suffer or make self-sacrifices. The new leadership sought to create a passionate love for liberty, accompanied by a spirit of sacrifice and a readiness to suffer for the cause of the country. They strove to root out from the people's mind the omnipotence of the ruler, and instead give them self-reliance and confidence in their own strength. They had deep faith in the strength of the masses and they planned to achieve Swaraj through mass action. They, therefore, pressed for political work among the masses and for direct political action by the masses. The extremists advocated boycott of the foreign goods, use of *swadeshi* goods, national education and passive resistance.

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5.4 MASS MOVEMENTS: NON-COOPERATION, CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, QUIT INDIA AND INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE

Let us study the mass movements which led to the independence of India from the British Rule.

5.4.1 Non-Cooperation

When the British government decided to partition Bengal, it led to intense agitation against the government, and the most significant pan-India agitation against the British was the Non-Cooperation Movement that lasted from 1919 to 1922. This movement was started by Mahatma Gandhi to further the cause of Indian nationalism. Under his guidance and leadership, the Indian National Congress adapted the policy of passive resistance against British rule. The launch of the Non-Cooperation Movement was set against the backdrop of the Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, which increased the bitter resentment people had towards the British rule, the imposition of martial law in Punjab and the Montagu Chelmsford Report (1919) with its ill-considered scheme of diarchy. The British government passed the report with the intention to gradually introduce self-governing institutions in India. However, not only did these reforms frustrate the Indian hope of self-governance, the British were also very critical of the policies of this reform.

Discontent against the British increased with the appointment of the Hunter Commission to report the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. The Hunter Commission did not take any disciplinary action against General Dyer and rather favoured this act of violence as an attempt to subdue a protest. This report infuriated the Indian leaders and made present conditions ripe for another protest.

At this point, a large number of educated Muslim leaders emerged, who had their own issues with the British government. The Muslims were discontent with the British

Check Your Progress

5. When and where was the Indian National Congress founded?
6. Who was the first president of the Indian National Congress?
7. What does 'Swaraj' mean?

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regarding the insensitive treatment of Turkey in World War I as they regarded the Caliph of Turkey as their spiritual leader. The Muslims had been assured that the Caliph would be treated leniently after the defeat of Turkey and its allies in World War I. However, the post-war treaty ruthlessly curtailed the powers of the Caliph, and the Indian Muslims started the Khilafat movement. Gandhi found the time was ripe to align with this movement and bring the Hindus and Muslims together. His skill at the political game ensured he won over the Muslims.

On the initiatives taken by the Ali brothers, Mohammad and Shaukat, the first call for non-cooperation came from the All India Khilafat Conference in Delhi on 22-23 November 1919. At a Khilafat Conference held in Allahabad, a four stage non-cooperation programme was announced. This non-cooperation programme included the boycott of the following:

- (i) Titles
- (ii) Civil services
- (iii) Police and Army
- (iv) Payment of taxes

The Non-Cooperation Movement was officially launched on 1 August 1920, after the notice given by Gandhi to the Viceroy expired. In this notice, Gandhi had demanded the right recognized 'from time immemorial of the subject to refuse to assist a ruler who misrules'. At its session held in Kolkata in 1920, the India National Congress decided the aims and charter of the movement, which were similar to those of the Khilafat Conference of Allahabad. These resolutions were endorsed at the session of the Congress held at Nagpur in December 1920. In addition, other resolutions for the betterment of the party organization were also drawn up. Membership to the party was opened to all adult men and women based on the payment of 4 annas as subscription fees.

The movement enjoyed massive popular appeal, and in the first month scores of students left government schools and colleges and joined national institutions that had started all over the country. This boycott was particularly successful in Bengal under the leadership of Chitta Ranjan Das and Subhas Chandra Bose. Punjab also supported this educational boycott and Lala Lajpat Rai played a monumental role there. Other states where educational boycott were seen include Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa and Assam. Legal boycott was not as successful as educational boycott. However, many leading lawyers including C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, M.R. Jayakar, Asif Ali, C Rajagopalachari and S Kitchlu left their flourishing legal practice and joined the cause of independence. Their sacrifice proved inspirational for people. Khadi was given importance as it was an indigenous handspun product and charkas were also distributed. This led to the boycott of foreign goods. Advertisements in nationalist newspapers were given, inviting people to participate in burning of foreign goods. These nationalist efforts led to the decline in cloth exports to a great extent. This was the first time that picketing of liquor shops took place.

The Muslim support to the nationalist cause was also one of the main features of the Nationalist Movement. In the July of 1921, Muhammad Ali appealed to all Muslims in the British army that they should consider it morally wrong to be a part of the British army and, therefore, should discontinue their services. Due to this propaganda against the British, Muhammad Ali was arrested. After he was arrested, this call was taken up by Gandhi and the Congress who issued a manifesto to all Indians to sever all ties with the British Indian army.

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Another dramatic event to unfold was the visit of the Prince of Wales in November 1921. The day of the Prince's visit was observed as a day of a pan-India *hartal*. He was greeted with empty streets and downed shutters wherever he went. However, due to the strong anti-British feelings, a riot occurred between the people dispersing from Gandhi's meeting and the people who had joined the procession of welcoming the Prince. In order to reduce this tension, Gandhi had to go on a four day fast.

These measures made the volunteers of the Non-Cooperation Movement bold and urged by the successful defiance of the government, they became increasingly aggressive.

There were some indirect effects of the Non-Cooperation Movement as well, such as follows:

- In the United Provinces, one could not differentiate between a Non-Cooperation Movement meeting and a peasant meeting.
- In Kerala, the movement helped to provoke Muslim tenants against their landlords.
- In Assam, tea plantation labourers went on strike.
- In Punjab, the Akali movement became a part of the Non-Cooperation Movement.

The Non-Cooperation Movement also ensured that the women nationalists organized their efforts under the Mahila Karma Samaj. The movement was so popular that the government put into action Sections 108 and 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. Various volunteers' groups were declared illegal and scores of people were arrested from all over the country. Only Gandhi was spared. Various attempts were made to negotiate with these volunteers, but the conditions offered were so rigorous that it would lead to sacrifice of the Khilafat leaders. Gandhi was under tremendous pressure from the rank and file of the Congress to start the mass civil disobedience.

The Chauri Chaura incident, in which a mob burned alive twenty-five policemen and one inspector, made Gandhi suspend the Non-Cooperation Movement. But the movement still managed to achieve several positives, including the following:

- Provide a platform for the unification of all religious communities so that a joint force could fight against the foreign rule
- Provide the required impetus and mass support for future agitations and movements
- Provide a sense of courage, direction and confidence to masses and fill them with self-respect and esteem.
- Provide a sense of representation to the Muslim community in the nationalist movement

The limitations of the Non-Cooperation Movement were that the movement failed to secure the objective of Khilafat and rectify the wrongs suffered by the masses in Punjab. Also, *swaraj* was not achieved within the year as was promised.

5.4.2 Civil Disobedience

Soon after he was given the responsibility of the Civil Disobedience Movement, Gandhi wrote a letter to Viceroy Irwin seeking the abolishment of the salt tax, reduction of military expenditure and the release of political prisoners. However, Lord Irwin chose to not respond to this letter. This formed the crux for the outbreak of the Civil Disobedience

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Movement against the British by Gandhi. On 12 March, 1930, Gandhi started a march from Sabarmati ashram to the sea at Dandi accompanied by 72 followers. People cheered the marchers and joined them along the way. As Gandhi walked past them, villagers spun yarn on charkhas as a mark of their solidarity to the movement. On April 6, after Gandhi reached the sea at Dandi, he picked up some salt from the seaside as a mark of breaking the Salt Law. Gandhi had decided to break the law as he believed that salt was a basic necessity of people and salt tax was against the interest of the poor. Inspired by Gandhi, people began manufacturing salt all over the country.

From Madras to Maharashtra, from Bengal and Assam to Karachi, volunteers were recruited on a large-scale for the movement through careful planning and it soon spread like fire. Supporters launched a massive demonstration at Peshawar in the farthest north. This area had been in news due to activism by leaders like Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgars. The British were wary of the movement and arrested leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru on April 14. Madras, Calcutta and Karachi erupted in protest against the arrest of Nehru. The colonial government was taken by surprise with the reaction of the masses as it had not anticipated such widespread support to the movement. Insecure, it decided to arrest Gandhi in May 1930, but the decision only added much fuel to the fire that the movement had stirred. The most important feature of the Civil Disobedience Movement was the support it received from the youth of the country, especially students and women. Women led groups attacked liquor shops as well as those that sold foreign goods. The government went all out to stop the people and issued orders curbing the civil liberties of citizens. It also decided to ban civil disobedience organizations in the provinces.

In June 1930, the Congress Working Committee was banned and its president, Motilal Nehru, was arrested. By August, even the local Congress committees were banned. All these issues became part of the Civil Disobedience Movement. It was then that the Simon Commission published its report, a time when the government had become a symbol of repression and the national movement was at its peak.

As against expectations, the Simon Report made no mention of giving dominion status to India. With this, many nationalist leaders turned outright against the British. It was followed by the Viceroy's invitation to the leaders to a Round Table Conference to discuss the issue of dominion status. Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru were taken to Gandhi to discuss the offer made by the British. But no breakthrough could be made between the government and the Congress leaders. It was in London in November 1930 that the First Round Table Conference was held between the Indian leaders and the British. However, leaders of the Congress abstained from the meeting. The absence of the leaders of the Congress meant that there would be no negotiations between the Indians and the British. The next conference was scheduled a year later. On 25 January, 1931, the government released Gandhi. Without imposing any conditions, all other members of the Congress Working Committee were also released. However, the Congress leaders were asked to discuss the Viceroy's offer to participate in the next Round Table Conference. After several rounds of discussions, Gandhi was given the responsibility of negotiating with the Viceroy. Discussions between Gandhi and Lord Irwin went on for a fortnight. On March 5, 1931, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was finally signed. The terms of this Pact were as follows:

- Immediate release of all people arrested for non-violent protests.
- Fines not collected from people to be remitted
- Confiscated land not yet sold off to be returned to peasants

- Government employees who had resigned were to be treated leniently
- Right to make salt to villages along the coast
- Grant of right to peaceful and non-aggressive picketing

The Congress decided to withdraw the Civil Disobedience Movement after the pact was signed. It also confirmed its participation in the next Round Table Conference. However, as per the judgment of many nationalist leaders, this pact was only a temporary truce, even though another section of leaders believed this settlement unnecessary. Due to this difference of opinion, activists launched numerous radical activities in the form of revolutionary secret societies.

In its Karachi session in March 1931, the Congress once again gave the call for *purna swaraj*. However, the party also supported the pact between Irwin and Gandhi. At Karachi, the Congress started preparing the framework of India's Constitution even though the Pact made no mention of giving independence to India. Resolutions related to the Fundamental Rights and National Economic policy were approved at the session. These resolutions were landmark in the history of the nationalist movement for it was for the first time that issues of civil liberties such as free speech, free press and freedom of association were spoken about for the Indian masses. Other provisions included in this resolution pertained to neutrality in religious matters, equality before law, universal adult franchise, free and compulsory primary education and many others.

For the Second Round Table Conference in August 1931, Gandhi travelled to London. Willington, meanwhile, replaced Lord Irwin. However, the discussions at this Round Table did not go in the favour of India. The new viceroy refused to meet Gandhi after he returned from London in December 1931. The British government refused to recognize the Congress as representatives of the people of India. Moreover, the government went back to its repressive ways by arresting Jawaharlal Nehru and also Abdul Ghaffar Khan who was leading the Khudai Khidmatgars' Movement in the North-West Frontier Province.

Circumstances were thus raised where the Congress had to re-launch the Civil Disobedience Movement, especially after the new viceroy refused to meet Gandhi for any further negotiation. In January 1932, Gandhi was arrested and the government once again curtailed people's civil liberties. The government followed this by giving itself the right to appropriate properties and detain people. With such powers, the government put all prominent leaders of the Congress behind bars. With this, the masses broke out in mass demonstrations to protest against the government's actions; liquor shops were picketed as well as foreign goods' shops. However, the government only reacted with more force. Large number of people was jailed, Congress was banned and the police occupied Gandhian ashrams. Demonstrators were beaten up, those who refused to pay taxes were jailed and their properties seized. Yet, the movement continued for two years. The movement was withdrawn by Gandhi in April 1934 and his call was obeyed by the people of the country.

5.4.3 Quit India

For the cause of immediate independence, the Quit India Movement was launched by Gandhi. It was another form of the civil disobedience movement. With the launch of this movement, Gandhi hoped that the British government would call upon the Indian leaders and negotiate for independence. The Quit India Movement was thus started in August 1942.

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- There was anger and hostility towards meaningless war especially when thousands of wounded soldiers returned from Burmese war.
- Prices of food grains were rising up. There was a 60-point rise in prices of food grains in eastern UP between April and August 1942. There was also shortage of rice and salt.
- The majority of British, American and Australian soldiers stationed in India ill-treated Indians; many of them even raped Indian women.
- The boats of common men, in Bengal and Assam, were seized and destroyed due to the fear of Japanese attack in Bengal and Assam. Gandhi said in Harijan of 3 May 1942, 'To deprive people in East Bengal of boats is like cutting off vital limbs.'
- During the crisis of food grains, the Indian market was left in the hands of black marketers, and profiteers which affected the poor most, especially in eastern India.

The war made some traders and capitalist rich but a large section of Banias and Marwaris suffered losses in Malaya and Burma from mid-1942 onwards. The capitalist element in the Congress Working Committee took notice of it.

- The success story of Japanese in South-East Asian countries demystified the superiority of Europeans especially English.

The mid 1942 was a period marked with utter chaos. The Indians were losing their patience with the British attitude. Gandhi urged the British, 'This orderly disciplined anarchy should go, and if as a result there is complete lawlessness I would risk it.' During mid-July that year, the Congress leaders met at Wardha to discuss the next course of action. Finally, on 8 August 1942, Quit India Resolution was passed by the Bombay session of the AICC. The leaders then decided to have a peaceful protest on a large scale involving all parts of the country. During his famous Do or Die speech, Gandhi declared, 'Let every Indian consider himself to be a free man. Mere jail going would not do.' Interestingly, Jawaharlal Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai and Rajagopalachari opposed Quit India Resolution. Though, Nehru, as always, fell in line and moved the Quit India Resolution, which had the following conditions:

- Immediate end to British rule in India. The British were told clearly to 'Quit India.'
- India's commitment to defend itself against all types of Fascism and Imperialism.

Apart from formal resolutions, Gandhi, in an informal way at Gowalia Tank Ground addressed the various sections of society:

- To the students—If ready for sacrifice and confident, leave studies.
- To the peasants—If zamindars are pro-government, do not pay rent.
- To the soldiers—Do not open fire on fellow countrymen.
- To the Government servants—Do not resign but oppose the Government from within.
- To the Princes—Support the masses and accept sovereignty of your people.
- To the people of Princely states—Support the ruler only if he is anti-government and declare your state to be a part of the Indian nation.

In response to the Quit India movement, the British Government wasted no time and arrested most of the Congress leaders, including Gandhi. The British were only asked to Quit India and no other demands were made as such.

These sudden arrests of Gandhi and other prominent leaders produced a spontaneous reaction among the people. This angered the people who tried to attack the British government in every way possible. In the absence of their leaders, people became their own leaders and took their own decisions which were usually limited to looting and destroying government property. The government responded by firing at these protestors and was only able to suppress the movement through large scale killings and arrests. As per official figures the number of people arrested was well over 91,000. Though the British were able to suppress this movement, it was only a matter of time that they had to actually 'quit' India. The British were beginning to realize that they could not hold on to India for long.

Till now, the British had ruled India with the help of a unique support system which they had built in India over a period of time. The national movement was successful in eroding this support system through a series of protests and struggles. It can be said that without the support of various different classes such as the peasants, workers, middle class, police, and army the British rule could not survive in India. The British finally understood their situation and began to make preparations for a gradual and peaceful withdrawal from India. During 1944-45, the British released all the Congress leaders and initiated a process of negotiation in order to transfer power to Indian Congress. India finally became free in August 1947. Achieving an independent status was a matter of pride and joy for the Indians as they had won the war against British Imperialism. However, this could not be considered a complete victory because with independence came the partition of India which was accompanied by communal violence. Therefore, the year 1947 is marked as an important phase in Indian history as Indian achieved independence but at the cost of Partition.

After the fall of Cripps' Mission, the Indian National Congress became stringent in its condition and passed a resolution in July 1942 demanding complete independence from British government; failing which the resolution proposed a massive civil disobedience against the government. However, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, a prominent Congress leader, along with several local and regional level leaders, organized the Quit India Movement. Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad reluctantly joined Gandhi's decision to back the proposal. On the other hand several outstanding leaders like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr Rajendra Prasad and Dr Anugrah Narayan Sinha along with socialists like Asoka Mehta and Jayaprakash Narayan openly supported the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Allama Mashriqi (head of Khaksar Tehrik) was also invited to join the Quit India Movement, but he was critical about the outcome of the movement and creation of Pakistan; and therefore, did not agree with the resolution. On 28 July, 1942 Mashriqi wrote to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mahatma Gandhi, Rajagopalachari, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiyya and Sambamurthy (former Speaker of the Madras Assembly) stating his reasons for not joining the Quit India Movement. In a telegram, which was later published in press, Mashriqi said, 'My honest opinion is that Civil Disobedience Movement is a little premature. The Congress should first concede open-heartedly and with handshake to Muslim League the theoretical Pakistan, and thereafter all parties unitedly make demand of Quit India. If the British refuse, start total disobedience...' Despite several leaders opposing the resolution, on 8 August 1942, Quit India resolution was passed at the Bombay session of All India Congress Committee (AICC). At the session held at Gowalia Tank, Bombay, Gandhi urged the Indians to participate in the Quit India Movement through non-violent

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civil disobedience and act as an independent nation. His call found massive support amongst Indians.

Opposition to Quit India

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Where the Quit India Movement had the support of the masses, the movement was opposed by several political parties. Parties like Hindu Mahasabha and Communist Party of India opposed the movement and did not rally with the Congress. The Communist Party of India though against the movement, was in alliance with the Soviet Union and in support of the war, despite industrial workers and unions supporting the movement. This led to a ban on the party by the British government. The movement also found opposition from various princely states who feared the loss of their estates in an independent India; and therefore, they funded the opposition. Several Muslim leaders were also opposed to Quit India Movement and Muhammad Ali Jinnah's plea found an audience among large number of Muslims who responded by enlisting in British army. The league gained support in provincial legislatures and as the Congress resigned, it took control of Sindh, Bengal and Northwest Frontier. The nationalists, however, had little international support. Though United States was supporting the Indian freedom movement theoretically, it was also an ally of Britain. When Churchill threatened to resign if forced, U.S. slyly supported him but continued its pretense to strengthen public support for war. This move annoyed both Indians and British.

Local activism

Where on one hand the Quit India Movement was facing opposition at the national level, at the same time the movement was successful at the regional level where at several places locals rebelled against the British. In Satara, Talcher, Tamluk and Contai subdivisions of Midnapore local people were establishing their own parallel governments which, however, were discontinued on the personal request of Gandhi in 1944. In Ballia, the easternmost district of Uttar Pradesh, local populace broke a jail and released the arrested Congress leaders and established their independent rule. It was weeks before Britishers could re-establish themselves in the district. In western Gujarat, Saurashtra the tradition of 'baharvatiya' (i.e., going outside the law), supported the activities of the Quit India Movement in the region.

Suppression of the Movement

The Quit India Movement was primarily designed to keep the Congress party united. This further alarmed the British, who were already wary of Japanese army advancing on India-Burma border. In order to control the agitations, the British imprisoned Gandhi along with prominent members of Party's Working Committee (national leadership). Due to the arrest of major leaders of Congress, Aruna Asaf Ali, young and relatively unknown till then, presided at the AICC session on August 9 and hoisted the flag. Later the Congress party was banned, which only strengthened mass sympathy for the cause and despite the lack of leadership, demonstrations and protests of large scale were carried out all over the country.

However, not all of these demonstrations were peaceful, at various places bombs exploded, government buildings were set on fire, electricity and communication lines were severed. To these demonstrations, Britishers responded by making mass arrests.

Over 100,000 people were arrested and were fined. Soldiers were also ordered to flog the demonstrators and shoot if required. Several hundred people were killed in

the shootings. This forced many leaders to go underground but they continued their struggle by broadcasting over radio and distributing pamphlets.

Looking at the situation, British even set-aside a ship to take Gandhi and other eminent leaders of South Africa or Yemen, but decided against it as they were wary about revolt getting further intensified. The Congress was cut-off from the rest of the world for over three years.

Gandhi lost his wife Kasturba Gandhi and his personal secretary Mahadev Desai within a very short span. Despite such personal losses and an indisposed health, Gandhi went on a 21-day fast and maintained his resolve to continuous resistance.

Although the British released Gandhi on account of his health in 1944, Gandhi kept up the resistance, demanding the release of the Congress leadership.

By early 1944, India was mostly peaceful again, while the Congress leadership was still incarcerated. A sense that the movement had failed depressed many nationalists, while Jinnah and the Muslim League, as well as Congress opponents like the Communists sought to gain political mileage, criticizing Gandhi and the Congress Party.

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5.4.4 India's Independence

The foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885 was an attempt to narrow the Hindu-Muslim divide and place the genuine grievances of all the communities in the country before the British. However, the projection of the Congress as a representative body of the Hindus by leaders like Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, Ameer Ali and others, thwarted the first genuine attempt in the country for Hindu-Muslim unity. The poor participation of Muslims in the Congress proves this. 'Of the seventy-two delegates attending the first session of the Congress only two were Muslims'. Muslim leaders opposed the Congress tooth and nail on the plea that Muslims' participation in it would create an unfavourable reaction among the rulers against their community.

Gradually, Muslim orthodoxy came to the forefront and their religious identity became more important than anything else. Slogans such as 'Islam is in danger' continuously challenged the political awakening in Indian society which in turn affected their status. They started viewing the Congress as a challenge to their supremacy. In 1900, when Lieutenant Governor A. MacDonnell adopted Hindi, written in Devanagari script, as the official language of the United Province, the Muslims opposed it. No such aggressive resistance was made when the British replaced Persian with English in late thirties of the nineteenth century. Sir Sayed Ahmed died in 1898, but his followers in defence of Urdu language launched agitation against the decision of the representative of British power in the United Province.

Formation of All India Muslim League

On 1st October 1906, under the leadership of Aga Khan, a 35-member delegation assembled at Simla to present a proposal to Lord Minto. The proposal appealed for a proportionate representation of the Muslims in government jobs, appointment of Muslim candidates in the administrative services, judiciary and others. This assembly of the Muslims came to be known as the Simla Deputation. Though the Simla Deputation did not yield positive results, it worked as a catalyst for the formation of the All-India Muslim League.

Under the strong leadership of the Aligharians, the movement for a separate Muslim organization created a political awakening among the Muslims. The ideology of

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exclusivism sowed the seeds of communalism, which gradually led to the formation of the All India Muslim League (AIML). AIML, was established in 1906 in Dhaka under the leadership of Nawab Sallimullah. A 56 member provisional committee was constituted. Prominent Muslim leaders from different parts of the country joined the Muslim League. Few Congress leaders like Ali Imam, Hasan Imam, Mazharul Haque (barristers from Bihar) and Hami Ali Khan (barrister from Lucknow) were included in the committee. Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk were jointly made the secretaries. After Mohsin-ul-Mulk's death in 1907, Viqar-ul-Mulk took charge of the league. The Muslim League held its first session in Lahore in December 1907 with Adamjee Peerbhoy as its president.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, a prominent Congress leader, though in favour of the Muslim League, did not join it until 1913. He even successfully contested against the League candidate for electing the Viceroy's Legislative Council. However, within Congress itself, he tried to bargain for one-third reservation for his community. The formation of AIML was a major landmark in the history of modern India. The first ever political party exclusively for Muslims, had the following objectives:

- (i) To promote feelings of loyalty among the Muslims for the British government and remove any misconceptions
- (ii) To increase the political rights and interests of the Muslims in India and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the government
- (iii) To prevent the rise among the Muslims of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the afore-mentioned objects of the League

Initially, the AIML was an organization of urbanized elite Muslims that went on to become the sole representative body of Indian Muslims with the support of the British government. In order to face the challenges of the modern political system, the League successfully achieved a separate electorate within three years of its establishment. The electorate was a considerable achievement for the party and the Lucknow Pact of 1916 gave a separate identity to the Muslims; another landmark in the separatist movement launched by the AIML.

Hindu Mahasabha

Founded in 1915 by Madan Mohan Malviya, the Hindu Mahasabha's sole motive was to bring together local Hindu movements rooted in north Indian public life. It was partly modelled on the Congress. The Hindu Mahasabha emphasized on social and religious network among Hindus, untouchables and the spread of Hindi. The organization was instrumental in protecting Hindu interests. However, due to differences of opinions, in 1925, a group under the leadership of K Hedgewar broke away from the Hindu Mahasabha and established the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangha (RSS). The RSS adopted a more militant stand.

The organization was actively involved in Bengal. It sought to remove untouchability and the purification of 'polluted' people with the help of the Congress. The involvement of the organization in these matters gained prominence in the 1930s, the aftermath of Macdonald's Communal Award.

During the late 1930s, the Hindu Mahasabha supported other Hindu organizations to organize campaigns in favour of a Hindu society. However, the initiation of bringing lower castes into the mainstream Hindu society resulted in communal clashes, which took the form of communal riots. Instances of riots were reported from locations like Dhaka, Khulna, Jessore, Noakhali (now in Bangladesh) and Burdwan.

Interestingly, the 1940s also witnessed a political discord between the Congress and the Mahasabha. The Bengal Congress selected major Hindu candidates and won over the Sabha with a majority. The Congress leaders tried to prove that they represented Hindu interests better than anyone else. The great Calcutta riots, followed by the Muslim League's Direct Action Day helped in reviving the hopes of the Mahasabha.

Shyamaprasad Mukherjee went on to become the Sabha's spokesperson. Under his influence, Bengali Hindus started considering the idea of creating a new Hindu state of West Bengal. The Hindu Mahasabha, became more interested in setting up Hindu volunteer corps in order to safeguard Hindu interests. They also supported the idea of supplying ammunitions to Hindu militant organizations. The Sabha was successful in mobilizing some Bengali Hindus in supporting Hindu nationalism. Scholars like Raj Sekhar Basu believe that the Hindu Mahasabha was responsible for the partition of Bengal in 1947.

Subhash Chandra Bose and the INA

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was the founder of the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army). The aim of this army was to end the British rule in India.

He was born on 23 January 1897 in Cuttack, Orissa. His father was a lawyer and his mother was a religious woman. He was patriotic right from his childhood. When he was in the Presidency College, Calcutta, Professor Oaten made some anti-India comments. This angered Bose and he assaulted his Professor. He was expelled from the College for this act.

He was a brilliant student in school as well as college. In 1911, he topped the matriculation examination of Calcutta province. He completed his graduation in Philosophy with a first class. In 1919, he was sent to England by his father to appear in the Indian Civil Services Examination. He stood fourth in the examination. After the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, he left his Civil Services apprenticeship and came back to India in 1921.

On returning to India, he joined the Indian National Congress. Mahatma Gandhi instructed him to work under Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. Later, Das became his 'political guru'. In 1928, Mahatma Gandhi proposed a resolution in which he demanded the British to grant dominion status to India within two years. He also mentioned in the resolution that if the British failed to fulfil this demand within two years, the Congress would call upon all Indians to fight for Purna Swaraj. The time period given by Gandhi to the British was opposed by Bose and Nehru. Later, he reduced the time period to one year. Nehru voted for the new resolution, but Bose refused to vote for this resolution.

Bose was arrested during the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930. After the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, he was released from jail. He opposed the Pact and the withdrawal of the Movement. He was again arrested under the infamous Bengal Regulation. Due to an illness, he was released from jail after a year. He was expelled from India and was sent to Europe. He made efforts to open some centres in Europe to promote political-cultural contacts between the two countries. After some time, he entered India and was again arrested for a year for defying the ban. In 1937, when the Congress came to power in seven states, he was released from jail.

In 1938, he became president of the Haripura Congress Session. In the same year, he established a planning committee. After the end of his term, he became president of the Tripuri Congress session. During the Second World War, he proposed a resolution in which he demanded the British to end their rule in India within six months. He also mentioned in the resolution that if the British failed to do so, there would be a revolt in the

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country. This resolution was opposed by a number of members of the Congress. After this, he resigned from the post of President and formed the Forward Bloc.

After this, he started a mass movement in India. He was put under house arrest in Calcutta for the same. In 1941, he escaped from India and reached Germany via Afghanistan. He took help from Germany and Japan to fight against the British. He used the medium of Radio Berlin and his broadcasts aroused enthusiasm among Indians.

In 1943, he went to Singapore and formed the Azad Hind Fauj. Most of the soldiers of this army were prisoners of war from the British Indian Army. This army went to India with an aim to fight the British. On its way to India, it liberated Andaman and Nicobar Islands. On 1944, the headquarters of this army was shifted to Rangoon. On 18 March 1944, the army crossed Burma border and reached India. However, Japan and Germany were defeated in the Second World War and thus the army could not fulfil its objective.

According to some sources, Bose died during an air crash over Taipei, Taiwan (Formosa) on August 18, 1945. However, there was no evidence to prove this claim. Thus, his death still remains a mystery for some.

Indian National Army

The Indian National Army (INA) was founded by Subhash Chandra Bose in 1942. They sided with the Axis Powers during the Second World War (1939– 1945) with a motive to overthrow the colonial powers from the Indian soil. The INA was also termed as the ‘Azad Hind Fauj’.

Japanese forces defeated the British in 1941 at Malaya. This incident inspired the Indian populace residing in Southeast Asia. The Indians came together and organized a number of associations based out of South East Asia. Pritam Singh was a leader of such an organization. He, along with Japanese officer, Major Fujihara, requested Mohan Singh to constitute an Indian Army comprising the captured Indian soldiers. Though initially reluctant, Mohan Singh yielded and Fujihara handed over around 40,000 Indian soldiers who had surrendered to him. This paved the way towards the formation of the INA.

The revolutionary activist Rash Behari Bose, then residing in Japan, arranged an association named Free Indians living in Japan. A conference was held in Bangkok on 15 June 1942, where it was decided that a National Indian Army would be constituted. A five-member working committee was formed and Rash Behari Bose was made its president. The formation of the INA was formally declared.

In the meantime, Subhash Bose left Calcutta on 17 January 1941 and arrived in Germany after traveling through Afghanistan. In Berlin, he organized an India government in exile and extended support to Germany. He began to broadcast his aims and objectives over Radio Berlin and made contact with Japan. Bose, also came in touch with Adolf Hitler, who extended his help to the former. This aroused tremendous enthusiasm in India. Indians in Germany gave him the title of ‘Netaji’ and the slogan of ‘Jai-Hind’ was initiated here during this time.

Bose arrived in Tokyo in June 1943, and was cordially received by Hideki Tojo, the Japanese Prime Minister (1941–44). Japan extended their help to India. A huge crowd gathered at Singapore to receive Bose when he arrived there on 2 July 1943. On 4 July, Rash Behari Bose resigned and Bose was appointed the president of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia. On August 25, Bose took the leadership of the INA. On 21 October 1943, Bose declared the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and on the 23rd declared war on Britain and America.

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With the INA headquarters now shifted to Rangoon, Bose and his brigade arrived in Rangoon in 1944. In the meantime, it was decided that the Indian detachment would not be smaller than a battalion, its commander would be an Indian, the war would continue under the Joint plan of Action and Indians would fight as a separate unit on selected spots. It was also decided that battles would occur at the Kaladan valley of Arakan and Kalam and Haka centre of Chin hills to the east of Lusai hills.

The Subhash Brigade was divided into three battalions. The first contingent advanced across both the banks of Kaladan and captured Paletoa and Doletmai. The battalion captured Maudak, a British border out-post at a distance of 64 kilometres from Doletmai a few days after. The supply of arms and ammunition fell short. Many soldiers left and only a few were left under the command of Surajmal.

In the meantime, the other two battalions took the responsibility of Haka-Kalan borderline. At the fall of Imphal at Manipur, it was decided that INA would take position at Kohima, Nagaland so that it could enter Bengal after crossing Brahmaputra. Gandhi and Azad Brigades also advanced towards Imphal. On the 21 March, the Japanese Prime Minister (PM) announced that the Indian territories freed from the British would be brought under the administration of a provisional independent government formed under Netaji. In spite of various hazards and shortage of food and ammunitions, the INA advanced up to 241 kilometres inside India.

A few days after the declaration of the Japanese PM, the Americans and the British joined and took steps to invade Japan. So, Japan had to withdraw its support from India. Consequently, the INA also had to retreat and was forced to surrender when the allied powers recaptured Burma.

A number of INA officers were captured and severely punished by the British officials, including Capt. Shah Nawaz, Capt. Rashid and others. However, the British were forced to set them free when the general Indian public were outraged by the treatment meted out to them. The cause of India's independence was much advanced by the INA.

Significance of the Indian National Army

The INA and its impact on India's freedom struggle has been a subject of great discussion and analysis for historians. Though in terms of military strength, the INA has been considered insignificant. This may be due to the following reasons:

- (i) Small numerical strength
- (ii) Lack of heavy weapons
- (iii) Dependence on Japanese logistics and planning
- (iv) Lack of independent planning

Though the INA had several disadvantages, Shah Nawaz, in his personal memoirs, refers to the INA as a very potent and motivated force. The historian Peter Ward Fay, on the other hand, argues that the INA was less influential in terms of its military capability, but its special services group did play a significant role in halting the British First Arakan Offensive in Burma. This was during the INA leader Mohan Singh's command.

The propaganda threat of the INA along with the paucity of concrete intelligence on the unit during the British surrender of Singapore made it a potential threat to the war plans of the Allied Powers in Southeast Asia. This also threatened to wipe out loyalty of Indian troops in the British Indian Army. This fact was not only significant, but was successful as is evident from the failure of Britain's First Arakan Offensive, as well as

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the campaign of the British intelligence to label INA soldiers as JIFFS (derived from Japanese-Indian Fifth Column) as well as the attempt to boost morale and preserve the loyalty of Indian soldiers in the British Army in order to defend Manipur. This also included the news ban on Subhash Chandra Bose and the INA, which was not lifted until four days after the fall of Rangoon two years later.

In 1944, at the time of the Japanese U-GO offensive on Manipur, the INA played not only a crucial but successful role in diversifying their attacks in Arakan as well as the in the Manipur basin during their conflict with Mutaguchi's 15th Army. The INA had enough military calibre, which was evident in the battles of Arakan, Manipur, Imphal, and also during the withdrawal through Manipur and Burma. Their efforts during the Burma Campaign are notable, especially during the Battle of Irrawaddy and Meiktilla. In Meiktilla, they wholeheartedly supported the Japanese by tying down the British troops.

On the other hand, Fay also refers to several published accounts of war veterans which mention the INA and its role. One such published account is that of William Slim who deems the INA troops to be incapable and untrustworthy. Fay further goes on to describe the inconsistencies and conflicts amongst the different accounts which show that British intelligence propaganda and institutional bias may have played a significant role in the opinions of war veterans. It is also imperative to point out at this time that the INA suffered desertion on numerous occasions. Though there were many incidents of desertion during substantial battles such as Manipur or the subsequent retreat through Burma, however, these incidents of desertion were minimal and quite small in number. According to Fay, significant desertions occurred during the Battle at Irrawaddy and later on at Popa. It was noticed that during the fall of Rangoon, approximately six thousand troops manned the city to maintain order until the allied troops entered the city. Nevertheless, the INA was not considered strong enough to beat the British Indian Army militarily. Moreover, the INA was aware of this weakness and formulated a new strategy in order to avoid set-piece battles, garnering local and popular support with the Indians in the British Indian Army. There are also some references that the INA tried to instigate a revolt within the British Indian Army to overthrow the British Raj. The Forward Bloc during this time went underground in India and is said to have been crushed even before the offensives opened in the Burma-Manipur region, as a result depriving the army of any organized internal support.

The role of the INA is more evident during the times of the INA trials, as it attracted more attention than instead of their role as an army. The decision to hold public trials alone became a rallying point for the Independence Movement in 1945. The fervour attached to the INA trials was so immense that the efforts to release INA prisoners and suspend the trials become more important than India's freedom struggle. Reports in newspapers which spoke of executions of INA troops added fuel to the already volatile situation. During this time, the opposition to the trials of INA troops for treason became a major public and political campaign and the first trial itself witnessed violence and riots on such a large scale that some historians describe it to be sensational. This period also saw a campaign that defied communal barriers. This period is marked by violent confrontations which broke out between the masses and the police. Many rallies took place all over India in support of the INA. Not only did the public support the INA, the soldiers of the British Indian Army also supported the INA. The spread of pro-INA emotions made the British Government very uneasy who observed with increasing disquiet the spread of pro-INA sympathies in India. Simultaneously, the general strike ratings of the Royal Indian Navy (RIN) deteriorated into a mutiny, incorporating ships and shore

establishments of RIN throughout India. In February 1946, it was noticed that this phenomena of the RIN spread from Karachi to Bombay and from Vizag to Calcutta. To show their support, many soldiers began to ignore orders from British superiors. Massive support was also seen at Madras and Pune, where the British garrisons faced revolts among the ranks of the British Indian Army. This was followed by similar revolts at Jabalpur and Bombay. The British made numerous efforts to suppress these revolts, even making use of bayonets. This went on for two weeks after which a large number of people were arrested and tried in courts. Many soldiers were dismissed and some were even subjected to court martial. Fay also refers to Auchinleck's letter to senior British officers in which he explained the repercussions of the INA trials. He went on to say that '...practically all are sure that any attempt to enforce the sentence would have led to chaos in the country at large, and probably to mutiny and dissension in the Army, culminating in its dissolution.'

Many historians have observed that the consequences of the INA trials brought a decisive shift in the British policy towards India. Many describe the INA trials as 'the edge of a volcano' and the period being marked with 'patriotic fury,' which was beyond any communal barriers. The major concern for the British was the immense public support for the INA by the soldiers of the British Indian Army. Not only the support of Indian soldiers but the restoration of Dutch and French rule in Vietnam and Indonesia also added fuel to the growing resentment amongst the forces. The situation had become so volatile that the British feared another Quit India movement, especially given the Congress rhetoric preceding the elections. The British also realized that the soldiers of the British Indian Army could not be used to suppress the revolt as it had during 1942. The British saw the growth of political and nationalistic consciousness among Indians which resulted from the INA. Many historians refer to Auchinleck's assessment of the situation to suggest that all this shortened the British tenure by a good 15-20 years. The political influence and effect of the INA trials was huge and spread all over India during 1948, much to the chagrin of the British government. The then prime minister of Britain, Clement Attlee reflecting on the factors that guided the British decision to relinquish the British Raj in India is said to have mentioned the INA and its effects on the British Indian Army. He also mentioned Subhash Chandra Bose and his activities to be a major cause in the growing nationalistic attitude amongst Indians. The INA had a far-reaching effect on the Indians who came under a fresh wave of revolutionary upsurge on hearing stories of their remarkable courage and sacrifices. The INA episode was a lesson to the British Government who finally realized that they no longer enjoyed the loyalty of the Indian army as patriotism towards their country was far greater than service of a foreign power.

Interim Government and Constituent Assembly

After the end of the Second World War, and the large scale protest that followed the INA trials, it became clear to the British that it was not possible for them to hold on to India. Thus, the interim government of India was formed on 2nd September 1946 from the newly elected constituent assembly of India that had the task of assisting the transition of India and Pakistan from British rule to independence.

After the Second World War ended, all the prisoners who participated in Quit India Movement were released. A Cabinet Mission in 1946 formulated proposals for the formation of a government that would lead to an independent India. The elections related to constituent assembly were not directly done, instead members were elected from each provincial assemblies. The Indian National Congress won some 69 per cent seats

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where majority elected were Hindus. Muslims retained those seats which were allocated to them.

Viceroy's executive council

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The Viceroy's executive council became the executive branch of the interim government. With the powers of prime minister bestowed on the vice-president of the council, it was transformed. It was a position headed by the Congress leader Jawaharlal Nehru. The senior Congress leader Vallabhbhai Patel held the second most powerful position in the council, heading the department of home affairs, information and broadcasting. Asaf Ali, a Muslim leader of the Congress, was the head for the department of railways and transport. Jagjivan Ram, a scheduled caste leader, headed the department of Labour and Rajendra Prasad headed Food and Agriculture. Liaquat Ali Khan, member of the League, headed the department of Finance.

Nature of the assembly

The constituent assembly consisting of indirectly elected representatives was set up for drafting a constitution for India. The constituent assembly took three years to draft the constitution and acted as the first parliament of India. The members of the assembly were not elected on the basis of adult franchise and Muslim and Sikhs were given special representation as 'minorities'. The assembly met for the first time in New Delhi on 9th December 1946 and the last session of assembly was held on 26 November 1947. The total number of sittings of the constituent assembly was 166.

Background and election

The constituent assembly was held when India was under British Rule and negotiations were made between the leaders and members in the cabinet mission of 1946. The constituent assembly consisted of 217 representatives, inclusive of 15 women.

In June 1947, when the Partition of India seemed inevitable, delegations from the various provinces of Sindh, East Bengal, Baluchistan, west Punjab withdrew in order to form the constituent assembly of Pakistan for which the meeting was held in Karachi.

Constitution and elections

The assembly began its first session with 207 members attending on 9th December 1946. The assembly approved the draft constitution on 26th November 1949. On 26th January 1950, the constitution took effect in India and India was proclaimed as a Republic. The constituent assembly became the provisional parliament of India which continued till the first elections took place in 1952.

Organization

On 9 December, 1946 Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha was made the pro-term chairman of the constituent assembly. After that Dr. Rajendra Prasad became the president of constituent assembly. Sir Benegal Narasingh Rau was the one to prepare the original draft of the constitution. B.R. Ambedkar later became the chairman of the drafting committee of the constitution.

The Assembly's work was organized into five stages, such as follows:

- A report was asked to be presented by the committee on basic issues

- B.N. Rau, prepared an initial draft, on the basis of these committees as well as the research made by him into the constitutions of other countries
- B.R. Ambedkar presented a detailed draft of the constitution that was published for public discussion and comments and later became the chairman of the drafting committee
- The constitution that was drafted was then discussed and amendments were made as per requirement before enactment
- Lastly, the constitution was adopted. A committee called the Congress assembly party played a critical role in its adoption

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Mountbatten Plan

Louis Mountbatten arrived as the last Viceroy of India in February 1947 and immediately announced that the British would leave India no later than 1948. By that time, Britain had already given in to the League demand and decided on partitioning India. Mountbatten then set about convincing Congress leaders of the necessity of partition. He made use of two opposite lines of reasoning. On the one hand, he declared that ‘the truncated Pakistan, if conceded now, was bound to come back later’; on the other hand, he promised that if India’s two unwilling wings were lopped off, a strong and united Centre would be the result. This second argument appealed to Home Minister Sardar Patel, who was already taking into consideration the internal security of the country.

Mountbatten overcame Jawaharlal Nehru’s objection by an appeal to his democratic instinct. No community, Mountbatten argued, should be forced to join a nation against its will. Now, it was time to speak with Gandhi. In a last desperate effort, Gandhi suggested making Jinnah the head of the government of an undivided India. The Muslim leader could select the entire ministry himself. But after their sad experiences in the interim government, Patel and Nehru were unwilling to expose themselves to Jinnah’s caprices. Finally, even Gandhi relented. The British Prime Minister Attlee announced the plan in the British House of Commons on 3 June 1947.

The government’s plan, also known as the Mountbatten Plan or the June 3rd Plan, dealt with the method by which power would be transferred from British to Indian hands, in particular, the methods by which Muslim-majority provinces would choose whether they would remain in India or opt for the ‘new entity’ that is Pakistan. In Sind and Baluchistan, a straightforward decision would be made by the provincial legislatures. The legislatures of Bengal and Punjab would have to make two choices; first, whether the majority was for joining Pakistan, and, if so, whether the provinces should be partitioned into Muslim and non-Muslim areas. Special arrangements were made to determine the popular will in the North-West Frontier Provinces and in the Muslim majority district of Sylhet in Assam. Boundary commissions would be set up if partition was desired.

The Indian constituent assembly would continue to function, but a separate assembly would be convened for areas that chose to become parts of Pakistan. The provincial choices went as expected. Baluchistan, Sind and the North-West Frontier opted for Pakistan. Punjab and Bengal decided for double partition—the provinces would leave India, but their Hindu-majority areas would remain part of India. Sylhet would join the eastern wing of Pakistan. Boundary commissions were set up to delineate frontier between Muslim and non-Muslim areas of Punjab and Bengal under Sir Cyril Radcliffe.

Not only land, but the financial and material assets of India also needed to be divided. Each of the new nations had to have its own civil services and armed forces.

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Lord Mountbatten showed considerable ‘expedition and dispatch’ in bringing about a solution to these and other problems before the deadline expired.

The Indian Independence Act of 1947 gave a legal effect to the Mountbatten plan. The Bill was introduced in the British Parliament on 4 July 1947. It was passed quickly and without amendment, and on 18 July 1947, it received assent of the British monarch. India had won her freedom but the price had been its partition.

At midnight of 15 August 1947, as the clock struck 12, India became free. Nehru proclaimed it to be the nation with his famous ‘Tryst with Destiny’ speech. On the morning of 15 August 1947, Lord Mountbatten was sworn in as Governor-General of independent India and he in turn swore in Jawaharlal Nehru as the first Prime Minister of a free India. The dawn of 15 August 1947 revealed the dual reality of independence and partition. Millions of refugees, forced to leave the lands of their forefathers, were pouring into the two new states. The symbol of this tragedy at the moment of national triumph was the forlorn figure of Gandhi—the man who had given the message of non-violence, truth, love and courage to the Indian people. In the midst of national rejoicing, he was touring the violence torn land of Bengal, trying to bring comfort to people who were even then paying the price of freedom through senseless communal slaughter. You will learn more about the events leading to the partition of India in the subsequent section.

Partition of India and Indian Independence Act

With the commencement of Second World War, many changes were taking place in the colonies of the imperialist powers. The unique feature during this time was decolonization and India was the prime example of the same. Decolonization can be defined as a political process sometimes involving violence, in the form of revolution or a war of independence, leading to freedom from colonial rule. Although in India, the process of decolonization was mostly based on non-violence, which was preached by the unanimously chosen leader of the nationalist movement, Mahatma Gandhi. Despite numerous efforts by the British government, they slowly lost control of India. Owing to the post-war chaos, many European colonies, including India, took advantage to assert their freedom. Similarly, in India, Gandhi started a peaceful resistance against the British government to get freedom for India, which was successful. This mission was not accomplished overnight and there were major developments during this time which eventually led to the Independence of India on 15 August 1947.

Impact of the Second World War on India

As stated earlier, in 1939, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, made an announcement that India was at war. This was done without consulting the Indian assembly. The Government Act of India called for the Viceroy to consult the Executive Committee prior to any decision-making, related to defence or external affairs. This was not done. The move of the Viceroy caused a deterioration in the relations between the Congress and the Muslim League.

The League and the War

The war on Germany had complete support from the Muslim League. In 1940, Jinnah’s speech referred to an independent Muslim state for the first time, this was an important historical event which was later named the Lahore Declaration. The name ‘Pakistan’ was used during his speech. At the time of the war, the power of the League increased with its number of members crossing 2 million.

Gandhi exerted pressure on the British government to negotiate with Hitler. This policy was, however, not supported by a large number of Congress members. More importantly, Nehru, who had at that time come back from Europe, was of the belief that India should support Britain in its stand against the fascists. However, the idea that India should independently decide on this issue was also supported by him. Nehru was fully supported by the Congress and the announcement that India was at war with Germany was rejected. As a mark of protest, resignations were given by all Congress state governments. In 1940, a condition was put forward by the Congress, according to which India would only support the war if a national government was established. This demand was rejected by the Viceroy. This led to the start of a campaign of civil disobedience, led by the Congress, known as the Quit India movement. During this campaign, 1700 members of the Congress were arrested. Since many members of the Congress were arrested between 1940 and 1945, its position became very weak. At the same time, the British government began to support the Muslim League, which had become more powerful and influential.

NOTES**Second World War—Impact on British policy in India**

More than 30,000 British soldiers were sent to India, for restoring law and order after the Quit India movement began. Thousands of people died as a result of this. A large number of prominent members of the Congress were also placed under arrest and in prisons by the British. Among them, Gandhi was also imprisoned till 1944. The British released Nehru then arrested him again and kept him in prison till 1945. The Congress was declared as illegal by the British Government and all its finances were seized. There was no effective existence of the Congress between 1942 and 1944.

Indian opposition to British rule during the War

At the time of the Second World War, Subhash Chandra Bose opposed the British. He was a former member of the Congress who was also against Gandhi's strategy of non-violence. He established the 'Forward Bloc', which believed in the practice of militancy to achieve independence. As war began in 1939, Bose affirmed support to the Axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan).

The British arrested him, but he escaped from prison and went to Nazi Germany. From there he was sent to Singapore by the Germans. In Singapore, he began recruiting Indian prisoners of war as members of the Indian National Army. Later, the membership increased to 20,000 volunteers. This went at war with Japan, to prevent it from invading India from Burma. Bose later established the Provisional Government of free India in 1943. In 1945, Bose died in a plane crash. After his death, support for the Indian National Army in India declined. When the war ended, its leaders were arrested and put on trial for subversive activities. They were then sent to a penal colony. When protests came from the Congress, the British government changed their sentence and dismissed them from the army. Nevertheless, a large number of the Indians who had fought the war against the Japanese returned with new ideas for an independent nation. These ideas served the nationalist movements that began in parts of South-East Asia.

Political effects of the Second World War in India

The existence of the Congress almost ended at the time of the war because it rejected British proposals in the form of the Cripps' mission. On the other hand, the number of members of the Muslim League increased and reached the 2 million mark. This was due

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to Jinnah's cynical policy of supporting the British government during the war. The League's popularity grew in the provincial elections of 1945, when it won 90 per cent of Muslim seats against its 5 per cent win in the 1937 elections. The Congress could not afford to ignore the League any more. After consolidating its position, the League was on the same level as that of the Congress in any negotiation with the British. The League and other Indian groups expected that the British would leave India after the war. However, as this did not happen, the middle classes and the army declined to support the British.

Factors Leading to Independence and Partition of India

The result of so many political events was that many great political leaders jointly tried to pave a final way for the attainment of India's independence.

August Offer, 1940

During the Second World War, a change of government took place in Britain in May 1940 and Winston Churchill became the Prime Minister (1940–1945). The fall of France temporarily softened the attitude of the Congress. Britain was in immediate danger of Nazi occupation. On 1 June 1940, Gandhi wrote, 'We do not seek our independence out of British ruin'. As the war was taking a menacing turn from the allies' point of view, the Congress offered to cooperate in the war effort, if at least a provisional national government was constituted at the Centre and the right of India to complete independence was acknowledged by Great Britain.

The government's response came as a statement from the Viceroy, on 8 August 1940. This was known as the August Offer. It referred to the need to consult representatives of 'several communities' and it was made clear that the British would not transfer responsibilities 'to any system of government' whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. This in effect was an approval of one of Jinnah's central demands since the outbreak of the war. From the British point of view, Jinnah was the sole spokesman for India's Muslims, despite the fact that the Congress contained many prominent Muslim leaders.

Meanwhile, the British government stated that it would welcome the efforts of representative Indians themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement. They hoped that immediate effect would be given to the enlargement of the Central Executive Council by nominating additional Indian members and to the establishment of a War Advisory Council. The War Advisory Council was believed to comprise representatives of British India and the Indian states.

The August Offer shocked nationalists, and Gandhi at last, sanctioned civil disobedience, but of a peculiarly limited and deliberately ineffective kind. The Congress started its individual satyagraha. The first man to court arrest was Vinobha Bhave, the Bhoodan leader. He was followed by Jawaharlal Nehru, who in November, was sentenced to four years of rigorous imprisonment. Others, such as Vallabhbhai Patel and Maulana Azad also participated in this satyagraha. Nearly 20,000 Congressmen courted arrest during the 1940–1941. However, the movement petered out by the autumn of 1941.

It was decided that if the government did not arrest a satyagrahi, he or she would not only repeat the performance, but would also move into the villages and start a trek towards Delhi. This marked the beginning of a movement that came to be known as the Delhi Chalo movement.

The aims clearly were not to cause any serious embarrassment to the British, but merely to register the presence of the Congress and hostility to a war being waged without consulting Indians. This was also meant to give Linlithgow no opportunity for a major crackdown. At the same time, this movement was also intended to give the British Government further opportunity to peacefully accept the Indian demands.

Cripps Proposal

After Japan attacked Pearl Harbour in December 1941, it was evident that India would be the next target of the Japanese forces. In April 1942, Britain sent Sir Stafford Cripps to India. He came with an offer for all provinces for complete Dominion status with the right to leave the Empire and Commonwealth after the war. It was also recommended by Cripps that any province that did not wish to join India could turn into an independent state.

As the war approached India (Singapore fell on 15 February 1942, Rangoon on 8 March and the Andaman islands on 23 March), the British at last felt obliged to make some gestures to win over India's public opinion. The American President Roosevelt raised the topic of Indian political reforms in his talks with Churchill in Washington, in December 1941. On 2 January, Indian liberal leaders like Sapru and Jayakar appealed for immediate dominion status and expansion of the Viceroy's Executive into a national government.

In February, the Chinese leader Chiang Kai-Shek, during his visit to India, publicly expressed sympathy for India's aspirations for freedom. All this provided an opening for relatively pro-India groups, particularly the British Labour party members of the War Cabinet like Cripps and Attlee. These groups persuaded the War Cabinet in the first week of March 1942 to agree to a draft declaration that promised post-war dominion status with the right of secession. A constitution-making body was elected by provincial legislatures, with individual provinces being given the right not to join it and with the states being invited to appoint representatives.

The Cripps' proposal also had a clause that invited immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of Indians in the national council on urgent issues. However, this clause also insisted that the British, during the war, would have to retain the control and direction of the defence to India. The declaration was not published immediately, but Cripps went to India on March 23 to negotiate on its basis with Indian leaders.

Negotiations between Cripps and the Congress leaders broke down. The Congress objected to the provision for dominion status instead of complete independence, the representation of the princely states in the constituent assembly not by the people of the states, but by the nominees of the rulers, and above all, by the provision for the partition of India.

The British Government also refused to accept the demand for immediate transfer of effective power to Indians and a real share in the responsibility for India's defence of India. Gandhi urged the Congress Working Committee to reject the post-dated proposal. The reason for the failure was that Cripps was asked not to go beyond the draft declaration. Moreover, Churchill, the Secretary of State (Amery), the Viceroy (Linlithgow) and the Commander-in-Chief (Wavell), did not want Cripps to succeed and constantly sabotaged his efforts to accommodate Indian opinion.

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Cripps' Mission and the Quit India Movement

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The Cripps proposal was rejected by Nehru and the Congress, who instead demanded a complete cabinet government in which Indians had complete power of decision-making in India. The concept of independence of provinces as states was against the aim of the Congress to create a strong and united India with central governance. These demands were rejected by the British Government. This followed the Congress's decision to support Gandhi's non-violent 'Quit India' campaign. This campaign was declared in August 1942.

Independence with immediate effect was Gandhi's demand and this demand was supported by a threat of a movement of mass non-violence (satyagraha). His demand was that the British move out of India, with the exception of the troops that were fighting against Japan. Indian cities began to witness peaceful demonstrations. Later, these demonstrations mostly turned violent. This movement also blocked supplies for the British forces.

The following were the reasons for the start of the Quit India movement:

- There was anger and hostility towards meaningless war, especially when thousands of wounded soldiers returned from the Burmese war.
- Prices of food grains were rising, with almost a 60-point rise in eastern UP between April and August 1942. There was also a shortage of rice and salt.
- The majority of British, American and Australian soldiers stationed in India ill-treated Indians; many of them even raped Indian women.
- The boats of common men, in Bengal and Assam were seized and destroyed, due to the fear of Japanese attack in Bengal and Assam. Gandhi wrote in *Harijan*, 'To deprive people in East Bengal of boats is like cutting off vital limbs' (3 May 1942).
- During the crisis of food grains, Indian markets were controlled by black marketers and profiteers. This affected the poor most, especially in eastern India.
- The war made some traders and capitalist wealthy, but a large section of Banias and Marwaris started suffering losses in Malaya and Burma, from mid-1942 onwards. The capitalist element in the Congress Working Committee took notice of it.
- The success story of Japanese in South-East Asian countries demystified the superiority of Europeans, especially the British.

In mid-1942, the condition in India was that of chaos. Even Gandhi, who was generally patient, was becoming impatient and in a different and militant mood. He urged the British, 'This orderly disciplined anarchy should go and if as a result there is complete lawlessness, I would risk it.' Congress leaders met at Wardha in mid-July to discuss the course of action and on 8 August 1942, the Quit India resolution was passed by the Bombay session of the AICC (All India Congress Committee). The leaders made an enthusiastic call for mass struggle on non-violent lines, on the widest possible scale. In his famous 'do or die' speech, Gandhi declared, 'let every Indian consider himself to be a free man. Mere jail going would not do.' Interestingly, Jawaharlal Nehru, Bhulabhai Desai and Rajgopalachari opposed the Quit India resolution. Though Nehru, as always, fell in line and moved the Quit India resolution, which had the following conditions:

- Immediate end to British rule in India. The British were clearly told, 'Quit India'.
- India is committed to defend itself against all types of Fascism and Imperialism.
- A provisional government of India after British withdrawal.

Apart from formal resolutions, Gandhi, in an informal way at Gowalia Tank Ground (Bombay), addressed various sections of society:

- To the students: Be ready for sacrifice and be confident and leave studies
- To the peasants: If zamindars are pro-government, do not pay rent
- To the soldiers: Do not open fire on fellow countrymen
- To government servants: Do not resign but oppose the government from within
- To princes: Support the masses and accept sovereignty of your people
- To the people of princely states: Support the ruler only if he is anti- government and declare your state to be a part of the Indian nation

The government took no time in taking a decision and arrested most of the Congress leaders on 9 August 1942, including Gandhi. The sudden crackdown of the British gave rise to spontaneous reaction among the people.

The arrest of Gandhi and Congress leaders further angered the people who intensified their protest by attacking symbols of British administration. In absence of any leadership, the protests turned violent. There was widespread destruction of government properties and agitators took to looting. The government retaliated mercilessly and hundreds of people were killed in police firing. The protest was finally suppressed through mass arrest and killings. According to official figures, the number of people arrested by the end of 1943 was well over 91,000. Despite the success in suppressing the movement, the British government became aware they could not hold on to their colonial possession for long. So far, they could sustain because of the support system they had built in the 19th century. The national movement had eroded this support base, which came from the peasants, workers, middle class, the rich, the police and the army among others.

With the realization of their defeat, the British gradually began to withdraw. From 1945 onwards, the Congress leaders were released one by one. The government also initiated a process of peaceful negotiation and transfer of power to the Indians. India achieved freedom on 15 August 1947 followed by a bitter partition. The partition was accompanied by large scale communal violence.

Demand for Pakistan

Communal politics took a new turn in India in the late 1930s, which was marked by the propagation of the 'two-nation theory'. This theory stated that India consisted of two separate nations, on the basis of religion: Hindus and Muslims. The 'two-nation theory' had no basis in Indian history. After the arrival of Islam in India in around 1000 AD, Hindus and Muslims lived together largely in harmony. This is evident from the huge popularity of Muslim Sufi saints in medieval India, whose shrines are visited even to this day by Hindus and Muslims alike. During medieval times, a common culture was shared by both Hindus and Muslims. This Hindu-Muslim syncretic culture (known as the *ganga-jamuni tehzeeb*) had resulted in a new flowering of art, architecture, music, and so on, in Indian society. Both Hindus and Muslims had also fought jointly against the British during the Revolt of 1857. Hindus and Muslims together were equally repressed by the British

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during the national struggle for independence. However, the British colonialists had sowed the seed of communal discord in the early 1900s in an effort to defang Indian nationalism. The designs of the British began to have grave consequences for the Indian people by the 1940s.

In 1940, Pakistan was demanded as an independent state at the Lahore session of the Muslim League. The basis of this demand was the two-nation theory. Many Muslims in India did not support this demand at that time.

The League was supported by the British government to demand an independent state for Muslims. The withdrawal of the Congress from provincial governments as a result of the Quit India movement was termed by the Muslim League as 'Deliverance Day'. The Congress had withdrawn to protest against the British reaction to the demand for independence. The Muslim League celebrated the 'Deliverance Day'. Due to the vacuum created by the arrest of all Congress leaders by the British, the League was able to take advantage and disseminate their ideas unchallenged. The League, supported by the British, began to aggressively propagate the idea of Pakistan among the Muslim masses, a demand that slowly started gaining popularity.

Gandhi-Jinnah talks

After the Congress leaders were released in 1944, Gandhi decided to start talks with Jinnah to reach some sort of resolution between the Congress and the League. The Gandhi-Jinnah talks were very important with regard to the political issues of India and the Pakistan Movement. The talks between the two leaders started in response to the appeal of the general public for a settlement of Hindu-Muslim differences. The talks began on 9 September 1944 in Bombay, and continued up to 27 September 1944 when Jinnah announced their termination and their failure to reach an agreement.

C.R. Formula (1944)

C. Rajagopalachari realized the necessity of a settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League for the attainment of independence. In 1944, he came up with a formula, called the C. R. Formula. Its main contents were as follows:

- After the war, a commission shall be appointed to demarcate the boundaries of Muslim-dominated districts in the north-west and east of India.
- The people of these districts shall decide, by plebiscite, the issue of separation from India.
- The Muslim League should agree to the provisional interim government, formed by the Congress for the transitional period.
- In the event of separation, a mutual agreement shall be entered into by the two governments for combined defence, commerce, communication and other essential sectors.

Desai-Liaqat Pact (1945)

Talks between Bhulabhai Desai and Liaqat Ali Khan, leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League respectively, were meant to find a way out of the 1942–45 political impasses. After Desai's declaration at Peshawar on 22 April 1945, Liaqat Ali published the gist of the agreement. According to the agreement, the Congress and the League would form the interim government at the Centre on the following lines:

- Nomination of equal number of persons by both in the central executive

- Representation of the minorities, in particular of the scheduled castes and the Sikh

The pact was never formally endorsed either by the Congress or by the League.

Wavell Plan and Simla Conference (1945)

After the failure of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks, Wavell, who succeeded Lord Linlithgow as the Viceroy of India, was convinced that the initiative should come from the government. On 14 June 1945, new proposals were announced to introduce further constitutional changes in India 'within the framework of the 1935 Government of India Act'. A conference was to be held at Simla starting on 25 June 1945, wherein representatives of both the political parties would participate. The proposals were conciliatory to some extent, but unsatisfactory and provocative in one respect. The Viceroy's executive council was to be wholly Indian, except for the Viceroy himself and the British Commander-in-Chief.

The Viceroy's special powers would not officially lapse, but an assurance was available that they would not be used 'unreasonably'. The divisive characteristics were also discussed at the conference. It was proposed that there would be equal proportions of both the communities—Hindus and Muslims—in the Council. This meant that the Muslim League's demand for parity on a communal basis had been endorsed for the first time in an official declaration of British policy. A concrete outcome to the Wavell Plan was the summoning of the Simla Conference. The Simla Conference began on a note of optimism. Gandhi felt that Wavell's plan was sincere and would lead to independence. Jinnah, however, 'flatly refused to cooperate', as Wavell later reported. The Muslim League leader was determined to undermine the conference unless it agreed to his terms.

These included the demand that Muslims not belonging to the League could not be appointed to the executive council. Congress President Abul Kalam Azad was firmly opposed to any such arrangement. He thought that the Congress would be betraying its Muslim members if it accepted Jinnah's demand. Wavell would not proceed without obtaining Jinnah's cooperation. When it was withheld, the Viceroy announced the failure of the conference.

Jinnah had, in effect, been given the power to veto over all negotiations, and he would use or threaten to use this weapon again and again in the months to come. From this point onward, the communal question dominated the struggle for freedom. Indeed, the attainment of freedom was already certain; the conflict now was between those who struggled to achieve a united and secular Indian state, and those whose rigid sectarianism stood in the way of this accomplishment.

The League decided that 16 August 1946 would be observed as 'Direct Action Day' throughout the country for the purpose of winning a separate Muslim state. In this tense situation, the Viceroy's decision to invite the Congress to form the interim government at the Centre added fuel to the fire. In Calcutta, on 16 August 1946, the League organized public demonstrations and strikes, resulting in clashes and rioting all over the city. The mob fury continued for four consecutive days, after which normalcy was gradually restored. The Bengal government led by the League leader, H.S. Suhrawardy, had declared 16 August a public holiday, which made things worse. Nor did it call the army until the situation became completely out of control.

NOTES

Attlee's announcement**NOTES**

It was obvious that something drastic had to be done to break the deadlock. The initiative was taken by British Prime Minister Clement Attlee, who on 20 February 1947, announced in the British Parliament that the government's 'definite intention was to transfer power' into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948. This historic declaration caught everyone by surprise. It was declared that the British would be pulling out of the country little more than a year hence. The Indian people would have to settle their differences before then.

Attlee, on 20 February 1947, announced that the British would withdraw from India by 30 June 1948, and that Lord Mountbatten would replace Wavell. British powers and obligations vis-à-vis the princely states would lapse with the transfer of power, but these would not be transferred to any successor government in British India. Partition of the country was implicit in the provision that if the constituent assembly were not fully representative then power would be transferred to more than one Central government. It was hoped that fixing a deadline would shock both parties to come to an agreement. The Muslim League launched civil disobedience in Punjab, which led to the fall of Punjab Chief Minister, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan's ministry.

Jinnah saw victory in sight and made a desperate attempt to secure control over the provinces with Muslim majority. Riots broke out in wild frenzy in Calcutta, Assam, Punjab and North-West Frontier Province. The new Viceroy reached India on 22 March 1947. He had come with instructions to work for a united India; but meetings with leaders of different parties and communities soon convinced him that partition was inevitable. Few people desired the country's dismemberment. Gandhi declared that India would be divided 'over my dead body'. Abul Kalam Azad was vehemently opposed to the creation of Pakistan. But Jinnah was adamant: Muslims must have their own state.

Indian Independence Act

This Act declared that the British power over the Indian states would lapse on 15 August 1947. The states were allowed to join either India or Pakistan. Before that date, most of the states had signed the Instrument of Accession by which they agreed to accede to India. But there were some states which thought that in the changed situation, they were entitled to declare their independence.

Independence and partition

The last two years of British rule were marked by tortuous negotiations between the British, the Congress and Muslim League politicians. These were increasingly accompanied by communal violence, culminating in freedom accompanied by partition and sporadic, localized but often extremely militant and united mass action—the INA release movement and the Royal Indian Navy (RIN) mutiny in 1945–1946, the Tebhaga uprising in Bengal, Punnappra vayalar in Travancore and the Telengana peasant armed revolt in Hyderabad.

In addition, there were numerous agitations, strikes and demonstrations all over the country. The mass pressure, thus generated, helped in bringing about the decisive shift in the British policy. Another important development was the change in the total objective situation worldwide as well as in India. Germany had been destroyed and Japan had surrendered after Hiroshima bombing in August 1945. Socially radical regimes with communist leadership or participation were emerging throughout Eastern Europe

and seemed on the point of doing so even in France and Italy. The Chinese revolution was forging ahead, and a tremendous anti-imperialist wave was sweeping through South-East Asia with Vietnam and Indonesia resisting efforts to restore French and Dutch colonial rule. With a war weary army and people and a ravaged economy, Britain would have had to retreat; the victory of the Labour Party in the elections in Britain further quickened the process somewhat.

Partition

The partition was to be effected in the following manner. If the members of legislative assemblies of Bengal and Punjab were to decide in favour of partition by a simple majority, a boundary commission, set up by the viceroy, would demarcate the appropriate boundaries. Sind and Baluchistan would decide which constituent assembly to join. In the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), there was to be a referendum to ascertain whether it would join Pakistan or not. The Muslim-majority district of Sylhet was also to decide by referendum whether it would join East Bengal or would remain in Assam. The British Parliament would undertake legislation to transfer power before the end of 1947 to one or two successor authorities on a Dominion status basis. This was to be done without any prejudice to the final decision of the constituent assembly on whether to stay in the Commonwealth or not.

The Muslim League accepted the plan within a week and so did the Congress. The Congress had no alternative, according to Abul Kalam Azad, but to accept the plan. It was important to arrest the drift towards anarchy and chaos. The lesser evil had to be chosen. Partition was better than murder of hapless citizens. Gandhi, who had till now steadfastly opposed the division of India, also supported the resolution.

The task was enormous, but time was running out. Punjab and Bengal were divided by two boundary commissions with Sir Cyril Radcliffe as the chairman of both. East Bengal, West Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan opted for Pakistan while West Bengal and East Punjab opted for India. Sylhet threw its lot with Pakistan. In the NWFP, Abdul Gaffar Khan and the Red Shirts demanded an independent Pakhtoonistan. This was found to be unacceptable. The Red Shirts did not participate in the plebiscite, which went in favour of joining Pakistan.

5.5 SUMMARY

- In India, during the 18th century, there were clashes, crises, calamities and problems between various groups of people.
- There was evolution from the Medieval Age to the Modern Age. Indians were exposed to new thought and ideas, owing to their encounter with the western forces.
- The impact of British rule on the economic conditions and society of India was a factor that primarily contributed to the socio-cultural evolution of the 19th century.
- The Indian Press had an important role to play in developing nationalism among the citizens of the country. Indian nationalists used the press as a powerful media to spread the message of nationalism.
- M. G. Ranade is considered the pioneer of Indian nationalist economics. A teacher of economics, Ranade wrote mostly on poverty.

NOTES

Check Your Progress

8. When was the interim government of India formed?
9. Which body formulated proposals for the formation of a government that would lead to an independent India?
10. How many representatives did the constituent assembly consist of?
11. Who was the home minister at the time of the Mountbatten Plan?
12. When was the Mountbatten Plan announced in the British Parliament?

NOTES

- A contemporary of Ranade, Dutt, too, was concerned with poverty. He held the British policies responsible for recurring famines, low productivity and decay of domestic industry in India.
- Bipan Chandra has presented his view that the capitalist nature of the Indian economy was acquired by the British and their ways of the capitalist economy.
- In 1857, the British completed hundred years of stay in India since the war of Plassey. During this time the Indian rulers were unhappy for the loss of former glory and the peasants were discontent at having been reduced to serfs.
- The Indian National Congress was formed due to the efforts of a number of people. Presence of number of political associations across the country, and spread of the ideals of patriotism and nationalism prepared the foundation of the Indian National Congress.
- The primary objective of the Congress was to make people feel that they belong to a single nation—India.
- The militant form of nationalism was first found in the teachings and preaching of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Swami Dayananda Saraswati.
- When the British government decided to partition Bengal, it led to intense agitation against the government, and the most significant pan-India agitation against the British was the Non-Cooperation Movement that lasted from 1919 to 1922.
- This movement was started by Mahatma Gandhi to further the cause of Indian nationalism.
- Soon after he was given the responsibility of the Civil Disobedience Movement, Gandhi wrote a letter to Viceroy Irwin seeking the abolishment of salt tax, reduction of military expenditure and the release of political prisoners.
- For the cause of immediate independence, the Quit India Movement was launched by Gandhi. It was another form of the civil disobedience movement.
- The foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885 was an attempt to narrow the Hindu-Muslim divide and place the genuine grievances of all the communities in the country before the British.
- The last two years of British rule were marked by tortuous negotiations between the British, the Congress and Muslim League politicians.

5.6 KEY TERMS

- **Resolution:** It refers to a formal expression of opinion or intention agreed on by a legislative body, committee, or other formal meeting, typically after taking a vote.
- **Fascism:** It is a political ideology characterised by an authoritarian and nationalistic right-wing system of government and social organization.
- **Two-nation theory:** It is the ideology that the primary identity of Muslims on the Indian subcontinent is their religion, rather than their language or ethnicity, and therefore Indian Hindus and Muslims are two distinct nationalities, regardless of ethnic or other commonalities.

- **Indian National Army:** The Indian National Army was an armed force formed by Indian nationalists in 1942 in South-East Asia during Second World. Its aim was to secure Indian independence from British rule, for which it allied with—and was supported by—Imperial Japan in the latter’s campaign in South-East Asia.

NOTES

5.7 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The impact of British rule on the economic conditions and society of India was a factor that primarily contributed to the socio-cultural evolution of the 19th century.
2. The growth of nationalism was motivated by the centralization of British rule in India.
3. In India, the term ‘middle class’ is applied to various groups that have varying scope of social standing and experience.
4. *Amrit Bazar Patrika* and *Samachar Darpan*.
5. The Indian National Congress was founded on 28 December 1885 at Sir Tej Pal Sanskrit Vidyalaya, Bombay.
6. W.C. Banerjee was the first president of the Indian National Congress.
7. Swaraj means self-government.
8. The interim government of India was formed on 2nd September 1946.
9. The Cabinet Mission 1946 formulated proposals for the formation of a government that would lead to an independent India.
10. The constituent assembly consisted of 217 representatives, inclusive of 15 women.
11. The home minister at the time of the Mountbatten Plan was Sardar Patel.
12. The British PM Attlee announced the plan in the House of Commons on 3 June 1947.

5.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What triggered the intellectual movement in India?
2. List the main constituents of the middle class in 19th century India.
3. Who were the eminent personalities linked to the nationalist movement through their writings?
4. What was Bipan Chandra’s view on economic nationalism?
5. List the political demands of the Congress in its early years.
6. What were the economic demands of the Congress?
7. What were the programmes and policies of the early nationalists?
8. What were the two roots from which extremism stemmed?
9. Write a short note on the objectives of extremists.

10. What was the central idea of the Non-Cooperation Movement?
11. What were the reasons for the outbreak of the Quit India Movement?

Long-Answer Questions

NOTES

1. Describe the intellectual movement in India in the 19th century.
2. Discuss the emergence of the middle class in India.
3. Explain the role of literature and press in Indian nationalism.
4. What do you understand by economic nationalism? Discuss in detail.
5. Discuss the foundation of Indian National Congress.
6. Identify the significance of the Indian National Army, especially the role it played in India's freedom movement.
7. Examine the events that led to India's partition into India and Pakistan in 1947.
8. Analyse the importance of the Quit India Movement. Why was it suppressed?

5.9 FURTHER READING

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WORLD HISTORY (1500-1950)

BA (History)

Third Year

Paper IV



RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY

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About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

World History (1500-1950)

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Unit II- French Revolution and its Aftermath. <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. French Revolution: Causes and Significance.b. Napoleon as a Reformer.c. Congress of Vienna.	Unit 2: French Revolution and its Aftermath (Pages 43-85)
Unit III- Rise of Nation States. <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Germany.b. Italy.c. Congress of Berlin.	Unit 3: Rise of Nation States (Pages 87-110)
Unit IV- Imperialism, Revolution and Totalitarian States. <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. World War I: Causes, Effects and Treaty of Versailles.b. The Russian Revolution.c. Nazism in Germany.d. Fascism in Italy.	Unit 4: Imperialism, Revolution and Totalitarian States (Pages 111-162)
Unit V- World War II and Post-War Movements. <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. World War II: Causes and Effects.b. Colonialism and Nationalism in Asia: Burma, Indonesia and Vietnam.	Unit 5: World War II and Post-War Movements (Pages 163-186)

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INTRODUCTION

The history of the world is the history of humanity from the earliest times to the present, in all places on earth, beginning with the Palaeolithic Era. It excludes non-human natural history and geological history, except insofar as the natural world substantially affects human lives. World history encompasses the study of written records, from ancient times forward, plus additional knowledge gained from other sources, such as archaeology. Modern history, or the modern era, describes the historical timeline after the Middle Ages. Modern history can be further broken down into the *early modern period* and the *late modern period* after the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. *Contemporary history* describes the span of historic events that are immediately relevant to the present time. The modern era began approximately in the 16th century. Many major events caused Europe to change around the turn of the 16th century, starting with the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, the fall of Muslim Spain and the discovery of the Americas in 1492, and Martin Luther's Protestant Reformation in 1517. In England, the Modern period is often dated to the start of the Tudor period, with the victory of Henry VII over Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485. Early modern European history is usually seen to span from the turn of the 15th century, through the Age of Reason and Age of Enlightenment in the 17th and 18th centuries, until the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in the late 18th century.

According to several historians, the Modern period of history starts at the beginning of the 19th century, specifically with the Treaty of Vienna in 1815. That treaty ended a period spanning between the ruin of the Byzantine Roman Empire and the end of the Napoleonic Empire. It also saw the maturation of the world capitalist system. From another angle, it saw the growth of most of the modern ideas and attitudes of human beings spanning the Reformation, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and nationalism.

This book, *World History (1500–1950)*, is divided into five units. The book follows the self-instructional mode wherein each unit begins with an Introduction to the unit followed by the Objectives of the topic. Check Your Progress questions are provided at regular intervals to test the student's understanding of the topics. A Summary, Key Terms and a set of Questions and Exercises are provided at the end of each unit. Answers to Check Your Progress have also been provided which would help the students assess their progress.

NOTES

UNIT 1 RISE OF THE MODERN WORLD

NOTES

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- 1.9 Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The European society witnessed tremendous changes during the 15th and 16th century AD. The beginning of Renaissance developed enquiring spirit and scientific outlook among the Europeans. The Reformation movement challenged the medieval religious set up. It was against the Orthodox Church and the abuses of the Pope. It gave birth to a new religious order, i.e., Protestantism. The age of 'Enlightenment' brought people out of a state of 'ignorance' and encouraged them to question the existing systems and work towards intellectual, cultural and architectural advancement. Putting an end to the Medieval period, the Renaissance marked the transition from Middle Age to the Modern Age. The main cause of Renaissance was the fall of Constantinople.

The term 'Renaissance' is a French word and means 'rebirth'. It was used to describe the cultural movement that began in Italy in the 14th century and spread across Europe by the 16th and the 17th centuries. The movement was characterized by a revival of the classical sources in the sphere of learning. Linear perspective emerged in painting and there was reform in the educational system as well.

The emergence of capitalism and along with it the rise of the new middle class—the bourgeoisie—transformed the European cultural climate. There was a rise of great rivalry in the market as members of this capitalist class that controlled the means of production sought to outdo each other in producing goods that were cheaper and better than the other. As a consequence, it became necessary to have greater knowledge, a deeper understanding of the processes of life at large, rather than a having a restricted outlook. This became a fertile ground for the emergence of Renaissance, a cultural movement. Renaissance is, therefore, deeply entwined with the rise and growth of the market economy, capitalism and the bourgeoisie. The age of humanism, as Renaissance is often termed, coupled with deep emphasis on economic expansion, totally upturned

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the hitherto practiced and preached ideas of the Catholic Church. The medieval philosophy upheld in Western Europe laid all agency in the Lord. A just social order was considered beyond bounds in this world. However, the enterprising middle class wrested all agency and emerged as the masters of their own destinies relying on their own capabilities and enterprise. Hence, God was displaced and man became the nucleus of the newly emergent order. This change gained currency throughout Europe and soon the humanist philosophy came to be known as Renaissance or 'rebirth'. This 'rebirth', in fact, signified an intellectual awakening. The movement began in Italy and soon encompassed the whole of Europe. It was marked by the revival of classical style in the artistic sphere with humanists seeking to imitate the genius of Romans and Greeks. There emerged a greater engagement with scientific discoveries of the past and an effort to carry them forward.

The humanist movement received a shot in the arm in the middle of 15th century when Johann Gutenberg discovered printing in Germany. Another stalwart during the early years of Renaissance was Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), a Florentine poet. Coming at an age when the medieval beliefs were on the decline and the humanist movement was just gathering force, Dante became a defining figure. His *Divine Comedy*, written in Italian, was hugely acclaimed. That he chose to write a literary treatise in his native language highlighted an emerging trend, i.e., the growing national consciousness amongst the humanist writers of the 14th and 15th centuries. While works on science still used Latin as the medium of discourse, literary works relied on native languages.

The literary pieces of the humanist writers were distinctly different from the bygone times. The subject of focus shifted from the sacred and grandiose to the secular and everyday life. The common man replaced the traditional knight as the hero. Some of the most revered names that belonged to this age were Francesco Petrarch and Giovanni Boccaccio in Italy, Francois Rabelais in France, Ulrich von Hutten in Germany, Erasmus of Rotterdam in the Netherlands, Miguel Cervantes in Spain and William Shakespeare in England.

Art also reflected the humanist ideal of celebration of the individual and the world around him. Therefore, paintings and sculptures were marked by realism that celebrated man both in body and spirit. Famous names amongst the artists are Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, Velasquez, and Rembrandt amongst others.

The third dimension of Renaissance was its scientific vigour. Great discoveries were made and with emphasis on empiricism the seed of many of the modern natural sciences was sown. Valuable contributions were made by Galileo in astronomy and mechanics apart from natural sciences. Other major contributions were by Cardano in natural sciences, Leonardo da Vinci in mechanics, Copernicus in astronomy, Francis Bacon and Giordano Bruno in the materialist perspective on nature and Vesalius and Harvey in anatomy and physiology.

The political thought of the humanists demonstrated a rejection of the Catholic Church and the subservience to God that it embodied. They sought to overthrow the feudal setup of the Church where non adherence to a law was seen as a sin against God. Instead they believed in the ability of the state to maintain law and order and consequently upheld centralized state control.

The scientific revolution changed the socio-economic conditions in the European countries. The revolution resulted in permanent changes in the political conditions, and gave rise to the Industrial Revolution, which ultimately changed the economic conditions as well. This unit will describe the rise of the Modern world.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Assess the impact of the fall of Constantinople
- Analyse the decline of feudalism and the rise of capitalism
- Explain the causes responsible for the rise of Renaissance
- Analyse the impact of Renaissance on art, literature and science
- Describe the Reformation Movement
- Evaluate the causes and effects of the Industrial Revolution
- Discuss the scientific and technological background of the Industrial Revolution

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1.2 FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

A new period in the history of Western civilization began in the 7th century, when it became clear that there would no longer be a single empire ruling over all the territories bordering on the Mediterranean. By about AD 700, in place of a united Roman Empire, there were three successor civilizations that stood as rivals of each other on different Mediterranean shores: the Byzantine, the Islamic, and the Western Christian. Each of these had its own language and distinctive form of life. The Byzantine civilization, which descended directly from the eastern Roman Empire, was Greek-speaking and dedicated to combining Roman governmental traditions with intense pursuit of the Christian faith. The Islamic civilization was based in the Arab world and inspired the government as well as culture by the idealism of a dynamic new religion. Western Christian civilization in comparison to others was a laggard. It was the least economically advanced and faced organizational weaknesses in both government and religion. But it did have some base of unity in Christianity and the Latin language, and would soon begin to find greater political and religious cohesiveness. For some four or five hundred years, the West lived in the shadow of Constantinople and Mecca. Scholars are only now beginning to recognize the full measure of Byzantine and Islamic accomplishments. These greatly merit our attention both for their own sakes and because they influenced western European development in many direct and indirect ways.

1.2.1 The Byzantine Empire and its Culture

Once dismissed by historian Gibbon as ‘a tedious and uniform tale of weakness and misery,’ the story of Byzantine civilization is today recognized as the most interesting and impressive one. It is true that the Byzantine Empire was in many respects not very innovative; it was also continually beset by grave external threats and internal weaknesses. Nonetheless, it managed to survive for a millennium. In fact, the empire did not just survive; it frequently prospered and greatly influenced the world around it. Among many other achievements, it helped preserve ancient Greek thought, created magnificent works of art, and brought the Christian culture to pagan people, above all the Slavs. Simply stated, it was one of the most enduring and influential empires the world has ever known.

It is impossible to date the beginning of Byzantine history with any precision because the Byzantine Empire was the uninterrupted successor of the Roman state. For this reason, different historians prefer different beginnings. Some argue that ‘Byzantine’ characteristics already emerged in Roman history as a result of the easternizing policy

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of Diocletian while others say that Byzantine history began when King Constantine moved his capital from Rome to Constantinople, the city which subsequently became the center of the Byzantine world. (The old name for the site on which Constantinople was built was Byzantium, from which we get the adjective Byzantine); it would be more accurate but cumbersome to say Constantinopolitine. Diocletian and Constantine, however, continued to rule a united Roman Empire.

Justinian's reign was clearly an important turning point in the redirection of the Byzantine civilization because it saw the crystallization of new forms of thought and art that can be considered more 'Byzanthan Roman.' But this still remains a matter of debate. Some scholars emphasize these newer forms, while others state that Justinian continued to speak Latin and dreamt of restoring old Rome. Only after AD 610 did a new dynasty emerge that came from the east, spoke Greek, and maintained a fully Eastern or properly 'Byzantine' policy. Although arguments can be made for the early Byzantine history with Diocletian, Constantine or Justinian, we will begin here with the accession in AD 610 of Emperor Heraclius.

It is also convenient to begin in AD 610 because from then until 1071 the main lines of Byzantine military and political history were determined by resistance against successive waves of invasions from the East. When Heraclius came to the throne, the very existence of the Byzantine Empire was being challenged by the Persians, who had conquered almost all of the empire's Asian territories. As a symbol of their triumph, the Persians in AD 614 even carried off the relic believed to be part of the original cross from Jerusalem. Through enormous effort, Heraclius rallied Byzantine strength and turned, the tide, routing the Persians and retrieving the cross in AD 627.

Once Persia was subjugated, Heraclius ruled in relative peace till AD 641. However, in the last few years of his rule, new armies began invading the Byzantine territory, swarming out of hitherto placid Arabia. Interestingly during this period, the Arabs were becoming blustering, taking advantage of the exhausted Byzantine power and inspired by the new religion of Islam. To establish themselves as the only Mediterranean power, the Arabs took to the sea. By AD 650, they had captured most of the Byzantine territories, which the Persians had occupied briefly in the early 7th century, conquered all of Persia, and were making inroads towards the west, across North Africa. This was possible as the Arab fleets secured bases along the coasts of Asia Minor and then proceeded to install a loose blockade around Constantinople. In AD 677, they attacked Constantinople, but failed. In AD 717, they made renewed attempt to conquer the city by means of a concerted land and sea operation.

The End of the Byzantine Empire

The Arab threat to Constantinople in AD 717 was a new low for Byzantine power. Emperor Leo (AD 717-741) countered the Arab threat with the help of a secret incendiary device known as 'Greek fire' and military strength and was able to defeat them on sea and as well as land. Leo's victory is significant for the European history, not just because it saw the Byzantine Empire rule for several more centuries, but also because it saved the West from immediate onslaught of the Islamic power. Had the Arabs taken Constantinople there would have been little to stop them from sweeping through the rest of Europe.

Over the next few decades, the Byzantines were able to reclaim most of its lost territories along Asia Minor. This region, along with Greece, became the seat of the Byzantine Empire for the next three hundred years. Thereafter, there was a truce between

the Byzantines and the Islamic power until they were able to take the offensive against a decaying Islamic power in the second half of the 10th century. In that period—the greatest in Byzantine history—Byzantine troops recaptured most of Syria.

In the 11th century, however, the Byzantine Empire faced its worst defeat in the hands of the Seljuk Turks and lost most of its gains. In AD 1071, the Turks annihilated a Byzantine troop at Manzikert in Asia Minor, a victory that granted them the passage to capture the rest of the eastern province. Constantinople was now thrown back, more or less, as it had been in the days of Heraclius and Leo.

After the battle at Manzikert, the Byzantine Empire lost its glory, though it managed to survive. The phase marked the beginning of the end of the Byzantine fortunes. Another reason for this was that from 1071 till the fall of the empire in 1453, the rise of Western Europe unbalanced the power equation. Till now, the West had been far too weak to present any major challenge to Byzantium. But the state of affairs turned different in the 11th century. In 1071, the same year that saw the victory of the Seljuk Turks over the Byzantines in Asia Minor, westerners known as Normans, expelled the Byzantines from their last holdings in southern Italy.

Despite this, in 1095, Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus sought help from the West against the Turks. This was a big mistake. His call ignited the desire among the Crusaders to attack the empire. During the first Crusade, the Westerners helped Byzantine win back Asia Minor, but they also carved out territories for themselves in Syria, which the Byzantines considered to be their own. With time frictions mounted and westerners viewed Constantinople as ideal for conquest. In 1204, they finally conquered it. Crusaders, who should have been intent on conquering Jerusalem conquered Constantinople instead and sacked the city with ruthless ferocity. By 1261, the Byzantine state was an empire in name and a reminiscent of past glories. After 1261, it eked out a reduced existence in parts of Greece until 1453, when powerful Turkish successors to the Seljuk Turks, the Ottomans, completed the Crusaders' work of destruction by conquering the last vestiges of the empire and taking Constantinople—now Istanbul.

That Constantinople was finally taken was no surprise. However, the main reason for giving a thought is that the Byzantine state survived for so many centuries in the face of so many different hostile forces. This becomes all the more greater when it is recognized that the internal political history of the empire was exceedingly tumultuous. Since Byzantine rulers followed their late-Roman predecessors in claiming the powers of divinely appointed absolute monarchs, there was no way of opposing them other than by intrigue and violence. Hence, Byzantine history was marked by repeated palace revolts; mutilations and murders. Byzantine politics became so famous for their behind-the-scenes complexity that we still use the word 'Byzantine' to refer to highly complex and devious backstage machinations. Fortunately, for the empire some very able rulers did emerge from time-to-time to wield their unrestrained powers with efficiency, and even more fortunately, bureaucratic machinery always kept running during times of palace upheaval.

Efficient bureaucratic government indeed was one of the major elements of Byzantine success and longevity. The Byzantines could count on having an adequate supply of manpower for their bureaucracy because Byzantine civilization preserved and encouraged the practice of education for the laity. This was one of the major differences between the Byzantine East and the early Latin West. Right from about 600 to about 1200 there was practically no literate laity in Western Christendom, while literacy in the Byzantine East was the basis of governmental accomplishment. Bureaucrats helped supervise education and religion and presided over all forms of economic endeavour.

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Urban officials in Constantinople, for example, regulated prices and wages, maintained systems of licensing, controlled exports, and enforced the observance of the Sabbath. What is more, they usually did this with comparative efficiency and did not stifle business initiative. Bureaucratic methods too helped regulate the army and navy, the courts, and the diplomatic service, endowing them with organizational strengths incomparable for their age.

Another explanation for Byzantine endurance was the comparatively sound economic base of the state until the 11th century. As historian, Sir Steven Runciman, said, 'If Byzantium owed her strength and security to the efficiency of her services, it was her trade that enabled her to pay for them.' While long-distance trade and urban life all but disappeared in the West for hundreds of years, commerce and cities continued to flourish in the Byzantine East. Above all, in the 9th and 10th centuries, Constantinople was a vital trade emporium for Far Eastern luxury goods and Western raw materials. The empire also nurtured and protected its own industries, most notably that of silk-making, and it was renowned until the 11th century for its stable gold and silver coinage. Among its urban centres was not only Constantinople, which at times may have had a population of close to a million, but also in certain periods Antioch, and up until the end of Byzantine history the bustling cities of Thessalonica and Trebizond.

Historians emphasize Byzantine trade and industry because these were so advanced for the time and provided most of the surplus wealth which supported the state. But agriculture was the heart of the Byzantine economy as it was of all pre-modern ones. The story of Byzantine agricultural history is one of struggle of small peasants to stay free of the encroachments of large estates owned by wealthy aristocrats and monasteries. Until the 11th century, the free peasantry just managed to maintain its existence with the help of state legislation, but after 1025 the aristocracy gained power in the government and began to transform the peasants into impoverished tenants. This had many unfortunate results, not the least of which was that the peasants became less interested in resisting the enemy. The defeat at Manzikert was the inevitable result. The destruction of the free peasantry was accompanied and followed in the last centuries of Byzantine history by foreign domination of Byzantine trade. Primarily, the Italian cities of Venice and Genoa established trading out-posts and privileges within Byzantine realms after 1204, which channeled off much of the wealth on which the state had previously relied. In this way, the empire was defeated by the Venetians from within before it was destroyed by the Turks from outside.

So far, we have spoken about military campaigns, the government, and economics as if they were at the centre of Byzantine survival. Seen from hindsight they were, but what the Byzantines themselves cared most about was religion. Remarkable as it might seem, Byzantines fought over perplexing religious questions as vehemently as we today might argue about politics and sports—indeed more vehemently because the Byzantines were often willing to fight and even die over some words in a religious creed. The intense preoccupation with questions of doctrine is well illustrated by the report of an early Byzantine writer who said that when he asked a baker for the price of bread, the answer came back, 'the Father is greater than the Son,' and when he asked whether his bath was ready, was told that 'the Son proceeds from nothing.' Understandably, such zealotry could harm the state greatly during times of religious dissension, but endow it with a powerful sense of confidence and mission during times of religious concord.

Byzantine religious dissensions were greatly complicated by the fact that the emperors took an active role in them. Because the emperors carried great power in the life of the Church—emperors were sometimes deemed by churchmen to be ‘similar to God’—they exerted great influence in religious debates. Nonetheless, especially in the face of provincial separatism, rulers could never force all their subjects to believe what they did. Only after the loss of many eastern provinces and the refinement of doctrinal formulae did religious peace seem near in the 8th century. But then it was shattered for another century by what is known as the Iconoclastic Controversy.

The Iconoclasts were those who wished to prohibit the worship of icons—that is, images of Christ and the saints. Since the Iconoclastic movement was initiated by Emperor Leo the Isaurian, and subsequently directed with even greater energy by his son Constantine V (AD 740-775), historians have discerned in it different motives. One was certainly theological. The worship of images seemed to the Iconoclasts to smack of paganism. They believed that nothing made by human beings should be worshiped by them, that Christ was so divine that he could not be conceived of in terms of human art, and that the prohibition of worshipping ‘graven images’ in the Ten Commandments (Exodus 20:4) placed the matter beyond dispute.

In addition to these theological points, there were probably other considerations. Since Leo the Isaurian was the emperor who saved Constantinople from the onslaught of Islam, and since Muslims zealously shunned images on the grounds that they were ‘the work of Satan’ (Koran, V. 92), it has been argued that Leo’s Iconoclastic policy was an attempt to answer one of Islam’s greatest criticisms of Christianity and, thereby, deprive Islam of some of its appeal. There may also have been certain internal political and financial motives. By proclaiming a radical new religious movement the emperors may have wished to reassert their control over the Church and combat the growing strength of monasteries. In the event, the monasteries did rally behind the cause of images and as a result were bitterly persecuted by Constantine V, who took the opportunity to appropriate much monastic wealth.

The Iconoclastic controversy was resolved in the 9th century by a return to the status quo, namely the worship of images, but the century of turmoil over the issue had some profound results. One was the destruction by imperial order of a large amount of religious art. Before the eighth century, Byzantine religious art that survives today comes mostly from places like Italy or Palestine, which were beyond the easy reach of the Iconoclastic emperors. When we see how great this art is, we can only lament the destruction of the rest. A second consequence of the controversy was the opening of a serious religious breach between the East and West. The pope, who until the 8th century had usually been a close ally of the Byzantines, could not accept Iconoclasm for many reasons. The most important of these was that extreme Iconoclasm tended to question the cult of saints, and the claims of papal primacy were based on an assumed descent from St. Peter. Accordingly, the 8th century popes combated Byzantine Iconoclasm and turned to the Frankish kings for support. This ‘about-face of the papacy’ was both a major step in the worsening of East-West relations and a landmark in the history of Western Europe.

Those were some consequences of Iconoclasm’s temporary victory; a major consequence of its defeat was the reassertion of some major traits of Byzantine religiosity, which from the 9th century until the end of Byzantine history remained predominant.

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One of these was the re-emphasis of a faith in traditionalism. Even when Byzantines were experimenting with religious matters, they consistently stated that they were only restating or developing the implications of tradition.

Now, after centuries of turmoil, they abandoned experimenting almost entirely and reaffirmed tradition more than ever. As one opponent of Iconoclasm said, 'If an angel or an emperor announces to you a gospel other than the one you have received, close your ears.' This view gave strength to Byzantine religion internally by ending controversy and heresy, and helped it gain new adherents in the 9th and 10th centuries. However, it also inhibited free speculation not just in religion but also in related intellectual matters.

Allied to this development was the triumph of Byzantine contemplative piety. Supporters defended the use of icons not on the grounds that they were meant to be worshiped for themselves but because they helped lead the mind from the material to the immaterial. The emphasis on contemplation as a road to religious enlightenment, thereafter, became the hallmark of Byzantine spirituality. While westerners did not by any means reject such a path, the typical Western saint was an activist who saw sin as a vice and sought salvation through good works. Byzantine theologians on the other hand saw sin more as ignorance and believed that salvation was to be found in illumination. This led to a certain religious passivity and mysticism in Eastern Christianity which makes it seem different from Western varieties up to the present time.

Literature, art and architecture

Since religion was so dominant in Byzantine life, certain secular aspects of Byzantine civilization often go unnoticed, but there are good reasons why some of these should not be forgotten. One is Byzantine cultivation of the classics. Commitment to Christianity by no means inhibited the Byzantines from revering their ancient Greek inheritance. Byzantine schools based their instruction on classical Greek literature to the degree that educated people could quote Homer more extensively than we today can quote Shakespeare. Byzantine scholars studied and commented on the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, and Byzantine writers imitated the prose of Thucydides. Such dedicated classicism both enriched Byzantine intellectual and literary life, which is too often dismissed entirely by modern thinkers because it generally lacked originality, and helped preserve the Greek classics for later ages. The bulk of classical Greek literature that we have today survives only because it was copied by Byzantine scribes.

Byzantine classicism was a product of an educational system for the laity which extended to the education of women as well as men. Given the attitudes and practices in the contemporary Christian West and Islam, Byzantine commitment to female education was truly unusual. Girls from aristocratic or prosperous families did not go to schools but were relatively well educated at home by private tutors. We are told, for example, of one Byzantine woman who could discourse like Plato or Pythagoras. The most famous Byzantine woman intellectual was the Princess Anna Comnena, who described the deeds of her father Alexius in an urbane biography in which she freely cited Homer and the ancient tragedians. In addition to such literary figures there were women doctors in the Byzantine Empire.

Byzantine achievements in the realms of architecture and art are more familiar. The finest example of Byzantine architecture was the Church of Santa Sophia (Holy Wisdom), built at enormous cost in the 6th century. Although built before the date taken

here as the beginning of Byzantine history, it was typically Byzantine in both its style and subsequent influence. Though designed by architects of Hellenic descent, it was vastly different from any Greek temple. Its purpose was not to express human pride in the power of the individual, but to symbolize the inward and spiritual character of the Christian religion. For this reason the architects gave little attention to the external appearance of the building. Nothing but plain brick covered with plaster was used for the exterior walls; there were no marble facings, graceful columns, or sculptured entablatures. The interior, however, was decorated with richly coloured mosaics, gold leaf, coloured marble columns, and bits of tinted glass set on edge to refract the rays of sunlight after the fashion of sparkling gems. To emphasize a sense of the miraculous, the building was constructed in such a way that no light appeared to come from the outside at all but to be manufactured within.

The structural design of Santa Sophia was something altogether new in the history of architecture. Its central feature was the application of the principle of the dome to a building of square shape. The church was designed, first of all, in the form of a cross, and then over the central square was to be erected a magnificent dome, which would dominate the entire structure. The main problem was how to fit the round circumference of the dome to the square area it was supposed to cover. The solution consisted in having four great arches spring from pillars at the four corners of the central square. The rim of the dome was then made to rest on the keystones of the arches with the curved triangular spaces between the arches filled in with masonry. The result was an architectural framework of marvelous strength, which at the same time made possible a style of imposing grandeur and even some delicacy of treatment. The great dome of Santa Sophia has a diameter of 107 ft and rises to a height of nearly 180 ft from the floor. So many windows are placed around its rim that the dome appears to have no support at all but to be suspended in mid-air.

As in architecture, so in art the Byzantines profoundly altered the earlier Greek classical style. Byzantines excelled in ivory carving, manuscript illumination, jewelry-making, and, above all, the creation of mosaics—that is, designs of pictures produced by fitting together small pieces of coloured glass or stone. Human figures in these mosaics were usually distorted and elongated in a very unclassical fashion to create the impression of intense piety or extreme majesty. Most Byzantine art is marked by highly abstract, formal, and jewel-like qualities. For this reason many consider Byzantine artistic culture to be a model of timeless perfection. Modern poet W. B. Yeats expressed this point of view most eloquently when he wrote in his *Sailing to Byzantium*, ‘of artificial birds made by Byzantine goldsmiths . . . tosing / To lords and ladies of Byzantium / Of what is past, or passing, or to come.’

Probably the single greatest testimony to the vitality of Byzantine civilization at its height was the conversion of many Slavic people, especially, those of Russia. According to the legend, which has a basic kernel of fact, a Russian ruler named Vladimir decided around 988 to abandon the paganism of his ancestors. Accordingly, he sent emissaries to report on the religious practices of Islam, Roman Catholicism and Byzantine Christianity. When they returned to tell him that only among the Byzantines did God seem to ‘dwell among men,’ he promptly agreed to be baptized by a Byzantine missionary. The event was momentous because Russia, thereupon, became a cultural province of Byzantium. Since then until the 20th century Russia remained a bastion of the Eastern Orthodox religion.

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1.2.2 Impact of the Fall of Constantinople

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The impact of the fall Constantinople in 1453 made the Russians feel that they were chosen to carry on both the faith and the imperial mission of the fallen Byzantine Empire. Thus, their ruler took the title of Tsar—which simply means Caesar—and Russians asserted that Moscow was ‘the third Rome’. ‘Two Homes have fallen,’ said a Russian spokesman, ‘the third is still standing, and a fourth there shall not be.’ Such ideology helps explain in part the late growth of Russian imperialism.

The fall of Byzantine led to the blockade of trade route to the eastern world from Europe, so Europe had to suffer. The inland trade was greatly affected and that led to the misery of the European states. The Silk Route saga was going to be altered by now.

Now Byzantine was in the hands of Muslims who had an upper hand. From then onwards Europe and Middle East would be in the domination of Muslims from Ottoman Empire.

The impact of the conquest of Byzantine would be greatly felt on the high seas also. Europe had began sea exploration searching for new routes where they would search for new colonies as well. By now, instead of trade taking place on land, sea routes were being discovered. Vasco Da Gama, Columbus, Magellan and scores of others had set off for finding new sea routes and they not only found them but also found new continents.

Unfortunately, just at the time when relations between Constantinople and Russia were solidifying, relations with the West were deteriorating to a point of no return. After the skirmishes of the Iconoclastic period, relations between Eastern and Western Christians remained tense, partly because Constantinople resented Western claims (initiated by Charlemagne in 800) of creating a rival empire, but most of all because cultural and religious differences between the two were growing. From the Byzantine point of view, westerners were uncouth and ignorant, while to western European eyes Byzantines were effeminate and prone to heresy. Once the West started to revive, it began to take the offensive against a weakened East in theory and practice. In 1054 extreme papal claims of primacy over the Eastern Church provoked a religious schism which since then has never been healed. Thereafter, the Crusade drove home the dividing wedge.

After the fall of Constantinople in AD 1204, Byzantine hatred of westerners became understandably intense. ‘Between us and them,’ one Byzantine wrote, ‘there is now a deep chasm: we do not have a single thought in common.’ Westerners called easterners ‘the dregs of the dregs . . . unworthy of the sun’s light,’ while easterners called the westerners the children of darkness, alluding to the fact that the sun sets in the West. The beneficiaries of this hatred were the Turks, who not only conquered Constantinople in 1453, but soon after conquered most of southeastern Europe up to Vienna.

1.2.3 Decline of Feudalism

During the early Middle Ages, at the close of the 5th century, the tribes which invaded the Roman Empire seized a large part of its territory. Initially, the land was common property, but soon tribal chieftains began to acquire people’s property and a monarchical form of government appeared. Large tracts of land came into the hands of the church, which now became a strong supporter of the monarchy. The kings distributed the land among their retinue, first for life, and later converted it to hereditary tenure. Those given

land were obliged to render military services to the king. The land was, as earlier, cultivated by individual farmers known as serfs. The serfs were dependent on their new masters, who imposed manifold duties on them. The plots held on these conditions were called 'feuds' and their owners were called 'feudals', hence the name 'feudalism'. In these arrangements, there were also some elements surviving from the Roman period linked with the conversion to Christianity. The settled inhabitants of Western Europe and the invaders underwent a long and slow process of mutual adjustment leading to widely varying social and political combinations which is described as feudalism. Feudal institutions were the arrangements—personal, territorial, and governmental—that made survival possible under the new system that replaced the centralized Roman administration.

Feudalism and feudal practice did not extend uniformly to the whole of Europe. Northern France and the 'low countries' were the most thoroughly feudalized areas, Germany much less so. Some pieces of land never became fiefs but remained fully owned private property of the owners. They were called *allods*. Feudal practices varied from place to place, and developed and altered with the passage of time.

Feudal society was strictly divided into classes, i.e., nobility, clergy and peasantry, and in the later Middle Ages into burgesses. Private jurisdiction in this system was based upon local customs, and the landholding system was dependent upon the fief or fee. Feudalism was based on contracts made among nobles, and although it was intimately connected with the manorial system, it must be considered distinct from it. Although some men held their land allodially, they were exceptions rather than the rule. In a feudal society, the ownership of all land vested in the king who theoretically occupied the apex of an imaginary pyramid. Immediately below him were his vassals, a hierarchy of nobles, who held fiefs directly from the king and were called tenants-in-chief. Thus, the most important nobles held land directly from the king, and the lesser lords from them, down to the seigneur who held a single manor. The system was local and agricultural, and its base was the manorial system. Under the manorial system, the peasant-labourers or serfs, held land they worked on from the seigneur, who granted them the use of the land and his protection in return for personal services (especially on the demesne, the land he retained for his own use) and for dues generally in kind. In course of time, many lords preferred cash payments so that they could purchase the goods that the manor could not produce. In such a system, a personal relationship was formed between the lord and the vassal. Gradually, the system of subinfeudation evolved, by which the vassal might in his turn become an overlord, granting part of his fief to one who then became his vassal.

Originally, the fief had to be renewed on the death of either party. However, with the advent of hereditary succession and primogeniture, renewal of the fief by or to, the heir of the deceased, became customary, and gradually, the fief became hereditary. Since the system rested on the unsettled conditions of the times, and thus on the need of the lord for armed warriors and the need of the vassal for protection, the nobility was essentially a military class, with the knight as the typical warrior. Since equipping mounted fighters was expensive, the lord could not create his armed force without the obligation of the vassal to supply a stipulated number of armed men. The gradations of nobility were, therefore, based on both military service and landholding. At the bottom of the social scale was the squire, originally the servant of the knight. Above the knight were classes that varied in different countries—counts, dukes, earls, barons. In addition to military service, the vassal owed other dues and services that varied with local custom.

The church also played a great role in shaping feudalism. The church hierarchy paralleled the feudal hierarchy. The church owned much land held by monasteries, church

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dignitaries and by the churches themselves. Most of this land, given by nobles as a bequest or gift, carried feudal benefits. Thus, clerical land, like lay land, assumed a feudal aspect.

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The feudal economy was a natural economy, i.e., a 'subsistence economy'. The peasants produced mainly for their own consumption and rarely exchanged commodities. The feudal lords likewise, rarely resorted to trade, except for luxury goods, because everything they needed was produced by self-labour. Agricultural methods were primitive in the beginning, though towards the later feudal age, techniques of growing grain and vegetables as well as that of making wine and butter were improved. However, towns gradually began to expand under the feudal system, so that exchange and trade flourished. In the Middle Ages, most of the goods in the towns were produced by small craftsmen. Gradually, production expanded with the growth of trade.

M. M. Postan classified scholars working on feudalism into those who stress the political or military features of the feudal order, and those who relate the feudal order to its economy. In the military interpretation, the essence of feudalism was in the fief, a knightly estate, which fulfilled the military needs of the state and the society. Here, the concentration of landed property was in the hands of feudal lords, and the political, administrative and judicial authority was vested in the landed estate. The humbler ranks of society were subordinated to the higher ranks.

In the political interpretation, feudalism is described as a system wherein administrative and judicial functions of the government were fragmented, and as a rule vested in a feudal lordship. Feudal societies so fragmented, are accordingly assumed to have risen on the ruins of states and empires, and owed their existence to the inability of the state to fulfill its functions.

Marc Bloch described the fundamental features of European feudalism as 'subject peasantry; widespread use of service tenement (i.e., fief) instead of a salary which was out of question; supremacy of a class of specialized warriors; ties of obedience and protection which bind man to man and, within the warrior class, assume the distinctive form called vassalage; fragmentation of authority, leading inevitably to disorder; and in the midst of all this, the survival of other forms of association, family and state, of which the latter, during the second feudal age, was to acquire renewed strength.' This description stresses the subjugation of the peasantry to coercive forms of extraction of a part of their surplus. It suggests that money was relatively less used and emphasizes the importance of the warrior class and warfare as also the value attached to the maintenance of a hierarchy of status in society.

In the economic interpretation, Marx and Marxists defined feudalism as a political and social order appropriate to natural economy, in which land is the main source of income and the only embodiment of wealth. In such a system, goods were acquired by barter, gifts or booty. The allegiance of the upper classes was secured by grants of land, and labour was extracted by extra-economic coercion rather than wage contract; hence the view of feudal villeinage and servility as by-products of a natural economy. Marx used the term 'feudalism' to describe a whole social order whose main feature was domination of the rest of the society, mainly peasants, by a military landowning aristocracy. The essence of the feudal mode of production in the Marxist sense is the exploitative relationship between landowners and subordinate peasants. In this, the surplus beyond subsistence of the peasant, whether in direct labour or in rent in kind or in money, is transferred under coercive sanction to the landowner. The feudal mode of production, according to Marx, was one in which the direct producer was not separated

from the means of production. Thus, feudalism rests on a solid base of petty production. Since the dominant class, the nobility, did not perform any economic function production, the form of surplus appropriation was extra-economic or political. The basic characteristic of feudalism was the political domination of the peasant producers. Maurice Dobb defined feudalism as a system under which economic status and authority were associated with land tenure and the direct producer (who was himself the holder of some land) was under obligation, based on law or customary right, to devote a certain quota of his labour or his produce for the benefit of his feudal superior. Thus, as a system of socio-economic relations, it was virtually identical to that of serfdom but also included direct labour service and tribute or feudal rent in produce or money. Thus, serfdom is an essential condition of feudalism.

Rodney Hilton stated that the basic feature of a feudal society was its agrarian character and petty production based on the peasant family. However, the surplus produced by the peasantry was appropriated by a class of landlords who did not fulfill any economic function. The peasantry was politically and juridically dependent on the landlord in several ways.

Closely related to this model of feudalism is the model defining it as a manorial order. According to it, a typical feudal system is one in which the large estate functions not only as a unit of ownership and power, but also as one of productions, hence its regime of dependent cultivation and its accompanying traits—enforced labour, description of tenants to the soil. According to Perry Anderson, the feudal mode of production was dominated by land and a natural economy, in which neither labour nor its products were commodities. Agrarian property was privately controlled by a class of feudal lords who extracted a surplus from the peasants by politico-legal relations of compulsion which were exercised both on the manorial demesne and on the peasant's land. This situation led to a juridical amalgamation of economic exploitation with political authority. But political sovereignty was never concentrated in a single centre. While the peasant was subjected to the jurisdiction of his lord, the lord too held his estate as a fief, being subordinate to his feudal superior and providing military assistance in times of war. The chain of such dependent tenures linked to military service extended to the highest peak—the monarch. The functions of the state were disintegrated in a vertical allocation downwards, while the political and economic relations at each level were integrated. This parcelization of sovereignty was constitutive of the whole mode of production.

The military school model defines feudal societies as those which meet other military needs solely or mainly by knightly services and derives all the other features of social order from the fief. This definition applies to a period far too short to cover the entire stretch of the feudal age anywhere in Europe. The political model is equally restrictive geographically and chronologically because it defines feudalism as an order in which the estate replaced the State. Thus in Europe, such feudalism would be confined to a century or two following the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire, (AD 751-987) and would not be found in most parts of Europe. However, this transition to the new mode of production took time.

Crises of the 14th and the 15th Centuries

As a consequence of the crisis of feudal rents, the lords tried to impose a variety of new obligations, thus transgressing the ideology of paternalism and protection by which feudal rents were legitimized in the first place. The late medieval rebellions were, thus directed not against the lordship itself, but against the abuse of lord's power. The causes of the

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crisis of feudalism, was purely coercive and extra economic nature of feudal benefits was exposed. Since the 13th century, with the growing monetization of social relations, the legitimization of feudal relationships in terms of military and political hierarchy of subordination was weakened. But it was only in the 14th and 15th centuries that the feudal ideology of paternalism was finally destroyed. One of the features of peasant rebellions was that they were marked by a 'negative class-consciousness'. Basically, these movements were not rebellions by the entire peasantry but were combinations of rich peasants voicing their protests against restrictions and the small marginal peasants protesting against the regulation of wages. These peasant movements included not just peasants but also various other groups that were essential for the functioning of the peasant society like artisans, small traders and wage labourers.

The social organization of agricultural production varied everywhere in Europe. In Western Europe, the demesne was the largest because denser population required the relative efficiency of larger units. In Central Europe, the effects of economic recession led to desertions of marginal land—Wustungen, and were due to enclosures as well as to abandonment. Further east, in Brandenburg and Poland where population density was thinner and where lords collectively owned much less land than peasants, the lords soon acquired all the lands deserted due to the sudden demographic collapse. This step would be very profitable to them in the 16th century. It altered the social structure of Eastern Europe and was also very important for the development of Western Europe. In England, the manor was the typical unit for organizing production. During the 13th century, demesne farming developed in a very big way. Labour services were also intensified and the difference between the free peasants and the dependent peasants, i.e., villeins, increased. With the depopulation of Europe and the subsequent rise in wages, production by wage labour became unprofitable. Since there was a vast decline in the prices of food grains, commercial production lost its profitability. There was severe decline in demesne cultivation by the landlords. Land was now leased out in family-sized units and not in big units. There was also a decline in labour services.

In France too, there was a decline in commercial production by the landlords. There was a rise in rented farms with tenants. As there were no demesnes left, there was no serfdom or labour service. The French nobility was unable to deal with the widespread rural rebellion in France, and it facilitated the consolidation of State power. During the 14th and the 15th centuries, the French monarchy supported by the lesser nobles and the peasants, to a great extent stopped the big nobles from levying dues which conflicted with centralized taxation.

In Spain, the 14th and the 15th centuries marked the peak of aristocratic power. Owing to the re-conquest of the country from the Arabs, land was granted to nobles, and big estates of over 5000 sq km came into existence. With depopulation caused by epidemics, the vacant land was devoted to sheep farming. The big sheep owners belonged to an organization called 'Mesta'. The depopulation of the country did not bring about any benefits to the peasantry.

In the Mediterranean region, a system of long-term leases called Metayage developed. Metayage is a form of share cropping in which the landlord invested capital and shared the cost of production. The landlord was thus brought into closer collaboration with the peasant, and the production process. In Italy this system was called the Mezzadria system.

In Eastern Europe, the nobility solved the problem of declining rents by intensifying the labour services and in the 15th century the nobility increased its political power over

the peasants in order to dominate them economically. In Eastern Europe, where the settlement was more recent, the village structure was also more homogeneous and conducive to control. In East Germany, during periods of depopulation, vacant land was appropriated by the lords and the peasantry was coerced into cultivating it as serfs. The nobles gave a subsidy to the state and were in turn granted rights to enslave the peasants. In this way, the area under the demesnes was expanded and labour obligations on the peasantry also increased.

From 15th century onwards, there was also a growth in the export of grain from Eastern Europe by the merchants of the Hanseatic League. The nobility increased demesne production and thus its share in this grain trade. The development of the state on the other hand, was linked to the nobility's attempt to find free access to the sea. In the Baltic region the expansion in agricultural exports and demesne production was also linked to the enserfment of the peasantry. In Lithuania, there was a scramble for land and peasants by the nobles. In Denmark, serfdom was linked to dairy products. In Russia, the development of serfdom was linked more to the demands of the internal market than to the export trade in grain. During the 16th and the 17th centuries, there was a further intensification of the grain trade and the development of the 'second serfdom' which Engels talked of. The agrarian crisis of the 14th and 15th centuries thus, had different implications on different regions of Europe.

The very large demesnes in non-marginal arable lands of Western Europe were transformed into smaller landholdings giving rise to medium-sized peasantry on arable lands. There was simultaneously, a beginning of enclosures of the less arable land (which would be the basis of expanded animal husbandry), and the concentration of property into large estates (which would serve as grain export areas) in Western Europe.

1.2.4 Rise of Capitalism

In Western Europe, with the decline in demesne production, serfdom and labour rents disappeared from the peasantry. The 14th and 15th centuries saw the rise of substantial peasant farms, owing to depopulation and vacant holdings. It led to the emergence of the middle level peasants in both England and France. In England, the consolidation of peasant holdings weakened the role of the village community. The latter had enjoyed the right to decide about crops and production, and was an impediment in the transition to capitalism. The changed demographic situation affected both the composition of the peasantry as well as the structure of the peasant family. In England, the vacant lands weakened the family structure as peasants moved from one place to another, in search of holdings. In France, the problem of shortage of labour led to consolidation of patriarchal lineages. The peasant economy that developed in the 14th and 15th centuries was more self-sufficient than the manorial economy based on demesne production that existed in the 13th century. In Eastern Europe, where there was a seigniorial reaction, the peasantry was re-enserfed rather than freed of labour obligations. Michael Postan sees the 15th century as a period of regression from the development of the 14th century, a setback that was overcome later. The English merchant class responded to the recession of trade by adopting a policy of regulation and restriction, impeding the entry of new recruits into commerce and attempting to share out the available trade. Eugen Kosminsky viewed the collapse as a part of the liquidation of feudalism, hence a necessary step towards the development of a capitalist economy. So, it was not the depopulation but the liquidation of the manorial economy, the commutation and diminution of feudal rent which improved the condition of the peasant. At the same time, the expansion of simple

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commercial production, prepared the way for capitalist relations. The landowner or lord of the manor prospered when the State was the weakest.

According to Fernand Braudel, the territorial state, the rival of the city state, showed itself more capable of meeting the costs of modern war and its rise was an irreversible phenomenon. The 16th century saw the rise of Louis IX in France, Henry VII in England, and Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon in Spain. By means of financial mechanisms, they created a civil and armed bureaucracy, strong enough to tax, and thus finance a still stronger bureaucratic structure. Marc Bloch says that from this time onwards, the state began to acquire that essential element of its financial supremacy, which was greater than that of any individual or community.

Feudalism gave way to capitalism but it was never a smooth transfer. It took around two more centuries before feudalism finally gave way to capitalism. There were changes in and around feudalism as an economic and administrative system. The farmers had started growing cash crops and land was being enclosed for commercialization of agriculture. The Agricultural revolution had changed as instead of production for consumption the production for trade had started. There was growth of towns all around in the European states and thus businesses, commercial enterprises, trading depots had started coming up. The presence of factory system mostly in England had provided the base to industrial growth. Reformation movement also brought stimulus in the thinking as Protestants were much in favour of capital flow and investments so that businesses would grow; according to Max Weber, it was the period which led to the growth of capitalism in Europe.

1.3 RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

Renaissance means rebirth or renewal. As a cultural movement, its origin goes back to 14th century, and by the 16th century it had spread through entire Europe. In the context of Europe it marked a historic phase—the transition of Europe from the medieval to the modern age. Europe in the past had been under the domination of the Greeks and later the Romans. With the decline of the Roman Empire, Europe fell into the ‘Dark Ages’. This was an age when feudalism was the order of the day and the Catholic Church had an all pervading control on the society. False beliefs and blind faith perpetrated by the Church as well as a feudal set up led to the complete fragmentation of the society.

Renaissance proved to be the vital connect between the medieval times and the modern age. As an intellectual and cultural revival, it altered the history of Europe. And while, all spheres of everyday life from religion to politics, science and literature witnessed change, it was most expressly manifest in the artistic sphere. It was the genius of men like Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo that gave birth to notions of realism in art, depiction of human emotions and concept of the ‘Renaissance man’.

Causes of Renaissance

The reasons that led to the beginning of Renaissance were as follows:

1. **Turkey’s capture of Constantinople:** Constantinople was of vital importance as it was the centre of classical learning in the eastern Roman Empire. In 1453, when the Turks seized control of Constantinople, there was a shift in the seat of classical learning. Greek scholars carried along with them rare manuscripts to the new centre of learning—Italy. Therefore, classical learning now flourished in Italy.

Check Your Progress

1. Who were the Iconoclasts?
2. What was the impact of the fall of Constantinople?
3. Fill in the blanks.
 - (a) The _____ also played a great role in shaping feudalism.
 - (b) The _____ economy was a natural economy.

2. **Decline of feudalism:** With the emergence of monarchy in England, France and Spain and the birth of nation states, feudalism as perpetrated by the church through imposition of taxes was fast losing ground. These rulers kept the forces of feudalism in check and around AD 1300 feudalism was on its way out.
3. **Growth of towns:** Renaissance was marked by enterprise. Italy saw the spawning of large cities as trade and commerce flourished. Free from feudal overlords, the traders and craftsmen settled in the cities which became the new centres for learning. This spirit of enterprise and expansion ushered in Renaissance.
4. **The Crusades:** The Crusades or the holy wars were the prolonged conflict between Christians and Muslims for control over Jerusalem, the holy city. They also played a crucial role in transforming the European society.
5. **The spirit of enquiry:** With the decline of the church and a rejection of age old beliefs, ideas of realism in art, empiricism in science and humanism in general gathered force. These new ideas that stressed on reason and observation ushered in progress in science. Humanism ensured that man was now revered as body and form.
6. **Invention of printing press and other discoveries:** There was gradual educational reform, emergence of universities and rise of printing press that led to the spread of education. Germany got its first printing press in 1455 while England got the same in 1477 due to the efforts of William Caxton. Other important discoveries included gunpowder and progress in shipbuilding, mariner's compass and maps that were essential for purposes of navigation.
7. **Encouragement to art and learning:** Art and learning found new patrons from amongst monarchs to merchants. Cultural activities were promoted through schools and universities set up by families of patrons. The humanist thinkers devoted themselves to the recovery of the relics of ancient Greek and Latin works of literature, oratory and history. Their interest in literary and historical treatises set them apart from a host of medieval scholars whose areas of interest were chiefly Greek and Arab works on natural sciences, philosophy and mathematics.
 - (a) Religion was not discarded in Renaissance but marked by a subtle shift in the way it was perceived by the intellectuals. Christianity found expression in art and many religious works of art were commissioned by the church as well. A fresh engagement began with Greek Christian texts including the Greek New Testament, when they were recovered from Byzantium. This exchange, promoted by Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus, was one of the contributions to the reformation drive by the Protestants.
 - (b) The Renaissance engaged with the classics and used their ideas but only to promote an essentially secular society. Divergent views come from a group of scholars like Rodney Stark, who believe that the source of Renaissance was Italian city states which were therefore, of more importance than the movement itself. Moreover, these city states amalgamated a centralized state, church and capitalist culture successfully. It was the progress ushered in by the capitalism of Italian city states that paved way for the genesis of Renaissance. Quite contrastingly, other European states like France and Spain were monarchies while other parts of Europe were under the control of the church.

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8. New trade route between east and the west: With trade flourishing, new trade routes opened between western and eastern Europe. Long distance trade became a crucial factor in the emergence of Renaissance. The Greek scholars were displaced to Italy following the invasion of Constantinople by Turkey. In 1498, Vasco da Gama discovered the sea route to India via the Cape of Good Hope. As new vistas opened before the traders and travellers, Renaissance spread from Italy to other parts of Europe. Trade also grew between Europe and the Middle East from the Italian cities of Naples, Genoa and Venice.

The Age of Discovery

The discovery of new trade routes and the explorations by travellers helped Renaissance spread far and wide. With Greek and Roman trade centres situated close to the Mediterranean, there was greater exchange with the outside world. Of the many explorations undertaken, Marco Polo's is very notable. He travelled from Venice to China and Japan, brought back accounts of the prosperous and wealthy eastern parts of the world. The advent of science, new inventions and discoveries, the progress in navigational skills and the accounts of travellers inspired others to undertake such journeys.

The Portuguese explorers

The earliest patrons of explorers were the Portuguese and the Spanish. The Portuguese prince Henry, earned the title of 'Navigator' because of his immense interest in and promotion of navigation. With the aid of newly developed navigational tools such as the mariner's compass and astrolabe, his sailors explored as far as the West African coast. Other Portuguese sailors like Bartolomeu Dias and Vasco da Gama explored the Cape of Good Hope, the former in 1487 and the latter making greater progress in 1498 reaching Calicut. The discovery of Brazil in 1500 by Cabral was another feather in the cap for the Portuguese. They travelled far and wide reaching to the Far East, exploring China, Japan, Indonesia and Ceylon. Ferdinand Magellan (AD 1480–1521) who lends his name to the Strait of Magellan was also from Portugal. He sailed around the Atlantic Ocean to reach the Pacific, his entry point into Pacific being termed as the Strait of Magellan.

Other explorations led to the discovery of America, that got its name from an Italian explorer, Amerigo Vespucci. An Italian sailor, Christopher Columbus' (AD 1451–1506) voyage along the Atlantic Ocean was patronized by Spain.

Origin of Renaissance in Italy

Renaissance spread across Europe in different phases. Initially, Italy was the stronghold of the movement following the Turkish invasion of Constantinople. As new trade routes were discovered, Italy benefited due to its strategic location between Western Europe and Middle East. Traders from across the world converged here and this enabled plenty of exchange. Cultural activities patronized the Pope, headquartered at Rome, and other wealthy Italian merchants. The arrival of Greek scholars from Constantinople added to the intellectual movement that was already gathering steam. The 16th century saw Renaissance at its peak with Italy producing some of the greatest literary and artistic geniuses.

Renaissance brought about a shift in the artistic style from the medieval ages. Religion gave way to the celebration of the human race. The spirit of Renaissance and its ideals found expression in its paintings. Renaissance marked a revival of the classical style but gracefully and aesthetically incorporated human passion interweaving it with religious themes. One of the most renowned Renaissance artists was Leonardo da Vinci (AD 1452–1519), a skilled musician, architect, engineer, mathematician apart from being a painter. One of his masterpiece is Mona Lisa. Mona Lisa is the embodiment of the painter's ideal woman. She is painted against the natural backdrop.

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Fig. 1.1 Mona Lisa

The Last Supper is yet another masterpiece that depicts the calmness of Christ in comparison to the reactions of his disciples when he shares with them his knowledge of the fact that one from amongst them would betray him.



Fig. 1.2 Last Supper

Michelangelo Buonarroti (AD 1475–1564), a skilful sculptor apart from being an architect and painter, was deeply interested in the study of the human form. His sculptures were a celebration of the magnificence and grace of human body. His Statue of David, the Pieta, Day and Night and Moses are most acclaimed.

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Fig. 1.3 Michelangelo's *David*

Raphael (AD 1483–1520), a contemporary of Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci, was widely celebrated for his work *Madonna and Child*.



Fig. 1.4 *Madonna and Child*

Renaissance and Literature

Literature underwent a transformation with Renaissance. Humanist writers engaged in classical literature which in turn gave shape to a whole new corpus of work. New European languages gained prominence as writers like Dante and Petrarch transformed the literary scene. Dante's *Divine Comedy*, an Italian epic about a journey into the other world and Petrarch's *Sonnets to Laura* gave humanism a new direction. Other writers of the age were Ariosto who composed *Orlando Furioso* and Tasso who is famous for his work *Jerusalem Delivered*.

Renaissance and Science

There was a stress on reason and observation during Renaissance. As science advanced and made new progress every day, people shunned the dogmatic beliefs that had hitherto restricted their lives. Reason was supreme and everything was to be governed by a rationale. Prominent scientists were:

1. Roger Bacon (AD 1214–1294), who discovered uses of gunpowder and magnifying lenses. He also anticipated an improvement in ships with them becoming oar less and carriage that need not be horse drawn.
2. Copernicus (AD 1473–1543), a Polish priest, faced much flak for suggesting that the sun and not the earth was the centre of the universe and that the earth and other heavenly bodies revolved around it. His discovery was in contention to the belief held by the church. He also suggested that the earth rotated about its axis.
3. Galileo (AD 1564–1642), apart from being the inventor of telescope and studying the movement of heavenly bodies, also proved the Copernican theory correct through his experiments and mathematical calculations.
4. Johannes Kepler (AD 1571–1630) discovered that the earth and the planets revolve around the sun in an elliptical orbit and not in a circular one as earlier believed.
5. Newton, a British scientist, is famous for his theory of gravitation and laws of motion.
6. Halley theorized the appearance of comets at regular periods.
7. There was great progress in the field of medicine.
8. Vesalius, a physician, wrote *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, a study of anatomy.

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Other Effects of Renaissance

With the opening of new trade routes, the hub of trade shifted from the Mediterranean region of Italy and Turkey to the Atlantic regions of England and Portugal gradually. As these places flourished, there began a quest for expansion. This led to the rise of colonialism as the Western world exploited its colonies in Africa, Asia and America by procuring cheap goods from there and selling its finished products to them at high prices. So helpless were these colonies eventually due to the imperialist agenda of their masters that they succumbed to the Western culture. The discovery of America brought with it the plantation culture where slaves were employed to work on cotton, sugarcane and tobacco plantations and were treated ruthlessly. With the mercantile theory propounding that wealth was determined by the amount of gold or silver a nation possessed, the colonizers launched into action the quest for acquiring more and more gold and silver by emphasizing on exports and taking payment for all the sales they made in these precious metals.

With the diverse changes that Renaissance ushered in, the European society was transformed forever. Humanity came to be celebrated and rationalism replaced unquestioning reverence to the divine. Catholic Church that had until now exercised unbridled control fast began to lose its grip. The intellectual revolution sought to overthrow the corrupt practices of the Church and this set in motion a reform movement that split the Christians into Catholics and Protestants called Reformation.

1.3.1 Reformation

Capitalist countries were amongst the first to break away from the Catholic Church. They subjugated their churches to the control of their rulers thereby depriving the church of the supremacy that it had long enjoyed. Moreover, they altered religious discourse in a manner that served the interests of the rising middle class.

A prominent supporter of Reformation was John Calvin. In keeping with the spirit of the times, he supported the ills perpetuated by capitalism like slavery and

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colonial expansion. Soon Protestantism became the new religion of all the capitalist countries as they shrugged off the authority of the pope and the supremacy of the church in favour of the economic interests of the bourgeoisie. Protestantism spread through the teachings of Martin Luther King in Germany who upheld princely rule and gave rise to the Lutheran Church and also through the teachings of Zwingli from Switzerland. His teachings were largely oriented towards the economic interest of the bourgeois class.

Meaning of Reformation

Reformation, the term, means an effort to bring about a change. In the context of European history, it emerged in the 16th century as a movement against the increasing corruption within the Catholic Church, the evil practises and rites and rituals that it imposed upon the people in order to maintain its supremacy. Those who protested against the malpractices of the Catholic Church and sought reform came to be known as Protestants and eventually Protestantism became a branch of Christianity.

The Reformation movement saw the setting up of new protestant churches in opposition to the rigid ecclesiastical order of the Catholic Church. To reclaim ground that they had lost, the Jesuit order amongst the Catholics soon launched Counter Reformation and ensured that the southern part of Europe, including Poland remained Catholic. The northern part of Europe except for Ireland and parts of Britain converted to Protestantism, while the centre became the battleground between the two sects. The new denominations that arose included Anglicans in England who were the largest group, the Lutherans in Germany and Scandinavia and the Reformed Churches in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Scotland.

The Causes of the Reformation

The causes of the Reformation were as follows:

- 1. Influence of the Renaissance:** The Renaissance had brought about remarkable changes in the European society. With the intellectual awakening, cultural changes, rise of humanism and generation of spirit of enquiry, there was irreverence for authority and meaningless dogmas that were upheld by the church. The scientific and geographical advancements, the crusades, the emergence of printing press and educational reforms all brought about a change in the perception of people.
- 2. Corruption in the church:** Classical studies were not banished by the Catholic Church. The Church was aware of all richness and value that these texts contained that would help men transcend their own mental boundaries. There were apprehensions from certain quarters about pagan associations plaguing the minds of the youth but by and large these were dismissed. Origen, St. Clement of Alexandria, St. Gregory of Nazianzen, St. Basil, and St. Jerome were among a few of the Catholics who encouraged their followers to engage with classical texts leading to the early efforts to bring together the religious and the secular, i.e., classical culture and Christian beliefs. The fall of the Roman Empire and the proceeding Dark Ages saw a changing scenario when classical studies were relegated to Britain, Ireland and the western Isles. The Carolingian reform resurrected these dying classics and gave them a new lease of life in the continent. Soon compilations of classics emerged in schools and colleges; however the glory days of classical literature were gone. The reform now was directed towards philosophy and not as it had been in the 12th century, when it was directed towards

classics supported by men like John of Salisbury. Consequently, classical languages like Greek and Latin started disappearing from the school curriculum in Western Europe. There was now a thrust of rationality and logic amongst the scholars rather than beauty of expression and literary grace. The neglect was confined not just to the languages but also to monuments and other architecture. As a result there was widespread decline.

Scholasticism suffered as the successors of St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure lacked the ingenuity to hold the interests of the scholars who chose to now engage themselves in other intellectual pursuits. Religion had been reduced to mere formalism in the absence of learned teachers. The world order was now slowly undergoing transformation as religion was fast losing its sway and making way for more secular order. With religion and philosophy not being on a pedestal anymore, it was but natural to make a return to the classics and salvage what one could. There was a decline in the social order, a corruption of men, and intoxication of power as seen through the examples of tyrants like Agnellus of Pisa, the Viscontis and Francesco Sforza of Milan, Ferrante of Naples, and the de Medici of Florence. It went against the Christian notion of morality and justice. So seeped were they in the temporal pleasures that it was but natural that Pagan Rome and the literary masterpieces that it produced would be more suited to their tastes rather than the piety enjoined upon people by the Catholic Church. Therefore, Reformation was a movement to overthrow the limitations that the Catholic Church had imposed upon the people.

The decline of Italy and Rome aroused deep anger in Petrarch. He believed that the absence of Popes from Avignon was a cause of the downfall. Encouraged by nationalist feelings, he supported Cola di Rienzi, when in 1347 the latter announced the formation of Roman republic. He sought to protect the remaining pagan monuments and to bring alive the relics of the past to arouse nationalist sentiments among his fellow countrymen. Virgil was his inspiration in poetry. Most of his writing were in Italian but he incorporated in them the ideals of Renaissance, the celebration of beauty as opposed to the self-restraint practised in the middle ages. While his work *Africa* is a glorification of ancient Rome and full of nationalist zeal, Petrarch has received great acclaim for the *Canzoni* or his love songs. Petrarch, however, did not see religion and paganism in conflict. He may have attacked the church at times in his nationalist fervour but he never sought a confrontation with religion and rather believed in confrontation. His disciple, Boccaccio (1313–1375), too reverted to the classics and had even acquired knowledge of Greek but unlike Petrarch he chose paganism over Christianity. His works, including the famous *Decameron*, betray the pagan in him. His harsh criticism of the clergy, accusing them of hypocrisy, put his followers in conflict with the religious minded. Yet he did not do this to promote paganism in the garb of promoting literature. He still believed in Christianity and in the later years of his life realized the mistakes he had made and bequeathed his library to the monks whom he had earlier taken pleasure in reviling.

3. **Influence of economic changes:** The flourishing trade and commerce changed the outlook of the people during Renaissance. The educated middle class began to question the authority that the church exercised over the common man. New trade routes were discovered, and as exports grew, the wealth of the mercantile class increased manifold. With irreverence towards the church on the rise, it was a matter of time that the humanist and the scholars of religion came at loggerheads.

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The corruption in the church made the humanist advocate not only a revival of the classics but went a step ahead to call for a revival of paganism itself. On the other hand, the scholastics were determined to wipe out all pagan influences in Christian learning. Though a middle path was possible for revival of culture, those who supported this were far too few. They aimed at harmonizing religion and culture by respecting the place that the Church had given to the classics in its own domain. However, they could not bring about the two warring sections to reconciliation. The humanists took the opportunity to shed the yoke that Christianity had required them to carry in the form of piety and restraint. Laurentius Valla (1405-57) in his work, *De Voluptate*, preached excesses that were in direct conflict with the teachings of the Church. He advocated indulgence and gratification of sensual desires as against self-restraint. His epicurean theory was accompanied by a rejection of the Pope and his authority. If this was not enough, Beccadelli went a step ahead and entirely devoted himself in the production of distasteful work against the Church.

Others who unleashed polemic against the church were the likes of Poggio Bracciolini—who wrote *Facetiae*—and Fileflo. These men undermined Renaissance as a cultural movement and reduced it to a glorification of paganism to triumph over the church. Morality was now in shreds and these works were lapped up in Florence, Venice and Siena. In the later stages, a number of schools though bearing Christian names betrayed pagan influence. However, most of the times, it was not suspected as a rejection of religion but rather just their sophistry. What was apparent although was that Christianity was losing its followers. There were also a number of renowned people who made no effort to hide their leanings towards paganism. They were Carlo Marsuppini, Chancellor of Florence, Gemistos Plethon, who propounded the Platonic philosophy, Marsilio Ficino, Rinaldo degli Albizzi, and the members of the Roman Academy (1460), under the leadership of Pomponius Laetus. It was the moral degeneration of the age that prevented the suppression of these ideas in Italy.

4. **Efforts of intellectuals:** The spirit of enquiry had its first victim in the form of the church. Guided by empiricism and scientific ideas, people no longer adhered to the blind faith that religion required. Reformation initially targeted the weeding out the corruption in the Catholic Church. The sale of clerical offices, simony, was evidence enough of the malpractices of the church. The ecclesiastical hierarchy with Pope at the apex was full of wrongdoings according to them. The successors of Martin Luther, John Wycliffe and Jan Hus were also involved in the reforms. Reformation as a movement started on 31 October 1517, in Wittenberg, Saxony at the castle church. Martin Luther's 'Ninety Five Theses on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgence' was unveiled which dissected the church's policies on indulgences, its ideas on worship of Mary, obligatory celibacy, following saints and power of the Pope as the head of the hierarchy of the priests. While Luther found many supporters for his cause, soon differences arose between them, leading to the rise of factions in Protestantism. For example, Zwingli distanced himself from Lutheran movement and later John Calvin also split, leading to divergent movements within the reformist movement. Several churches like the Lutheran, the reformed, the puritan and the Presbyterian emerged within Protestantism, though all traced their origins to the German churches. In England, the offshoot of Protestantism was Anglicanism. The rise of Reformation was met with Counter Reformation movement in the Catholic Church.

With the Reformation movement targeting the Roman Catholic Church and enlisting support of the middle class, it became necessary for the Catholic Church to take measures to salvage itself. Hence was launched Counter Reformation. A council was summoned at Trent, Italy, in circa 1545–1563 by Pope Paul III. The council was to reform the Catholic Church without altering its fundamental tenets. The Church was to be reformed in a way to make its teachings compatible with the changing society. This marked the birth of several Catholic organizations that aimed to do their bit to revive Catholicism.

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1.4 INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: CAUSES AND EFFECTS

Industrial Revolution is a term that was first used by Louis-Auguste Blanqui in 1837 and it was then widely adopted following a series of lectures entitled ‘Industrial Revolution of the 18th Century in England’ by Arnold Toynbee delivered in 1882. The First Industrial Revolution, as it is more commonly called, spanned the period between the late 18th and early 19th century. Many historians cite the period between 1780 and 1830 as the time when Britain witnessed the most rapid industrialization activity, while other historians define other periods. In addition, a number of historians have argued that industrialization occurred much earlier than 1780 and was not exactly a revolution per se but rather an example of gradual evolution. A number of studies using econometric techniques illustrate that the slow production rates coupled with low national incomes would indicate that ‘industrial evolution’ rather than ‘Industrial Revolution’ was a more appropriate term to describe the process. Other writers identified that there was a piecemeal development in processes associated with industrial innovation and in organizational structures. Clear evidence now exists that industrialization was not the exclusive domain/province of Britain but included developments both in Asia and Europe.

There was a great deal of migration of European artisans and professional people into Britain during the period between the 15th and 17th century bringing their superior skills and technological methods. There was an evidence of exchange and transfer of ideas, skills and technologies between Britain and Europe for many centuries before the First Industrial Revolution. For example, the Dutch made significant contributions to the technologies associated with the drainage system in the Fens in the mid-17th century and later made significant improvements to water mills. Dutch and Flemish refugees played an important role in creating the foundations of the development of cotton, silk and other textile trades in England. France also made major contributions to the blast furnace technology as did the Germans in improving the smelting and refining of non-ferrous ores. The French were the leaders in science during the 18th century and again made many contributions to the new industries associated with chemicals, for example, dying and bleaching. The exchange was certainly not just one way, for instance, Britain helped Belgium and France to modernize much of their industry but most of the transfer of technology and effort from Britain was aimed at the US. It is interesting to note that a number of Parliamentary Acts during the 19th century prohibited the emigration of workers into mainland Europe as well as placing restrictions on the export of machinery, spare parts, design plans and expertise. These Acts most certainly limited and constrained the exchange of technology and technical knowhow between Britain and the Continent. This aspect again reflects and reinforces the secretive and protectionist nature and practices of British companies.

Check Your Progress

4. Fill in the blanks.

- (a) _____
underwent a transformation with
Renaissance.
- (b) The discovery of new trade routes and the explorations by travellers helped
_____ spread far and wide.

5. State whether the following statements are true/false.

- (a) A prominent supporter of Reformation was John Calvin.
- (b) The Renaissance did not bring about any remarkable changes in the European society.

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During the First Industrial Revolution, Britain witnessed a massive set of transformations in such areas as agriculture, demographic trends, manufacturing and transportation. These and other changes had a profound effect on the cultural, economic and social climate of the country. For example, Table 1.1 shows the dramatic growth in population between 1760 and 1901.

Table 1.1 *Dramatic Growth in Population Between 1760 and 1901*

Year	Population England and Wales	Population Scotland	Total population Britain
1760	6,736,000 (estimated)	-	8,000,000 (estimated)
1801	8,892,000 (1st census)	1,608,420	10,500,000
1851	17,927,609	2,888,742	21,000,000
1901	32,527,843	4,472,103	37,000,000

Another important transition occurred from around 1760 when the basis of the labour economy changed from one based on manual/physical labour to one increasingly based on machines. In addition, the tradesperson replaced the craftsperson and the applied scientist replaced the amateur inventor. One consequence of the Industrial Revolution was that for the operation of the new machines, largely unskilled labour were used. Skilled workers found themselves lowered in status and in less demand and companies increasingly employed women and children to keep costs down. The production of coal rose from 2.5 million tonnes in 1700 to 10 million tonnes in 1800. Three important technologies can be identified that formed the foundations of the First Industrial Revolution, namely:

1. Iron production
2. Steam engine
3. Textiles

The steam engine had been discovered before the Industrial Revolution and was subsequently improved by Watt and others after 1778. The steam engine was initially adapted and used to provide power for a whole series of machines and, as a result, was in many ways the most important ‘enabling technology’ of the time. It made the major contribution to the First Industrial Revolution. Steam driven machines (Figure 1.5) were gradually improved, and adapted for wider uses such as in the production of textiles and the mining of iron and tin. This evolution continued to enable the operation of more complex machinery, such as machine tools, lathes and farm machinery. The development and refinement of machine tools by such individuals as Henry Maudslay and Joseph Whitworth played a key role in the later phase of the First Industrial Revolution as machine tool technology enabled standardized manufacturing machines to be fabricated.

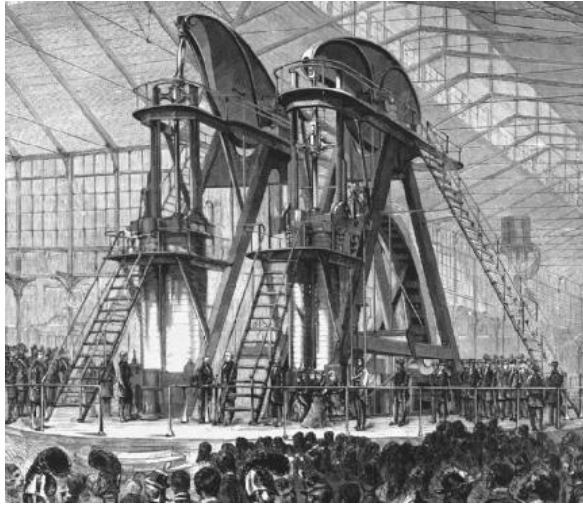


Fig. 1.5 *Steam Driven Machines during Industrial Revolution*

The movement of manufactured goods and services was also greatly assisted and facilitated by improvements to the national transport system that included better roads and the development of an extensive network of canals, (from about 1773) and railways (from 1825). To illustrate the rapid growth of inland navigation systems, i.e., canals and rivers, in 1750 there were around 1,000 miles of inland navigation and by 1850 this had increased to 4,250 miles excluding a significant mileage that existed in Ireland.

As the national economy increased and technological advances accelerated and gained momentum, the First Industrial Revolution converged around 1850 into the second period of Industrial Revolution or evolution. After 1850, the rapid development of steam driven transport systems such as shipping and railways (Figure 1.6) opened up new markets both in Britain and across the world. Later in the 19th century, the newer technologies associated with electrical generation, the internal combustion engine and the industrial processes related to chemicals etc., further accelerated and spread the growth of industrial and international trade.



Fig. 1.6 *Steam Driven Railways*

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By 1850, Britain was the acknowledged workshop and the leading industrial power of the world producing over half the world's coal, cotton and iron. Imported food and essential raw materials for the manufacturing processes were paid for by the export of manufactured products as well as the export of a developing service sector, including financial, insurance and shipping services (Figure 1.7). The country possessed the world's most powerful navy and mercantile fleet and this not only helped to maintain the empire, but also provided the means to export its manufactured commodities. Sadly, the transportation of slaves to the new world until the trade was abolished in 1807, also contributed to Britain's wealth, particularly to the city ports of Bristol and Liverpool.

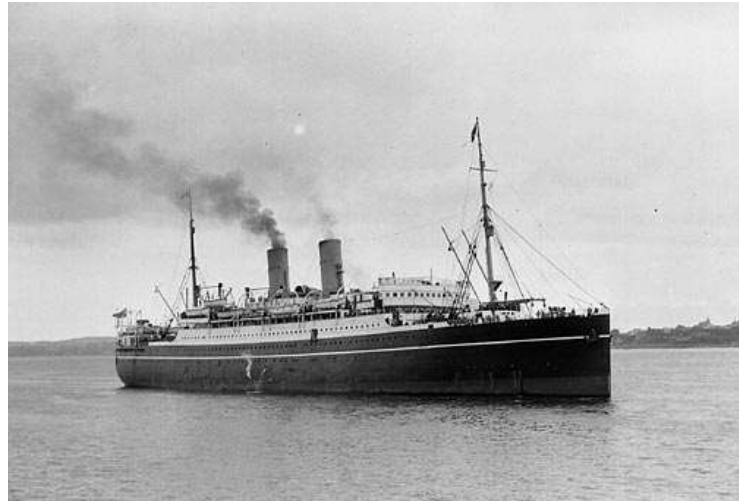


Fig. 1.7 A Steam Ship

Structure and the Organization of Industry

For understanding the structure and the organization of industry in the late 18th and 19th centuries, it is appropriate to consider other factors, which according to some writers undermined this country's manufacturing performance and ultimately contributed to Britain's economic and industrial decline. Many of these factors again highlight the lack of an effective and comprehensive technical and commercial education system as well as the continuing negative attitude towards competitiveness, entrepreneurialism and practical and technical activities. The following is a list of some of these factors:

- The sizes of companies which were relatively small and in the majority of cases family owned
- Management and organizational structures dogged by amateurism, complacency and indifference
- Fierce and destructive competition within rival companies
- Incompetent and ineffective sales and marketing especially overseas, and an unwillingness to develop marketing and sales strategies and tactics to match and satisfy customer needs
- The inabilities of company staff particularly the marketing team, if they existed, to learn and converse in foreign languages
- The widespread use of indirect selling and marketing overseas by agencies and agents

- The relatively late adoption, (after 1851), of a distinctive or 'brand' or product mark when compared with other competitors; exceptions were in the china/pottery industries, such as Spode and Wedgwood
- Reluctance to develop rigorous patenting techniques, when compared with the USA, Belgium and Germany, and thus highlighting the tendency for English businesses to be protectionist and secretive
- 'The gentrification', (Wiener's expression), of the first and subsequent generations of successful business people who quickly adopted the mores of the upper classes
- The reluctance to adopt and invest in new manufacturing techniques and technologies and hence develop new products
- The reluctance to replace obsolete equipment and invest in new plant
- Basic hostility towards technical education especially outside the traditional apprenticeship schemes even though these were fast disappearing
- The relatively few scientists and technologists employed in industry, and also shortages of qualified foremen, supervisors and technicians
- Low wages and status amongst workers as a result of no regulation or effective legislation that forced wages and conditions of work down; also, employers were hostile to the creation and membership of unions

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Shortcomings of Family Businesses

Many manufacturing companies were family businesses and relatively small when compared with similar business enterprises overseas. In particular, industries involved in the production of cotton, linen, and silk were dominated by families. Small and larger manufacturing enterprises including engineering were also family owned and operated in such diverse industries as brewing, cutlery, and pottery alongside thousands of workshops producing specialized products and artifacts, particularly around Birmingham and Manchester. These families had major apprehension about manufacturing techniques and they were generally reluctant to cooperate and form associations with other similar based manufacturers, and this again was in stark contrast with companies in Europe. This secretive attitude was also evident in the way companies would avoid or be reluctant to register and patent their products for fear of plagiarism. This attitude impeded further development of a company's products and restricted its product range. As a result, this constrained the future growth of the company thus maintaining the overall profile of small companies in Britain. Many businesses on the continent and the US took the opposite approach and many became very large with worldwide brands and product differentiation, which ultimately gave them a competitive edge over England towards the end of the 19th century. In fact, this reluctance and propensity for secrecy about their industrial processes eventually became counterproductive for rivals as continental countries began to develop and manage technology in more systematic ways compared with England.

The relatively small size of the companies also had a negative impact on marketing and sales activities, especially abroad. The home market was very buoyant and effective sales and marketing were relatively easy. This contributed to the culture of complacency and indifference; however, the overseas sales were very different and soon highlighted weaknesses in the techniques adopted by England companies. Because companies were relatively small, they were inevitably reluctant to invest in dedicated sales teams based overseas, instead preferring to use agents and agencies who also worked on behalf of

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other companies; thus, no loyalty and commitment existed with these agents and often there were issues of conflict of interests. As competition increased from continental countries and the US, these weaknesses were shown up. The US and Germany developed networks of sales organizations dispensing with agencies and agents. The inability and resistance to learn and speak the languages of overseas customers, the reluctance to carry out market research to assess customer needs and the continued use of sales/marketing agents, all contributed to the loss of market share from the mid-19th century.

Another factor that reflected weak management was the poor relationships that existed between workers and managers coupled with the opposition to unions and union membership. Commercial, business and management education was virtually non-existent during most of the 19th century and was even less developed than technical education.

One fascinating factor that reflects the basic hostility towards industry and technical education is explored by historian Wiener and others, namely the influence of class and social stratification. In Britain, there had always been reluctance among the gentry and upper classes to send their sons into industry, preferring rather to see them enter banking or merchants' offices. What is particularly interesting is the manner in which the first generation of successful industrialists behaved towards the education of their children. They invested their fortunes in massive country estates and did all possible to be recognized, accepted and assimilated into the upper echelons of English society. This most certainly included sending their sons to Eton or other public schools. Upon graduating, they entered the family business lacking the necessary experiences, knowledge, skills and the techniques associated with the industrial processes, technological and scientific concepts and management of the business. Even more interesting is that many did not return to the business but went into what was perceived as the more cultured and dignified environments of law, politics, religion and the other learned professions. The same negative view of technical/practical activities gradually permeated to the middle classes who readily adopted the mores of the upper classes and developed a distinct set of prejudices towards practical and technical pursuits, science, mathematics and technology. These negative attitudes still exist today. One only has to see the current problems with recruiting people in these subjects into colleges and universities. These deeply held attitudes and prejudices most certainly demonstrate the destructive effect of class attitudes and negative perceptions that persist even today in some quarters of society.

Most company managers were reluctant to adapt and innovate and invested little in new plant and equipment. Having been the first industrial nation was ultimately a contributing factor in England's decline, fuelled by degrees of complacency and arrogance. This created a culture of resistance to move with the times and overall industry failed to invest in new plant and equipment, develop new products and processes based on advancing scientific and technological ideas, and bring in scientifically and technologically qualified people. In the majority of cases, companies refused to recruit highly qualified people even though very few existed and many would often argue that a 'practical' person was preferred over a so-called 'theoretical one'. Companies also invested little in research and development. This reluctance to embrace new industrial and managerial practices continued well into the 20th century. One classic case was the hostility towards the introduction of scientific management techniques. This approach was developed with great success in the US, but employers in Britain resisted its introduction, arguing strongly that workers were human beings and not machines and that there was no place for scientific routines or procedures in industrial and commercial businesses.

Technology was a critical element in the Industrial Revolution, though by no means, the only element. The fundamental technical developments associated with the Industrial Revolution occurred in four areas:

1. **Mechanical power:** It was derived first from the steam engine, which burned coal to heat water to create the steam that powered the engine, and later from engines that burned oil (internal combustion engines) or ran on electricity (often generated by burning coal).
2. **Manufacturing:** It resulted in the shift from handmade to machine-made products, and from homemade to factory-made goods.
3. **Transportation:** Horses, mules and oxen were replaced by railroads and steamships driven by steam engines, and by cars, trucks and eventually aeroplanes powered by oil.
4. **Communications:** Messages carried by people were replaced by instantaneous communication over long distances via telegraph (Figure 1.8), telephone, and, much later, the Internet.

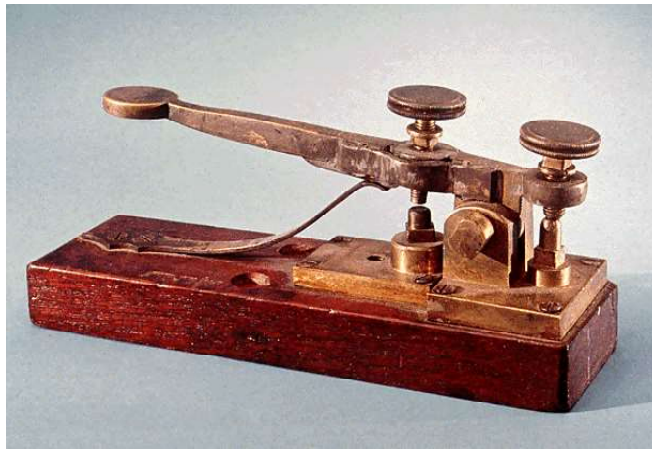


Fig. 1.8 Telegraph Machine

Alongside the Industrial Revolution was an agricultural revolution, which brought similar changes to agricultural practices—the introduction of technology to manual farming, new procedures that greatly increased the output of both farmers and their land—and resulted in new attitudes toward the relationship between ‘natural’ and ‘scientific’ farming. The combination of new systems and new technology was first introduced on English farms around 1700 and has over the years greatly increased the productivity of farmers and the land. The agricultural revolution has also changed humankind’s relationship to animals and food and, to some extent, to the basic process of eating. (*Source:* www.technicaleducationmatters.org)

1.4.1 Scientific and Technological Background of Revolution

Just as advances in technology significantly influenced the Industrial Revolution, the development of scientific ideas in turn influenced technology and made major contributions to the First and Second Industrial Revolutions. Indeed, until the advent of the scientific era, technological advances were almost exclusively based on craft and trade skills and experience, personified by the apprentice model where the skills were handed on very

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much on a personal and individualistic level. The secrets of the craft or trade were jealously guarded and often shrouded in mystery.

However the most significant technical advances during the second Industrial Revolution (1850s) were driven by science as well as by the demands made on technology.

One of the more intriguing aspects in writing this history is the identification of a number of perplexing and paradoxical issues, none more so than the interaction between science and technology and the role and teaching of these disciplines in the emerging education systems. This paradox has been highlighted by a number of influential writers. The belief which sadly continues today is that science is seen as being a more superior body of knowledge than technology as well as the subsequent application of scientific knowledge and ideas. This perception of precedence comprised two directly related aspects; firstly that science always precedes technology because the application could only happen after the scientific discovery was made, and secondly the view that science education was superior to technical education. Although the first assertion is valid, in most cases, it is not universally true. The application of existing technology can itself bring about the need for further and new scientific research and discovery. As existing technologies and machines are operated in different working situations the demands and limitations of the machinery and the underlying technologies often precipitate the need for more original scientific research. Therefore, the belief that science is always ahead of technology and therefore is superior is a false one as it is clearly a two-way iterative process, i.e., science technology. A classic example of how technology precedes and interacts with science can be seen in the development of the steam engine. As the use of the engine was diversified and applied in different situations, fundamental design and operating limitations were identified that required further basic scientific research and this in turn challenged and questioned the existing scientific theories and hypotheses. In this case of the steam engine, the discipline of thermodynamics was greatly enhanced and refined. Examples show that science and technology possess a synergistic relationship to one another and clearly feed off each other and that no one discipline is superior to the other.

However, it was this false belief that has been so damaging to the development of technical and applied education, namely that scientific education should take precedence over technical education. This assertion most certainly had a negative and retarding impact on the image and development of technical education during the 19th century—one can see these elements in play even today. The acceptance of this belief by politicians and decision-makers meant that the education policy at the time required the instruction of science to take precedence over the instruction of technical, applied and practical subjects. For example, Alexander Williamson, an influential figure in education and a professor of chemistry at King's College, reflected this belief in his evidence to the Devonshire Commission when he objected to the creation of technical schools rather than scientific institutions saying 'this does not give due priority to pure science'. This highly questionable belief and attitude was even held and articulated by some of the greatest advocates of technical education, including Lyon Play fair and Thomas Huxley, who both voiced similar views as Williamson.

What cannot be denied is that the period from 1750 to 1850, particularly the Victorian period, witnessed an exciting and productive time of intense research/innovation in practically every field of scientific exploration, namely, biological, chemical, mathematical, physical and technological. The Victorian period was particularly productive in adopting, expanding and transforming technologies in such areas as electricity, industrial

control engineering, lighting, photography, railways, steamships, telegraphy and telephony. Many of the individuals behind these great achievements never received formal education by attending universities or secondary schools; instead they were self-taught and/or possessed amazing creative abilities. This was the period of the First Industrial Revolution driven by steam. The Second Industrial Revolution from mid-18th century was driven by the chemical, communications and electrical technologies, which Britain did not fully capitalize on—Germany and America did. (*Source*: www.technicaleducationmatters.org)

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Stages of Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution did not take place in all European countries simultaneously, nor is it possible to fix the exact timing when the industrial revolution commenced because it is a continuous process. In fact, the four industrial countries of Europe—England, France, Belgium and Germany, underwent industrialization at different periods and under different conditions.

However, it is admitted at all hands that the Industrial Revolution began in Britain sometime in the middle of 18th century and spread in other countries of continent in the next century and a half.

Thus, Industrial Revolution took place in France and Belgium sometimes in the first decade of the 19th century; while in Germany it began still later viz., in the seventies and eighties of the 19th century, even though it spread with extraordinary rapidity. Thus, broadly speaking, the Industrial Revolution passed through two stages. The first stage is represented by England and the second by the countries of the Continent.

1.4.2 Effects of Industrial Revolution

The working conditions in mines were horrible, to say the least. Furthermore, women and children were employed as they could be paid lower wages than adult male workers. Child labourers possessed another advantage—they could easily crawl through the narrow passages in mines. The situation in factories was not very different. The workers could not bargain for better conditions and payments, as there was an abundant supply of workers available in the form of displaced peasants and farmers. If one would protest, he would be fired. There was always someone else ready to replace him. Also, the capitalists were becoming richer by the day. Using their wealth, they were influencing the policies and laws of the government. This influence was naturally harmful to the labour class. This led to the organization of labour unions, and subsequently to the development of the concept of Socialism. The migration of such a huge population to cities resulted in the overcrowding of cities and development of slums. The pace of urbanization quickened to unprecedented levels. The migration also broke the social ties the worker (i.e., the former peasant or farmer) was used to in villages. This, along with the deplorable living conditions, caused many other problems like alcoholism, illicit relationships, loneliness, etc. This degraded the quality of life to a great extent.

The capitalists emerged from the hitherto middle class. The Industrial Revolution was an expression of their strength. Their power increased in leaps and bounds. They had the funds to influence the government. They acquired a stranglehold over politics which continues until date. Other customs like the importance of punctuality and taking appointments before meeting people, also started during this age.

The effects of the Industrial Revolution were visible all over the world. A capitalist had two main requirements for making windfall profits. One was cheap supply of raw materials, and the other was a ready market. Both of these were available in colonies.

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This led to the colonization of many lands in Asia, Africa and South America. The economies of the colonies were comprehensively subordinated to the mother nation. This resulted in a scramble for colonies amongst the great powers of that age. Although England was the strongest power, France, Holland, Portugal, Denmark and, later, Germany and Italy also entered the race. This race led to imperialism, culminating in the two World Wars. English exports were creating problems for the industrial development of other powers. To control this, tariffs were imposed on British goods, leading to tariff barriers. As a result of colonization, events in one part of the world started influencing events in other parts of the world as well. This is the simplest description of globalization.

The revolution also affected many other areas. For one, there were the problems of urbanization during the Industrial Revolution. There was a lot of migration of the workforce to the urban areas. The population distribution everywhere did not remain equal, like it was before. This led to the many problems we face even today, like pollution, space crunch, family division, child labour, etc. On the other hand, on a positive note, there were quite a few important inventions of the Industrial Revolution. Things like the locomotive, steam engine, cotton gin (Figure 1.9) and many more, were all a result of the revolution. Many of the inventions are in use even today, and many others paved the way for different other technological advancements that we get to enjoy in today's world.

The origin of many modern phenomena and problems can be traced back to the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution was primarily the economic dimension of the change from the middle age to the modern age.



Fig. 1.9 Cotton Gin

Progress of Science and Technology

The First Industrial Revolution started with moderately primitive technological advances that were directed by individual capitalists. These technological advances were perhaps less significant than the principle of the division of labour in the factories that permitted initial capitalists to enhance production and to make it more dependable. The amount of capital required to get the early factories off the ground was not considerable. Entrepreneurs could more often than not raise the money from their own savings and by having access to friends and relatives. Industrialization, in this phase, makes some use of technology but modest use of science.

This phase of industrialization, thus, matches to the classic notion of the capitalist as a highly individualistic self-made man who relies on his/her own wits and risks his/her capital on the supposition that profits will be earned by meeting some social demand for specific commodities. In this initial type of capitalism, it is rational to suppose that progress

can be made best by permitting individuals the freedom to invest their savings and permitting the marketplace to balance supply and demand. If the classic entrepreneur or captain of industry does not succeed in reading the market correctly, he will fail. If he reads the market properly, he not only will be victorious, but will do good to society by offering goods that would not otherwise be accessible.

The fact that this unsophisticated formula could no longer be taken for granted by 1840 shows the complicated linkages between technological and capitalist development. Until then, the capital obligations for setting up some industries were so heavy that they were beyond the scope of several entrepreneurs. Capitalistic individualism became mainly rhetorical as enterprises became so intricate that corporations mainly replaced the former captains of industry and professional managers substituted owner bosses. Intense competition between the new individuals—the corporations—led to the need for massive investment in scientific research and progress. In some nations, technological competitiveness was thought to be too significant to be left in the hands of capitalist corporations. Governments, chiefly France and Germany, started to usurp the former role of the capitalist by investing in science centrally. In Germany, for example, quick industrialization was centrally supported, as it would later be in nations such as Sweden, Switzerland, Japan and, of course, the former Soviet Union.

1.5 SUMMARY

- It is impossible to date the beginning of Byzantine history with any precision because the Byzantine Empire was the uninterrupted successor of the Roman state.
- Some argue that 'Byzantine' characteristics already emerged in Roman history as a result of the easternizing policy of Diocletian, and others that Byzantine history began when Constantine moved his capital from Rome to Constantinople, the city which subsequently became the centre of the Byzantine world. (The old name for the site on which Constantinople was built was Byzantium, from which we get the adjective Byzantine); it would be more accurate but cumbersome to say Constantinopolitine. Diocletian and Constantine, however, continued to rule a united Roman Empire.
- It is also convenient to begin in 610 because from then until 1071 the main lines of Byzantine military and political history were determined by resistance against successive waves of invasions from the East.
- Once Persia was subjugated, Heraclius ruled in relative peace till 641.
- Interestingly during this period, the Arabs were becoming blustering, taking advantage of the exhausted Byzantine power and inspired by the new religion of Islam. To establish themselves as the only Mediterranean power, the Arabs took to the sea. The Arab threat to Constantinople in AD 717 was a new low for Byzantine power.
- The Byzantines were able to reclaim most of its lost territories along Asia Minor.
- After the battle at Manzikert, the Byzantine Empire lost its glory though it managed to survive.
- In 1095, Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus sought help from the West against the Turks. This was a big mistake.
- Jerusalem conquered Constantinople instead and sacked the city with ruthless ferocity.

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Check Your Progress

- Fill in the blanks.
 - Horses, mules and oxen were replaced by _____ driven by steam engines, and by cars, trucks and eventually aeroplanes powered by oil.
 - Alongside the Industrial Revolution was an _____ revolution, which brought similar changes to agricultural practices.
- State whether the following statements are true/false.
 - The revolution also affected many other areas. For one, there were the problems of urbanization.
 - Capitalistic individualism became mainly rhetorical as enterprises became so intricate that corporations mainly replaced the former captains of industry and professional managers substituted owner bosses.

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- Efficient bureaucratic government indeed was one of the major elements of Byzantine success and longevity.
- The Iconoclasts were those who wished to prohibit the worship of icons—that is, images of Christ and the saints.
- Since Leo the Isaurian was the emperor who saved Constantinople from the onslaught of Islam, and since Muslims zealously shunned images on the grounds that they were ‘the work of Satan’ (Koran, V. 92), it has been argued that Leo’s Iconoclastic policy was an attempt to answer one of Islam’s greatest criticisms of Christianity and thereby deprive Islam of some of its appeal.
- The Iconoclastic controversy was resolved in the 9th century by a return to the status quo, namely the worship of images, but the century of turmoil over the issue had some profound results.
- Byzantine classicism was a product of an educational system for the laity which extended to the education of women as well as men.
- As in architecture, so in art the Byzantines profoundly altered the earlier Greek classical style.
- The impact of the fall Constantinople in 1453 made the Russians feel that they were chosen to carry on both the faith and the imperial mission of the fallen Byzantine Empire.
- Now Byzantine was in the hands of Muslims, they had upper hand now. From then onwards the Europe and Middle East would be in the domination of Muslims from Ottoman Empire.
- Feudal institutions were the arrangements—personal, territorial, and governmental—that made survival possible under the new system that replaced the centralized Roman administration. Towns gradually began to expand under the feudal system, so that exchange and trade flourished.
- As a consequence of the crisis of feudal rents, the lords tried to impose a variety of new obligations, thus transgressing the ideology of paternalism and protection by which feudal rents were legitimized in the first place.
- The English merchant class responded to the recession of trade by adopting a policy of regulation and restriction, impeding the entry of new recruits into commerce and attempting to share out the available trade.
- Renaissance means rebirth or renewal. As a cultural movement, its origin goes back to 14th century, and by the 16th century it had spread through the whole of Europe.
- Renaissance spread across Europe in different phases. Initially Italy was the stronghold of the movement following the Turkish invasion of Constantinople. The discovery of new trade routes and the explorations by travellers helped Renaissance spread far and wide.
- Capitalist countries were amongst the first to break away from the Catholic Church. They subjugated their churches to the control of their rulers thereby; depriving the church of the supremacy that it had long enjoyed.
- The causes for the rise of Reformation were: (a) Influence of the Renaissance (b) Corruption in the Church (c) Influence of economic changes (d) Efforts of Intellectuals. Reformation, the term, means an effort to bring about a change.

- Those who protested against the malpractices of the Catholic Church and sought reform came to be known as Protestants and eventually Protestantism became a branch of Christianity.
- With the intellectual awakening, cultural changes, rise of humanism and generation of spirit of enquiry, there was irreverence for authority and meaningless dogmas that were upheld by the church. Religion had been reduced to mere formalism in the absence of learned teachers.
- The decline of Italy and Rome aroused deep anger in Petrarch. He believed that the absence of Popes from Avignon was a cause of the downfall.
- The flourishing trade and commerce changed the outlook of the people during Renaissance.
- With the Reformation movement targeting the Roman Catholic Church and enlisting support of the middle class, it became necessary for the Catholic Church to take measures to salvage itself.
- The Industrial Revolution highlighted the essential need to develop a national system for elementary/secondary education and the equally important technical education system.
- The First Industrial Revolution, as it is more commonly called, spanned the period between the late 18th and early 19th century.
- There was an evidence of exchange and transfer of ideas, skills and technologies between Britain and Europe for many centuries before the first Industrial Revolution.
- The steam engine had been discovered before the Industrial Revolution and was subsequently improved by Watt and others after 1778. The steam engine was initially adapted and used to provide power for a whole series of machines and, as a result, was in many ways the most important 'enabling technology' of the time.
- Messages carried by people were replaced by instantaneous communication over long distances via telegraph, telephone, and, much later, the Internet.
- The Industrial Revolution passed through two stages. The first stage is represented by England and the second by the countries of the Continent.
- There was a lot of migration of the workforce to the urban areas. The population distribution everywhere did not remain equal, like it was before.
- In some nations, technological competitiveness was thought to be too significant to be left in the hands of capitalist corporations. Governments, chiefly France and Germany, started to usurp the former role of the capitalist by investing in science centrally.

NOTES

1.6 KEY TERMS

- **Slavs:** They are an Indo-European ethno-linguistic group who speak the various Slavic languages of the larger Balto-Slavic linguistic group.
- **Iconoclastic controversy:** This took place between the mid-8th century and the mid-9th century in the Byzantine Christian Church over the question of whether or not Christians should continue to revere icons.
- **Scribe:** It refers to a person who copies out documents, especially one employed to do this before printing was invented.

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- **Entablatures:** It is the upper part of a classical building supported by columns or a colonnade, comprising the architrave, frieze, and cornice.
- **Feudalism:** It is a political and economic system of Europe from the 9th to about the 15th century, based on the holding of all land in fief or fee and the resulting relation of lord to vassal and characterized by homage, legal and military service of tenants and forfeiture.
- **Villein:** In medieval England, it referred to a feudal tenant entirely subject to a lord or manor to whom he paid dues and services in return for land.
- **Demesne:** It refers to a piece of land attached to a manor and retained by the owner for their own use.
- **Metayage system:** It is the cultivation of land for a proprietor by one who receives a proportion of the produce, as a kind of sharecropping.
- **Capitalism:** It is an economic system whereby the 14th and 15th centuries witnessed the rise of substantial peasant farms as a result of the peasantry becoming free from serfdom and labour rents.
- **Renaissance:** It means rebirth or renewal; as a cultural movement, its origin goes back to 14th century, and by the 16th century it had spread through the whole of Europe.
- **Reformation:** It was a religious movement of the 16th century that began as an attempt to reform the Roman Catholic Church.
- **Migration:** It refers to the movement of large numbers of people one place to another.
- **Machine tool:** It is a tool for cutting or shaping metal, wood, driven by a machine.

1.7 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The Iconoclasts were those who wished to prohibit the worship of icons—that is, images of Christ and the saints.
2. The impact of the fall of Constantinople in 1453 made the Russians feel that they were chosen to carry on both the faith and the imperial mission of the fallen Byzantine Empire. Thus, their ruler took the title of Tsar—which simply means Caesar—and Russians asserted that Moscow was ‘the third Rome’.
3. (a) Church; (b) feudal
4. (a) Literature; (b) Renaissance
5. (a) True (b) False
6. (a) railroads and steamships; (b) Agricultural
7. (a) True; (b) True

1.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Enumerate the various effects of the fall of Constantinople.
2. What were the weaknesses which led to the downfall of the Byzantine Empire?

3. Define feudalism.
4. How do you view the Byzantine Empire as the seat of Christendom after the fall of Roman Empire?
5. How is the growth of capitalism linked to the decline of feudalism?
6. Write a short note on the origin of Renaissance in Italy.
7. What were the causes of the Reformation movement?
8. What are the effects of the Industrial Revolution?
9. How did science and technology progress during the Industrial Revolution?

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Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss in detail the clash between Islamic forces and Byzantine.
2. Describe feudalism as an important medieval administrative and economic unit.
3. What are the various theories of decline of feudalism? How would you describe the growth of trade and commerce as an important factor of decline?
4. What is the transition phase in the history of feudalism? Was the transformation from feudalism to capitalism direct? Explain its various aspects.
5. Describe the recent theories for the rise of capitalism.
6. Identify the factors that led to the beginning of Renaissance. What was the impact of Renaissance on art, literature and science?
7. What were the causes of the Reformation Movement? What was Counter Reformation?
8. How did the Industrial Revolution 'evolve'? What role did the steam engine and coal play in the rapid spread of the Industrial Revolution across the European continent?
9. Discuss the structure and organization of the industry during the Industrial Revolution.
10. Describe the nature of technical change that occurred during the Industrial Revolution.
11. Analyse the scientific and technological background of the Industrial Revolution. Also, describe the stages in the Industrial Revolution.

1.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 FRENCH REVOLUTION AND ITS AFTERMATH

NOTES

Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Unit Objectives
- 2.2 French Revolution: Causes and Significance
 - 2.2.1 The Causes of the French Revolution
 - 2.2.2 The Course of the French Revolution
 - 2.2.3 Aims of the New Constitution
 - 2.2.4 Significance of the Revolution
- 2.3 Napoleon as a Reformer
 - 2.3.1 Defence of National Convention, Early Victories, Reforms and Foreign Policy
 - 2.3.2 Napoleon as the First Consulate and Emperor
 - 2.3.3 War against Russia and Defeat of Napoleon
 - 2.3.4 Impact of Napoleon
- 2.4 Congress of Vienna
 - 2.4.1 Provisions—Work of the Congress
 - 2.4.2 The Holy Alliance
 - 2.4.3 Prince Metternich (1773-1859)
 - 2.4.4 Reaction in Europe after 1815
 - 2.4.5 Italy, a Geographical Expression
 - 2.4.6 Critical Estimate
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 Key Terms
- 2.7 Answers to ‘Check Your Progress’
- 2.8 Questions and Exercises
- 2.9 Further Reading

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The outcome of the American Revolution and the War of Independence had a critical influence on the subsequent major political events of the world. Its immediate impact was witnessed in the European countries, especially in France. In addition to the influence of the American Revolution, there were many other factors that led to the French Revolution. The French people began to yearn for a revolution to overturn their corrupt and despotic government, just as they perceived the American colonies had done. For years, the French government had promoted the cause of the American Revolution. Thus, it was but natural for the French government to say nothing against the American model. It could not so readily demonize the secular and humanist model of the United States as it had the Protestant model of bygone years. The French hero Lafayette had fought for it, and the French architect L'Enfant was busy designing its capital on property donated by America's most prominent Roman Catholic family. The United States embodied the Enlightenment ideals that so many in France yearned for.

On 12 July 1789, Camille Desmoulins, the French journalist, provoked the people of Paris to arm themselves in fear that King Louis XVI was about to attack the city. Two days later, on 14 July 1789, the people of Paris attacked the fortress of the Bastille, murdered its governor and defenders as well as the city's magistrates. This brutal event was the commencement of elementary political changes in France and Europe that are now summed up as the outcomes of the French Revolution.

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The Revolution had far-reaching impact on all the social classes of France. The French Revolution was followed by and influenced by the rise of Napoleon to power. The reign of Napoleon, popularly known as the Napoleonic era, holds great significance in the history of France and the rest of the world. This era symbolized the finest display of commitment and love for the motherland.

Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain, the four powers which were instrumental in overthrowing Napoleon in a series of wars (the Napoleonic Wars), convened the Congress of Vienna at Vienna from September 1814 to June 1815. The Vienna Congress was drafted to restore peace in Europe and realign the social and political order to prevent imperialism within Europe. But the Congress was shaped with conservative political and social views. What it achieved politically was to reinstate balance of power and legitimacy. Socially, the Congress stopped most revolts and uprisings. From 1815 to 1848, the Congress of Vienna was successful in ensuring peace and order in the region.

Metternich, the chief minister of autocratic Austria and the country's representative at the Congress, wanted to contain France. To ensure that France remains politically and militarily weak, the Congress of Vienna purposely surrounded the country by stronger nations. Metternich also wanted legitimate governments in these countries. Hence, the Bourbons of France, Spain, and Naples were restored, so were the ruling dynasties in Holland, Sardinia, Tuscany, and Modena. Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England formed a Concert of Europe that promised and gave each other support if revolutions broke out. The Quadruple Alliance of Russia, Austria, Prussia and England agreed to defend the status quo against any threat to the balance of power. Spain revolted in 1820 and the revolution was suppressed by the French troops. Also in 1820, Austrian troops were ordered to stop the revolution of Naples.

In this unit, you will read about the causes of the French Revolution and its course, aims of the new constitution and achievements and significance of the French Revolution. It will also describe Napoleon as a reformer and the events that took place in the Congress of Vienna.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the causes and course of the French Revolution
- Assess the achievements and significance of the French Revolution
- Discuss Napoleon's early life and career
- Describe the defence of national convention and his early victories
- Analyse Napoleon's rise to power, reforms and foreign policy
- Discuss the factors that set the background for the Vienna Congress
- Assess the role of Metternich since the fall of Napoleon
- Evaluate the political composition of Europe in the post-Napoleonic era

2.2 FRENCH REVOLUTION: CAUSES AND SIGNIFICANCE

This section will discuss the causes, course, aims and significance of the French Revolution.

2.2.1 The Causes of the French Revolution

In the summer of 1788, crops were destroyed after a bad harvest in many areas and this was followed by a remarkably harsh winter. The peasants revolted in a number of states in the autumn and winter of that year and it continued until 1789. The peasants, who were in despair due to hunger and poverty, plundered the granaries and distributed the corn among themselves; the grain dealers were driven to sell their grain at affordable prices or at 'fair prices'. There were agitations in many towns due to scarcity of bread. Though the authorities suppressed the revolt using force, it kept flaring up here and there. The people were troubled excessively by bad harvests and natural calamities and this did not happen for the first time. Earlier, the authorities had succeeded in curbing the widespread discontent but this was not possible in the years 1788–89.

These vital historical factors paved the way for the French Revolution that year. France was one of the richest and the most powerful nations of Europe, though it faced difficulties in its economy mostly relating to the equitability of taxation. The French people in general enjoyed more political freedom and a lower degree of autocratic punishment than any of their fellow Europeans. Yet Louis XVI (Figure 2.1), his ministers and the French nobles all over France became infamous. This was mainly because the peasants were crippled by the heavy taxes imposed on them and the middle classes were oppressed in order to find wealthy aristocrats and their way of life.



Fig. 2.1 Louis XVI, The King of France at the Time of French Revolution

The rigidity of the 'Ancien Regime' in France may have also been partly responsible for its decline. The merchants, tradesmen, wealthy farmers and wage earners whose numbers were growing and the intellectuals who were motivated by the ideas of Enlightenment philosophers posed a great challenge to the aristocrats. As the revolution progressed, power was transferred from the royalty and the well-born to the more-authorized political bodies like legislative assemblies. But the differences of opinion among the formerly-allied republican groups became the cause for a great deal of hostility and bloodshed. An increasing number of French citizens had absorbed the ideas of 'equality' and 'freedom of the individual', which were put forward by Voltaire, Dennis Diderot, Turgot and other philosophers and the social theorists of the Enlightenment. The American Revolution established the fact that it was possible to implement the Enlightenment ideas of how a government should be run. Many of the French began to show their antagonism towards the undemocratic outlook of their own government. They pressed for freedom, defied the Roman Catholic Church and condemned the privileges of the nobles.

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The year of 1787–89 was also marked by industrial and commercial exigencies. Many peasants were deprived of the opportunities of augmenting their income by working in manufacturing units during winter or by migrating to the towns to take up temporary construction work or other means of livelihood. Poppers and tramps milled around the towns and highways. Similar setbacks had occurred earlier in manufacturing units, constructional work and trade. A spirit of discord prevailed in every part of the land between the years 1788–89 and there was a persistent talk of the need for an imminent change of a great magnitude. Assuredly, one can say that neither the grave situation in industry and commerce, nor the bad harvest of 1788 were the contributory factors behind the revolutionary crisis, which developed in France during this period. They only helped to trigger off a crisis that had deep-seated roots.

The most significant fact which led to the nationwide conflict with the prevailing order was the fact that the present feudal authoritarian social patterns were no longer in tune with the country's economic, social and political stage of development. The so-called 'Third Estate' made up the 99 per cent of the French population while elite classes comprising the aristocrats and clergy formed the remaining. Nonetheless, the entire nation was controlled by these numerically negligible elite classes. These aristocrats who thrived on the sweat of peasants depended totally on the treasury. They played no part in the production and were the chief well-spring of support for the king. The 'Third Estate' did not represent a heterogeneous class. It comprised the peasants, who made up a major part of the population and the economically powerful middle class, who yearned for political power. The peasants were the hard-pressed slaves of a system, which exploited and persecuted them with endless demands that served to fill the pockets of the landowners, the clergy and the monarch. In conclusion, one may say that these towns were poor—the poverty-stricken workers and the artisans were stripped of any rights and were forced to lead a life of abjection. They did not share common goals and interests. However, they were united in their decision to reassemble the representatives of different classes who yearned for political rights and for a reformation in the prevailing system so that they could oppose the elite classes.

The middle classes, the peasants and the labour force were opposed to the reign of the autocratic kings and to the feudal social system. The prevailing social structure was uncongenial to the welfare of their class and the development of the country's economy. Whether the members of the 'Third Estate' knew it or not, the country was now ready for historical advancement. There was definitely going to be a sea change from feudalism to capitalism and at that period, it symbolized a more advanced and liberal form of society. Finally, when one analyses the situation, one finds that the dangerous class conflicts of that time were indeed ushering in a change. The authorities could not possibly put a stop or even control the growing trend of popular unrest because class conflicts were a deep and complicated part of the current social structure. Hence, the historical French Revolution became unavoidable.

The causes of the French Revolution can be listed as follows:

- **Economic factors:** In the 1780s, King Louis XVI of France faced a financial crisis. The poverty-stricken sections of the population were afflicted by hunger and malnutrition. France was already facing a spate of bad harvest and a rise in food prices. The inadequate system of transportation, which impeded the shipment of bulk foods from the rural areas to the large population centers, only worsened the situation. All these factors added greatly to the destabilization

of the French society during the years that led to the French Revolution. Many wars fought by the earlier rulers and the financial pressure caused by the participation of France in the American Revolutionary War resulted in the near bankruptcy for France. The national debt was equivalent to nearly two billion lives. The enormous war debt, which was a burden on the society, was made worse when France lost its colonies in North America. When Great Britain began to dominate the commercial scene, France was unable to cope with national debt due to its incompetent and outdated financial system.

- **Masses against the government monarchy:** Majority of the people felt that they were being distanced from the King and that he did not care about the difficulties faced by middle class. In theory, King Louis the XVI was an absolute monarch; however, in practice, he hesitated to take decisions and backed away whenever he was confronted. Though he did cut down on the expenditures of the government, his rivals in the parliament foiled his efforts to pass the much needed reforms. Those who resisted Louis's policies further threatened his royal authority by handing out pamphlets, which condemned the government and its officials and thus incited the public to rise up against the king.
- **Intellectual upliftment:** Many other factors involving resentments and aspirations were given focus by the rise of Enlightenment ideals. The people hated royal autocracy. The peasants, labourers and the bourgeoisie were bitter towards the traditional seigneurial rights, which were enjoyed by the nobles. They resented the Church's sway over public administration and institutions. They aspired for the freedom of religion. The poorer rural clergy hated the aristocratic bishops. The people aspired for social, political and economic equality and yearned for people's government. They hated Queen Marie-Antoinette (Figure 2.2), who was wrongly blamed of being a spendthrift and a spy for the Austrians. There was anger against the King for dismissing Jacques Neckar, among others, who were seen as representatives of the people.



Fig. 2.2 Marie-Antoinette, Queen of France, in Coronation Robes by Jean-Baptiste Gautier-Dagoty, 1775

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2.2.2 The Course of the French Revolution

There were several events during the course of the French Revolution. In fact, each of these events was strongly linked.

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1. States General of 1789

The common masses of the city and the countryside were making it evident that they could not and were not ready to live the life they had lived in the past. The leaders of the country, the King and the privileged lot also showed that they could not rule the country as they had done so far. The state treasury was in a mess. The Kings and the first Two Estates had been extravagant in their expenditure and the state treasury was facing a grave financial crunch. The empire now found itself without the means to meet its immediate needs. After a number of futile ventures to improve the affairs, the King was forced to convene the States General—the assembly of representatives of the Three Estates, which had not met in France for 175 years. The States General was divided into three estates namely—the clergy or the First Estate, the nobility or the Second Estate and the rest of France or the Third Estate. Against a setting of growing popular discontent in many parts of the country in the spring of 1789 and extensive social insurgence, the States General was opened on May 5 at Versailles. With the help of the States General, King Louis XVI and his retinue of nobles hoped to win back the confidence of the public, to suppress the rebellion and to get the necessary finance to fill the state treasury. In contrast, the Third Estate hoped for a number of things from the States General. It hoped for important political changes in the country through its assembly. From the beginning, there was a difference of opinion in the States General between the Third Estate and the gentry as to how to conduct the meeting and the method of voting.

The representatives of Third Estate called a National Assembly on 17 June and asked the representatives of the other ranks to join them in their undertaking. The National Assembly now became the chief representative and legislative organ of the French people, after the daring decision taken by them. Nevertheless, the King backed by his nobles declined to accept this step. On 20 June, orders were given for the entrance to the palace, where the assembly was going on to be locked. But the deputies to the National Assembly were not in favour of obeying the orders of the King. Finding an almost empty, vast room earlier used a tennis court and encouraged to carry on by the cheering crowds of common people, they reopened their assembly there. At that unforgettable meeting in the Tennis Court on 20 June, the deputies of the National Assembly affirmed that until a constitution had been drafted and endorsed, they would neither disperse, nor suspend their work on any account.

The last time the States General had met in 1614, each estate held one vote and any two could overrule the third. The parliament of France was afraid that the government would try to gerrymander (i.e., change the size and borders of an area for voting in order to give an unfair advantage to one party in an election) the assembly by manipulating the results. Therefore, they felt the need to arrange the estates as it had been in 1614. The practices of the local assemblies differed from the 1614 rules in which each member had one vote and the Third Estate membership was doubled. Elections were held in the spring of 1789. Only the French born or naturalized males of the Third Estate of at least 25 years of age, who lived where the voting was to take place and who paid taxes, were required to vote.

2. The National Assembly: 1789–1791

The following events were the highlights of the National Assembly held at that time:

- 20 June 1789: National Assembly members take Tennis Court Oath, pledging to create new constitution
- July 14: Mob of Parisian citizens storms Bastille prison and confiscates weapons
- July 20: Rural violence of great fear breaks out; peasants lash out at feudal landlords for several weeks
- August 4: August decrees release peasants and farmers from feudal contracts
- August 26: Declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen issued
- October 5: Parisian women march to Versailles in response to food crisis
- February 1790: Government confiscates church property
- July 12: Civil Constitution of the clergy issued

3. Tennis Court Oath

Three days after the delegates from the Third Estate (now the National Assembly) broke away from the States General, they found themselves locked out of the usual meeting hall and assembled on a nearby tennis court instead. Except for one, every one of the members took the Tennis Court Oath (Figure 2.3), which stated in plain words that they would never be destroyed until they had succeeded in creating a new national constitution. As soon as King Louis XVI heard about the formation of the National Assembly, he held a gathering and tried to threaten to the Third Estate to surrender. The assembly that had grown too strong forced the King to accept it. The Parisians received word of the rebellion and revolutionary energy flowed through the city. Influenced by the National Assembly, the commoners rebelled against the rising prices. Fearing violence, the King got the troops to surround his Versailles palace.

The National Assembly was forced to relocate to a tennis court on 20 June, since Louis XVI and the Second Estate stopped the delegates from meeting and also because of some misunderstanding about one another's intentions. There they took the Tennis Court Oath affirming that it would not stop its proceedings until a new constitution had been drafted for France. Louis began to recognize their validity on 27 June when he did not succeed in dispersing the delegates. The assembly renamed itself the National Constituent Assembly on 9 July and began to work as a governing body and a constitution drafter. Even after this day, it is commonly referred to as the National Assembly or alternatively 'Constituent the States General' of 1789. It convened on 5 May 1789 but it reached a deadlock in his deliberations on 6 May 1789. Therefore, the representatives of the Third Estate trying to make the whole body effective met separately from 11th May as the *Communs*. On 12 June, the Communs invited their other estates to join them. Some members of the first estate did join them the next day. On 17 June, the Communs declared themselves the National Assembly by a vote of 490 to 90. The parish priest, who belonged to the First Estate and was almost as wealthy as the Third Estate as compared to bishops who were closer in wealth to the second estate, joined the Assembly on 19 June.

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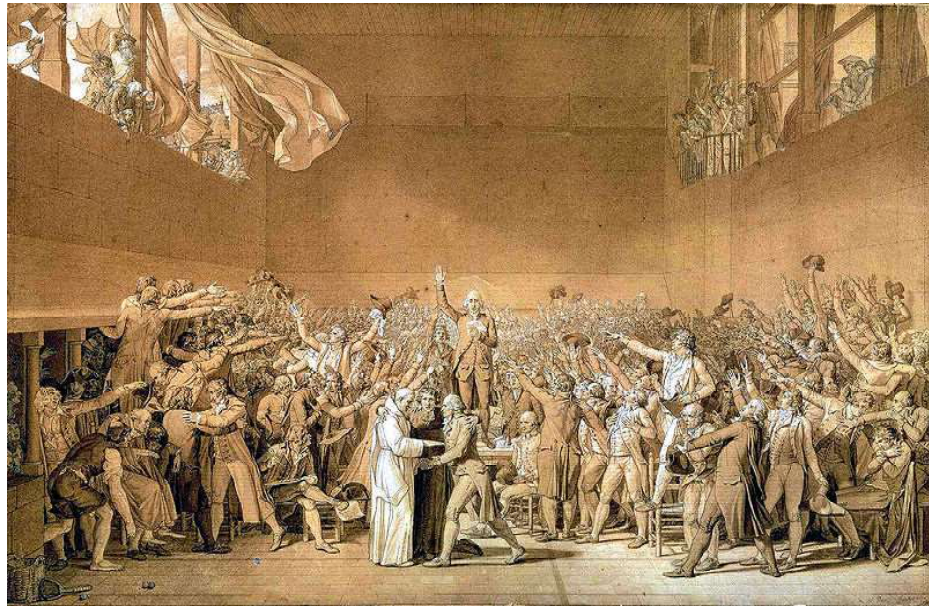


Fig. 2.3 Tennis Court Oath

4. The Storming of the Bastille

On 9 July, the National Assembly proclaimed itself a constituent assembly thus emphasizing its duty to usher in a new social order and draw up its constitutional foundation. The King had no desire to accept the decisions of the National Assembly. But he was forced to conform it despite serious misgivings. Troops who were loyal to the King began to assemble in Versailles and Paris, while the people and the deputies followed with fear. The actions of the King and his supporters were construed as a threat to the National Assembly. On 12 July, it was announced that the King had sacked Necker, who was esteemed to be the sole defender of change in the government. The people came to know that troops were being assembled in Paris. The counter-revolutionary forces were strong enough to show them the government's determination to begin an attack. The streets and squares of the city were filled with people who were in a rage. Clashes with the King's troops broke out in a number of places and the shots that were heard only added fuel to fire. The people of Paris instinctively rose to fight. The alarm was sounded early on the morning of 13 July and poor people of Paris armed with all kinds of weapons came out into the streets. The troops were forced to desert one district after another as the revolutionaries progressed and, the rebels grew from hour to hour. The people captured arms shops and armories and seized tens of thousands of guns. By the morning of 15 July most of the capital had already been captured by the rebels. But the eight towers of the guarded Bastille prison still appeared undisturbed. Seized with revolutionary fervour, the people got ready to attack this terrible fortress. Capturing the Bastille with its moats, drawbridges, large prison and cannon seemed a difficult task. But this was nothing for the revolutionaries. The artillery men opened fire and broke the chains of one of the drawbridges. The people marching forward courageously stormed their way in (Figure 2.4). The commander of the prison was killed, his men gave up and The Bastille fell.

The fall of The Bastille on 14 July was a great victory for the revolutionaries. That fateful day marked the beginning of the French Republic. From that day onwards, the strong-minded revolutionaries, the people, warred against their former masters. In the following months, it was their performance that made victory possible.



Fig. 2.4 *Storming of Bastille*

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Unable to face the rage of the people, the King was forced to step down. On July 17, he came to Paris with the members of the Constituent Assembly to officially recognize the victory of the revolutionaries. Events in Paris were followed by revolutionary outbreaks throughout France. All over the country, government officials were stripped of their former official post and new city councils were elected. The revolutionary army came to be known as the National Guard. The peasants who heard of the storming of the Bastille took up arms, broke into the residences of their hated masters and destroyed them. In some places, they took over the fields and wood of their masters and divided it among themselves. They refused to pay taxes and to carry out their day to day tax. The peasants who had been abused and persecuted by their masters now rose against them. Peasant agitation and violence spread all over France.

Louis XVI once again sacked Jacques Necker, the Director General of Finance. He was blamed for the failure of the States General. Necker was a well-known figure and when people heard of his dismissal, enmities flared up again. Due to the rising tension, there was a rush for weapons and on 13 July 1789, the rebels raided the Paris town hall in search of weapons. There, they found few weapons but plenty of gun powder. The next day realizing that the Bastille accommodated a large armory, the citizens on the side of the National Assembly attacked the Bastille. Though the weapons were useful, the storming of the Bastille was more symbolic than it was necessary for the revolutionary cause. The revolutionaries faced little but instant threat. But they were such a huge threatening number that they were capable of passive force. The revolutionaries, by storming the Bastille gained a symbolic victory over the Ancien Dynasty and conveyed the message that they were not to be taken lightly.

5. Structure in the Summer of 1789

The National Constituent Assembly became the most able government of France after the Bastille was attacked on July 14. Francois Mignet, the historian, said that the entire power was in the hands of the National Constituent Assembly to the extent that it was relied upon corporations and it was obeyed by the National Guards. The people were no longer willing to obey the King and so royal power had to a certain extent ceased and the Assembly had to work on its own.

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During the election period, the number of deputies of the Estates-General increased. By mid-July 1789, the Assembly had a total number of 1177 deputies comprising of nobles, the clergy and the representatives of the Third Estate. According to an American historian Timothy Tackett's *Becoming a Revolutionary*, there were a total of 1177 deputies in the Assembly by mid-July 1789. Among them, there were 278 nobles, 295 Clergy and 604 represented the Third Estate. For the entire duration of the Assembly, a total of 1315 deputies were certified, with 330 for the Clergy, 322 nobles and 663 deputies of the Third Estate. In his research, it was found that Second Estate comprised chiefly of men from the military while the Third Estate was led by the people from the legal profession.

The most prominent figures of the Assembly known as the 'Right' were: Jacques Antoine Marie de Cazales who represented the aristocracy and the abbey Jean-Sifrein Maury who was a representative of the church. Pierre Victor, Baron Malouet, Trophime-Gerard, Marquis de Lally-Tollendal, Stanislas Marie Adelaide, Comte de Claire Mont-Tonniere and Jean Joseph Mounier—the royal democrats along with Jacques Necker, aimed at shaping the government of France on the model of the British constitution with a house of lords and a house of commons.

The National party was sympathetic to the extensive needs of the common people though it supported the interests of the middle classes and was all for the revolution and a democracy. Leaders like Mirabeau, the Marquis de Lafayette, Jean-Sylvain Bailly played a very important role in the revolution. There were also extremists like Adrian Duport, Antoine Pierre Joseph Marie Barnave and Alexander Lameth who were more progressive in their ideals than that which the revolution had reached; Lameth's brother Charles was one of them. One cannot forget the contribution made by abbey Emmanuel Joseph Sieyes, for he was the first person to suggest a constitution.

6. Declaration of the Rights of Man

The revolution initially gained significant victories because both the people and the bourgeoisie were united in their goals. The bourgeois were young and advanced and determined to fight against feudal autocracy. It did not fear the people and surged ahead shoulder to shoulder. 'The declaration of the rights of man' adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 26 August 1789 was a clear proof of the people's thirst for a new form of government. The declaration consisted of 17 articles. The first articles declared that men are born free and will remain thus all through their lives. This proclamation of freedom and equal rights was indeed revolutionary since most countries of the world followed autocracy.

The right to property was also proclaimed as a divine and basic right. The declaration of rights (Figure 2.5) also showed that the property of the bourgeois and the peasants were to be protected from violations by the land owners. It also affirmed that it would be preserved for all times.



Fig. 2.5 *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of 26 August 1789*

This declaration was a limitation for the bourgeois since it proclaimed that this freedom was based on inequality of property. Nevertheless, it seemed to forecast the end of dictatorship.

7. The Wealthy Bourgeoisie Coming to Power

However, the power soon came to be in the hands of the big bourgeoisie only and, neither the Third Estate, nor even the whole of the bourgeoisie were able to enjoy the fruits of victory. Count Honore de Mirabeau was one of the most authoritative leaders in the Constituent Assembly. Marquis de Lafayette took the command of the National Guards and became the prominent leader in the Constituent Assembly. The representative of the big bourgeoisie in the Constituent Assembly introduced laws that insisted on a system of electoral qualifications and these only served to divide the country into ‘active’ and ‘passive’ citizens. The active citizens, only males who possessed property and who could pay taxes on a different scale could vote and be elected. Hence, out of 26 million people, only about 43,00,000 were eligible for political rights.

The big bourgeoisie thus distanced itself from the Third Estate and was soon to legalize its power. But the Constituent Assembly brought in a number of laws of revolutionary significance. The administrative structure of France was revamped, class divisions were removed and aristocratic titles were abolished. In a decree of 2 November 1789, all church property and lands were declared ‘National property’ and were put up for sale. Registration of births, deaths etc., were given to the state. Various other laws were introduced and it removed all the constraints, which had been restricting commercial and industrial initiatives.

These laws were introduced to serve the interests of the common man and the Bourgeoisie who had been the motivating force behind them. But for the Bourgeoisie, it meant that there were still tasks to be carried out by Bourgeois revolution. The big Bourgeoisie however after they came to power to promote their own selfish interests soon began to oppose any progress in the revolution. The commoners and the bourgeoisie, who were in the favour of democracy, began to wonder about the progress of the revolution. The peasants wanted to put an end to all feudal practices and labour services and they insisted that land be given to them. In 1789, between August 4 and 11, serfdom

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was abolished by the Constituent Assembly but this was only on paper because it related only to a few aspects of the peasants' personal liberty. The agrarian system also remained unsolved. In 1790, the peasants openly rebelled refusing to pay their former claims and taxes to their masters. The urban poor became poorer and commerce came to a standstill because orders for luxury goods had stopped with the emigration of the nobles. To add to this misery, Paris and other towns experienced food shortages.

The poor people of France went to Versailles on October 5 and 6, 1789 to protest against the shortage of bread and high prices. They forcibly entered the apartment of Queen Marie Antoinette. The King and the Constituent Assembly shifted from Versailles to Paris since the people demanded it.

The Constituent Assembly on 21 October 1789 passed a law to use armed force to put down the demonstrations. Workers Unions and strikes were prohibited by the passing of Le Chapelier's law on 14 June 1789. But the rising discontent could not be quelled by the big bourgeoisie.



Fig. 2.6 Maximilien Robespierre



Fig. 2.7 Jean-Paul Marat

Revolutionaries like Maximilien Robespierre (Figure 2.6) and Jean-Paul Marat (Figure 2.7) revealed to the people the true nature of the big bourgeoisie who were anti-democratic in their policies. The counter revolutionary group was not willing to accept defeat. Marie Antoinette encouraged European Monarchs to launch a military attack on France.

8. The Varennes Crisis

The King and Queen who disguised themselves and tried to flee abroad in June 1791 were caught in the small town of Varennes and were brought back to Paris. The French people, who were all for the revolution and yet trusted their King, could not accept this deceit of his and so more people began to opt for a republican form of government.

However, the Constituent Assembly continuing to support the king gave out a false report saying he was kidnapped and Louis was given back his earlier powers. The democratic circles in Paris were furious. A serious agitation for a republic began in a number of political clubs. On 17 July, a huge peaceful demonstration against the monarchy took place on Champ-de-Mars. The assembly ordered squads of the national guards under the command of La Fayette to be sent to disperse the crowd. They opened fire and a large number of people were wounded and killed. This carnage signalled an open split in the ranks of the Third Estate. The big bourgeoisie began to defend itself by using arms against the people. Conservative elements in the assembly were now busy in counter-revolutionary action. On the eve of the massacre on Champ-de-Mars, there was a split among the Jacobins. The right wing gathered around La Fayette. The other leaders of the big bourgeoisie walked out of the club and set up a new club—the Feuillants.

The most influential club Jacobins split on the eve of the massacre and the right wing was headed by La Fayette. A new club—the Feuillants—was set up by the other leaders of the big bourgeoisie. Robespierre and Brissot took over the leadership of Jacobins intending to put an end to the revolution. A constitution drafted by the assembly, which made provisions for constitutional monarchy and instituted anti-democratic electoral qualifications, was signed by the King on 13 September. The Constituent Assembly was dissolved on 30 September.

9. The Overthrow of the Monarchy

A new legislative assembly elected only by ‘active citizens’ came to power on 1 October 1791 and power was in the hands of only the Feuillants. A war against Austria was declared on 20 April 1792 by France. The war seemed to be an answer to Louis XVI and his courtiers who hoped that foreign invasion would help save the ‘shaky monarchy’. The war had also been planned by the European monarchs in order to suppress the revolution in France. Robespierre and Marat who were not in favour of the war pointed out that it was imperative to quell the revolution at home before dealing with it elsewhere. Brissot and his supporter known as the Girondins favoured the war and a clash erupted between the supporters of Robespierre and the Girondins. The Girondins were asked to take over power in March 1792 by the King. The Girondins made use of the power to hasten the war for quick easy victories. But the French were defeated and Feuillants came to power. Victories by the revolutionary army were totally opposed by La Fayette and his generals. The armies of Austria and Prussia were able to defeat the French army as they were secretly helped by Queen Marie-Antoinette who informed them of the plans of the French army. At this critical hour, people rose to their defence of the homeland. Robespierre, Marat and Danton said that it was important to conduct it in a

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revolutionary manner. The Jacobins, the main support of the revolution, pointed out that there was no possibility of any progress if treachery at home was not dealt with. A state of emergency was declared on 11 June by a law passed by the legislative assembly. The people wholeheartedly enlisted this decree since they were eager to bar the way to the interventionist. The battle hymn, the Marseillaise, was sung and also became popular during this period. It was during this revolution that people learnt that the legislative assembly and the government were incapable of dealing with treachery. Plots and criminal conspiracies were conspired in the courts and they became treacherous only because the people rose against them. People of Paris and the Provinces demanded the overthrow of Louis XVI from July onwards. The sound of bells together with the canon shots was once again heard on the night of 9 August. The army marched into Tuileries. Though the Swiss guards opened fire, the people forcibly made their way into the palace. The imprisonment of King Louis the XVI and the dismissal of his ministers on 10 August 1792 heralded the collapse of the French monarchy and the provincial executive council. Consequently, a new government comprising mainly of Girondins was established. New elections for the next national convention were announced.

10. The Struggle between the Jacobins and Girondins

The 10 August 1792 uprising brought in new developments. Power was transferred to the Girondins from the Feuillants both in the legislative assembly and the government. The commercial, industrial and landowning bourgeoisie from the provinces were represented by the Girondins and their leaders Brissot, Roland, Vergniaud and others. Though this group was against feudal aristocracy, once they came to power they believed that the main ideal of the revolution had been achieved and soon began to represent the conservative force. In the meantime, the Jacobins who comprised of that section of the people, whose demands had not been satisfied, were still not united in their ideals. While the various classes and class groups of this block did not have the same aims, they resolved to defend the revolution and further its progress until all the demands had been fully satisfied. Content with the results that had been achieved the Girondins sought to check the revolutionary tide.

Amidst celebration of the victory over the Prussians and their withdrawal the day before the battle at Valmy, the opening session of the convention was held on 2 September 1792. The King was tried before the convention. The trial which should have lasted until January 1793 became an arena for struggle between the Girondins and the Jacobins. Louis XVI was sent to the guillotine on 21 January 1793 despite the saving efforts of the Girondins. The counter-revolutionary coalition was joined by England, Spain, Holland and a number of German and Italian states and Russia. France found that all of Europe was against it. Emboldened by the victory at Valmy, the French advanced into Belgium after driving out the interventionist. But the French began to retreat after General Dumouriez joined the enemy camp by plotting with the Girondins and betraying France. France was once again invaded by the interventionist.

11. The Uprising of 31 May–2 June, 1793

An acute food shortage was faced by France due to the long war. The war had led to material damage and loss of life. France was cut off from other countries and the economy of the country was in a mess. To counteract hunger and poverty, the government had to curtail prices and had a firm hold on speculation. Agitators such as Jacques Roux, Varlet voiced the interests of the urban poor. In the villages, the peasantry still bound by feudal duties and taxes began to protest against these grievances.

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The Girondins turned a 'deaf ear' and a 'blind eye' to the people's plight. They concentrated all their energies on their struggle with the Jacobins. They were neither interested in the suffering of the people, nor in the situation at the war front. An armed rebellion against the Girondins was organized by the Jacobins and the agitators. The Jacobins were in power once again after the mob in Paris drove out 29 Girondin deputies out of the convention.

2.2.3 Aims of the New Constitution

The course of the French Revolution was based on the main aims of establishing a government which is a 'welfare state'. The same was the aim of the constitution, which was worked out by the Constituent Assembly.

National Convention (1792–1795)

To provide a new constitution to the country, the deputies elected the Convention Nationale (National Convention) on 10 August 1791 after monarchy was abolished. After verifying powers the 371 deputies who met at the Tuileries Palace, Paris, on 20 September 1792, called themselves the National Convention. The abolition of kingship in France was announced by the Convention. After the establishment of the republic was announced, it was said that from then on all public acts would bear the date of the first year of the French Republic.

The battle between the Montagnards and the Girondins, the two opposing revolutionary groups, dominated the first phase of the Convention. The Montagnards wanted to give the lower classes more political power. The Girondins who wanted a republican government by the bourgeoisie also wanted to reduce the powers of Paris over the revolution. They also rejected the anti-revolutionary European coalition. The revolutionaries expelled the Girondins from the convention. The second phase of the convention (June 1793–July 1794) was controlled by the Montagnards. The war and the revolts in the country resulted in a revolutionary government with autocratic powers. As a result, the constitution approved by the convention on 24 January 1793 was neither put into action, nor could it pass any act. It could only approve the suggestions made by the committee. Counter acting the committee's progressive procedures many members of the Convention participated in ousting Robespierre—prominent member of the committee. The moderate deputies of La Plaine now held the balance of power. The Montagnards having been expelled the Girondins were recalled to the assembly. The replacement of the constitution in place of the bourgeoisie-dominated directory 1795–99 was accepted by the convention in August 1795. The last meeting of the convention was held on 26 October 1795. Philippe-Jacques Ruhl, the eldest deputy, presided over the first meeting of the convention in 20 September 1792. But a majority of deputies elected Jerome Petion de Villeneuve first president after the convention was constituted. According to the regulations of the Committee, the president's term of office was 15 days. Though he could not hold office for two consecutive terms, he was eligible to be re-elected after an interval of 15 days.

The elections were normally conducted in the session held in the evening and the president was expected to chair the next meeting though at times he was expected to officiate immediately. The president was just a figurehead for there was more emphasis on his post than his authority. Thus, he was reduced to being just a presiding officer at the meetings of the convention for a short term. The tentative suspension of the King was announced by the legislative assembly when the Parisians attacked Tuileries demanding the abolition of monarchy. It also decreed that the national convention be

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convened to draw up a constitution. Twenty-five year old landed French men who had been living in France for a year were to be elected as deputies to the convention. The National Convention was the first French assembly to have had elections by universal voting with no class distinction. The convention lowered the age limit of voting to 21 and the fixed the eligibility of standing for elections at 25 years. A decision was also taken to date all documents from the year of the French Republic. But the convention was fated to last for 3 years and a new constitution was to be set up only when peace reigned. The convention took over the executive power though it was only a law making body. This confusion of powers helped in empowering the revolutionary government, which was very active during the 'Reign of Terror'.

The sessions of the convention were held in the Hall of the Tuileries, in the hall Manège and finally in the huge Hall of Spectacles. There were 749 deputies in the convention, but only a section arrived in France. Many could not attend the sessions due to a number of reasons and this made it difficult to find out the number of deputies present at a given date. On an average, only 250 voted during the Reign of Terror. The members of the Convention were drawn from all classes of society, but the most number of members were from the legal profession. Seventy-five members had sat in the Constituent Assembly and 183 sat in the Legislative Assembly.

According to the rules laid down by the convention, its president was elected every fortnight and re-election was allowed after a fortnight. The sessions of the convention were normally held in the morning. But sessions were frequent even in the evening and it extended late into the night. In some exceptional circumstances, it was a permanent session and they sat for several days without interruption. For the purposes of both legislation and administration, the convention used committees. Powers were widely extended and regulated by a series of laws. These committees-public safety, general security and education were the most famous. The work of the convention was extensive in all branches of public affairs. France was saved from a Civil War and invasion from foreign powers by the assembly. The system of public education (Museum, Ecole Polytechnique, Ecole Normale Supérieure, Ecole des Langues orientales, Conservatoire) and institutions of great importance (Grand Livre de la dette publique) was established by the assembly. In addition to these, some major changes were carried out in the land sale-purchase rules.

Working Towards a Constitution

Abolition of Feudalism to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy: Feudalism was eradicated by the National Constituent Assembly on 4 August 1789. A declaration of the rights of the man and of the citizen was published by the assembly on 24 August. But the declaration contained only a statement of principles. It did not read like a constitution with legal effect. Besides functioning as a legislature, the Assembly acted as a body to write out a new constitution and it was primarily summoned to find a solution to deal with financial crisis, but it started attending to other matters and ended up in increasing the fiscal deficit.

The Revolution and the Church

The aftermath of revolution saw power changing hands in a colossal way. Under the Ancien Régime, Roman Catholic Church enjoyed a lot of power. It owned 10 per cent of the land belonging to the Kingdom, and it was not levied any tax by the government. Huguenots, the Protestants minorities, did not approve of the Roman Catholics having so much power and wealth. As the Catholic Church did not favour them, they wanted a

Non-Catholic regime. Great Enlightenment thinkers, notably Voltaire, made this resentment grow in strength by defaming the Church and making the French Monarchy shaky. Due to this, the church lost much of its power during the opening of Estates General in May 1789. The church, composing the First Estate with 1,30,000 of clergy members, voted to join the National Assembly created by the Third Estate in June 1789. Thus, it destroyed the Estate General as a governing body. Social and economic reforms were started by the National Assembly and on 4 August 1789. It brought out a legislature that abolished the Church's authority to impose tithe. On 7 August 1789, in an attempt to overcome the financial crisis, the Assembly announced that the property of the church was at the disposal of the nation. The new currency the Assignats was duly backed up by the property and the nation took the overall responsibility of the Church, like paying the clergy members and caring for the poor, the sick and the orphans. In two years, the Assembly brought down the value of the Assignats by 25 per cent by selling the lands to the highest bidders.

Constitutional Crisis

The Tuileries palace was attacked by the revolutionaries, who were aided and abetted by a new insurrectionary commune. The Swiss guards who were on duty to protect the King were murdered enmasse. The royal family was taken prisoners and a session was convened by some unimportant members of the National Assembly and the monarchy was suspended. The deputies, mostly Jacobins, were only present. Now, the National government, or whatever that was left of it, depended on the Revolutionary commune. The commune took law and order in their hands and sent gangs of ruffians to the prisons to conduct token trials and butcher the prisoners. They also sent a circular letter to the cities to follow their example. The Assembly was almost powerless to stop this anarchy and the reign of terror prevailed until mid-September 1792. The Convention met on September 20 with a new constitution and became the actual government of France. On September 21, France was declared a Republic with the abolition of monarchy. So, September 21 has been adopted as the Republic Day of France.

2.2.4 Significance of the Revolution

The influence of the French Revolution was felt all through the Western world. Almost 20,00,000 army men were killed in the wars of the French Revolution.

The most significant impact of the Revolution was that the nobility was replaced by the bourgeoisie as the dominant political class. This assertion is challenged in the present-day analysis, but it is clear the men of property in spite of social background benefited from the Revolution. Women, not considering their rank, did not profit much from the Revolution and continued to be restricted to the private sphere.

In economic terms, the peasants profited from the end of the last remains of feudalism. But the confusion of the Revolution impeded the industrialization of France.

The major inheritance of the Revolution was in the sphere of politics. The Revolution encouraged the doctrine that the people were the chief source of political power in the state and resulted in the active involvement of the citizens in politics. The Revolution brought about a massive growth of the power of government and gave it superior control over everyday life of its citizens. The Revolution also led to the rise of two major political ideologies—liberalism and nationalism.

The most tangible results of the French Revolution were almost certainly achieved in 1789–91, when land was set free from traditional burdens and the old communal

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Check Your Progress

1. What did the peasants who were in despair do which was one of the causes of the French Revolution?
2. Name the theorists who put forward the ideas of 'equality' and 'freedom of the individual' among the French citizens.
3. Name the revolution and the political leader who were influenced by the ideas of the French Revolution.

society was wrapped up. This 'abolition of feudalism' encouraged individualism and egalitarianism but almost certainly retarded the growth of a capitalist economy. Although only wealthy peasants were able to pay for the land confiscated from the Church and the expatriate nobility, France emerged increasingly as a land of peasant proprietors. The bourgeoisie that acquired social preponderance during the Directory and the Consulate was chiefly comprised officials and landed proprietors, and though the war enabled some entrepreneurs and contractors to make fortunes, it hindered economic development. The great reforms of 1789–91 however established a durable administrative and legal system, and much of the revolutionaries' work in humanizing the law itself was afterward incorporated in the Napoleonic Code.

Politically, the Revolution was more important than successful. Since 1789, the French government has been either parliamentary, or constitutional, or based on the plebiscitary system that Napoleon inherited and developed. However, between 1789 and 1799, democracy failed. Recurrent elections bred apathy, and filling offices by recommendation became everyday event, even before Napoleon made it organized. The Jacobins' fraternal and Jacobin controlled community ended in 1794, the direct democracy of the sans-culottes was squashed in 1795, and the republic expired in 1804; however, as principles they carried on to motivate French politics and keep right and left, church and state, far at a distance.

The Revolution nonetheless freed the state from its medieval past, releasing such unparalleled power that the revolutionaries could defy the rest of Europe. Furthermore, that power acknowledged no self-control: in 1793 unity was imposed on the nation by the Terror. Europe and the world have ever since been learning what violations of liberty can issue from the ideas of national autonomy and the will of the people.

Historians extensively regard the Revolution as one of the most significant events in human history, and the end of the early modern period, which started around 1500, is usually attributed to the onset of the French Revolution in 1789. The Revolution is, actually, repeatedly seen as marking the 'dawn of the modern era'. In France itself, the Revolution enduringly crippled the power of the aristocracy and depleted the wealth of the Church, though the two institutions survived in spite of the damage they sustained. After the disintegration of the First Empire in 1815, the French public lost the rights and freedoms earned since the Revolution, but they kept in mind the concept of the participatory politics, which characterized the period, with one historian commenting: 'Thousands of men and even many women gained first-hand experience in the political arena: they talked, read and listened in new ways; they voted; they joined new organizations; and they marched for their political goals. Revolution became a tradition, and republicanism an enduring option.'

Some historians debate that the French people underwent a deep-seated transformation in self-identity, evidenced by the abolition of privileges and their substitution by rights as well as the growing decline in social esteem that highlighted the law of equality throughout the Revolution. Outside France, the Revolution captured the imagination of the world. It had an insightful impact on the Russian Revolution and its ideas were imbibed by Mao Zedong in his efforts at constructing a communist state in China.

2.3 NAPOLEON AS A REFORMER

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Era were the periods of rapid political and social changes. France stood in the centre of the course of events in Europe. The

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French Revolution and the subsequent era of Napoleonic Wars brought about profound changes that shaped new Europe. The French Revolution abolished privileges of the noble class and separated the Church from the state. In 1793, the French Republic was established. These changes necessarily provoked reaction from old European monarchies. European monarchs were particularly afraid that revolutionary ideas would be ‘exported’ from France. In spite of political and military interventions, the ideas of the Revolution were spread across Europe. These ideas attracted numerous supporters among intellectuals and artists. Same kind of reactions also provoked the person like Napoleon Bonaparte. In 1799, he became the First Consul in France and announced the end of the Revolution and chaos. Although he was a ‘child of the Revolution’, he made certain changes that surprised many of his supporters. In 1801, he negotiated the Concordat with the Catholic Church; in 1804, he made himself the Emperor of France. This event shocked many of his contemporaries as he seemingly denied the ideas of the Revolution.

The regime in France was not democratic at all; it was not democratic even during the revolutionary years. It was so because Napoleon acted as an autocrat. He was strictly against any possible opposition. He swept away the Holy Roman Empire and created numerous satellite states. Numerous contemporaries admired Napoleon not only for his military achievements, but also for the fact that ‘Bonaparte was founding new Italian republics in which the ideals of the Revolution would be put into practise’. Although he seemingly ‘exported’ the Revolution, his rule was strongly centralized. He would never permit any resistance. To add to this, the annexed states served him mostly as sources of supplies of any kind for his military campaigns. Due to these wars, France had to face several anti-Napoleonic coalitions and Bonaparte emerged as the main threat for European monarchies.

Early Life and Career

Napoleon Bonaparte (15 August 1769 – 5 May 1821) was a French military and political leader during the latter stages of the French Revolution. As Napoleon I, he was Emperor of the French from 1804 to 1815. Napoleon (Figure 2.8), at the age of 25, had been expelled from the army. He was disgraced, hopeless and suicidal. Within one year, he became the youngest general in France, and started winning battles with ragged troops who were at the verge of malnourishment. Madame Germaine de Stael, a writer and intellectual, says: ‘He was like an expert chess player, with the human race for an opponent, which he proposed to checkmate.’



Fig. 2.8 Napoleon Bonaparte

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Napoleon belonged to the Jacobin club. His father was a poor noble. Napoleon joined the Jacobins for the reason that, as he wrote in a letter to his brother, 'Since one must choose sides, one might as well choose the side that is victorious, the side which devastates, loots and burns. Considering the alternative, it is better to eat than be eaten.'

Napoleon Bonaparte emerged as France's leading military leader. He defeated the British when they entered France in 1793. In 1796, Napoleon beat the Austrians. The Austrian Hapsburgs wanted to re-establish the rule of the monarchs. Napoleon was defeated in Egypt; however, he did not let the news of the worst losses reach France. He sent people to study Egypt's history, and they found out the Rosetta Stone. Napoleon wished to set up a base there so that France could assault England in both Africa and India.

After a victory at Austerlitz, he declared that he would adopt the children of all the soldiers. It was due to this announcement that Napoleon gained the love of the French people. He then asked the state to shell out money for the children's support and education, organize marriages for the girls and get jobs for the boys; he allowed them all to add Napoleon to their names.

In November 1799, in a coup d'etat, Napoleon overthrew the Directory. Although France was to remain a Republic, he appointed himself the First Consul for Life by proclaiming, 'I am no ordinary man'. In 1804, people decided and voted for him to become the Emperor. Napoleon requested the Pope to preside over his coronation. He took the crown from the Pope's hands and placed it on his own head to show that he owed his throne to nobody (Figure 2.9).



Fig. 2.9 *Coronation of Napoleon*

Napoleon was a great Leader. He stabilized the national budget and set up the Bank of France. He controlled prices, began public works to put people to work and supported new industry. The slogans of the new regime order, security and efficiency replaced liberty, equality and fraternity.

Napoleon and the Revolution

Napoleon used the radical vocabulary of the revolution. He presented himself as an ally of the common man and encouraged the motto 'equality of opportunity'. However, as a ruler, he was authoritarian. He held cautiously orchestrated elections to legitimize his

political initiatives. He retained representative institutions but rendered them useless. He can best be viewed as an heir to or child of the Revolution in the context that he continued to centralize the French state and carried out the expansion of France and the spread of the Revolution to other European countries.

Napoleon and the French State

After acquiring power, Napoleon set out to consolidate the French state by establishing a well-organized and centralized bureaucracy and a uniform legal system. He also worked hard to settle the conflict between the Church and state that had emerged during the French Revolution.

To decide the dispute between the Church and state, Napoleon signed the Concordat of 1801 with Pope Pius VII (1800–1823). The Pope abandoned all claims to the property confiscated by the Revolution, agreed that the clergy would take an oath of loyalty to the state and agreed not to employ bishops without previous approval of the French government. Against this, Napoleon recognized Catholic Christianity as the religion of the maximum number of Frenchmen and decided to pay the salaries of the clergy. When the French fundamentalists called ideologues objected even to the few concessions Napoleon had made to the Pope, he declared that the clergy read government verdicts from the pulpit and made the church a department of state.

Legal system

Napoleon promulgated a series of new legal codes to standardize the legal system. The most significant was the Civil Code or Code Napoleon published in 1806. With this, he guaranteed the following:

- Rights to private property
- Equality before the law
- Freedom of religion

Napoleon gave every man the control of family by denying women the right to inherit, buy or sell property. He also centralized the bureaucracy. All power rested in the hands of the officials in Paris where the ministers of the government supervised a vast bureaucracy. In the departments, a *prefect* appointed by the central government enforced orders from Paris, conscripted soldiers, accumulated taxes and looked over the public works.

Napoleon established a new order of non-hereditary nobles to reward good service. These officials were called *notables* and gained their status because of their talent.

2.3.1 Defence of National Convention, Early Victories, Reforms and Foreign Policy

In 1795, Napoleon got an opportunity to display his qualities as a brave military leader. It was the occasion when he successfully defended the National Convention against an attack by the mob by employing and using his artillery. He succeeded in saving the Convention from collapse and completely obliterated its enemies. In admiration of Napoleon's role, the Directory decided to give him the authority of French Army.

In 1796–97, Napoleon won victories against Austria and Sardinia and further enhanced his military fame. Thereafter, he decided to proceed against Egypt and Syria with a view to strike at the heart of the British Empire.

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The idea received full support from the Directors, who considered Napoleon's presence in Paris as highly dangerous and saw it to their advantage to send him to Egypt on a military adventure. However, Napoleon's ambitions received a shattering blow when his forces suffered a defeat at the hands of Lord Nelson in the Battle of Nile. Therefore, Napoleon was forced to make his way back to France.

Napoleon's Problems

Napoleon faced the following problems when he reached at the peak of his might:

- Britain was very powerful as it had gathered the support of allies to beat France. Eventually, their collective forces beat Napoleon at Trafalgar. He gave up the thought of invading Britain. French troops were intercepted by Horatio Lord Nelson at Trafalgar.
- Spain and Germany assaulted on France. Spain used guerrilla tactics. Napoleon lost 3,00,000 men. He handed over the throne of Spain to his brother, and made changes in the religion. The Spanish did not like it, and when the French cruelly tried to crush the revolts, the Spanish got even crazier.
- Napoleon attacked Russia in 1812. During September 1812, he arrived at the onset of one of the worst winters in the Russian history. This was a catastrophe. Of the 6,14,000 men who had accompanied him, only 40,000 came back. The temperature got to -30°C when they were returning.

Reforms

The Napoleonic era saw reforms in many spheres. Let us discuss them one by one.

Legal reforms

In 1804, Napoleon reformed the French legal system. The system of law was in a highly disturbed state. Laws were not codified and were formed on the Roman law, ancient custom or monarchial paternalism. During the Revolution, several laws were altered. It was easier said than done to decide what law applied in a particular situation, and laws were not uniformly applied to everyone.

The muddle of laws were codified and written noticeably in order that the people could decide what law applied. It included much of the Roman law. For the very first time in history, the law was based on logic and founded on the concept that all men were equal before the law. It assured individual rights (except for women and blacks) and the protection of property. In short, it codified the various ideals of the Revolution. The Napoleonic Code became overwhelmingly influential to other European nations in the 19th century.

Governmental reforms

Napoleon centralized the government machinery, putting control decisively in the hands of the national government. It became well-organized. Development in the civil service and the military was based on merit instead of rank. The taxes were applied to all evenly.

Educational reforms

Napoleon built several new lycees (the lycée is the second, and last, stage of secondary education in the French educational system), schools for boys of age 10 to 16. He

identified the significance of education in producing citizens competent for filling positions in his administration and military. Although he did not build a system of mass education, education was more accessible to the middle class than previously. At a meeting in 1807, he declared:

Of all our institutions, public education is the most important. Everything depends on it, the present and the future. It is essential that the morals and political ideas of the generation which is now growing up should no longer be dependent upon the news of the day or the circumstances of the moment. Above all, we must secure unity: we must be able to cast a whole generation in the same mould.

He assumed education as a means of indoctrinating 'right-thinking' citizens from an initial age. He did not think about the need to educate girls, because they could learn everything they needed from their mothers. They were not supposed to be active citizens of the country.

Foreign Policy

Napoleon contributed to administrative reforms in the European countries. He introduced far-reaching reforms in France to strengthen the administration. Some of the reforms introduced by him included recruitment to government posts on the basis of merit; establishment of a common system of law to assure equality to all French Citizens; religious freedom to all citizens; and improvement in the system of judicial administration.

These reforms were so popular that the successors of Napoleon could not diverge from them. Even the people of other European countries were attracted by these reforms and tried to copy his administrative system in their country. Under the impact of Napoleon, a number of other European countries also introduced far-reaching reforms. Prominent among these countries were:

- Holland
- Belgium
- Spain
- Federal State of Rhine
- The Grand Duchy of Warsaw
- Switzerland
- Italy

In most of these countries, feudalism and serfdom were totally abolished and the citizens were assured full religious freedom. They also significantly borrowed from Napoleon's legal code. No wonder the reforms introduced by Napoleon in France were gradually introduced in other European countries.

Napoleon, to a great extent, contributed to the rise of nationalism in Europe. In his enthusiasm to make France a great nation, he brought a number of other European countries like Spain, Germany, Portugal, Prussia, under his control.

The French soldiers by their presence in these countries taught the people that nation was above everything else and no sacrifice was big enough for the cause of the nation. It was this spirit of nationalism that ultimately inspired the people of various European countries to rise against Napoleon and assert their independence.

Finally, Napoleon unconsciously contributed to the unification of Germany and Italy. He contributed to the unification of Germany by amalgamating a number of small

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German states into a federal unit and providing them an excellent system of administration. Thus, he taught the Germans first lessons of unity which ultimately culminated in the unification of Germany in 1870.

Similarly, he also promoted the spirit of national unity among the Italians by uniting various kingdoms of Italy and creating a Republic of Italy. Foscolo, the Great Italian poet, has described Napoleon as the liberator of Italy.

Thus, we can say that despite enormous loss of human lives, which was caused due to military adventures of Napoleon, his rule proved to be a boon for the countries of Europe insofar as he implanted the principles of French Revolution, encouraged the growth of democracy, provided impetus to reforms, promoted nationalism and contributed to the unification of Germany and Italy.

2.3.2 Napoleon as the First Consulate and Emperor

As you have read that Napoleon saved the Directory from the anger of the mob, he got a chance to hold some power and participation in the administration. He thus drafted the Constitution of the Year VIII and secured his own election as the First Consul. Thereafter, he decided to reside within the Tuileries. This made Bonaparte the most influential person in France.

The First Consul

In 1800, Napoleon and his troops crossed over the Alps and entered Italy. Here, French forces had been almost entirely driven out by the Austrians whilst he was in Egypt. The war started badly for the French after he made strategic errors; one force was left besieged at Genoa but managed to hold out and thereby occupy Austrian resources. This effort and French general Louis Desaix's appropriate reinforcements, permitted Napoleon to avoid defeat and to triumph over the Austrians in June at the important Battle of Marengo. His brother Joseph negotiated peace in Lunéville and concluded that Austria, supported by the British, would not recognize France's newly gained territory. As negotiations became more and more fractious, Napoleon ordered one more to strike at Austria. France emerged victorious. As a result, the Treaty of Lunéville was signed in February 1801; the French gains of the Treaty of Campo Formio were reaffirmed and increased.

Emperor of France

Also, around this time, Napoleon became the Consul for life and soon after, he was crowned Emperor of France. However, as emperor, he still had several issues such as the revolt in Haiti. Besides losing this war, Napoleon was defeated.

The Royalists and Jacobins plotted against Napoleon when he became France's ruler. These plots included the Conspiracy des poignards (Dagger plot) in October 1800 and the Plot of the rue Saint-Nicaise (also famous as the infernal machine) two months later. In January 1804, the police of Napoleon came to know and averted an assassination plot against him that involved Moreau. It was apparently sponsored by the Bourbon former rulers of France. On the recommendation of Talleyrand, Napoleon ordered the kidnapping of Louis Antoine, Duke of Enghien, in infringement of neighbouring Baden's autonomy. After a covert trial, the Duke was executed, even though he had not been engaged in the plot.

On the basis of the assassination plot, Napoleon justified the recreation of a hereditary monarchy in France, with himself as the emperor, saying that a Bourbon

reinstatement would be tricky if the Bonapartist succession was entrenched in the constitution. Napoleon crowned himself as Emperor Napoleon I on 2 December 1804 at Notre Dame de Paris and then crowned Joséphine as the Empress. At Milan Cathedral on 26 May 1805, Napoleon was crowned King of Italy with the Iron Crown of Lombardy. He established eighteen Marshals of the Empire from amongst his top generals to secure the loyalty of the army.

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2.3.3 War against Russia and Defeat of Napoleon

The Congress of Erfurt decided to protect the Russo-French coalition, and the leaders had a gracious personal relationship after their first meeting at Tilsit in 1807. However by 1811, tensions had built up and Alexander, the Russian Emperor, was under pressure from the Russian nobility to call the alliance off. An initial symbol that showed that the ties had deteriorated was the Russian's virtual desertion of the Continental System, which resulted in Napoleon threatening Alexander with grave consequences if he formed a coalition with Britain. By 1812, Alexander's advisors advised on a possibility of an invasion of the French Empire and the recapture of Poland. After receiving intelligence reports on Russia's war groundwork, Napoleon expanded his Grande Armée to more than 4,50,000 men. He ignored repeated suggestions against an incursion of the Russian heartland and organized for an offensive campaign; on 23 June 1812, the invasion started.

In an effort to gain increased support from Polish nationalists and patriots, Napoleon named the war 'the Second Polish War'; the First Polish War was the Bar Confederation uprising by Polish nobles against Russia in 1768. Polish patriots wished for the Russian portion of Poland to be joined with the Duchy of Warsaw and an independent Poland established. This demand was rejected by Napoleon. He states that he had promised his ally Austria that this would not take place. He refused to manumit the Russian serfs due to concerns like this might incite a reaction in his army's rear. The serfs later assigned atrocities against French soldiers during France's retreat.

The Russians foiled Napoleon's aim of a decisive engagement and rather retreated deeper into Russia. A short attempt at resistance was made at Smolensk in August; the Russians were overpowered in a series of battles, and Napoleon resumed his move forward. The Russians again prevented battle, however, at a few places, this was only achieved because Napoleon unusually hesitated to attack when the opportunity arose. Due to the Russian army's scorched earth tactics, the French found it very difficult to forage food for themselves and their horses.

The Russians finally offered battle outside Moscow on 7 September: The Battle of Borodino resulted in about 44,000 Russian and 35,000 French dead, wounded or captured, and may have been the bloodiest day of battle in history up to that point in time. However, the French had won, the Russian army had recognized, and withstood the major war Napoleon had hoped would be decisive. According to Napoleon, 'The most terrible of all my battles was the one before Moscow. The French showed themselves to be worthy of victory, but the Russians showed themselves worthy of being invincible.'

Defeat of Napoleon

The Russian army retreated back and left Moscow city. Napoleon entered the city, thinking its fall would end the battle and Alexander would come to negotiate peace. However, on orders of Fyodor Rostopchin, the city's governor, instead of capitulation Moscow was burned. After a month, thinking about the loss of control back in France, Napoleon and his army left (Figure 2.10). Thus, Napoleon could not win the war; however,

by the time of his return, the harshest winter had set in. Due to this, more than half of his remaining army died on the way to France. He was terribly defeated in this war and never ever could recover from the losses.

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Fig. 2.10 Napoleon Returns from Russia

The French suffered greatly in the course of a ruinous retreat, including from the harshness of the Russian Winter. The Armée had begun as over 4,00,000 frontline troops, but in the end fewer than 40,000 crossed the Berezina River in November 1812. The Russians had lost 1,50,000 in battle and hundreds of thousands of civilians.

The Downfall of Napoleon

Defeat in the war with Russia changed the fortunes of Napoleon. This prompted the other European powers to form a coalition and defeat Napoleon at the Battle of Leipzig in October 1813. Due to more defeats by the Austrians in Italy and the British in Spain, Napoleon relinquished his crown in April 1814. The French government was handed over to King Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI. Louis XVIII restored the White Flag of the Bourbons and recognized Catholic Christianity as the state religion; however, he did not alter many changes that were incorporated due to the Revolution. Despite Louis XVIII's attempts at conciliation, Napoleon remained extremely popular. In March 1815, he escaped from exile on the Island of Elba and most Frenchmen rallied for him. The European powers again allied against him and overwhelmed him at the Battle of Waterloo. He was sent to the Island of St. Helena in South Atlantic and died there in 1821. Louis XVIII retained the French throne and France was permitted to retain the borders of 1790.

Factors that led to the Defeat of Napoleon

It is just not possible to point out every factor that resulted in Napoleon's defeat. However, among the main causes of his defeat, the following can be pointed out:

- Napoleon never had adequate naval power. Even after the Battle of Trafalgar, the Royal Navy, which was dominant for many years before, was almost unchallenged. Napoleon's lack of sea power meant that the French danger of invasion to Britain was done away with.
- Without sufficient naval power, Napoleon's Continental System had several loopholes. This system became a far greater burden to the nations that fell under Napoleon's control instead of to Britain, whose natural resources backed her wealth and authority to increase quickly during these years, in spite of her considerable losses to privateers and the numerous bankruptcies.

- Napoleon's catastrophic Moscow campaign of 1812 had its origins in Alexander's denial to carry on his support of the Continental System in his effort to manage the whole coastline of Europe.
- Thereafter, Napoleon attacked both Spain and Portugal. He misjudged the national resistance to him in both these countries.
- He also made a serious miscalculation after British forces had entered Portugal under Wellesley in 1808. British sea power was once again of vital significance in this case.
- The Battle of Talavera (1809) was a conquest of united British and Spanish army, followed by Fuentes de Onoro, 1811 and Salamanca, 1812. The French never recovered from these defeats.
- Nationalism had its maximum support from the middle class Europeans which was unfavourably affected by Napoleon's taxation and Continental System.
- After 1807, Napoleon's judgment declined; for instance, he believed that Moscow was the heart of Russia and that to confine it would result in Russian defeat. This was of course proven wrong.

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2.3.4 Impact of Napoleon

There are very few examples of men who have dominated an age; Napoleon is one of them. He had many characteristics that made him great, such as:

- He was charismatic.
- He was a master psychologist and politician.
- He was ambitious to the point of self-destruction.

He started wars that resulted in vast devastation and a new political order. He shaped his times, but was also a product of his times as he went with the currents of his respective history and adeptly diverted those currents to suit his own requirements. However, he ultimately failed in his venture.

To a great extent, Napoleon's career was the outcome of the military and political forces, which he obtained from the Revolution and mended for his own aims. In military affairs, he was lucky to take over the military improvements that came into fashion during the French Revolution such as mass conscription, which made feasible the use of block tactics to attack in column and get rid of the need for supply lines, thus making French armies highly mobile. Therefore, the two main features of Napoleonic warfare—massed firepower and mobility—were previously present when he began his career. However, it was Napoleon's brilliance that knew how to use them efficiently in his first Italian campaign against the Austrians.

Politically, France had suffered a complete decade of revolutionary chaos by 1799, rendering the government unsteady and corrupt. Church policies were disliked, principally since they had triggered uncontrolled inflation. People were sick of this chaos and desired a more stable government that would render their lives more secure. Thus, the interaction of military innovations that made Napoleon a national hero and the desire for a strong, secure government that Napoleon assured resulted in his seizure of power in 1799. More military victories against the Austrians in Italy permitted him to strengthen his position of power and he declared himself the emperor of France in 1804.

Napoleon was also a very active administrator. His internal reforms did a great deal in consolidating a few accomplishments of the French Revolution and suppressing

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Check Your Progress

4. Fill in the blanks.
 - (a) The _____ Revolution and the Napoleonic Era were the periods of rapid political and social changes.
 - (b) In 1800, Napoleon and his troops crossed over the Alps and entered into _____.
5. State whether the following statements are true/false.
 - (a) Napoleon faced a revolt in Haiti.
 - (b) Napoleon was a very active administrator.

others. One way to review his government of France is to look at how it conformed to the revolutionary motto: 'Liberty, fraternity (i.e., nationalism), and equality'. For political and civil liberties, Napoleon mainly suppressed them with firm censorship and the organization of a virtual police state to protect his authority.

However, Napoleon saw equality as a politically practical idea that he could keep up with little threat to his power. After all, everyone, at least all men, were equally under his power. One of his main achievements as a ruler was the institution of the Napoleonic Civil Law Codes, which made all men equal under the law. At the same time, these codes maintained men's legal power over women.

Napoleon saw nationalism as crucial to maintaining the faithfulness of the French people to his government. After all, it was the fortitude of nationalism that had inspired its armies in an extraordinary series of victories that had in particular benefited Napoleon and permitted his rise to power. For Napoleon, the trick was to establish a personality cult around himself so that the French people would recognize him with France itself and thus make loyalty to him comparable to the loyalty to France. Though, by identifying public loyalty with one man, Napoleon unintentionally weakened the inspiring force of nationalism and thus his own authority.

In general, Napoleon's internal policies consolidated France and permitted it to rule most of Europe after a sequence of victorious military campaigns. Naturally, he founded his style of rule in the countries he won. However, he incorrectly thought that the administrative and legal changes of the Revolution he carried to the rest of European countries could be separated from the concepts of Nationalism and Liberalism (liberty and equality) that had offered those reforms life and substance. Thus, Napoleon's imperial rule unintentionally promoted these concepts of nationalism and liberalism.

Napoleon had efficiently planted the seeds of nationalism and liberalism across Europe, and these concepts would spread in new waves of revolution by mid-century. Europeans took these concepts, along with the influential new technologies set free by the Industrial Revolution, to set up colonies all over the globe by 1900. Paradoxically, these European powers, like Napoleon became victims to the power of these concepts when their subjects used them in their own freedom struggles after the Second World War.

2.4 CONGRESS OF VIENNA

The immediate background to the Congress of Vienna was the defeat of France and surrender of Napoleon in May 1814. This brought an end to the twenty-five years of war. Napoleon's eastward march to Russia spelled his doom. The strong French army of 4,22,000 soldiers was left to die in the harsh winter of Russia in 1812. Though Napoleon managed to return home with 30,000 troops, Paris was lost in 1814 and Napoleon had to flee.

The Allies (Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain) began negotiations and realignment of European territories even though Napoleon made a dramatic return to rule France for a Hundred Days (March–July, 1815). The Congress signed the Final Act (the Second Peace of Paris) nine days before Napoleon was finally defeated at Waterloo on 18 June 1815.

The fall of Napoleon brought with it one of the most complicated and difficult situations for diplomats of the time. As all the nations of Europe had been profoundly

affected by his enterprises, all were profoundly affected by his fall. The destruction of the Napoleonic regime was followed by reconstruction of Europe. This work of reconstruction was undertaken by the Congress of Vienna, one of the most important diplomatic gatherings in the history of Europe (September 1814-June 1815). Never before had there been seen such an assemblage of celebrities. Present were the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Wurttemberg, Denmark, a multitude of lesser princes, and the diplomats of Europe of whom Metternich and Talleyrand were the most noticeable. All the powers were represented except Turkey.

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2.4.1 Provisions—Work of the Congress

The main task of the Congress was the distribution of the territories that France had been forced to relinquish. Certain arrangements had been agreed upon by the allies before going to Vienna in the First Treaty of Paris, 30 May 1814. The King of Piedmont, a refugee in his island of Sardinia during Napoleon's reign, returned to his throne, and Genoa was returned to him. There was a general understanding that the doctrine of legitimacy should be followed in determining the re-arrangement of Europe. That is to say, the principle that princes deprived of their thrones and driven from their states by Napoleon should be restored. However, this principle was ignored according to the suitability of the allied powers.

Demands of Russia

The allies, who had, after immense effort and sacrifice, overthrown Napoleon, felt they should have their reward. The most powerful monarch at Vienna was Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, who, ever since Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia, had loomed large as a liberator of Europe. He now demanded that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, whose government fell with Napoleon, be given back to him. This state had been created out of Polish territories which Prussia and Austria had seized in the partitions of that country at the close of the 18th century. Alexander wished to unite them with a part of Poland that had fallen to Russia, thus, largely to restore the old Polish kingdom and nationality, to which he intended to give a parliament and a constitution. There was to be no incorporation of the restored kingdom in Russia, but the Russian emperor was to be the King of Poland. The union was to be merely personal.

Demands of Prussia

Prussia was willing to give up her Polish provinces on the condition that she should be indemnified elsewhere. She, therefore, fixed her attention upon the rich kingdom of Saxony with important cities of Dresden and Leipzig, as compensation. Russia and Prussia supported each other's claims, but Austria, England and France opposed them stoutly. The latter even agreed to go to war to prevent the aggrandizement of the two northern nations. It was this dissension among those who had conquered him that caused Napoleon to think that the opportunity was favourable for his return from Elba. But, however jealous the allies were of each other, they, one and all, hated Napoleon and were firmly resolved to be rid of him. They had no desire for more war and consequently quickly compromised their differences. The final decision was that Russia should receive the lion's share of the Duchy of Warsaw, Prussia retaining only the province of Posen, and Cracow being erected into a free city; that the King of Saxony should be restored to his throne; that he should retain the important cities of Dresden and Leipzig, but should cede to Prussia about two-fifths of his kingdom; that, as further compensation, Prussia

should receive extensive territories on both banks of the Rhine. Prussia also acquired Pomerania from Sweden, thus rounding out her coastline on the Baltic.

Russian acquisitions

Russia emerged from the Congress with a good number of additions. She retained Finland, conquered from Sweden during the late wars, and Bessarabia, wrested from the Turks, also Turkish territories in the southeast. But, most important of all, she had now succeeded in gaining most of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Russia now extended farther westward into Europe than ever and could henceforth speak with greater weight in European affairs.

Austrian acquisitions

Austria recovered her Polish possessions and received as compensation for the Netherlands, northern Italy, to be henceforth known as the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, comprising the larger and richer part of the Po Valley. She also recovered the Illyrian provinces along the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Thus, after twenty years of war, almost uninterruptedly disastrous, she emerged with considerable accessions of strength, and with a population larger by four or five millions than she had possessed in 1792. She had obtained, in lieu of remote and unprofitable possessions, territories which augmented her power in central Europe, the immediate annexation of a part of Italy, and indirect control over the other Italian states.



Fig. 2.11 A Portrait of the Vienna Congress

Source: <http://pub.uvm.dk/2008/democracycanon/images/figur25.jpg>

English acquisitions

England, the most persistent enemy of Napoleon, the builder of repeated coalitions, the pay-mistress of the allies for many years, found her compensation in additions to her colonial empire. She retained much that she had conquered from France or from the allies or dependencies of France, particularly Holland. She occupied Helgoland in the North Sea; Malta and Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean; Cape Colony in South Africa; Ceylon, and other islands. It was partially in view of her colonial losses that Holland was indemnified by the annexation of Belgium, as already stated.

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The Map of Italy

Another question of great importance, decided at Vienna, was the disposition of Italy. The general principle of action had already been agreed upon, that Austria should receive compensation here for the Netherlands, and that the old dynasties should be restored. Austrian interests determined the territorial arrangements. Austria took possession, as has been said, of the richest and, in a military sense, the strongest provinces, Lombardy and Venetia, from which position she could easily dominate the peninsula, especially as the Duchy of Parma was given to Marie Louise, wife of Napoleon, and as princes, connected with the Austrian imperial family were restored to their thrones in Modena and Tuscany. The Papal States were also re-established.

No union or federation of these states was affected. It was Metternich's desire that Italy should simply be a collection of independent states, a geographical expression, and such it was.

Changes in the map of Europe

Other changes in the map of Europe, now made or ratified, were these:

- Norway was taken from Denmark and joined with Sweden
- Switzerland was increased by the addition of three cantons which had recently been incorporated in France, thus making twenty-two cantons in all
- The frontiers of Spain and Portugal were left untouched.



Fig. 2.12 Map of Europe.

Source: <http://edtech2.boisestate.edu/lockwoodm/FrenchRev/images/CongVien.jpg>

Character of the Congress

The Congress of Vienna was a congress of aristocrats to whom the ideas of nationality and democracy, as proclaimed by the French Revolution, were inconvenient, incomprehensible and loathsome. The rulers rearranged Europe according to their desires, disposing of it as it were their personal property, ignoring the sentiment of nationality, which had lately been so wonderfully aroused, indifferent to the wishes of the people. There could be no 'settlement' because they ignored the factors that alone would make

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the settlement permanent. The history of Europe, after 1815, was destined to witness repeated, and often successful, attempts to rectify this cardinal error of the Congress of Vienna.

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Criticism of the Congress

Such were the territorial readjustments decreed by the Congress of Vienna, which were destined to endure, with slight changes, for nearly fifty years. It is impossible to discover in these negotiations the operation of any lofty principle. Self-interest is the key to this welter of bargains and agreements. Not that these titled brokers neglected to attempt to convince Europe of the nobility of their endeavours. Phrases, such as ‘the reconstruction of the social order’, ‘the regeneration of the political system of Europe’ durable peace based upon a just division of power were used by the diplomats of Vienna to impress the people of Europe, and to lend an air of dignity and elevation to their august assemblage. But the people were not deceived. They witnessed the unedifying scramble of the conquerors for the spoils of victory. They saw the monarchs of Europe, who for years had been denouncing Napoleon for not respecting the rights of people, acting precisely in the same way, whenever it suited their pleasure.

2.4.2 The Holy Alliance

In addition to the Treaties of Vienna, the allies signed two other documents of great significance in 1815—the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance. The former proceeded from the initiative of Alexander I of Russia, whose mood was now deeply religious under the influence of the tremendous events of recent years and the fall of Napoleon, which to his mind seemed the swift verdict of a higher power in human destinies. He himself had been freely praised as the White Angel, in contrast to the fallen Black Angel, and he had been called the Universal Saviour. He now submitted a document to his immediate allies—Prussia and Austria—which gave the popular name to the system of repression which was for many years followed by the powers that had conquered in the late campaign.

The document stated that it was the intention of the powers, henceforth, to be guided, in both their domestic and foreign policies, solely by the precepts of the Christian religion. The rulers announced that they would regard each other as brothers and their subjects as their children, and they promised to aid each other on all occasions and in all places. The other powers, thus, asked by the Emperor of Russia to express their approval of Christian principles, did so, preserving what dignity they could in playing what most of them considered a farce of questionable taste. For, knowing the principles that had actually governed the Tsar and the other rulers at the Congress of Vienna, they did not consider them particularly biblical or as likely to inaugurate a new and idyllic diplomacy in Europe. As a matter of fact no state ever made any attempt to act in accordance with the principles so highly approved. The only important thing about the Holy Alliance was its name, which was, in the opinion of all liberals, too good to be lost, so ironically did it contrast with what was known of the characters and policies of the rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the ‘holy allies’.

The Quadruple Alliance

The other document, signed on 20 November 1815, by Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England established a Quadruple Alliance providing that these powers should hold congresses from time-to-time for the purpose of considering their common interests and

the needs of Europe. The Congresses that were held during the next few years in accordance with this agreement were converted into engines of oppression everywhere largely through the adroitness of Prince Metternich, Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, whose influence upon their deliberations was decisive.

2.4.3 Prince Metternich (1773-1859)

Klemens Wenzel von Metternich appeared to the generation that lived between 1815 and 1848 as the most commanding personality of Europe, whose importance can be estimated from the phrases such as 'era of Metternich' and 'system of Metternich'. He was the central figure not only in Austrian and German politics, but also in European diplomacy. He was the most famous statesman Austria produced in the 19th century. A man of high rank, wealthy, polished, blending social accomplishments with literary and scientific pretensions, his foible was omniscience. He was the prince of diplomatists, thoroughly at ease amid all the intriguing European politics. His egotism was Olympian. He spoke of himself as being born 'to prop up the decaying structure' of European society. He felt the world rested on his shoulders.



Fig. 2.13 Klemens Wenzel von Metternich

'My position has this peculiarity' he says, 'that all eyes, all expectations are directed to precisely that point where I happen to be.' He asked such questions as, 'Why, among so many million men, must I be the one to think when others do not think, to act when others do not act, and to write because others know not how?' He admitted at the end of a long career that he had 'never strayed from the path of eternal law', that his mind had 'never entertained error'. He felt and said that he would leave a void when he disappeared.

On analysis, however, his thinking appears singularly negative. It consisted of his execration of the French Revolution. His life-long role was that of incessant opposition to everything comprehended in the word. He denounced it in violent and lurid phrases. It was 'the disease which must be cured, the volcano which must be extinguished, the gangrene which must be burned out with the hot iron, the hydra with open jaws to

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swallow up the social order'. He believed in absolute monarchy, and considered himself God's lieutenant in supporting it. He hated parliaments and representative systems of government. He regarded the talks of liberty, equality and constitutions as pestilential. He defied himself as a man of the status quo. Keep things just as they are, all innovation is madness; such was the constant burden of his song. He was the convinced he was the resourceful opponent of all struggles for national independence and aspirations for self-government. Democracy could only 'change daylight into darkest night'. Such was the man who succeeded Napoleon in the center of the European stage.

2.4.4 Reaction in Europe after 1815

The Battle of Waterloo, remarked Napoleon at St. Helena, will be as dangerous to the liberties of Europe as the battle of Philippi was dangerous to the liberties of Rome. Napoleon was not exactly an authority on liberty, but he did know the difference between enlightened despotism and unenlightened.

The style was set by Austria, the leading state on the Continent from 1815 to 1848. Austria was not a single nation like France, but was composed of many races. To the west were the Austrian duchies, chiefly Germany, the ancient possessions of the House of Hapsburg; to the north, Bohemia, an ancient kingdom acquired by the Hapsburgs in 1526; to the east, the Kingdom of Hungary, occupying the immense plain of the middle Danube; to the south, beyond the Alps, the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, purely Italian. The two leading races in this Austrian Empire were the Germans, forming the body of the population in the duchies, and the Magyars (modyorz), originally an Asiatic folk, encamped in the Danube valley since the 9th century and forming the dominant people in Hungary. There were many branches of the Slavic race in both Austria and Hungary. There were also Romanians in eastern Hungary.

Austria, a land of the old regime

To rule twenty-nine million people was a difficult task. This was the first problem of Francis I (1792-1835) and Metternich. Their policy was to resist all demands for reform, and to keep things as they were, to make the world stand still. The people were sharply divided into classes, each resting on different factors. Of these, the nobles occupied a highly privileged position. They enjoyed freedom from compulsory military service and got enormous exemptions from taxation, a monopoly of the best offices in the state. They possessed a large part of the land, from which in many cases they drew enormous revenues. On the other hand, the condition of the peasants, who formed the mass of the people, lived in deplorable conditions. They even refused the right to purchase relief from the heaviest burdens. Condition of Austria in 1815 was that of absolutism in government, feudalism in society, special privileges for the favoured few, and oppression and misery for the masses.

The police system

It was the purpose of the government to maintain status quo, and it succeeded largely for thirty-three years, during the reign of Francis I, till 1835, and of his successor Ferdinand I (1835-1848). During this period, Metternich was the chief minister. His system, 'at war with human nature, at war with the modern spirit', rested upon a meddling police, an elaborate espionage system, and a vigilant censorship of ideas. Censorship was applied to theatres, newspapers and books.

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Spies were everywhere, in government offices, in places of amusement, and educational institutions. In education, political science and history practically disappeared as serious studies. Particularly, the government feared the universities because of new ideas. Spies even attended lectures. Professors and students were subjected to humiliating regulations. The government insisted on having a complete list of the books that each professor took out of the university library. Students were not allowed to study abroad or form societies.

Austrians were not allowed to travel to foreign countries without the permission of the government, which was rarely given. Austria was sealed as nearly hermetically as possible against the liberal thought of Europe. Intellectual stagnation was the price paid. A system like this needed careful bolstering at every moment and at every point. The best protection for the Austrian system was to extend it to other countries. Having firmly established it at home, Metternich laboured with great skill and temporary success to apply it in surrounding countries, particularly in Germany and in Italy.

We shall now trace the application of this conception of government in other countries. This will serve among other things to show the dominant position of the Austrian empire in Europe from 1815 to 1848. Vienna, the seat of rigid conservatism, was now the center of European affairs, as Paris, the home of revolution, had been for so long.

The German Confederation

One of the important problems presented to the Congress Vienna concerned the future organization of Germany. The Holy Roman Empire had disappeared in 1806 at the hands of Napoleon. The Confederation of the Rhine, which he had created to take its place, had disappeared with its creator. Something must evidently be put in its place. The outcome of the deliberations was the establishment of the German Confederation, which was the government of Germany from 1815 to 1866. The Confederation consisted of thirty-eight states. The central organ of the government was the Diet, meeting at Frankfort. This was to consist, not of representatives chosen by the people, but of delegates appointed by different sovereigns and serving during their pleasure. They were to be, not deputies empowered to decide questions, but simply diplomatic representatives, voting as their princes might direct. Austria was always to have the presidency of this body. The method of procedure within the Diet was complicated and exceedingly cumbrous, making action difficult, delay and obstruction easy. The Confederation did not constitute a real nation, but only a loose league of independent states. The states agreed not to make war upon each other, and that was about the only serious obligation they assumed.

The Confederation was a union of princes, not of people. It was created because each prince was jealous of every other prince, and was far more concerned with the preservation of his own power than with the prosperity of Germany. Now the spirit of nationality had been tremendously aroused by the struggles with Napoleon. All the more progressive spirits felt that the first need of Germany was unity and a strong national government. But German unity was, according to Metternich, an 'infamous object', and Metternich was supported by the selfishness of the German rulers; not one of whom was willing to surrender any particle of his authority. Intense was the indignation of all liberals at what they called this 'great deception' of Vienna.

Disappointment of the Liberals

The liberals desired unity, they also desired liberty. They wished a constitution for each one of the thirty-eight states; they wished a parliament in each; and they also wished to

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have the reign of absolutism brought to a close. Metternich, even more opposed to free political institutions than to a strong central government, succeeded in thwarting the reformers at this point too. The latter were put off with only vague and doubtful promises, which were never realized, save in the case of a few of the smaller states.

Metternich's programme was to secure the prevalence in Germany on the same principles that prevailed in Austria, and in this he largely succeeded. Certain incidents of the day gave him favourable occasions to apply the system of repression. Repression according to him was the only sure cure for the ills of this world. One of these was a patriotic festival held in 1817 at the Wartburg, a castle famous in connection with the career of Martin Luther. This was a celebration organized by the students of the German universities and it expressed the vigorous liberalism of the students, their detestation of reaction and reactionaries. Sometime later, a student killed a journalist and playwright, Kotzebue (Kcöt—so-bo), who was hated within the university circles as a Russian spy. These and other occurrences played perfectly into the hands of Metternich, who was seeking the means of establishing reaction in Germany as it had been established in Austria. He secured the passage by the frightened princes of the famous Carlsbad Decrees (1819).

Through their provisions, Metternich became the virtual controller of the Confederation. These decrees were the work of Austria, seconded by Prussia. They signified in German history the suppression of liberty for a generation. They really determined the political system of Germany until 1848. They provided for a vigorous censorship of the press, and subjected the professors and students of the universities to close government supervision. All teachers who should propagate 'harmful doctrines', that is, who should in any way criticize Metternich's ideas of government, should be removed from their positions, and once so removed, could not be appointed to any other positions in Germany.

The student associations were suppressed. Any student expelled from one university was not to be admitted into any other. By these provisions it was expected that the entire academic community, professors and students, would be reduced to silence. Another provision was directed against the establishment of any further constitutions of a popular character. Thus, free parliaments, freedom of the press, freedom of teaching, and free speech were outlawed.

Reaction in Germany

The Carlsbad Decrees represent an important turning point in the history of Central Europe. They signalized the dominance of Metternich in Germany as well as in Austria. Prussia now docilely followed Austrian leadership, abandoning all liberal policies. The King, Frederick William III, had, in his hour of need, promised a constitution to Prussia. He never kept this promise. On the other hand, he inaugurated a peculiarly odious persecution of all liberals, which was marked by many acts as inane as they were cruel. Prussia entered upon a dull, drab period of oppression.

Restoration in Spain

In 1808 Napoleon had, as we have seen, seized the crown of Spain, and until 1814 had kept the Spanish King, Ferdinand VII, virtually a prisoner in France, placing his own brother Joseph on the vacant throne. The Spaniards rose against the usurper and for years carried on a vigorous guerrilla warfare, aided by the English and ended finally in success. As their King was in the hands of enemy, they proceeded in his name to frame

a government. Being liberal-minded, they drew up a constitution, the famous Constitution of 1812, which was closely modeled on the French Constitution of 1791. It asserted the sovereignty of the people, thus discarding the rival theory of monarchy by divine right which had hitherto been the accepted basis of the Spanish state. This democratic document, however, did not have long life as Ferdinand, on his return to Spain after the overthrow of Napoleon, immediately suppressed it and embarked upon a policy of angry reaction. The press was gagged. Books of a liberal character were destroyed wherever found, and particularly all copies of the constitution. Thousands of political prisoners were severely punished.

Vigorous and efficient in stamping out all liberal ideas, the government of Ferdinand was indolent and incompetent in other matters. Spain, a country of about eleven million people, was wretchedly poor and ignorant. The government, however, made no attempt to improve the conditions. Moreover, it failed to discharge the most fundamental duty of any government, that is, to preserve the integrity of the empire. The Spanish colonies in America had been for several years in revolt against the mother country, and the government had made no serious efforts to put down the rebellion.

Revolution in Spain (1820)

Such conditions, of course, aroused great discontent. The army particularly was angry at the treatment it had received and became a breeding place of conspiracies. A military uprising occurred in 1820 which swept everything before it and forced the King to restore the Constitution of 1812 and to promise, henceforth, to govern in accordance with its provisions. The text of the constitution was posted in every city, and parish priests were ordered to expound it to their congregations.

Thus, revolution had triumphed again, and only five years after Waterloo, an absolute monarchy, based on divine right, had been changed into a constitutional monarchy based on the sovereignty of the people. Would the example be followed elsewhere? Would the Holy Alliance look on in silence? Had the revolutionary spirit been so carefully smothered in Austria, Germany, and France, only to blaze forth in outlying sections of Europe? Answers to these questions were forthcoming.

2.4.5 Italy, a Geographical Expression

After the fall of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna restored most of the old states which had existed before he first came into Italy. There were, henceforth, ten of them—Piedmont, Lombardy-Venetia, Parma, Modena, Lucca, Tuscany, the Papal States, Naples, Monaco, and San Marino. Genoa and Venice, until recently independent republics, were not restored, as republics were not ‘fashionable’. The one was given to Piedmont, the other to Austria.

These states were too small to be self-sufficient, and as a result Italy was dependent on Austria. Austria was given outright the richest part of the Po Valley as a Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Austrian princes or princesses ruled over the duchies of Modena, Parma, and Tuscany, and were easily brought into the Austrian system. Thus, was Austria the master of northern Italy; master of southern Italy, too, for Ferdinand, King of Naples, made an offensive and defensive treaty with Austria, pledging himself to make no separate alliances and to grant no liberties to his subjects beyond those which obtained in Lombardy and Venetia. Naples was, thus, a satellite in the great Austrian system. The King of Piedmont and the Pope were the only Italian princes at all likely to be intractable. And Austria’s strength in comparison with theirs was that of a

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giant compared with that of pygmies. Italy was notoriously reduced to a geographical expression.

Reactionary policies of the Italian princes

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Italy again became a collection of small states, largely under the dominance of Austria. None of the states had a parliament. There was neither unity nor any semblance of popular participation in the government. Following the restoration, the princes became absolute monarchs. They did little to hide the hatred for the French and made all efforts to extinguish any sign of their presence. They abolished all constitutions and laws, and institutions of French origin. Vaccination and gas illumination were forbidden for the simple reason that the French had introduced them. In Piedmont, French plants in the Botanic Gardens of Turin were torn up. French furniture in the royal palace was destroyed in response to this vigorous and infantile emotion. In every one of the states, there was distinct retrogression, and the Italians lost ground all along the line—politically, industrially, socially. In most, the Inquisition was restored. Education was handed over to the clergy. The course of studies was carefully purged of everything that might be dangerous. The police paid particular attention to ‘the class called thinkers’.

Thus, Italy was ruled by petty despots with petty spirits. Moreover, most of the princes took their cue from Austria, the nature of whose policies we have already examined. The natural result of such conditions was deep and widespread discontent. The discontented joined the Carbonari, a secret society, and bided their time.

In 1820, a revolution broke out in Italy. It started with military insurrection in Naples. The revolutionists demanded the establishment of the Spanish Constitution of 1812, not because they knew much about it but because it was democratic. The king immediately yielded, and the constitution was proclaimed.

2.4.6 Critical Estimate

Thus, in 1820, the Revolution, hated by the diplomats of 1815, resumed the offensive. Spain and Naples overthrew the regimes that had been in force for five years, and had adopted constitutions that were thoroughly saturated with the principles of Revolutionary France. There was likewise a revolution against the established regime in Portugal. There was shortly to be one in Piedmont.

Metternich, the most influential person in Europe, who felt the world resting on his shoulders, had very clear views as to the requirements of the situation that had arisen. Anything that threatened the peace of Europe was a very proper thing for a European congress to discuss. A revolution in one country may encourage a revolution in another, and thus the world, set in order by the Congress of Vienna, may soon find itself in conflagration once more, the established order everywhere threatened. By a series of international congresses, at Troppau, Laibach, and Verona (1820-1822), Metternich was able to secure the official condemnation of these revolutions in Italy and Spain and then to have armies sent into those peninsulas, which speedily restored the old system, more odious than ever.

Thousands were imprisoned, exiled, executed. Arbitrary government of the worst kind and thirsty for revenge was meted out to the unfortunate peoples. Needless to say, Metternich was quite satisfied.

‘I see the dawn of a better day,’ he wrote. Heaven seems to will it that the world shall not be lost. The Holy Alliance, by these triumphs in Naples, Piedmont, and Spain,

showed itself the dominant force in European politics. The system, named after Metternich, because his diplomacy had built it up and because he stood in the very center of it, seemed firmly established as the European system. But it had achieved its last notable triumph. It was now to receive a series of checks which were to limit it forever.

Having restored absolutism in Spain, the Holy Allies considered restoring to Spain her revolted American colonies. In this purpose, they encountered the pronounced opposition of England and the United States, both of which were willing that Spain herself should try to recover them but not that the Holy Alliance should recover them for her. As England controlled the seas she could prevent the Alliance from sending troops to the scene of revolt. The President of the United States, James Monroe, in a message to Congress (2 December 1823), destined to become one of the most famous documents ever written in the White House, announced that we should consider any attempt on the part of these absolute monarchs to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety, as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. This attitude of England and the United States produced its effect. After this no new laurels were added to the Holy Alliance. A few years later Russia was herself encouraging and supporting a revolution on the part of the Greeks against the Turks, and in 1830 revolutions broke out in France and Belgium which demolished the system of Metternich beyond all possible repairs.

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2.5 SUMMARY

- The outcome of the American Revolution and the War of Independence had a critical influence on the subsequent major political events of the world. Its immediate impact was witnessed in the European countries, especially in France. In addition to the influence of the American Revolution, there were many other factors that led to the French Revolution.
- In the summer of 1788, crops were destroyed after a bad harvest in many areas and this was followed by a remarkably harsh winter. The peasants revolted in a number of states in the autumn and winter of that year and this continued until 1789.
- Against a setting of growing popular discontent in many parts of the country in the spring of 1789 and extensive social insurgence, the States General was opened on 5 May 1789 at Versailles.
- The fall of The Bastille on 14 July 1789 was a great victory for the revolutionaries. That fateful day marked the beginning of the French Republic.
- ‘The declaration of the rights of man’ adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 26 August 1789 was a clear proof of the people’s thirst for a new form of government. The declaration consisted of 17 articles.
- The Convention met on 20 September 1792 with a new constitution and became the actual government of France. On 21 September 1792, France was declared a Republic with the abolition of monarchy. So, September 21 has been adopted as the Republic Day of France.
- The Revolution encouraged the doctrine that the people were the chief source of political power in the state and resulted in the active involvement of the citizens in politics.

Check Your Progress

6. Name the major players and participants at the Vienna Congress.
7. What did England gain from the negotiation at the Vienna Congress?
8. What is the Quadruple Alliance?
9. Name the states under Italy which were restored with the Congress of Vienna.

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- The ‘abolition of feudalism’, as a result of the Revolution, encouraged individualism and egalitarianism but almost certainly retarded the growth of a capitalist economy. Although only wealthy peasants were able to pay for the land confiscated from the Church and the expatriate nobility, France emerged increasingly as a land of peasant proprietors.
- The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Era were the periods of rapid political and social changes.
- Numerous contemporaries admired Napoleon not only for his military achievements, but also because he put the ideals of the Revolution into practise’.
- Napoleon Bonaparte (15 August 1769 – 5 May 1821) was a French military and political leader during the latter stages of the French Revolution. As Napoleon I, he was Emperor of the French from 1804 to 1815.
- Napoleon was a great leader. He stabilized the national budget and set up the Bank of France. He controlled prices, began public works to put people to work and supported new industry.
- Napoleon promulgated a series of new legal codes to standardize the legal system. The most significant was the Civil Code or Code Napoleon published in 1806.
- Napoleon centralized the government machinery, putting control decisively in the hands of the national government. It became well-organized. Development in the civil service and the military was based on merit instead of rank. Taxes were applied to all evenly. In the war against Russia in 1812, Napoleon was defeated and thus began a change in his fortunes.
- In March 1815, he escaped from exile on the Island of Elba and most Frenchmen rallied for him. The European powers again allied against him and overwhelmed him at the Battle of Waterloo. He was sent to the Island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic and died there in 1821.
- In general, Napoleon’s internal policies consolidated France and permitted it to rule most of Europe after a sequence of victorious military campaigns.
- Napoleon had efficiently planted the seeds of nationalism and liberalism across Europe, and these concepts would spread in new waves of revolution by mid-century.
- The immediate background to the Congress of Vienna was the defeat of France and surrender of Napoleon in May 1814. This brought an end to twenty-five years of war.
- The destruction of the Napoleonic regime was followed by reconstruction of Europe. This work of reconstruction was undertaken by the Congress of Vienna, one of the most important diplomatic gatherings in the history of Europe (September 1814-June 1815). The allies, who had, after immense effort and sacrifice, overthrown Napoleon, felt they should have their reward.
- The most powerful monarch at Vienna was Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, who, ever since Napoleon’s disastrous invasion of Russia, had loomed large as a liberator of Europe.
- The Congress of Vienna was a congress of aristocrats to whom the ideas of nationality and democracy, as proclaimed by the French Revolution, were inconvenient, incomprehensible and loathsome.

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- In addition to the Treaties of Vienna, the allies signed two other documents of great significance in 1815—the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance.
- The other document, signed on 20 November 1815, by Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England established a Quadruple Alliance providing that these powers should hold congresses from time-to-time for the purpose of considering their common interests and the needs of Europe.
- It was the purpose of the Italian government to maintain status quo, and it succeeded largely for thirty-three years, during the reign of Francis I, till 1835, and of his successor Ferdinand I (1835-1848).
- The German Confederation was a union of princes, not of peoples. Metternich became the virtual controller of the Confederation.
- After the fall of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna restored most of the old states which had existed before he first came into Italy. Italy again became a collection of small states, largely under the dominance of Austria. None of the states had parliament. Thus, Italy was ruled by petty despots with petty spirits. Moreover, most of the princes took their cue from Austria, the nature of whose policies we have already examined.
- Having restored absolutism in Spain, the Holy Allies considered restoring to Spain her revolted American colonies.

2.6 KEY TERMS

- **Protestant:** It refers to a member of a part of the Western Christian Church that separated from the Roman Catholic Church in the 16th century.
- **Convene:** It refers to arranging for people to come together for a formal meeting.
- **Commune:** It refers to the smallest division of local government in France and some other countries.
- **Assignats:** They were paper money issued by the National Assembly in France from 1789 to 1796, during the French Revolution, to address imminent bankruptcy.
- **Demonstration:** It refers to a public meeting or march at which people show that they are protesting against or supporting somebody/something.
- **Guillotine:** It refers to a machine, originally from France, for cutting people's heads off; it has a heavy blade that slides down a wooden frame.
- **Coup:** It refers to a sudden overthrow of government that is illegal and often violent.
- **Guerrilla:** It refers to a member of a small group of soldiers who are not part of an official army and who fight against official soldiers, usually to try to change the government.
- **Carlsbad decrees:** These were a set of reactionary restrictions introduced in the states of the German Confederation by resolution of the Bundesversammlung on 20 September 1819 after a conference held in the spa town of Carlsbad, Bohemia.
- **Carbonari:** They were groups of secret revolutionary societies founded in early 19th century Italy.

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2.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The peasants, who were in despair due to hunger and poverty, plundered the granaries and distributed the corn among themselves.
2. An increasing number of French citizens had absorbed the ideas of 'equality' and 'freedom of the individual', which were put forward by Voltaire, Dennis Diderot, Turgot and other philosophers and the social theorists of the enlightenment.
3. The Revolution had an insightful impact on the Russian Revolution and its ideas were imbibed by Mao Zedong in his efforts at constructing a communist state in China.
4. (a) French, (b) Italy
5. (a) True, (b) True
6. Those present at the Congress were the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Wurttemberg, Denmark, a multitude of lesser princes, and the diplomats of Europe of whom Metternich and Talleyrand were the most noticeable. All the powers were represented except Turkey.
7. England retained much that she had conquered from France or from the allies or dependencies of France, particularly Holland. She occupied Helgoland in the North Sea; Malta and Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean; Cape Colony in South Africa; Ceylon, and other islands. It was partially in view of her colonial losses that Holland was indemnified by the annexation of Belgium, as already stated.
8. The Quadruple Alliance was an alliance signed between England, Russian, Austria and Prussia on 20 November 1815 which said these powers should hold congresses from time-to-time for the purpose of considering their common interests and the needs of Europe.
9. Congress of Vienna restored most of the old states such as Piedmont, Lombardy-Venetia, Parma, Modena, Lucca, Tuscany, the Papal States, Naples, Monaco, and San Marino. Genoa and Venice, until recently independent republics, were not restored, as republics were not fashionable.

2.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What role did the States' General play in the course of the French Revolution?
2. State the role of the bourgeoisie in the French Revolution.
3. List the achievements and significance of the French Revolution.
4. State the factors that led to the reforms and foreign policy implemented by Napoleon.
5. How fairly did Napoleon perform as the First Consul and the emperor?
6. What is the impact of Napoleon on the world?
7. What was the character of the Congress of Vienna?
8. Write a note on the Spanish Constitution of 1812.

9. Why were the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance formed?
10. State Metternich's role after the fall of Napoleon.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the causes that led to the French Revolution.
2. Discuss the significance of the Tennis Court Oath and the Storming of Bastille.
3. Discuss how the Constitution was drafted once the National Assembly was convened.
4. Assess the early life and career of Napoleon.
5. What was the impact of the French Revolution on Napoleon's career? Describe the relations between Napoleon and the French state.
6. Explain the factors that led to the change in Napoleon's fortune due to the invasion of Russia.
7. Describe the reactionary policies of the Italian princes.
8. Describe the ways in which conservative political and social views shaped the peace settlement of the Congress of Vienna.
9. What is Metternich's historical significance?
10. Describe the government of Austria after 1815. What was the German Confederation?
11. Why were the Liberals of Germany disappointed with the work of the Congress of Vienna?
12. What was the course of events in Germany after 1815? What were the Carlsbad Decrees?

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2.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3 RISE OF NATION STATES

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
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3.0 INTRODUCTION

The socialist and labour movements in Britain, France, Germany and other countries in Europe were linked to the French Revolution, which was in fact influenced by the American Revolution. Napoleon, the 'Child of Revolution', had promoted the concepts of nationalism and liberalism across Europe. These factors were mainly responsible for the unification of Italy and the then Germany. Before the unification, these countries were divided into small principalities, which were often at war with each other. Their disintegration had exhausted the national resources of these countries. In addition, powerful European countries, such as Russia, France and Great Britain, by exploiting the state of chaos, always posed as constant threats for these disintegrated countries. Thus, the unification was an 'event in waiting'.

Due to its proximity to the European continent, the Ottoman Empire did not remain unaffected due to the outcomes of the influential wars among the European powers. In addition, the events and political instability within the empire itself rendered it in the middle of the complex affairs. These causes prepared a fertile ground for the clashes between the Ottoman Empire and the European powers.

In this unit, we discuss first the unification of Italy and then the unification of Germany, the factors hampering unification in these two countries, impact of the French Revolution on the unification, role of leadership and wars fought for the unification. In addition, we also discuss the impact of the unification on the future events in the European continent. In this unit, you will also read about the status of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 19th century, the Greek War of Independence, British ascendancy over Turkish Sultan, Russian suggestion for dismemberment of Turkey, Crimean War, Russo-Turkish War and the Treaty of Berlin.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the process of unification of Italy
- Describe the process of the unification of Germany
- Assess the status of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 19th century
- Analyse events such as the Greek War of Independence and British ascendancy over the Turkish Sultan
- Explain the events of the Treaty of Berlin

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3.2 ITALY

Excavations have supported the claim that human preserve dating back to the Palaeolithic Age were unearthed in Italy. In pre-Roman days, Italy was an amalgamation of smaller tribes, fighting with each other over capturing of land. In the 7th and 8th centuries, Greece had taken over a major part of Italy which came to be known as Magna Graecia. Later, Italy was annexed by Napoleon. Italy emerged as a united country after the downfall of Napoleon. During 15th–19th centuries, European kingdoms were fighting to annex the small kingdom of Italy. Napoleon I succeeded in his effort and annexed it. However, his annexation led to the development of patriotic sentiments and put forth the concept of independence. Thereafter, the Italians made severe efforts to unify their country. Figure 3.1 shows Italy before its unification.



Fig. 3.1 Italy before Unification (1815)

However, after the downfall of Napoleon I in 1815, Vienna disintegrated Italy, and once again, the heirs of old royal families were reinstated as the rulers of these small

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kingdoms. A few of these rulers were autocratic in nature. New princes restarted their former oppressive policies. Paradoxically, this gave the momentum for democratic and nationalist ideas to evolve among the people. Because of the stringent censorship of the press, they established secret societies. Among these societies, the Carbonari (the charcoal buyers) was the most significant. Its main objective was the exclusion of foreigners and the attainment of constitutional freedom. Its members belonged to all classes of the society. According to distinguished authors Grant and Temperley, 'Secret societies were formed everywhere to work for the union of Italy.'

Due to fear, the rulers of Naples and Piedmont began to establish liberal rule. Austria quelled the revolts and re-established liberal rule. The members of the Carbonari rebelled in 1830 and 1840, but could not succeed in their attempts at this stage.

3.2.1 Factors Hampering the Italian Unification

Italy could not achieve unification until 1870 on account of a number of factors, viz.:

- (i) The hostility of Papacy towards Italian units
- (ii) Rule of a foreign power in northern Italy and of a dynasty of a foreign origin in the south
- (iii) The lack of wealth and industrial potentialities, which helped the growth of nationalism in Italy
- (iv) A weak middle class

In short, we can say that despite having excellent natural resources and coastal boundary, common historical traditions and language, Italy failed to achieve national unification on account of persistent struggle between the Pope and the Emperor; the multiplicity of sovereignties; seemingly insurmountable social differences between north and south; an unwillingness of Rome, Milan, Venice, Florence and Naples to sacrifice their glorious past for the sake of national integration.

3.2.2 Impact of the French Revolution

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars which followed it, provided a fillip to Italian nationalism and greatly contributed towards the development of a sense of unity. Italians were highly inspired by the French revolutionary ideas and strongly resisted external interference in their national life.

In contrast, Napoleon promoted the idea of national unification by uniting various kingdoms of Italy and creating a Republic of Italy. However, these achievements proved only temporary and as soon as Napoleon's defeat took place, Italy was again disintegrated into several small units and the successors of the old royal families were again seated on the thrones of these tiny kingdoms.

Some of these rulers deliberately ignored the interests of the people under them and acted in an autocratic manner. After some time, two Italian provinces, Lombardy and Venetia, were annexed to the Austrian Empire. The smaller kingdoms of Tuscany, Parma and Modena were divided among the princes of Austria. Victor Emmanuel and Pope were seated on the thrones of Savoy and Rome respectively.

But the Italians, who had been greatly inspired by the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity of the French Revolution, could not reconcile themselves to this situation. This led to the formation of the Carbonari, a secret society, for the liberation of Italy from the clutches of the foreigners. However, the various secret societies did not work

in cooperation with one another. Despite this, several rulers of Italy abandoned their autocratic rule and adopted liberal attitude towards the people.

3.2.3 Mazzini, Cavour, Austrian War and the Italian Unification

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A chain of political and military events that united the Italian peninsula under the Kingdom of Italy in 1861 is known as the Unification of Italy. Its various phases are as follows:

- Pre-revolutionary phase
- Revolutionary phase: Role and contribution of Mazzini
- Cavour's policy and the role of Piedmont
- Garibaldi's campaign in Southern Italy
- War with Austria: Creation of the Italian Kingdom

(i) Pre-revolutionary phase

After the defeat of Napoleon for the second time, major powers met at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Limits were set on nations so that no nation could become too strong to be a threat. This was done mainly to curb the power of France. The territories won by Napoleon were divided too. The Congress returned rule of the Italian Peninsula to Austria. Lombardy and Venice were occupied by Austria, which had a great influence over the other states of Italy. Kingdom of Sardinia remained independent controlling Piedmont, Nice, Savoy and Genoa.

Some of the things that conflicted and interfered with the unification process were: Austrian control of Lombardy and Venice, several independent Italian states, the autonomy of the Papal States and the limited power and influence of Italian leaders.

(ii) Revolutionary phase: Role and contribution of Mazzini

While the masses showed no concern in the unification process, the aristocrats, intellectuals and upper middle class showed enormous involvement. Some formed secret societies for the cause, namely the Carbonari. The cause grew in dimension, though people asked for more rights from their respective governments. The Carbonari were involved in many revolutions, which never tasted success. They were against the Kingdom of Two Sicilies, the Kingdom of Sardinia, Bologna and other Italian states. The Austrian Empire suppressed the revolutions ruthlessly and earned the resentment of the Italians.



Fig. 3.2 Giuseppe Mazzini

Giuseppe Mazzini (Figure 3.2), the soul and spirit of the Carbonari, wanted a united Italy, besides a republican form of government. He created Young Italy in 1831, a syndicate for the purpose of spreading the ideas of unification, revolutions and republicanism, and brought the campaign of unification into the mainstream. Pius IX, a liberal Pope, was elected and he enforced several reforms. Though the other states followed these, they were inadequate for unification. Europe experienced a wave of revolutions in the states of France, Germany, the Austrian Empire and northern Italy. This series of revolts was known as the Revolution of 1848.

In the Kingdom of Two Sicilies revolution broke out and the king signed a constitution. In the Papal States, rebels took over Rome and the Pope fled. In the absence of the Pope, Garibaldi and Mazzini created the Roman Republic. King Charles Albert of Piedmont sent his nationals to Lombardy to fight for freedom from Austrian rule. France sent troops to Rome and had the young Roman Republic destroyed. King Charles lost Piedmont to Austria and had to renounce the crown. His son, Victor Emmanuel II became king in 1849. In 1852, Count Camillo di Cavour was elected the Prime Minister of Piedmont. He proved to be very effective and by using all the political and military tricks, he made the dream of independence come true.

Contribution of Mazzini to Italian Unification

Mazzini is often described as the Prophet of 19th century nationalism. He was one of the three great architects of Italian Unification (the other two being Garibaldi and Cavour). He had a nationalist feeling from his childhood days and began to visualize a united Italy.

He impressed on the people that the whole of the Peninsula, though divided by artificial political barriers, was a living unity with a common heritage of traditions and historic memories. As a youth, he joined Carbonari's revolutionary organization with a view to work for Italy's unification. He participated in a revolt in 1830, which was inspired by the French Revolution and was consequently imprisoned.

While in prison, Mazzini realized that the country could not be liberated by following the principles of Carbonari and it was vital to charge the Italian youth with sentiments of patriotism, sacrifice, moral character, etc., to attain Italy's national emancipation. In 1831, he founded the society known as Young Italy, with its branches all over Italy.

This society propagated republican and nationalist ideas through education and insurrection and tried to cultivate a spirit of self-sacrifice among the Italian youth. It may be noted that Mazzini did not favour foreign help for the emancipation of Italy.

Mazzini organized a number of risings in different parts of Italy, especially Milan and Lombardy, and succeeded in expelling the Austrians. He also organized successful revolts against the people who took to flight and Mazzini set up a Republic with himself as its president.

However, the Roman Republic did not last long because as it was defeated by Napoleon III who had sent an army which defeated Mazzini and destroyed the Roman Republic. Mazzini was forced to fly to America and ultimately died in foreign land in 1872.

The main contribution of Mazzini to the cause of Italian unification was that he succeeded in impressing on the Italians that the liberation and unification of Italy was not an impossible dream, but a practical ideal, capable of realization.

He converted a large number of Italians to his way of thinking and fired them with a missionary spirit to die for the cause of Italian independence and unification. It is

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true that most of the attempts made by Mazzini to attain independence for Italy ended in failure, but this does not undermine his contributions to the cause of Italy's independence. His services were in the realm of ideas and inspiration, which he injected in the body and brain of the Italian youth. His chief contribution was that he gave a definite shape to the idea of Italian nationality and converted it into a popular cause. This greatly contributed to the struggle for Italian independence and unity.

According to the author on Italian unification Lipson, 'Mazzini deserves all the honour due to a pioneer whose life was devoted to the pursuit of a great ideal. His propaganda broadened the political horizon of Italians and created a vigorous public opinion in the favour of national independence. Mazzini, therefore, holds an imperishable place amongst the makers of modern Italy.'

Again, in both the countries, the display of high degree of diplomacy through leadership was a contributory factor in this unification. Finally, in both the countries, the unification was achieved through a series of successful wars.

(iii) Cavour's policy and the role of Piedmont

Piedmont (Kingdom of Sardinia) was administered quite efficiently by Camillo di Cavour (Figure 3.3) after he became the prime minister in 1852. He was able to unite Italy in a short time using war, trickery, political dexterity and by putting powers against each other. Though Piedmont was a small state, it had substantial influence due to its military strength, conservative philosophy and a devoted and admirable political leader. Victor Emmanuel II ruled in accordance with the parliament without any internal conflicts. Commerce and industry flourished due to its elasticity. In many areas, he started trading with Austria and gained commercial treaties. The Government found favour with the public and further with the appointment of Cavour. Cavour felt that Piedmont being strong and influential should effect the unification. With this view, he encouraged the people to participate in the government. Very skillfully he used the press and the government and started to change the public opinion. A strong nation needed railroads, economic freedom, steady financial status and a higher standard of living. He spread the propaganda of Italian unity under Victor Emmanuel II with the public on his side.



Fig. 3.3 Camillo di Cavour

France, a traditional enemy of Austria, and Napoleon III felt that any loss of Austrian influence would be good. Cavour needed the help of a strong ally and France readily offered it. So both the leaders met secretly at a French spa Plombieres.

It was decided that Piedmont would create trouble in one of the territories in Austrian control making Austria to go to war against Piedmont. France agreed to help Piedmont in fighting the war in exchange for Nice and Savoy. The war broke out in 1859 between Piedmont and Austria. The plan was carried out and forces of Piedmont and France defeated Austria at Magenta and Solferino. More Italian states wanted to join Piedmont under one nation. Prussia started moving forces to defend Austria. This frightened Napoleon III as Prussia had a great influence in France and more Italian states sought for unification under Prussia than expected. Lombardy was given to Piedmont as a result of war, and it acquired a greater size after the political maneuvering.

(iv) Garibaldi's campaign in Southern Italy

In early 1860, volunteers in Genoa started an expedition to Sicily. They were neither helped, nor hindered by Cavour. Thousands of soldiers from Romagna, Lombardy and Venetia set sail for Sicily in May 1860. This expedition found great favour with the public. The red soldiers of Garibaldi (Figure 3.4), though less skilled and equipped, proved to be a great success and two Sicilies, which was suffering under a corrupt government, was captured within two months. Garibaldi focused on mainland Italy. Cavour knew that if Rome was attacked, France and Austria would immediately help the Pope and defeat the opposition and the agenda of unification would be discredited. Cavour acted swiftly and encouraged riots and revolts in the Papal States. Piedmont's troops marched into the states in the pretext of a peace-keeping force. In 1860, with two-thirds of Papal States joining hands with Piedmont, Rome was isolated. Piedmontese army bypassed Rome and the remaining Papal States and marched south. On 18 September 1860, Garibaldi gave up his command and shook hands with King Victor Emmanuel II and the kingdom of Italy was formed.



Fig. 3.4 Garibaldi

(v) War with Austria: Creation of the Italian kingdom

Italian kingdom did not include the whole of Italy as Venetia and Rome were notably absent from it. Rome was under Napoleon III and Venetia was occupied by the Austrian troops. Due to the Seven Weeks' War between Austria and Prussia, Venetia was annexed

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Check Your Progress

- Fill in the blanks.
 - Napoleon promoted the idea of national unification by uniting various kingdoms of Italy and creating a _____ of Italy.
 - _____ organized a number of risings in different parts of Italy, especially Milan and Lombardy.
- State whether the following statements are true or false.
 - Cavour created Young Italy in 1831.
 - Victor Emmanuel II ruled in accordance with the Parliament without any internal conflicts.

in 1856. Italy decided to join Prussia in the war and Prussia won the war and Venetia was given back to Italy.

During the war between France and Germany in 1870, Napoleon III had pulled out his troops from Rome to help in the war. The remaining Papal States and unprotected Rome were taken over by the Italian troops. Rome opted to join the Union in October 1870 and in July 1871 Rome became its capital.

The long and extremely difficult process of unification did not solve all the problems of the Union but Italy stayed focused on its new problems and made efforts to solve them. Eventually, Cavour, Garibaldi and Mazzini became the founding fathers of the Italian nation (Figure 3.5).

France, Spain and Great Britain had expanded their powers and created new states in the middle ages and in early modern period. This nation building did not take place in Italy and Germany. After nationalism in German territories and Italian Peninsula, people of these states began to create nation states in order to unite all Italians or all Germans, under one umbrella of political sovereignty. These people shared common culture and feared foreign domination at all costs.



Fig. 3.5 Italy after Unification (1870)

3.3 GERMANY

During the beginning of the 19th century, Germany was an enormous mosaic of states. It was a portion of the Holy Roman Empire. The two biggest states in it were established from the territorial custodies of Austria and Prussia. There were a few secondary states in northern and central Germany. There were several small states. Some were free cities and others were priestly states. The Holy Roman Emperor, who for the previous 300 years had been selected from the Hapsburg family of the Austrians, was now only a ceremonial authority. People of varied blood multiplied in Germany. The amalgamation of Rhine had previously been formed by Napoleon I. He had arranged the ground for the unification of Germany. He decreased the number of German states by joining smaller states with the larger ones. These states were combined to establish the Rhine confederation.

As the feelings of the Germans were given no heed, Napoleon's power in Germany was destabilized. In addition to this, there was also a preponderance of the diplomats like Metternich who did not tolerate liberal movements of the Germans (1815–1848). One extraordinary fact was that the Prussian Emperor had come up with a federal constitution for the people of Germany, which was exceedingly opposed by Austria. Figure 3.6 shows Germany before the unification (1815). Note that Prussia held an extensive proportion of the country.

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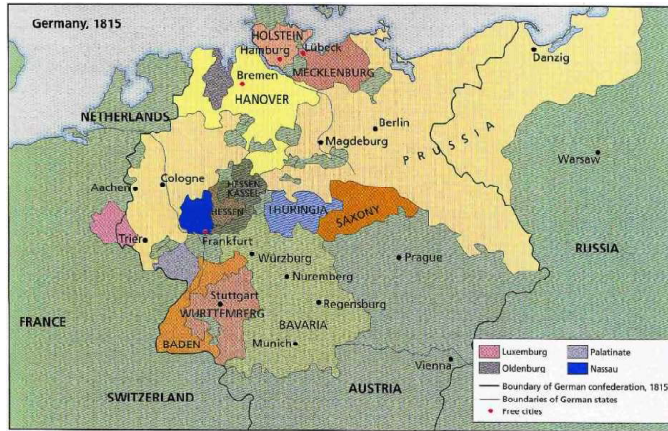


Fig. 3.6 Germany before Unification (1815)

The nationalist movement gained momentum only after 1848. The unification of Germany was the result of the policy of blood and iron pursued by Prussia in the three wars, which took place within the brief era of six years, i.e., 1864–1870. Prussia was in the favour of German unification and was opposed to Austria.

A new era started with the emergence of Otto von Bismarck (Figure 3.7) in the German history. He was made the chancellor of Germany. He did not allow Austria to assume the leadership of Germany. He worked hard for the unification of Germany with the help of the supportive leadership of Prussia. Bismarck established good relations with France and Russia. This was not liked by Austria. His policy of blood and iron was the most successful strategy at that time. He completed the unification of Germany and crowned the Prussian King as the Emperor of Germany. However, for this to happen, he had no option but to wage three wars, with Austria, France and Denmark.



Fig. 3.7 Otto von Bismarck

NOTES**3.3.1 War with Denmark: The Issue of Schleswig-Holstein**

The duchies of Schleswig-Holstein were held by Denmark (also called the Danish rule). However, they widely differed in constitution and were established as a territory of Denmark. The Duchy of Holstein was a portion of the German federation. The people of Denmark and Germany lived together in these two duchies. A disagreement over the issue of nationalism arose between them. Both Germany and Denmark wished to annex the duchies.

Holstein was mainly a German-speaking community. The Danes, i.e., people of Denmark, tried to claim that the two duchies were a part of Denmark and they did not want them to remain semi-independent. This caused the German nationalist to demand the two duchies to be completely incorporated into the German Confederation. There was a short war of control in 1848. This resulted in the London Treaty, which stated that when Danish Prince Christian would ascend the throne, the duchies would remain under the Danish rule, but would not be included into the nation states of Denmark. When Christian was crowned, he included the two duchies into the Danish state, violating the terms of the treaty. As a result, the duchies were invaded by the armies gathered by the German Confederation and German nationalists. German Confederation won the war and duchies were restored to them. After the victory, it was agreed that Austria would manage Holstein and Prussia would be in charge of Schleswig. There were many clashes over the method of administration. It resulted in a political division with German confederation and Austria and Prussia fighting for the dominance of the Germanic states.

3.3.2 Austro-Prussian War

In 1866, further debates about the management of Schleswig-Holstein duchies resulted in a war between Austria and Prussia. This war lasted for seven weeks and resulted in the Prussian victory over the Austrians. In defeating the Austrians on the battlefield, the Prussians assumed the position of senior Germanic state. This resulted in a clearer partition between Austrian and German interests and forced the smaller states to line up themselves alongside the Prussians, with whom they shared more economic ties because of the Zollverein customs agreement.

Bismarck knew that the answer to opposition at home was accomplishment abroad. The occasion presented itself when the King of Denmark tried to capture the provinces of Schleswig-Holstein into a centralized German state in opposition to the will of the German Confederation. Prussia joined Austria in a concise successful war against Denmark. Bismarck, however, was sure that Prussia required to completely subside the northern German Confederation, which destined expelling Austria from German matters. Bismarck's first task was to ensure that there was no coalition against him. He had no crisis gaining support from Alexander II of Russia, as Prussia had aided Russia in overcoming a Polish uprising in 1863. He then charmed Napoleon III with blurred promises of territorial gains along the Rhine River, which he had no purpose of keeping. Bismarck, actually, had no immense respect for Napoleon III. He once referred to him as the 'sphinx without a riddle'. Then when Austria declined to renounce its role in German affairs, Bismarck was prepared.

The Austro-Prussian War, sometimes referred to as the Seven Weeks War, was fought in 1866. The Prussian army transported troops by rail and also used breech

loading needle guns in order to gain maximum fire power, and decisively defeated the Austrians in Bohemia at the Battle of Sadowa. Here, Bismarck showed his mastery of ‘realpolitik’ by providing Austria with liberal terms, as he knew well that he might necessitate the neutrality, if not collaboration, of Austria in the future. Austria paid no compensations and lost no land to Prussia, but it was forced to cede Venice to Italy; however, the German Confederation was disbanded and Austria decided to withdraw from German affairs. The territories north of the Main River were joined into a new North German Confederation led by Prussia. The generally Catholic states of the south remained autonomous while forming coalitions with Prussia.

Bismarck next turned to the parliament. He understood that nationalism was his main weapon to bring the parliament to his terms and conditions, and during the attack on Austria in 1866, he progressively tied Prussia’s destiny to the ‘national development of Germany’.

He established a new federal constitution for the North German Confederation. In this constitution, each state held its own local government, but the Prussian King became the president of the confederation and the chancellor—Bismarck—was answerable only to the president. The federal government (literally comprising William I and Bismarck) managed the army and foreign matters. The legislature had two houses; one appointed by the states, the other elected by the universal male suffrage. He then secured his border in Prussia by asking the Prussian Parliament to issue a special indemnity bill to endorse (after the fact) all the government’s expenditure between 1862 and 1866. Here, Bismarck’s success in uniting the northern German states and establishing a legislature where all could take part was paid off. The liberals saw achievement beyond their wildest dreams and were concerned to cooperate. Thus, several liberals repented their ‘sins’. Perhaps, none repented more religiously than did Hermann Baumgarten, a professor of history and member of the liberal opposition who wrote an essay, ‘A Self Criticism of German Liberalism.’ In it he commented:

We thought that by agitation, we could transform Germany....Yet we have experienced a miracle almost without parallel. The victory of our principles would have brought us misery; whereas, the defeat of our principles has brought us boundless salvation.

Bismarck had triumphed. The German middle class respectfully bowed to Bismarck and monarchical authority. In the years before 1814, the virtues of the aristocratic Prussian army officer increasingly replaced those of the middle class liberal in public esteem and social standard.

3.3.3 Relations with France (1870) and Final Unification of Germany

France was disappointed by Prussia when it was not given a candidacy for the vacant throne of Spain and ties between the two countries became brittle. In 1870, France declared a war on Prussia and was defeated swiftly and surely by the Prussians. The outcome was the removal of French Emperor Napoleon III (Figure 3.8) from power and the resultant spreading of Germanic nationalism through the whole of German confederation. After defeating France, Prussia was in a position to induce its partners within the German confederation to agree that unification was preferable. Thus, Wilhelm of Prussia was declared the Emperor of Germany on 18 January 1871. In this way, the Second Reich was born (Figure 3.9).

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Fig. 3.8 French Emperor Napoleon III with Bismarck (Note that Bismarck holds the sword of defeated Napoleon III as a symbol of victory)

In the united German National Federation, the Prussian Emperor was declared the Emperor of the whole of Germany. A cabinet of ministers and a bicameral legislature was set up to assist the new Emperor in this administration of the nation. The North German federation came to be named the German Empire.

Check Your Progress

3. State whether the following statements are true or false.
 - (a) At the starting of the 19th century, Germany was an enormous mosaic of states. It was a portion of the Holy Roman Empire.
 - (b) Bismarck's policy of blood and iron was the most successful strategy at that time.
4. Fill in the blanks.
 - (a) _____ did not tolerate liberal movements of the Germans.
 - (b) Holstein was mainly a _____ speaking community.



Fig. 3.9 Germany after Unification (1817–1918 [First World War])

3.4 CONGRESS OF BERLIN

The Congress of Berlin was held in the city of Berlin from 13 June to 13 July of 1878. It was a meeting to rectify the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) and to settle peace between the Ottoman Empire of Turkey and the Empire of Russia. Before studying about the Congress of Berlin, it is important to understand the history of the Ottoman Empire.

3.4.1 Ottoman Empire at the Beginning of Nineteenth Century

The Ottoman Empire, or the present-day Turkey, was unfortunate as the modernization of this region started in the worst days of European imperialism. In the 19th and 20th centuries, all across the world, Europeans were capturing and colonizing the lands of other nations. The British, French, Germans, Austrians and Russians employed modern techniques of warfare to build great empires. Only a few lands in Asia or Africa could not be captured; these included Japan, Liberia, Thailand, Turkey and a few regions too remote for European power to reach. However, Turkey's success in remaining its own master is not often cherished. But the nation remained independent because it fought with and survived the pressure put forward by the European powers.

The Ottoman Empire was known as the 'Sick Man of Europe', because it gradually lost the majority of its territory. In contrast to Britain, France or Russia, the Ottomans were militarily pathetic. The Ottomans were at a great disadvantage due to the lack of European education, European industry or powerful European armies. They were forced to struggle and lose wars while defending their empire. Even when they tried to imitate Europe and reform their system, the Ottomans were pushed back due to attacks from powerful neighbours, particularly Russia. As and when they tried to bring new changes in their social system, their resources and finances were directed towards the wars being fought and defence of the country, instead of modernization. Russian armies took away Rumania and Bulgaria from the Empire; Britain captured Cyprus and Egypt; Austria got hold of Bosnia (See Map in Figure 3.10). Eventually Britain and France divided the Ottoman Arab lands between them. The worst calamity was the exodus of millions of Turks and other Muslims from the conquered lands into what remained the Ottoman Empire.

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Fig. 3.10 Map showing the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) and the Possessions of the European Powers

The Ottoman losses demanded massive expenses. Just as the Ottoman reform had started to rejuvenate their lands in Europe, those lands were captured by others. Great amount of money was spent in modernizing areas, and then more money was spent to protect them; however, all regions were lost. Millions of expatriates had to be

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housed, and they became a troublesome element when poverty in the Empire led to the issue due to which the refugees could not be settled swiftly. The Ottomans were thus forced to take loans at ruinous rates both to modernize and to defend themselves, until even the interest could not be paid.

The Ottomans were very sick, but they were not permitted to cure themselves. In its place, those around them did what they could to make sure that the illness led to death. Like other nations, the Ottoman Turks eventually could not stand against the forces of imperialism. This is in no way outstanding. The extraordinary fact is not that the Ottomans lost land to European imperialists, (there were so many non-European countries that lost the land to these powers) but that the Ottomans held on so well. Their losses to more dominant Europeans started at the end of the 17th century and went on for more than 200 years. In spite of their military weakness, the Ottomans survived European imperialism for more years than the United States has existed up to now. The Ottoman Empire did lastly yield in World War I. Yet at its end, the empire held on astonishingly well. Combating against the English, the French and the Russians, the Ottomans lasted all the way through four years of war. And at the end of those four years, the Turks regrouped to keep hold of their independence.

The astonishing fact of modern Turkish account is that the Turks managed to tolerate as a nation in their own state when numerous others were falling under the imperial grasp of Europe. It is unusual that the Turks could endure militarily against all odds. It is also extraordinary that the Turks could modernize their society and economy, under the able leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, along European lines and were able to maintain their independence from the European powers. Despite the attempts of his neighbours, the 'Sick Man' recovered and lives on.

3.4.2 Greek War of Independence and British Ascendancy Over Turkish Rule

The events of the Greek War of Independence and the influence of the British on the Turkish sultan are the most significant events in the Ottoman Empire. Let us discuss them one by one.

Greek War of Independence

In the previous section, you read that Cyprus was captured by Britain. This links our discussion to the brief history of Greece; especially, the most important historical event, i.e., the Greek War of Independence. The land of Greece has been famous for Alexander, the Great. He was the hero of Greece in the ancient times. However, in the middle ages, Greece came under the rule of the Ottoman Empire.

The Greek War of Independence, also known as the Greek Revolution was a victorious war of independence waged by the Greek revolutionaries between 1821 and 1832. In this war, they took the help of several European powers such as Russia, United Kingdom and France. They fought against the Ottoman Empire, which was assisted by its vassals, the Eyalet of Egypt and partly the Vilayet of Tunisia.

After the fall of the Byzantine Empire to the Ottoman Empire, maximum part of Greece came under the Ottoman rule. During this time, there were recurrent rebellions by Greeks attempting to gain independence. In 1814, a secret society called the Filiki

Eteria was established with the objective of fighting for the freedom of Greece. The Filiki Eteria planned to start revolutions in the Peloponnese, the Danubian Principalities and Constantinople. The first of these revolts started on 6 March 1821 in the Danubian Principalities; however, it was soon subdued by the Ottomans. Due to these events in the north, the Greeks in the Peloponnese came into action and on 17 March 1821, the Maniots declared war on the Ottomans. As the month reached its end, the Peloponnese was in open rebellion against the Turks and by October 1821, the Greeks, led by General Theodoros Kolokotronis (Figure 3.11), had captured Tripolitsa. The Peloponnesian revolt was rapidly followed by revolts in Crete, Macedonia and Central Greece, which would soon be curbed. In the meantime, the temporary Greek navy was attaining success against the Ottoman navy in the Aegean Sea and thwarted Ottoman reinforcements from arriving by sea.

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Fig. 3.11 General Theodoros Kolokotronis

Soon, different Greek factions developed tensions that led to two consecutive civil wars. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Sultan negotiated with Mehmet Ali of Egypt. The latter decided to send his son Ibrahim Pasha to Greece with an army to repress the rebellion in return for territorial gain. In February 1825, Ibrahim landed in the Peloponnese and had instant success: by the end of 1825, most of the Peloponnese fell to Egyptian forces which controlled the territory. The city of Missolonghi, which was put under siege by the Turks since April 1825, fell in April 1826. Although Ibrahim was beaten in Mani, he had succeeded in repressing most of the rebellion in the Peloponnese and Athens had been retaken.

After long-lasting negotiation, three Great Powers, Russia, the United Kingdom and France, agreed to interfere in the war and each nation sent a navy to Greece. The allied fleet intercepted the Ottoman–Egyptian fleet at Navarino once it came to know that combined Ottoman–Egyptian fleets were going to attack the Greek island of Hydra. Following a standoff that lasted for a week, a battle started that resulted in the annihilation of the Ottoman–Egyptian fleet (Figure 3.12). With the aid of a French expeditionary force, the Greeks forced the Turks to leave the Peloponnese and proceeded to the captured part of Central Greece by 1828. After years of negotiation, Greece was at last recognized as an independent nation in May 1832.

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Fig. 3.12 *Destruction of Ottoman-Egyptian Fleet in the Greek War of Independence*

Source: <http://www.ahistoryofgreece.com/revolution.htm>

The Revolution or the Greek War of Independence is celebrated on 25 March every year by the Modern Greek state as their National Day.

British Ascendancy over Turkish Sultan

The year 1842 also witnessed the ascendancy of the British over the young Turkish Sultan. He ascended the throne in 1839 after the death of Mahmud. This was made possible due to the efforts of Stratford Canning (Figure 3.13), who was posted as Great Britain's ambassador to Constantinople, Ottoman Empire's capital, in December 1841.



Fig. 3.13 *Stratford Canning, later Honoured as The Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe*

He sought to check further growth of Russian influence and prevented Nicholas from crowning his triumph at Adrianople and Hunkar Iskelesi by further oppressive treaties in 1848 and 1853.

In 1848, the revolution in France caused the waves of revolution in Lombardy, Hungary and Danubian principalities. Czar Nicholas of Russia, a great reactionary, was determined to curb the democratic principles. He, therefore, sent his army to Moldavia under the terms of Treaty of Adrianople and asked the Turks to repress the movement at Bucharest.

He then proceeded to use Moldavia as a base for operations against the Hungarian rebels. When Porte protested, the Czar adopted dictatorial attitude. Canning encouraged

the Porte to resist Nicholas's demand. Things assumed serious dimensions after some Hungarian leaders took refuge on Turkish soil. Austria and Russia demanded the extradition of these leaders who were given asylum by Porte at the instigation of Canning. Thereupon, Russia and Austria broke off relations with Turkey.

Nicholas of Russia ordered his troops to proceed to Bersarabia, but was greatly disillusioned to find English and French fleets at the entrance of Hellespont. This convinced Nicholas that Turkey was not alone and Russia would have to encounter resistance from English and French fleets. Therefore, on 7 November 1849, he withdrew the demand for extradition. This was indeed a great rebuff of Russia. This period of 1842 to 1858 is often termed as the period of British influence over the Turkish monarch. During this period, the Turkish ruler was able to prevent Russian advances.

Canning's term in Constantinople lasted from 1842 to 1852, and during this period, he emerged as one of the most important figures in Constantinople, as British influence over the Porte increased and the Turks came to be seen increasingly as British clients. When Canning's old ally Stanley, now Earl of Derby, formed a government in 1852, Canning hoped to accept the foreign office, or at least the Paris embassy. In its place, he was raised to the peerage as Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, in the County of Somerset. He came back home in 1852, but when Aberdeen's coalition government was established, Stratford de Redcliffe was sent back to Constantinople once again.

In Constantinople, for the last time, Stratford came in the midst of a disaster caused due to the dispute between Napoleon III and Nicholas I over the safety of the holy places. This crisis in the end led to the Crimean War. Stratford is accused of supporting the Turks to rebuff the cooperation agreement during the Menshikov mission. It appears that he was time after time urging the Turks to reject compromises arguing that any Russian treaty would be to subject the Ottoman Empire to protectorate status under Czar Nicholas I. He left Constantinople for the last time in 1857, and resigned early the next year.

3.4.3 Relations between Russia and the Ottoman Empire

During the nineteenth century, relations between Russia and the Ottoman Empire were sour due to several reasons. Let us discuss the bases of these relations.

Russian Suggestion for Dismemberment of Turkey

Following the tension due to British influence and prevention of war with Russia, on 8 January 1878, the Porte appealed to the European powers for mediation. The refusal of Germany to take part in such mediation made the British public apprehensive that Russia, supported by Germany, would try to force its own terms on Turkey. On 15 January, the British ambassador at Petrograd handed to Prince Gorchakov an opinion of the British Government that any treaty between Russia and Turkey affecting the treaties of 1856 and 1871 must be a European treaty in order to be valid.

The Turkish Sultan wanted peace at any cost, and on 3 March, the Treaty of San Stefano was signed by Russia and Turkey. According to this treaty, the Sultan agreed to recognize the complete independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania; a new state, 'Greater Bulgaria,' consisting of Bulgaria, Rumelia and Macedonia, was to come into existence. Of all his European territories, the Sultan was allowed to keep Constantinople and its vicinity and Albania. Had this treaty been carried out, the Near Eastern Question might have then been solved, as the Turkish rule would practically have ceased in Europe.

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But great objections were raised to this settlement by the Greeks and Serbians, who opposed the creation of a 'Greater Bulgaria' because they wanted parts of Macedonia for themselves.

Far more serious was the opposition that came from England and Austria. The former did not propose to sit tamely by and see Turkey dismembered to the advantage of Russia, who would, in all likelihood, dominate the new states which its arms had brought into existence. Austria, on her part, was ambitious to get a port on the Aegean, perhaps Saloniki, which the Treaty of San Stefano, if carried out, would put out of its reach. Czar Alexander was clearly told that the Balkan situation was a matter for all of Europe to settle, and that war would be declared against Russia unless it submitted the whole matter to the judgment of an international conference.

The Crimean War

In July 1853 Russia occupied territories in the Crimea (Figure 3.14) that had formerly been under the Turkish control. Britain and France were thinking about Russian expansion and made efforts to achieve a negotiation withdrawal. Turkey, reluctant to grant concessions, declared war on Russia.



Fig. 3.14 Map showing the Location of Crimea, the spot of the Crimean War

When the Russians annihilated the Turkish fleet at Sinope in the Black Sea in November 1853, Britain and France entered the war against Russia. On 20 September 1854, the Allied army overwhelmed the Russian army at the battle of Alma River; however, the battle of Balaklava (October 1854) was indecisive.

Thereafter, British soldiers arrived in Turkey, they rapidly started going down with cholera and malaria. Just in a few weeks, a probable 8,000 men were suffering from these two diseases.

The Crimean War resulted in the formation of centralized states in Italy and Germany. France and Britain feared that Russians were about to encroach upon the Balkan States as Ottoman of Turkey was weak to oppose. The possibility of Russia gaining access to the Mediterranean by occupying the port city of Istanbul was feared

by them. Ottoman lost against Russia in a naval war and France and Great Britain declared war on Russia. The major part of the battle took place in Crimean region and ironically 5,00,000 casualties occurred due to diseases in the filthy field hospitals. The Russian fortress Sevastopol fell and the war ended. Russia had to give up some territories on the Danube River. After this war, the concept of great powers working united was shattered. The British became isolated and remained like that. Russia did not support Austria when it opposed to the building of the states by Germany and Italy.

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Russo-Turkish War (1877–78)

In the midst of these revolts and wars, the European powers made a bid to mediate. They called a conference at Constantinople in January 1877, but it could not achieve anything. Meanwhile, on account of constant outrages against the Christians in Turkey, the Russians were enraged and declared war against Turkey in 1877.

Though the Turkish armies fought splendidly, the Russians advanced within few minutes of Constantinople. The Russians encountered tough resistance at Plevna, where they lost 50,000 men. In January 1878, the Russians crossed the Balkans and occupied Sophia after some gallant fighting. Ultimately, on 20 January 1878, the Russians entered Adrianople.

While Russia was making all these advances, there was a sharp demand for British armed intervention from British people. In early 1878, the British fleet moved to Besika Bay, but by the time it reached the Dardanelles, the Russians had captured San Stefano.

On 3 March 1878, Russia forced Turkey to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. This treaty provided for the creation of an autonomous principality of Bulgaria. Serbia and Montenegro were considerably enlarged and Bosnia-Herzegovina were given autonomous status. In short, the treaty sought to establish a dominant Slav State in the Balks, which would be a Russian dependency; destroyed Turkey's political and military power in Europe and blocked the Habsburg road to Salonika.

3.4.4 Treaty of Berlin (1878) and the Berlin Congress

The Treaty of San Stefano did not fulfill the ambitions of the member states and was followed by the Treaty of Berlin. Russia felt obliged to yield. The representatives of England, Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Italy and Turkish Congress met in 1878 at Berlin to settle the Near Eastern Question. To this Congress of Berlin came the most famous statesmen of the day; Bismarck, who was its President; Disraeli, who scored diplomatic triumphs as England's envoy; and Prince Gorchakov, who came as the champion of Russia. The Treaty of San Stefano was totally disregarded by the Congress, which proceeded to make quite another settlement of the Near Eastern Question.

The main provisions of the Treaty of Berlin were as follows:

1. Montenegro, Serbia and Rumania were declared entirely independent of Turkey.
2. 'Greater Bulgaria' was split into three parts: Bulgaria proper was made an autonomous state with the Sultan as her suzerain; Eastern Rumelia was given 'administrative autonomy' under a Christian governor and Macedonia was allowed to remain a part of Turkey.
3. To Austria-Hungary was given the right to occupy and to administer the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but with the understanding that they were legally to remain a part of Turkey.

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4. Turkey also received special commercial and military privileges in the Sanjak, or County, of Novi Bazaar.
5. England was given the right to occupy the Island of Cyprus.
6. Russia, who alone had won the victory over Turkey, got almost nothing. It was allowed to exchange with Rumania the Dobrudja district for the strip of Bessarabia on the northern bank of the Danube
7. Russia also received Batum, Ardahan and Kars in the Caucasus. After thus partitioning most of the dominions of the Sultan, the Powers again solemnly guaranteed the 'integrity' of Turkey.
8. This Treaty of Berlin led to the partial dismemberment of Turkey with the consent of Europe.
9. Greece got the provinces of Thessaly and Epirus.
10. Russia's peculiar position in relation to Turkey was accepted. However, England promised to help Porte if Russia tried to conquer more territory in Asia Minor.

According to Stanley Lane Poole, a British orientalist and archaeologist, 'rightly or wrongly, in supporting the Christian provinces against their sovereign, the powers at Berlin sounded the knell of Turkish domination in Europe.'

Another expert on the matter, Allen, is highly critical of the Treaty of Berlin. He says, 'It was concluded in a spirit of shameless bargain with a sublime disregard of elementary ethics, and in open contempt of the rights of civilized people to determine their own future. It was essentially a temporary arrangement concluded between rival Imperialist States. And it sowed the seed of the crop of "nationalist" wars and risings in which the Balkan people were to be embroiled for the next half century.'

The Treaty of Berlin proved to be a temporary settlement because disorder grew at a very rapid speed in the Turkish Empire and created an atmosphere of general unrest, which ultimately culminated in the disastrous events of 1912-18.

In 1885, certain officers seized Philippopolis by a rebellion and declared the union of Eastern Rumelia with Bulgaria. Russia wanted the Sultan to intervene but he refused to do so. Even Britain supported the union between Eastern Rumelia and Bulgaria. Towards the close of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was surrounded by hostile elements.

The Tsar was openly hostile to Turkey; the French were indifferent and still entertained the hopes of possessing Syria; Italy openly indicated her desire to acquire Libya and Albania. Even Britain, the traditional friend of the Turks and a principal upholder of the doctrine of the integrity of Ottoman Empire, was hostile.

Under the circumstances, the Sultan of Turkey (Abdul Hamid) decided to adopt the policy of Pan-Islamism and cultivate intimate relations with Germany and Austria. The Policy of Pan-Islamism urged the union of all Muslims against the West. Abdul Hamid II incorporated the Pan-Islamic ideals in his political programme.

Despite this, the various European powers continued to make gains at the cost of Turkey. The rise of nationalism amongst the peoples of Balkans also contributed to the disintegration of the Turkish Empire.

The leaders of several minorities in the Turkish Empire talked of national autonomy viz., the Armenians and the Kurds. The Sultan tried to suppress nationalists in the hopes that the Pan-Islamic enthusiasm would preserve the empire.

Distressed at the weakness and inefficiency of the Turkish army and Turkish government, a group of leaders known as Young Turks (which also included some, army officers) organized a revolt in 1908 and demanded a constitution to protect themselves against the autocracy of Abdul Hamid.

In 1909, the Young Turks deposed the Turkish Sultan and brought his spineless brother Mohammad V to the throne. Under the new ruler, the lesser nationalists grew restless. Taking advantage of this, both Italy and the Balkan States seized extensive territory. The other powers like Austria, which wanted to expand at the cost of Turkey, were greatly disturbed over the emergence of Young Turks because they feared that a strong Turkey would jeopardize their expansionist policies.

Therefore, in 1908, Austria annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Macedonian provinces of Turkey, which had been placed under its administration by the Treaty of Berlin. Bulgaria annexed Eastern Rumelia, which had been left under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Crete declared itself as part of Greece.

All these developments strengthened the reactionary forces in Turkey and they prevailed upon the government to adopt repressive policies towards Christian minorities. On the other hand, the European powers backed the Christian minorities. Though the Young Turks were quite keen about finding a solution of the problem of Christian minorities, they could not achieve much success due to foreign intrigues and interventions.

In 1911, Italy attacked Turkey and annexed Tripoli. In 1912, Russia inspired Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria to form the Balkan League, which made a concerted onslaught on the Turkish Empire in the autumn of 1912. For the first time, the Balkan States defied the powers of Europe and acted on their own. They inflicted crushing defeats on Turkey and settled for all times the problem of Christian population of European Turkey. Thus, they paved the way for the creation of the Turkish nation, which arose out of the Ottoman Empire.

It is evident from the preceding account that on the eve of World War I, the Turkish Empire had been rendered very weak. The empire received a tottering blow during the war.

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3.5 SUMMARY

- During 15th–19th centuries, European kingdoms were fighting to annex the small kingdom of Italy.
- The French revolution and the Napoleonic wars, which followed it, provided a fillip to Italian nationalism and contributed greatly towards the development of a sense of unity. Italians were highly inspired by the French revolutionary ideas and strongly resisted the external interference in their national life.
- Giuseppe Mazzini, the soul and spirit of the Carbonari, wanted a united Italy, besides a republican form of government. He created Young Italy in 1831, a syndicate for the purpose of spreading the ideas of unification, revolutions and republicanism, and brought the campaign of unification into the mainstream.
- Piedmont (Kingdom of Sardinia) was administered quiet efficiently by Camillo di Cavour after he became the prime minister in 1852. He felt that Piedmont being strong and influential should effect the unification.

Check Your Progress

5. When did Greece come under the Ottoman rule?
6. Name the treaty signed by Russia and Turkey.
7. When did the representative countries meet at Berlin to settle the Near Eastern Question?
8. Who was given the right to occupy the Island of Cyprus in the Treaty of Berlin?

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- Eventually Cavour, Garibaldi and Mazzini became the founding fathers of the Italian Nation.
- Germany was an enormous mosaic of states. It was a part of the Holy Roman Empire. The two biggest states in it were established from the territorial custodies of Austria and Prussia. There were a few secondary states in northern and central Germany. There were several other small states.
- The nationalist movement gained momentum only after 1848. The unification of Germany was the result of the policy of blood and iron pursued by Prussia in the three wars, which took place within the brief era of six years, i.e., 1864–1870.
- Bismarck was the Prussian Prime Minister who pursued the policy of iron and blood in order to unify Germany. Germany was unified after the wars with Denmark, Austria and France.
- In the united German National Federation, the Prussian Emperor was declared the Emperor of the whole of Germany. A cabinet of ministers and a bicameral legislature was set up to assist the new Emperor in this administration of the nation.
- The Ottoman Empire was known as the ‘Sick Man of Europe’, because it gradually lost the majority of its territory. In contrast to Britain, France or Russia, the Ottomans were militarily pathetic.
- The Greek War of Independence, also known as the Greek Revolution was a victorious war of independence waged by the Greek revolutionaries between 1821 and 1832. In this war, they took the help of several European powers such as Russia, United Kingdom and France. They fought against the Ottoman Empire, who was assisted by its vassals, the Eyalet of Egypt and partly the Vilayet of Tunisia.
- In 1848, the revolution in France caused the waves of revolution in Lombardy, Hungary and Danubian principalities.
- The period of 1842 to 1858 is often termed as the period of British influence over the Turkish monarch. During this period, the Turkish ruler was able to prevent Russian advances with the help of Britain.
- In July 1853, Russia occupied territories in the Crimea that had formerly been under the Turkish control. Britain and France were thinking about Russian expansion and made effort to achieve a negotiation withdrawal. Turkey, reluctant to grant concessions, declared war on Russia. This war is called the Crimean War.
- On 3 March 1878, Russia forced Turkey to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. This treaty provided for the creation of an autonomous principality of Bulgaria. Serbia and Montenegro were considerably enlarged and Bosnia-Herzegovina were given autonomous status.
- The representatives of England, Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Italy and Turkish Congress met in 1878 at Berlin to settle the Near Eastern Question. Here, the Treaty of Berlin was concluded.

- The Treaty of Berlin proved to be a temporary settlement because disorder grew at a very rapid speed in the Turkish Empire and created an atmosphere of general unrest, which ultimately culminated in the disastrous events of 1912–18.

3.6 KEY TERMS

- **Unification:** It refers to join people, things, parts of a country, etc., together so that they form a single unit.
- **Liberal:** It refers to a person willing to understand and respect other people's behaviour, opinions, etc., especially when they are different from his/her own; believing people should be able to choose how they behave.
- **Autonomy:** It refers to the freedom for a country, a region or an organization to govern itself independently.
- **Diplomat:** It refers to a person whose job is to represent his or her country in a foreign country, for example, in an embassy.
- **Realpolitik:** It refers to a system of politics or principles based on practical rather than moral or ideological considerations.
- **Maniots/Maniates:** They are the inhabitants of the Mani Peninsula, Laconia, in the southern Peloponnese, Greece.
- **Coalition:** It is a group formed by people from several different groups, especially political ones, agreeing to work together for a particular purpose.
- **Siege:** It refers to a military operation in which an army tries to capture a town by surrounding it and stopping the supply of food, etc. to the people inside.
- **Negotiation:** It refers to a formal discussion between people who are trying to reach an agreement.
- **Fleet:** It refers to a group of military ships commanded by the same person.
- **Treaty:** It refers to a formal agreement between two or more countries.

3.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) Republic, (b) Mazzini
2. (a) False, (b) True
3. (a) True, (b) True
4. (a) Metternich, (b) German
5. After the fall of the Byzantine Empire to the Ottoman Empire, maximum part of Greece came under the Ottoman rule.
6. The Treaty of San Stefano was signed by Russia and Turkey.
7. The representatives of England, Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Italy and Turkish Congress met in 1878 at Berlin to settle the Near Eastern Question.
8. In the Treaty of Berlin, England was given the right to occupy the Island of Cyprus.

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3.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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Short-Answer Questions

1. Which factors hampered the Italian unification?
2. Review the impact of the French Revolution on the Italian Unification.
3. State the Franco-German relations before the unification of Germany.
4. State the causes and outcomes of the Greek War of Independence.
5. Why did Russia suggest 'dismembering' Turkey?
6. List the main features of the Treaty of Berlin of 1878.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the roles of Mazzini and Cavour in the Italian unification.
2. Explain the role played by Bismarck in the German unification.
3. Describe how the outcomes of Wars with Denmark and Austria shaped the German Unification.
4. Describe the status of the Ottoman Empire in the beginning of the 19th century.
5. Explain how the British managed to hold 'influence' over the Turkish Sultan.
6. Discuss the Crimean War and Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78. How did these wars shape the history of the Ottoman Empire on one hand, and of the European powers on the other?
7. Critically evaluate the main provisions of the Treaty of Berlin and the Berlin Congress.

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UNIT 4 IMPERIALISM, REVOLUTION AND TOTALITARIAN STATES

*Imperialism, Revolution
and Totalitarian States*

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Structure

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- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 First World War
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4.0 INTRODUCTION

Most of you are probably aware of how appalling the First World War was and the toll it took, not just in terms of lives but many other things. It is generally believed that the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand by a member of the Black Hand, an underground terror society, was the chief cause of the War. However, as you read this unit, you will realize that this was not so. The reasons for the First World War can cause confusion in the minds of those attempting to study it since they are not as clear and straightforward as the Second World War.

The turn of the twentieth century marked a new beginning in the annals of world history. It altered and redefined the history of the world in more ways than one and the transition was far from smooth. The developments of the nineteenth century had already prepared the ground for such an upheaval. The Industrial Revolution in Europe led to: Search for newer markets, search for better sources of raw material, rise of nationalism, and fierce competition due to the spread of trade and commerce.

Europe was the epicentre of these happenings, and the major European powers started viewing each other as competitors for the same set of resources and markets. They adopted confrontationist policies to establish their supremacy and retain control

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over large parts of Asia and Africa. The competing nations soon started building alliances to serve their common interests and protect their territories from rival powers. What started as discrete events aimed at furthering economic interests soon extended to the raising of strong armies and huge military build-ups to safeguard the newly acquired territories and markets. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the stage was set for a see-saw battle between the major Western powers, which were divided into two distinct blocks by now and a war looked imminent. As the ground was getting prepared for a large-scale confrontation between the major European nations, certain immediate events of provocation worked as the flashpoint and what ensued was a full-fledged war. The First World War, as it came to be called, turned out to be one of the deadliest wars ever fought and on a scale never witnessed before.

One of the important causes of the February Revolution was the heavy military setback suffered by the Russian army during the First World War. The losses suffered by Russia in the First World War played a definite role in the mutinies and revolts that began to occur. Russian soldiers, with lowered morale, began to fraternize with the enemy. However, Tsar Nicholas II, the last Emperor of Russia, insisted on ruling as an autocrat. He had comprehensively failed to deal adequately with the problems facing the country. Social unrest and public discontent against the government reached a climax, leading to the Russian Revolution in 1917. The Revolution in February destroyed the Tsarist autocracy and resulted in the creation of the Soviet Union under a provisional government. However, soon Russia witnessed a period of dual power. In the dual power system, the provisional government held state power, whereas the national network of Soviets, led by socialists, had the allegiance of the lower classes and the political left. During this disordered phase, mutinies, protests and strikes became the order of the day. Finally, in the October Revolution, the Bolshevik party, under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin, deposed the provisional government. Besides the developments during the First World War, there were many other causes of the Russian Revolution. This unit discusses the various causes of the Russian Revolution in detail. In this unit, you will also identify and recognize the causes that led to dictatorship in countries like Germany and Italy.

History is replete with examples where dictators have left nations exhausted, overturned and on the verge of social, cultural, economic and especially political breakdown. Dictatorship is a concept that has its origins in the mind of a person, who solely wants to achieve a state of total control over all the intricacies of a nation, and visualizes himself to be the only source of political, social and economic emancipation.

The history of the world very conspicuously reflects the above stated scenario. The world has been a witness to the nature, scope and effects of dictatorship in almost every century. However, the most prominent of all the dictatorships have been seen in the post-World War I era. After the First World War, nations of the world geared towards creating amnesty between the nations, especially Europe. The first decade post-World War I saw rampant changes in the cultural, social and political ideologies of various nations. This period saw the breakdown of old nations, old ways of thinking, and the formation of new nations with new identities, territories including various political and social changes. Various international organizations too were set up which helped in establishing global peace and the phenomenon of democracy especially in Europe was received with open arms. The European nations saw the fall of most of the monarchies and the consequent establishment of a system where people elected their own representatives, had rights to vote along with a governmental system which catered to the newly established social and cultural set up.

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However, this reform was short-lived. There was a persistent conservative authoritarianism in smaller nations of Central and Eastern Europe, and nations like Germany, Soviet Union and Italy were dominated by radical dictatorship. Dictatorship in these countries led to an unprecedented control over the masses by the dictator, who vehemently rejected all forms of parliamentary rule. Europe, in particular, witnessed totalitarian dictatorship in various forms. Apart from affecting the political nature of the nations, these states also affected the overall workings of other sovereign states and openly flouted the norms established by the League of Nations which was primarily formed to maintain international peace.

Dictatorship, totalitarianism or fascism—all have common elements and characteristics, however all these ideologies have a common result—defeat, in all parameters and aspects. However, if the dictators see the people as important catalysts for reforms, dictatorship can be perceived to be good in many ways. The present unit details the various causes and implications of dictatorship in countries like Germany and Italy.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Assess the reasons and causes for the outbreak of the First World War
- Explain the course and impact of the First World War
- Discuss the Peace Settlement of Paris and the Treaty of Versailles
- Describe the causes, course and impact of the Russian Revolution
- Analyse the causes behind the rise of dictatorship or totalitarianism in Europe
- Evaluate the causes of the rise of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany

4.2 FIRST WORLD WAR

The First World War, which was fought on a global scale, was a major war centered in Europe. The War began in 1914 and lasted until 1918, for a period of four years and three months, and had its impact practically on all the countries and regions of the world. It was predominantly called the World War or the Great War till the Second World War started in 1939. Thereafter, it was known as the First World War or World War I. The War involved all the great powers of the world, which were divided into two opposing alliances that were the Allies and the Central Powers. However, the First World War was not an instant development and it was the ultimate result of various developments in the economic and political sphere which were going on for about a century in Europe. The nature of the War, both in terms of intensity and scale, was completely different from the known wars fought earlier in history. The world saw, for the first time, such a large number of countries taking part in a single act of war and the loss of life and property that it caused was unprecedented. The War also saw for the first time the extensive use of modern technology in warfare and new methods of destruction and defence through the deployment of armies, navies and air forces by the respective countries. Ultimately, more than 70 million military personnel, including 60 million Europeans, were mobilized in this War and more than 9 million combatants were killed. This was largely due to the enormous increase in the lethality of weapons, without

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corresponding improvements in protection or mobility. This deadliest of conflicts not only shifted the global balance of power but paved the way for various political changes such as domestic tension and revolutions in the nations involved. David Thomson has observed, 'The greatest novelty of this war was, remarkable disparity between the ends sought, the prices paid and the results obtained.'

The uneasy relations between the major European powers escalated into a transnational conflict in 1914 on account of some instant acts of provocation. On the fateful night of 5 August 1914, five columns of German troops had converged in the town of Liege in Belgium expecting little resistance. To their surprise, they were halted by determined fire from the Liege town's forts. This was a big setback for Germany because control of Liege was essential before they could proceed with their main operation against France. They were forced to resort to siege tactics using heavy military equipment. Finally, the German troops fired from the air and Belgian forces, though strong, were not equipped to withstand such a heavy firing for long. On 13 August, the first fort of the town of Liege surrendered and three days later the entire town came under German control. This surprising turn of events eventually escalated into a horrifying war of frightening proportions and marked the beginning of an era of prolonged conflict in the history of the world. Commenting on the German aggression, German historian, I. Geiss observed, 'The determination of German empire "the most powerful conservative force in the world after the Tsarist Russia" to uphold the conservative and monarchic principles in any means against the rising fold of democracy, plus its *Weltpolitik*, made War inevitable.'

4.2.1 Causes of the First World War

Though the immediate cause of the First World War was the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, by a Yugoslav nationalist in Sarajevo, the real causes of the War lay much deeper. The fundamental causes for the outbreak of the First World War were many like the imperialistic foreign policies of the great powers of Europe, including Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey, Russia, Great Britain, France and Italy. The growth of narrow nationalism, militarism and economic imperialism were also responsible for creating an enabling atmosphere for the War. Finally, the system of secret military alliances, race for armaments, the international negotiations and the occurrence of a series of international crises made the World War inevitable. Professor S. B. Fay, author of *The Origins of the World War Volume II: After Sarajevo*, commenting on this observes that, 'These developments so offered a fertile soil in which the seeds of real war might easily be germinated.' Immediately on the eve of the War several alliances formed over the previous decades were invoked. Within weeks the major powers were at War; via their colonies and the conflict soon spread around the world. The principal causes responsible for the outbreak of the First World War were as follows:

1. Formation of secret alliances

Historians believe that the system of secret alliances which developed after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 was the greatest cause for the outbreak of the First World War. On the eve of the War, entire Europe was divided into two alliances or armed camps, namely, Triple Alliance and Triple Entente. The former consisted of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, while Turkey joined the alliance soon after. The latter was composed of Great Britain, France and Russia. In addition, Great Britain and Japan had

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signed an alliance in 1902 and Japan became a part of the Triple Entente after that. The first step towards the formation of the Triple Alliance was taken when Germany entered into an alliance with Austria-Hungary. In 1882, Italy joined in this alliance. The beginning of the Triple Entente was made in 1894 when France concluded an alliance with Russia. With the dawn of 20th century, Great Britain which was following a policy of splendid isolation, also started looking for allies. Splendid isolation is a policy followed by Britain through the late 19th century, characterizing a non-participation in European matters. Historians are divided over the view as to whether Britain was following the policy of its own will or was forced by circumstances to follow it. Britain entered into a treaty with Japan in 1902 and with France in 1904. When Great Britain concluded a treaty with Russia in 1907, the Triple Entente came into existence. Thus, on the eve of the War, the whole of Europe was virtually split into two camps bound by various secret alliances. Sporadic friction between the two main groups had brought Europe to the verge of war several times since the dawn of the 20th century. There were many causes of friction which threatened to offset the peace of Europe like the naval rivalry between Great Britain and Germany; French resentment at the loss of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany at the end of the Franco-Prussian War of 1871; the Germans fearing the containment of Germany by Great Britain, Russia and France; and the Russian suspicion of Austrian ambitions in the Balkans and the Serbian nationalism.

Serbia had ambitions of uniting all Serbs and Croats, many of whom lived inside the Habsburg Empire in the south Slav Kingdom (Yugoslavia). This made it necessary to take certain areas from Austria-Hungary by threatening to cause the collapse of the ramshackle Habsburg Empire which consisted of many different nationalities and races. There were Slovaks, Italians, Germans, Hungarians, Czechs, Poles, Romanians and Slovenes as well as Serbs and Croats. Had the Serbs and Croats left the fold, many of the others would have demanded their independence as well, and the Habsburg Empire would have broken up. Consequently, many Austrians were keen on what they called a 'preventive war' to destroy Serbia before she became strong enough to destroy Austria-Hungary. From all these resentments and tensions, there arose a series of events which culminated in the outbreak of the war in 1914. According to historian, S. B. Fay, 'The system of secret alliances made it inevitable that if war did come, it would involve all the great powers of Europe. The members of each group felt bound to support each other in order to strengthen the solidarity of the group.'

2. Economic rivalries and imperialism

Economic rivalry and imperialism was another important cause of the First World War. By the end of the 19th century, Great Britain, France and Russia, each had built up huge colonial empires. Germany was left with the smallest share of wealth acquired from colonies. Germany believed itself to be the greatest nation in the world and was not willing to accept the subordinate place in the imperial sphere. It was keen to acquire a world empire worthy of its position. Consequently, when Germany tried to capture the market which was already in the hands of Great Britain, it led to bitterness between the two powers. Great Britain was not prepared to give up her own colonies, spheres of influence and markets, and Germany was bent on getting them at any cost. Meanwhile, the Industrial Revolution increased the rate of production in the European countries. Therefore, the demand for market outside the European continent increased and in the years after 1880s, the race for imperialistic expansion also increased in intensity. The economic rivalry took the form of a struggle mainly between Great Britain and Germany.

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At that time, Britain was apprehending that it may be outdistanced by Germany in the race for colonies. This competition led to resistance between the two European nations.

Britain and Germany struggled for markets in Argentina; Russia and England indulged in a similar struggle for oil in Persia. These economic rivalries led to the partition of Africa. Most of the African continent was taken over by the European States in what became known as the 'Scramble for Africa'. The idea behind it was the control of new markets and new sources of raw materials. The European powers thus established their hegemony in the Far-East and the Near-East. There were also interventions in the crumbling Chinese empire. The European powers, the United States of America and Japan, all at different times, forced the helpless Chinese to grant trading concessions. The condition was such that by 1914, the habitable portions of the world were divided among the European nations, and European powers like Germany sought a 'place in the sun'.

Some of the historians argue that the desire for the economic control of the world caused German businessmen and capitalists to wage a war with Great Britain, who still owned about half of the world's merchant ships in 1914. Some of the Marxist historians support this theory because it puts the blame for the War on the capitalist system. Opponents of this theory, point out that Germany was already well on the way to economic victory. So, some of the leading German industrialists remarked in 1913 that, 'Give us three or four more years of peace and Germany will be unchallenged economic master of Europe'. This ambitious imperialistic objective was the principal factor leading to frictions and the subsequent international crisis.

3. Germany's desire to be world power

Germany's ambitions to build a world empire also added to the turbulence of the world. As long as Herr Otto Von Bismarck was at the helm of affairs of Germany, it was on the whole a satiated power and was interested in maintaining its status-quo based upon its supremacy in Europe. Bismarck was a conservative German political leader who had a considerable role in the unification of Germany. He was devoted to Prussia, and after Germany was unified, the mighty German Empire was established under Prussian leadership. When Bismarck became the President of Prussia, he tried to fume wars against Austria and France so as to establish German supremacy in Europe. He later became the First Chancellor of the German Empire. Bismarck was keen on uniting the German states to form a German Empire that had Prussia at its centre. He knew that this could be achieved only with the empowerment of the German military. A unified Germany had tilted the scales of power in Europe. Bismarck's foreign policies were such that Germany had formed alliances with most nations and could not engage in wars with many nations. These alliances created a feeling of insecurity in the continent later and became one of the reasons for the First World War. After Bismarck's fall in 1890, Germany's ambitions began to climb high and was set at world dominance. This ambitious sentiment is evident from the eminent German historian Preitschke's statements, 'Just as the greatness of Germany is to be found in the governance of Germany by Prussia so the greatness and good of the world is to be found in the predominance of all German culture, of the German mind in a world, of the German character.'

4. French desire to recover Alsace-Lorraine

The snatching away of Alsace and Lorraine from France by Germany in 1871 and the consequent determination of the French people to get them back was another cause of

the First World War. The government of the Third Republic in France left no stone unturned to keep the spirit of revenge and the hope for the restoration of the two provinces alive. France was keen to get back these two areas because these areas were rich in minerals, particularly in iron ore. The French felt that the Germans owed their industrial prosperity to these areas. In certain quarters of France, it was felt that if Germany had not interfered in Morocco, the French might have found some compensation for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine and forgotten their vengeance against Germany. But the constant German interference in the affairs of Morocco further added to the bitterness between these two European powers.

5. Italy's ambitious desires

Another cause of the War was the desire of the people of Italy to recover Trentino and the areas around the port of Trieste which were inhabited by the Italians but were still under the control of Austria-Hungary. As these areas once formed part of the Roman Empire, the Italians raised slogans of *Italia Irredenta* or 'unredeemed Italy'. Further, the economic bankruptcy and rapidly growing population of Italy also compelled her to look around for more land and economic resources. This brought Italy closer to Germany which was equally keen to challenge the status-quo in the European continent and establish a huge empire abroad.

6. Contest over control of Balkan Peninsula

The competition for the control of the Balkan Peninsula between Austria-Hungary and Russia enhanced the tension and became a major cause for the outbreak of the First World War. After the fall of the Turkish Empire, a number of small countries emerged in the Balkan Peninsula. Three of these, Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia, began to clash with each other for the control of the fertile Macedonia.

Russia was keenly interested in the Balkan politics and backed Serbia in her demand for bigger Serbia, because Russia saw in it an opportunity of getting control of Constantinople, warm water port in the South and the straits of Dardanelles and Bosphorus. Using the same, Russia wished to approach the Mediterranean Sea, the attainment of which had always been the objective of Russian foreign policy.

During the Bosnian crisis of 1908, Russia adopted a sympathetic attitude towards Serbia and threatened to take action against Austrian aggression. But German declaration to stand by Austria and promise full military support to her forced Russia to retreat. This development enhanced the bitterness between Austria, Serbia and Russia.

In 1912-13, another crisis occurred in Balkan and Austria did her best to thwart the ambitions of Serbia. Austria forced Serbia to evacuate various Adriatic towns which the Serbs had conquered. Austria also raised Albania as an autonomous state to prevent Serbia from obtaining any outlet to the sea. Austria also wanted to go to war but was restrained by Germany. Austrian attitude was greatly resented by both Great Britain and Russia. The Austro-Serbian feud gradually intensified the tension in the European continent and aggravated the fragile peace in the region.

7. Militarism and naval race between European powers

Militarism was a significant cause for the First World War. European continent was an armed camp on the eve of the First World War. Militarism means the existence of a powerful standing army and navy as a measure for preparedness for war. The military and naval armament of all the great powers began to increase year after year. Each

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nation had its own war strategy and on the eve of the First World War, all of them had tried to strengthen their war strategies and military power.

Likewise, the fear, distrust, hatred and suspicion among the various nations like the Great Britain and Germany led to the naval race. Starting with Admiral Tirpitz's Navy Law of 1897, the growth of the German fleet on the sea probably did not worry Great Britain too much at first because Great Britain had an enormous lead in this field. The introduction of the powerful British 'Dreadnought' battleship in 1906 changed all this because it made all other battleships obsolete. This naval race of Great Britain with Germany was meant to establish the might of British naval power and to make Great Britain the unchallenged force on the high seas. After the introduction of the 'Dreadnought' battleship, the Germans also built new warships on equal terms with Britain. The resulting naval race turned out to be the main bone of contention between the two powers till the beginning of the War in 1914. According to Winston Churchill, 'Though, in the spring and summer of 1914, naval rivalry had ceased to be a cause of friction because it was certain that we (Britain) could not be overtaken as far as capital ships were concerned.'

Due to this militarism and naval race the great powers of Europe began to increase their expenditure concerning their army and navy. During that time Germany increased its military and naval expenditure up to 335 per cent. Russia and Britain also increased their expenditure 214 per cent for military and 185 per cent for navy, respectively.

8. Lack of a world body to regulate international relations

The lack of a world body to regulate the affairs of the States also contributed to the War. The States were following strict confidentiality in their diplomacy and in certain States the matters of secrecy were not revealed even to the members of the ministry. As a result the issues were clouded in mystery. Although, by the end of the 19th century, certain principles of international law and morality had been evolved through the Hague Conference, the States paid little attention to them in the absence of a powerful authority to enforce these rules.

Further, the States were very much conscious of their sovereignty and they did not like the idea of submitting to any international organization and also did not consider the rules of international morality binding on them. The absence of a strong international agency created anarchy in the international relations as there was no institution to make laws for the nations and compel all to respect such laws.

9. Series of international crises

The series of international crises are as follows:

- (i) **The Moroccan Crisis:** Germany interfered in the affairs of Morocco in 1905-06 and demanded all powers to enjoy equal privileges in Morocco. This was one of the few remaining areas of the African Continent not controlled by a European power. The Germans believed that as per the Anglo-French Agreement *Entente Cordiale* signed in 1904, the French would recognize Great Britain's position in Egypt in return for British approval of a possible French takeover of Morocco. Fearing the possible French occupation of Morocco, the Germans announced that they would assist the Sultan of Morocco to maintain his country's independence, and insisted for an international conference to discuss its future. As per the demand of Germany, a conference was also held in 1906 at Algeiras in Spain. Meanwhile, the British believed that if the Germans had their way, it would be an important step on the road to the German diplomatic domination. The

Germans did not take the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904 seriously, because there was a long record of hostility between Great Britain and France. However, to the utter surprise of Germany, Great Britain, Russia, Italy and Spain supported the French demand to control the Moroccan Bank and police. This was a grave diplomatic failure for Germany, which realized that the new line-up of Britain and France was a strong force to be reckoned with, especially as the Moroccan crisis was soon followed by Anglo-French military exchanges. This crisis further reduced the trust factor between various European powers.

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- (ii) **The Anglo-Russian Agreement:** The Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 was seen by Germany as another hostile move. The logic behind it was given that in 1894 Russia had signed an alliance with France, which was Britain's partner in the *Entente Cordiale* signed in 1904. For years, the British had viewed Russia as a major threat to their interests in the Far East and India, which were colonies of Great Britain at that time. However, the changing situation in 1904–05 where Japan defeated Russia had weakened it considerably, and it no longer seemed so much of a threat. This development forced Great Britain to change its mindset. Whereas, on the other hand, the Russians were keen to end the long-standing rivalry and anxious to attract British investment for their industrial modernization programme. The Agreement, therefore, settled their remaining differences. This Agreement was not a military alliance and not necessarily an anti-German move, but the Germans saw it as confirmation of their fears that Britain, France and Russia were planning to encircle it. Undoubtedly, this development enhanced the tension in Europe.
- (iii) **The Bosnia Crisis:** The Austrians, taking advantage of a revolution in Turkey, annexed the Turkish province of Bosnia. This was a deliberate blow to the neighbouring state of Serbia, because Serbia had also been hoping to take Bosnia. The motive behind Serbian interest was that Bosnia contained around three million Serbs among its mixed population of Serbs, Croats, and Muslims. The Serbs appealed for help to their fellow Slavs and the Russians, who called for a European Conference, expecting French and British support. When it became clear that Germany would support Austria in the event of war, the French drew back, unwilling to become involved in a war in Balkans. The British, anxious to avoid a breach with Germany, did no more than to protest to Austria-Hungary. The Russians, after their defeat from Japan, dared not risk another war without the support of their allies. In this situation, Serbia did not get any help from outside and no conference took place. Austria kept Bosnia, and it was a victory for the Austro-German alliance. After this development, Serbia remained bitterly hostile to Austria and it was this quarrel, that heightened the tension in European continent, and later this led to the outbreak of the First World War. On the other hand, to avoid further humiliation, Russians were determined to embark a massive military build-up.
- (iv) **The Agadir Crisis:** The Agadir Crisis of 1911 was a further development in the Moroccan Crisis. French troops occupied the Moroccan capital Fez in 1911 to suppress a rebellion against the Sultan. It looked as if the French were about to annex Morocco. Hoping to pressurize the French and giving Germany compensation, Germans sent a gunboat, Panther, to the Moroccan port of Agadir. The French stood firm making no major concessions, and eventually the German gunboat was removed. On their part, the Germans agreed to recognize the French

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protectorate over Morocco in return for two strips of territory in the French Congo. It was seen as a victory for the French but this development triggered a naval race between the European powers like Britain, France and Germany.

- (v) **Balkan Wars:** The Balkan War of 1912 started when Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro, who were known as the Balkan League, attacked Turkey and captured most of its remaining territory in Europe. After the outbreak of the War, Germany and Great Britain intervened in it and arranged a peace conference in London. They were anxious to avoid a conflict between the Balkan League and Turkey, and simultaneously they had to demonstrate that Great Britain and Germany could still work together. The resulting settlement divided the former Turkey's lands among the Balkan states. However, the Serbs were not happy with the gains of the Balkan states; rather they wanted Albania which would give them an outlet to sea. In the meantime, the Austrians with British and German support insisted that Albania should become an independent state. This was a deliberate attempt made by Austria to prevent Serbia from becoming more powerful.

A year after this development, the Second Balkan War broke out in 1913 because the Bulgarians were dissatisfied with the peace settlement. They were hopeful of acquiring Macedonia, but most of Macedonia was conquered by Serbia. This led Bulgaria to attack Serbia but its plan backfired when Romania, Turkey and Greece supported Serbia. In that War, the Bulgarians were defeated and by the Treaty of Bucharest of 1913, the Bulgarians forfeited most of their gains from the First Balkan War of 1912. The Anglo-German influence prevented a further escalation of the tension by restraining the Austrians who were about to support Bulgaria and planning to attack Serbia. The repercussions of these two Balkan wars were grave. On the one hand, Serbia was strengthened and it was determined to intervene between the Serbs and Croats who were living inside Austria-Hungary, on the other hand the Austrians were equally determined to put an end to Serbia's ambitions.

10. The assassination of the Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand

The immediate cause of the First World War was the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, by a Serbian in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914. The Archduke was paying an official visit to the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo when he and his wife were shot dead. The assassin, Gavrilo Princip, was a member of the Black Hand, a secret society of the Serbian terrorists. Austrians were outraged at this incident and held Serbia responsible for this by serving an ultimatum for this reprehensible act. Serbia refused to comply with the ultimatum served by Austria because of Russian backing. In the meantime, Austria wanted to crush Serbia and even managed to get the support of Germany. An effort of mediation was made by the powers but to no avail. Finally, on 28 July 1914 Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, thus beginning the First World War. Initially, Great Britain and Germany tried to localize the War but soon it became evident that the matters had gone out of their hands. The Russians who did not want to let down the Serbs, ordered a general military mobilization against Austria on 29 July. Germany demanded that Russia should put an end to its military mobilization and withdraw troops. But when the Russians refused to comply, Germany declared war on Russia on 1 August 1914 and on France on 3 August. When German troops entered Belgium on their way to invade France, Great Britain who had promised to defend Belgian interest demanded their withdrawal. When Germany ignored this demand of Britain, Great Britain entered into the War on 4 August. On 6 August Austria-Hungary also declared war on Russia and other countries joined later.

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In the War that followed, Serbia was supported by Russia, France, England and Japan, and in 1915, Italy which was not a member of the Triple Alliance, also joined them and declared war against Austria-Hungary and Germany. Turkey, however, fought on the side of the Central Powers, which included Austria-Hungary and Germany. While fixing the responsibility for the outbreak of First World War in *The Origins of the First World War*, Fay observes that, 'It was primarily Russian general mobilization when Germany was trying to bring Austria to a settlement, which precipitated the final catastrophe, causing Germany to mobilize and declare war.'

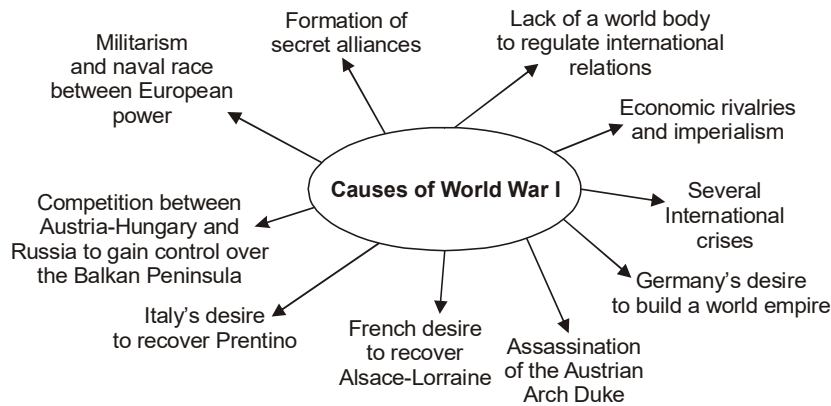


Fig. 4.1 Causes of World War I

Course of the First World War

The War, which started with the attack of Serbia by Austria-Hungary, turned out to be quite different from what most people had anticipated. It was not confined only to the European continent, but soon saw the participation of many powerful countries of the world. Almost all the big countries of the world were automatically drawn into the War in various battles that were fought in different parts of the world.

Initially, when Austria-Hungary attacked Serbia, Great Britain and Germany made efforts to localize the conflict. However, when Russia declared war against Austria-Hungary, Germany also declared war against Russia. Until this time, the war had not assumed the shape of a World War. It was only after Germany violated the neutrality of Belgium and Britain, and France declared war on it that the conflict assumed the shape of a World War. Although Great Britain joined the War on the plea that Germany has violated Belgium's neutrality, Belgium could not be saved and the German force was able to smash the resistance of Belgium. Germany then headed towards Paris and went beyond Marne. However, General Foch, aided by Great Britain, compelled the Germans to retreat from Marne to the northern side of river Aisne. The battle of Marne was a turning point of the War because it foiled all German plans of crossing France and extending a helping hand to its allies for concerted action against the enemies. This development dashed all hopes of a short war. Both sides dug themselves in and spent the next four years attacking and defending lines of trenches.

During the War in Eastern Europe there were many other developments on the sidelines which precipitated the crisis. The early Russian success against the Austrians who constantly had to be helped out by the Germans caused friction between the two allies. On the Eastern front Russia mobilized at quick speed and invaded East Prussia but it was defeated by Hindenburg at Tannenberg. Russia was, however, more successful against the Austrians and occupied the Carpathian passes from where it could prove a

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threat for Hungary. However, the Germans came to Austria's rescue and pushed back the Russians and captured Warsaw, the capital of Poland.

In 1915, Italy joined the Allies in spite of its alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary because the Allies agreed to make territorial adjustment with regard to its frontiers. Further, Italy realized that this approach could help to recover some of the provinces which formerly belonged to it from Austria. Japan also joined the Allies as Germany had objected to Japan's taking of Liaotung from China in 1895 but was forced to surrender this. Turkey fought on the side of the Central Powers. In the initial stage of the War, it inflicted heavy losses on the Allies, and prevented communication between Russia and the Allies. Great Britain was defeated at Gallipoli which was probably its greatest disappointment in the War. However, soon Great Britain recovered itself from the defeat and recaptured Kut and occupied Baghdad. It also made political concessions to the Arabs by recognizing their independence. Though in the first year of War Serbia resisted the Austrian attacks boldly, in 1915, it succumbed to double attack of the Bulgarians on the south and the combined Austro-German attack on the north.

As far as the War on the sea was concerned, the British navy maintained its dominance on others on the seas. On the sea front, Germans lost heavily in the operations of Dogger bank and the right of Heligoland. In the battle of Jutland the losses on both sides were equally heavy though strategically the War went in favour of Great Britain. In spite of these setbacks, the German ships succeeded in doing much damage to Allies' commerce. However, after the comprehensive defeat at Falkland Islands, the German navy was rendered defensive.

After the defeat of Germany at Falkland Islands, the Germans retaliated with mines and submarine attacks. This was their only alternative as their surface vessels were either destroyed or were blockaded in various ports. Initially, they showed respect to neutral shipping and passenger liners but it soon became clear that the German blockade was ineffective. Meanwhile Britain also tried to mislead the Germans by flying neutral flags and by using passenger liners to transport arms and ammunition. In 1915, the British liner Lusitania was sunk by a torpedo attack. Germans knew that Lusitania was armed and carrying vast quantities of arms and ammunition. So Germans claimed that the sinking of the boat was not an act of barbarism against the defenseless civilians. This act of Germany resulted in serious consequences as out of almost 2,000 dead, 128 were Americans. At this juncture the American President Woodrow Wilson recognised that the US would have to take part in the War to protect its trade. Whereas the British blockade did not interfere with the safety of passengers and crew, but the German tactics certainly did. This led to protests from America and the submarine campaign was toned down.

In the mid-1916, the German Admiral Von Scheer tried to lure part of Britain's fleet to come out of its base so that the numerically superior Germans could destroy it. However, more British ships came out contrary to the expectations of Germans. After a fierce battle, the Germans used torpedoes and destroyed 14 British ships whereas the British had also destroyed 11 German ships in the battle, and this is famous as the Battle of Jutland. The real importance of the Battle lay in the fact that the Germans had failed to destroy Great Britain's sea power. Due to British blockade, the German fleet of high seas stayed in Kiel port for the rest of the War. Finally, in desperation due to food shortages, the German fleet embarked on unrestrained submarine warfare.

After the Battle of Jutland, the Germans had been concentrating on the production of U-boats to sink all enemy warships and merchant ships in the Atlantic. Although they

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knew that this act was likely to bring the US into the War, the Germans hoped that before the Americans could make any vital contribution, they would force the British and France to surrender. The Germans got enormous success in this field in April 1917 by sinking 430 ships and Britain was reduced to about six weeks of corn supply. However, by introducing the convoy system, where a convoy of large number of merchant ships were protected by escorting warships, Lloyd George saved the situation. This act of George drastically reduced the losses by protecting the merchant ships and with it the German gamble had once again failed. The submarine campaign was important because it brought the US into the First World War. The British navy helped by the Americans played a pivotal role in the defeat of the Central Powers. During that time, after the revolt of 1917, Russia suffered a number of defeats and ultimately surrendered to Germany by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The withdrawal of Russia from War enabled Germany to transfer a large section of its troops to the western front to give a big blow to the Allies. However, the Allies were saved by the entry of the US in the War. The US entered the War as a protest against the unrestrained submarine campaign carried out by Germany in violation of all legal and humanitarian considerations. At the end of 1917, only one American division had been in action, but by mid 1918 over half a million men were involved. Most important was the psychological boost which the American potential in resources of men and material gave the allies and the corresponding blow it gave to German morale.

In 1917, a new European power, Greece, had also joined the War against the Central Powers and held the armies in Macedonia. In September 1918, Bulgaria surrendered before the marching armies of Greece and sought a ceasefire. In October 1918, Austria sought an armistice and was out of War. Turkey was also defeated. Thus, Germany was left alone in the War. In the meantime, there was a mutiny in Germany and the emperor was forced to abdicate. The new head of the German Government, Max Von Baden, sought peace based on the Fourteen Points announced by President Wilson of the US. The Fourteen Points of Woodrow Wilson were:

- (i) Eradication of secret diplomacy
- (ii) Free navigation facilities at sea for all nations in war and peace
- (iii) All round reduction of armaments
- (iv) Elimination of economic barriers between states
- (v) Evacuation of Russian territory
- (vi) Re-establishment of Belgium
- (vii) Liberation of France and restoration of Alsace-Lorraine
- (viii) Readjustment of Italian frontiers along the lines of nationality
- (ix) Impartial adjustment of colonial claims in the interest of the populations concerned
- (x) Self-government for the people of Austria-Hungary
- (xi) Evacuation from Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and Serbia giving access to the sea
- (xii) An independent Poland with secure access to the sea
- (xiii) A general association of the nations to preserve peace
- (xiv) Self-government for the non-Turkish people of the Turkish Empire and permanent opening of the Dardanelles

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Germany thought by asking for peace, in 1918, it would save itself from invasion and preserve the army's discipline and reputation. Fighting continued for another five weeks while negotiations went on, but eventually an armistice was signed on 11. On 18 November 1918, the terms of the armistice were conveyed to Germany. Though the terms were very hard, it had no other option but to surrender. Thus, in November 1918, the First World War ended. The War has been described as the worst disaster to the humankind. Describing the enormity of the First World War, historian C. J. H. Hayes has rightly observed that, 'The war, thus closing, was indeed a World War. Never before had there been a struggle so gigantic, so deadly and costly.'

4.2.2 Effects of the First World War

The First World War left a manifold impact on the contemporary society, polity and economy of the world.

1. Political Impact

The First World War had a serious consequence on the polity of the then contemporary world which was highly influenced by this event.

- (i) In the first place, the War gave a shattering blow to some of the autocratic monarchies functioning in various countries of Europe of the time. It paved the way for the development of democratic system in Europe. As an upshot of the War three autocratic dynasties, namely, the Hohenzollernian in Germany, the Hapsburg in Austria-Hungary, and the Romanov in Russia were destroyed. In a number of states, monarchical system was replaced by republican system. These countries were Poland, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Czechoslovakia. The emergence of democratic system led to recognition of people's democratic rights.
- (ii) The War encouraged the principles of nationalism and self-determination. After the War empires having people with different culture were dissociated and independent states with distinct cultures came up to the fore. Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Alsace-Lorraine, etc., which had distinct cultures of their own made their appearance and were given to France. Similarly, Schleswig-Holstein was restored to Denmark. China, Turkey, Egypt and Ireland were also influenced with the impact of nationalism.
- (iii) The weakening position of the colonial powers in Europe provided an opportunity to freedom movements in Asia and Africa. Colonized countries like India began to feel that in view of the weakened position of the colonial powers they could hope to gain freedom. Therefore, they intensified the campaign of freedom struggle. The prolonged freedom struggle in Asian and African countries led to a change in the policy of colonial powers towards their colonies. During the pre-war period, the colonial powers treated their colonial possessions as per their wish without taking into account the wishes of the people. In contrast to their earlier practice, in the post-World War period the colonized territories were granted certain rights and some restrictions were imposed on them under the mandate system. Overall, greater importance began to be attached to the interests of the colonial people after the War.
- (iv) The First World War promoted the spirit of 'internationalism'. During the War various nations came in close contact with each other through various alliances, pacts and agreements. These relationships continued further even after the War ended, which greatly contributed to the development of the spirit of internationalism.

- (v) The most important contribution of the First World War was the creation of an international organization, The League of Nations, to monitor the international relations of various countries and to encourage peace, harmony and international cooperation. It was the horror of the War which convinced the world leaders of the need for an institution to prevent the recurrence of such war and promote international understanding. This culminated in the establishment of the League of Nations. However, unfortunately various powers did not fully cooperate with the League of Nations and tried to promote their selfish national interests and thus contributed to the failure of the League.

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2. Economic Impact

The First World War which was a terrible catastrophe on humanity and caused massive loss of life and property also destroyed the economy of several countries who participated in the War. In this War, around 30 countries participated including all the major colonial powers of Europe and suffered huge losses in terms of men and material. Of the 65 million people who took part in the War more than 9 million people were killed, 29 million people were either wounded or reported missing. On this, C. J. E. Hayes has observed, 'Every family in Eastern and Central Europe, every family in Italy, France and the huge British empire and many families in America suffered loss of near relatives and close friends.'

- (i) In terms of money the War was estimated to cost around 400 billion dollars.
- (ii) Second, as a result of the War, the prices of all commodities registered a steep rise, which caused much hardship and suffering for the general public. It forced various governments to take concrete measures to regulate prices and control the distribution system. Thus, the post-war situation created an environment favourable for the rise of state socialism.
- (iii) The War also led to the rise of trade-union activities. During the War, the demand for labour increased manifold. The industrialists and the industrialized states provided all sorts of facilities to the labourers to run their factories on full capacity. The labourers tried to make their condition better by demanding much deserved concessions and benefits from the state and factory owners. To safeguard their interests, they also established trade unions. Undoubtedly, the War enhanced the importance of workers and labourers and gave them a mechanism to protect their interests.
- (iv) Fourth, scholars believe that the increasing use of paper currency was largely the outcome of the First World War. The shortage of metals after the First World War forced countries to print paper money for smaller denominations.
- (v) The War also led to devaluation of currency and economic depression in the world. In order to meet the huge expenses of the War, different countries imposed heavy taxes on the people, which caused much difficulty for the people. However, these extra taxes proved to be insufficient to fulfill the enormous expenses. Hence, the governments resorted to printing of currency notes without taking into account the reserve bullion stocks. This later became the cause for economic depression and currency devaluation.

During the First World War, for the maintenance of their armies, ships and for the procurement of arms and armaments, different countries raised loans from various possible quarters because the War expenses were beyond their expectation and paying capacity. As a result, in the wake of the War most of the great powers were forced to devalue

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their currency and were faced with great challenges of economic reconstruction. In the post-war scenario and particularly in the 1930s, the contemporary situation paved the way for the economic depression, which caused much hardship to the public throughout the world.

3. Social Impact

In the social sphere, the World War also had far-reaching consequences. The huge loss of life and material during the course of War caused untold sufferings to countless families in various countries. It compelled the contemporary world leaders to think of some mechanism for avoiding reoccurrence of war of this magnitude in the future, and to maintain peace and tranquility in the globe. This led to the establishment of the League of Nations to resolve international disputes amicably on the basis of reason and justice. This was the biggest achievement of the post-World War period.

Secondly, the cut-throat competition between the rival powers to surpass one another during the War, gave a boost to the rapid scientific progress in various parts of the world. On the eve and during the course of War, various European powers tried to improve their merchant ships, war ships, submarines, aeroplanes, and other war equipment, and invented various lethal gases to gain an edge over their opponents. These modern techniques used in the War cut short the duration of the War. Further, the scientific inventions throughout the War period also contributed to industrialization of the world and rapid agricultural progress.

The War promoted the feeling of goodwill and fraternity among the people. Before the War, the Europeans and particularly the colonial powers regarded themselves, their culture, traditions, religion and literature superior and refused to even mix up with the black Asians and Africans. The Whites, denounced the literature written by the black Asians and Africans, their conventional knowledge system and denied the very basic democratic rights of these people. However, during the War the Europeans and the colonial powers in particular, were forced to shun this feeling of racial superiority and differences, and the European soldiers fought shoulder to shoulder with the Asian and African soldiers. The gallantry displayed by the Asian and African soldiers greatly impressed the Europeans and their hatred towards these races changed to some extent. As a result, the feeling of racism slowly subsided and it was taken over by a newfound goodwill among the people.

The First World War posed a serious threat to the educational system of that time. Education suffered a setback because during the War many educational institutions were forcibly closed down and students were encouraged to undergo military training to provide the necessary fighting force as per the requirement of the War. In most of the countries military training was made compulsory for the students and conventional education was discouraged. All this greatly hampered the progress of education.

The War also contributed to the progress of women. Participating in the War millions of men lost their lives. Therefore, a scarcity of labourers was felt. Factory owners and the governments of industrialized states were, therefore, compelled to engage women as factory workers. Rising to the need of the hour women workers entered the hitherto male bastions and helped in maintaining the production of their industries. Therefore, immediately after the post-war period, they came to be recognized as regular labour force. All this greatly contributed to the elevation of their status and led to their empowerment.

4.2.3 Treaty of Versailles

The First World War which continued for four years and three months, i.e., 1,566 days, involved mobilization of 65 million men of whom 7 million died and 13 million were wounded and which cost around 400 billion dollars. This was brought to an end by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and four other treaties concluded at various places by the Allies. In this landmark treaty of the world, the terms of peace with Germany were embodied in the Treaty of Versailles, which is the longest document of its kind. This peace treaty was a dictated one because the German diplomats were not at all consulted before its preparation, and it was finally imposed on them. The path of conclusion of the peace treaties was not at all smooth. There were many difficulties encountered by the peace conference mainly owing to the uncompromising nature of the delegates. The 1,037 delegates who attended the Paris Peace Conference, and almost all of them, as Langsam has said, 'came to attend the Paris Peace Conference well equipped with records and memoranda'. The opinions and counter opinions of these experts further added to the difficulties of reaching an agreed decision.

The lack of well-defined principles regarding the solution of the post-war problems and the future reconstruction of the world also stood in the way of leaders in finding any formula and a definite plan. The four leading figures; Woodrow Wilson of the US, Lloyd George of UK, Clemenceau of France, and Orlando of Italy, entrusted with the responsibility of taking a decision had no similarity of interests. While Wilson wanted to establish long and durable peace based on justice and neutrality instead of taking revenge on the enemy country, Clemenceau and Orlando were more keen to protect the territorial interests of France and Italy, respectively. They were not much bothered about the problem of world peace. Lloyd George of UK was no doubt eager to establish international peace based on truth and justice, but he was willing to do all this only if the interests of the United Kingdom were protected. Hence, the proceedings of the Conference were hindered by the two conflicting approaches adopted by the leaders. Although Wilson was not in favour of secret diplomacy, in view of the eagerness of the powers like Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan to observe the terms of these secret treaties, he was ultimately forced to compromise. Commenting on this, historians like Walter Consuelo Langsam in *World Since 1919*, has said, 'Wilson's idealism came into sharp conflict with materialism at the conference and in most cases materialism triumphed'. All these difficulties were ultimately overcome before the Paris Peace Conference leading to the conclusion of five treaties:

- (i) The Treaty of Versailles of 28 June 1919 concluded with Germany
- (ii) The Treaty of St. Germain of 10 September 1919 with Austria
- (iii) The Treaty of Neuilly of 27 November 1919 concluded with Bulgaria
- (iv) The Treaty of Trianon of 4 July 1920 concluded with Hungary
- (v) The Treaty of Sevres of 10 August 1920 concluded with Turkey (the Treaty of Sevres was revised in the Conference at Lausanne in 1923) and peace was formally established only on 6 August 1924 when the Treaty came into force

The Treaty of Versailles was signed between the Allies and Germany on 28 June 1919. The draft of the Treaty was presented to the German Foreign Minister on 7 May 1919 and Germany was given three weeks time to file written objections if any. On 29 May objections to the Treaty were received from Germany. After the stiff attitude of Clemenceau, a revised Treaty with five days time to accept the Treaty was issued. The

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Allies warned that if Germany failed to do so their country would be invaded. As Germany was under the grip of famine, the German Assembly decided to accept the terms of the Treaty, and they appended their signatures to the Treaty on June 28. Historians like Norman Lowe have commented that, 'The Treaty of Versailles in particular was one of the most controversial settlements ever signed, and it was criticised even in the Allied countries on the grounds that it was too hard on the Germans who were bound to object so violently that another war was inevitable, sooner or later.' In addition, many of the terms such as reparations and disarmament proved impossible to carry out.

Provisions of the Treaty

The various provisions of the Treaty are as follows:

1. Territorial Provisions

The Treaty affected substantial territorial changes. According to the Treaty:

- (i) Germany lost Alsace and Lorraine to France, which it had taken from France in 1871. Belgium got back Eupen and Malmedy as well as Moresnet, which it got in partial compensation for the destruction of its forts by Germany.
- (ii) Germany agreed to give Upper Silesia and the southern part of East Prussia to Poland if the people concerned were in favour of joining it. The wishes of the people were to be determined by a plebiscite. When the plebiscite was actually held the decision was in favour of a complete merger with Germany. However, Poland insisted that it must be given those areas, which had Polish majority. After the intervention of France, the League Council partitioned Silesia, leaving more than half of the area and population to Germany, but the industrialized areas of Silesia were given to Poland. Danzig, the main port city of West Prussia, was taken away from Germany and was set up as a free city under the administration of the League of Nations, because its population was wholly German.
- (iii) Memel was given to Lithuania in 1924 and in the north Germany lost northern Schleswig to Denmark after a plebiscite.
- (iv) The Saar Valley was to be administered by the League of Nations for 15 years, after which it was decided that the people would be allowed to vote on whether it should belong to France or Germany. In the meantime, France was given the exclusive rights of exploitation of coal mines of the Valley. Fifteen years after when the plebiscite was actually held, the people of Saar Valley voted for Germany.
- (v) Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania which had been handed over to Germany by Russia at Brest-Litovsk, were taken away from it and set up as independent states. This was an example of self-determination being carried into practice.
- (vi) Germany was also forced to renounce its rights over its overseas colonies. The Germany colonies were later distributed amongst the various powers including Great Britain, France, Belgium, Japan, the Union of South Africa, New Zealand and Australia as mandates of the League; this meant that various member States of the League 'looked after' these colonies. Japan got the lease of Kiaochow and the German portion of the island of Soma was left to the care of New Zealand. While Australia was entrusted the administration of German New Guinea, Togoland and Tanganyika were left to the administration of Great Britain. Certain portions of Tanganyika were left under the control of Belgium and Cameroons were given

to France. The administrative rights over Germany and South-West Africa were given to the Union of South Africa.

- (vii) Germany also lost her economic privileges in Morocco, Bulgaria and in Turkey. Due to the Treaty, Germany lost around 90 lakh square miles area. The loss was accompanied by a blow to the German Pride because the Allies tried to justify their rule over the colonies by asserting that the German treatment of the native population in her colonies had been cruel and arbitrary.
- (viii) The treaty also provided that France pay war indemnity of five billion Francs to Germany. Till France had made the payment of the sum of five million Francs, the German army would continue to occupy parts of France.

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2. Military Provisions

The Treaty of Versailles considerably reduced the military might of Germany. It was compelled to abolish the German general staff and forced to reduce its army to 1 lakh with a small navy and merchant marine, without modern equipment, to be exclusively used only for police administration. The German navy was limited to 6 battleships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers and 12 torpedo boats. As regards the air clauses, the Treaty absolutely forbade naval or military air forces for Germany. The Treaty also imposed restrictions on the manufacture of arms and ammunition. It was also forbidden to manufacture or purchase tanks, armoured cars, poisonous gases and submarines. The Rhineland was permanently demilitarized and Germany was not allowed to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhineland or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometers to the east of the Rhine. This meant German troops were not allowed or maintained in the area and the existing fortifications had to be destroyed. The harbours of the Islands of Heligoland, Dune and Kiel Canal were also to be demilitarized and all fortifications demolished. It was even prevented from exporting and importing war materials. The military services were made voluntary and for 12 years for soldiers and 25 years for officers. The War Guilt clause fixed the blame for the outbreak of the War solely on Germany and its allies.

3. Economic Provisions and Reparations

The Treaty also aimed at keeping Germany economically weak. The League, therefore, held Germany responsible for the loss and damage caused during the War and asked to pay compensation to the Allied and associated governments. The provisions of reparations were the final humiliation for the Germans. Though there could be little valid objections to the general principle of reparations, many historians now agree that the actual amount decided by the Reparation Commission was far too high. Germany was to pay reparations for the damage done to the allies and the actual amount was not decided at Versailles. However, after much argument and haggling it was announced later in 1921. The problem of payment of reparation proved complicated as it was very difficult to arrive at an amount which Germany would pay to the Allies. For that a Reparation Commission was set up and the representatives of Great Britain, the US, Italy, France and Japan were to decide the compensation amount. On 28 April 1921, the Commission assessed the debt of Germany at 6,600 million pounds. This amount led the Germans to protest that it was impossible to pay and they soon began to default their annual installments. The international tension resurfaced when France tried to force the Germans to pay. Eventually, the Allies admitted their mistake and reduced the amount to 2,000 million pounds as per the Young Plan of 1929. But, not before reparations had proved disastrous both economically and politically. This amount was successively scaled down and finally abolished in 1932.

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The Treaty also recognized the rights of the Allies to the replacement of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged in the War (tonne for tonne and class for class). As per the Reparation Commission, Germany had to deliver large quantities of coal for 10 years to France, Belgium and Italy. It was also to deliver a large number of horses, cattle, sheep, etc., to France and Belgium. All German properties in the former German colonies and in the Allied countries were to be confiscated and its pre-war trading concessions with the signatories like Morocco, Egypt and China were to be abolished. The Rivers Elbe and Oder of Germany were internationalized with a view to provide Switzerland and Czechoslovakia an access to the sea. The Kiel Canal was internationalized and thrown open for all ships of all nations. The Allies also demanded that Germany should allow free passage to merchant and war vessels of all countries.

4. Legal Provisions

The Allies also demanded that King Kaiser William II, the emperor of Germany should be tried as a war criminal for committing 'the supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties'. He was to be tried for these offences by a special tribunal. These provisions however, could not be implemented because the government of Netherlands refused to surrender the German King Kaiser William II, where he had taken shelter. However, as per the legal provisions within 6 months of the implementation of the Treaty Germany was to restore all the trophies, archives, historical souvenirs or works of art carried away by her forces from France during the Franco-German War and the World War. Germany was also to compensate the University of Louvain for the destruction of her manuscripts and documents and hand over two paintings to Belgium which were at that time in Germany.

The Treaty of Versailles was one of the most controversial documents signed by the nations in modern times. So, the Germans described it as a dictated peace, a Treaty forced upon by the vanquished. Throughout the Conference the representatives did not consult the Germans even once and their objections were completely overruled. Germany was forced to sign the treaty under threat of another invasion of their country. Lloyd George, who consistently advocated a lenient peace with Germany said, 'These terms are written in the blood of fallen heroes. We must carry out the edict of Providence and see that the people who inflicted this war shall never be in a position to do so again. The Germans say that they will not sign. Their newspapers say they will not sign. The politicians say the same thing. We say, Gentlemen, you must sign. If you do not do so in Versailles you shall do so in Berlin'. Even historian E. H. Carr in *International Relations between two World Wars*, has said, 'Nearly every treaty which brings a war to an end, is in one sense a dictated peace, for a defeated power seldom accepts willingly the consequences of its defeat. But in the Treaty of Versailles the element of dictation was more apparent than in any previous peace treaty of modern times.'

It was, thus, evident that the element of dictation was very much present in the Treaty of Versailles. But this was not something peculiarly confined to this Treaty alone. The revengeful attitude of Germany as manifested in the Treaty of Brest Litovsk and the Treaty of Bucharest concluded with Russia and Romania respectively. This further hardened the attitude of the Allies because 'the minds of the German rulers were too clearly revealed by these treaties to permit any illusion'.

Undoubtedly, the peace settlement did not exactly succeed in maintaining peace. The leaders of the Peace Conference wanted Germany to pay heavily so that an event of this magnitude was not repeated. Even Lloyd George, who stood for the lenient treatment of Germany, won the famous *Khaki* election with the slogan, 'We shall hang Kaiser and make Germany pay to the last penny'.

The element of reciprocity was also missing from the Treaty with regard to disarmament, transportation, colonies, abolition of capitulations, punishment of officers. All these provisions were unilaterally applied to Germany alone and the Allies were completely exempted from them. If disarmament was reasonable for Germany, it was obviously reasonable for the Allies. However, except Great Britain, no other Allied power agreed to disarm. If the principles of reciprocity and natural justice had been followed, the Treaty of Versailles would have been a peace of justice. Without reciprocity, it was a Treaty of force and its terms could be executed only so long as the force continued to be applied to make them execute it.

It has been said by the critics of the Treaty that the seeds of the Second World War lay in the Treaty of Versailles. However, no great diplomatic instrument like the Treaty has been modified, revised and infringed in the same way as the Treaty of Versailles. In 1926, Part I of the Treaty was amended to enable Germany to get the membership of the League of Nations. Part V dealing with military, navy and air force was violated by Germany in 1935. Part VII dealing with the War criminals was allowed to go by default. Part VIII, dealing with reparation, was modified by the Reparation Commission and other committees in 1931 before it was given a decent burial by the World Economic Conference. Part II and III dealing with the western, northern, and eastern boundary of Germany were violated by Germany. The other steps which infringed the Treaty of Versailles again and again, including promulgation of new military laws by Germany, conclusion of Naval Treaty with Britain in 1935, occupation of Austria by Germany in 1938, and the occupation of Bohemia and Moravia by Germany in 1939. Thus, the Treaty of Versailles proved ineffective in its purpose due to the fact that the Treaty failed to satisfy neither the victors nor the vanquished. The Treaty failed to establish permanent peace, not because of its inherent faults in the Treaty, but it was mainly due to the subsequent policies pursued by the Allied Powers and Germany.

4.3 THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The First World War placed an unbearable strain on Russia's weak government and economy, resulting in mass shortages and hunger. In the meantime, the mismanagement and failures of the war turned the people, and particularly the soldiers, against the Tsar. The soldiers felt that Tsar's decision to take personal command of the army was responsible for their defeats. The revolution against the Tsars began in Petrograd by the workers in response to bread shortages. People believed that the government was hoarding the bread in order to increase the prices. However, a revolt by the workers', by itself, was very unlikely to result in the Tsars' abdication. An important phase of the revolution was the mutiny of the Petrograd garrison and the loss of control over Petrograd by the Tsar. In March 1917, the Tsar first lost control of the streets, then of the soldiers, and finally of the Duma, which resulted in his forced abdication. The Marxist historians have

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Check Your Progress

1. When did the First World War begin and end?
2. When did the Triple Entente come into existence?
3. Name the treaty signed between the Allies and Germany on 28 June 1919.

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grossly exaggerated the extent of political involvement in the Revolution, and it would be fair to say that only at a very late stage of the Revolution the socialist political parties became involved. When it became clear that the Duma was also ineffective, the unrest for bread shortages increased and culminated in two revolutions in 1917. The first revolution in February overthrew the Tsar on 15 March 1917, and set up a moderate provisional government. Nicholas II, his wife, Tsarina Alexandra, and his children were killed by the Bolsheviks in July 1918. Meanwhile, when the provisional government also failed to live up to the expectations and proved no better than the rule of Tsars, it was overthrown by the Bolshevik Revolution in October 1917.

Ominous Beginning of Nicholas' Rule

Nicholas's rule began on ominous notes. As the future Tsarina Alexandra first appeared officially in Russia during Alexander III's funeral, people said, 'She arrives behind a coffin, she will bring bad luck.'

To mark the coronation of a new Tsar, it was Russian tradition to offer food and drink to the people. When Nicholas came to the throne, about 7,00,000 people were assembled in Khodynskoe field to celebrate it, but a stampede occurred and 2,000 people were crushed to death.

The new Bolshevik government was fragile at first and its opponent Whites tried to destroy it, causing a bitter civil war in 1918–20. But, due to the effective leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, the Bolsheviks or Reds won the civil war and called themselves the Communists. Later, they consolidated their power and Lenin was able to begin the task of leading Russia to recovery until his premature death in 1924.

The Russian Revolution of 1917, which is popularly known as the Bolshevik Revolution, is one of the most significant events in the history of the twentieth century world. It is considered as significant as the French Revolution. In fact, some Marxian historians rank the Russian Revolution even higher than the French Revolution. They contend that while the French Revolution put an end to the autocratic rule and paved the way for the growth of democratic sentiments and ideals of political equality, the Russian Revolution apart from bringing about political equality also sought to bring about social and economic equality. It gave a new current to the thoughts of Communism and Socialism which sought to create a new society, culture and civilization. It asserted that the real power of the society must rest in the workers because they alone produce national wealth. The Russian Revolution was also important because it was the first attempt to give practical shape to the doctrines and theories of Marx, and it was the most important effect of the First World War.

The Russian Revolution was the result of a series of events that occurred during 1917, which caused two separate revolutions in February and October, with a great deal of political wranglings in-between and which eventually plunged the country into civil war before leading to the formation of the Communist State.

4.3.1 Causes for the Outbreak of the Revolution

In February 1917, the Russian Revolution was an important event in the course of Russian history. It has complex causes, nature, and effect and is critical in the twentieth century international history analysis. Even the major causes of this unrest of the common people towards Tsar Nicholas II and aristocratic landowners are numerous and complicated to neatly summarize.

Romanov Dynasty

Tsar Nicholas II represented the last of the Romanov dynasty, which had begun in 1613 with Mikhail Feodorovich and lasted more than 300 years. Assuming the throne in 1894, Nicholas' reign was marked by conflict with the lower classes, constant social unrest and disasters on the battlefield. In March 1917, he was forced to abdicate the throne. He and his family—wife Alexandra, and children Olga, Tatiana, Maria, Anastasia and Alexei—were held in Tsarskoe Selo, an imperial residence south of Petrograd (formerly Saint Petersburg). The Romanov dynasty began in 1613 when Mikhail Feodorovich was elected sovereign of all of Russia.

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However, there were various factors and forces which were responsible for the Russian Revolution in 1917. The main factors were the series of bad judgements by the Tsar, the resentment at the treatment of peasants cruelly by the landowners, experience of poor working conditions by labourers and workers in the industries, and an increasing sense of political and social awareness of the people in general because of democratic ideas that reached Russia from the West. Proletarian dissatisfaction was further combined by some immediate events of the time like shortages of food and successive military failures.

I. Series of bad judgments by the Tsar: The system of Tsar fell for a series of bad judgements by the Tsar. In the First World War, the war against Germany meant that troops could not be deployed in force against the Russian revolutionaries, the underestimation of the extent of the revolts in Petrograd by Tsar until it was too late, and the Tsar generals convinced him that only the Duma could deal with the situation. The imposition of strict censorship laws and suppression of any and all forms of political dissidence were some another factors that became responsible for the Revolution. All of these events led to the fall of autocratic system which was centuries old and that had generated lot of anguish and discontentment among the people of Russia.

The Revolution started as a peaceful bread protest on International Women's Day. Bread shortage was there not because of low harvest, but because the 'railway system had become overloaded due to the war, and was unable to supply the northern cities with grain'. In mid-February, it was realised that the supply of flour in Petrograd was left for only 10 days. Skilled labourers were recruited by the army, while the rail network had been divided into sections, which was controlled by civil government and by the military. This, along with the general belief that the government was hoarding bread so as to drive up prices, meant that the demonstration of anger was aimed against the regime of Tsarist because of its inability to distribute the food stocks. The aggrieved people transformed into an unruly mob because their protest was supported by demonstrations by the more militant Petrograd factory workers. Along with this, the textile labourers and Putilov steel workers went on strike and the crowds swelled from 1,00,000 to over 2,00,000 within three days. However, it would be untrue to describe the protests as purely a revolt by the workers, as it bore the character of a general uprising of the people. But it would be right to state that the 'workers played a leading role in the demonstrations and were especially active in the violent aspects of the uprising'. However, in general the protest took the form of a peasant riot, as the frenzied mob frequently indulged in violent acts.

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Tsar Nicholas II himself believed in autocratic principles. His ministers like Pleve had dictatorial powers who continued the old policy of Russification, persecution and reaction. The wife of Pleve and the Queen who was under the influence of Rasputin, a reactionary, interfered in the affairs of administration in 1902. A group of intellectuals who were influenced by the Western ideas published a paper called 'Liberation and in 1904'. These intellectuals also formed a party known as Union Liberator. In the same year, the autocratic minister Pleve was assassinated. For all these reasons, Tsar Nicholas II thought of changing his policy and appointed Mirski, a man of liberal ideas, as the Home Minister. The press was given greater freedom. In November 1904, the representatives of Zemstvos or provincial assemblies met at St. Petersburg. They demanded freedom of conscience, speech, publication, public meeting and associations. They also demanded for a Parliament for the whole country empowered to pass all the laws and control the government. The Tsar did not concede the demands of common people and the discontentment continued to grow among the people. The students of the University of Moscow paraded the streets and shouted the slogans of 'down with autocracy' and 'stop the war'. On 22 January 1905, a large number of workers under the leadership of Gapon marched towards the imperial palace to present a petition to the Tsar containing their grievances. The royal troops did not allow them to proceed and fired at them. There was loss of life and strikes were observed in various parts of the country. The incident was known as 'Slaughter of Bloody Sunday'. Subsequently there were rebellion within the army and the general Duke Sergus, the uncle of the Tsar was assassinated. At last, the Tsar Nicholas II was forced to issue a Manifesto in October 1905.

International Women's Day's Connection with the Russian Revolution

International Women's Day (8 March) is an occasion marked by women groups around the world. The idea of an International Women's Day first arose at the turn of the century. In accordance with a declaration by the Socialist Party of America, the first National Woman's Day was observed across the United States on 28 February 1909. Women continued to celebrate it on the last Sunday of that month through 1913. During World War I, Russian women observed their first International Women's Day on the last Sunday in February 1913. With 2 million Russian soldiers dead in the War, Russian women again chose the last Sunday (23 February on the Julian calendar then in use in Russia, but on 8 March on the Gregorian calendar in use elsewhere) in February 1917 to strike for 'bread and peace'. Political leaders opposed the timing of the strike, but the women went on anyway. The rest is history: Four days, the Tsar was forced to abdicate and the Provisional Government granted women the right to vote.

To change a mass-demonstration into a revolution required more than just workers who were protesting in the streets; it required a loss of authority for the government in the city of Petrograd. This occurred due to mutiny of troops from the Petrograd garrison in reply to a massacre. In a brutal incident in Znamenskii Square, which was a popular gathering place for conducting political rallies, the Pavlovsky Guard Regiment troops fired upon a crowd that failed to disperse. In the massacre about forty civilians were killed, which enraged the Petrograd garrison members into mutiny. Even though a major power transfer to the workers was there, a revolution was hardly inevitable as the mutineers were described as a 'leaderless rabble',

who when threatened, panicked instantly and ran for protection. It was inaction by Tsar that changed a minor rebellion into a revolution.

The revolt also needed an organization for becoming successful. Unfortunately, many of the political parties leaders who had expected most to gain from the revolt, were in exile. Most of the socialist parties were not expecting a revolution, as Lenin had predicted in January that, 'We older men perhaps will not live to see the coming revolution'. Even Sergei Mstislavsky, who was a Social Revolutionary leader, admitted: 'The revolution found us, the party members, in our sleep'. Therefore, in the early stages of the February revolution there was relatively little political involvement, especially from socialist parties. Political parties, telephoned each other to be aware of what was happening on the street. This showed the lack of organization. Due to this complete disorganization of the socialist political parties, it is difficult to describe the February 1917 revolution as a political revolution.

There was also very little confidence from the political parties that the protests were of political nature. Alexander Gavrilovich Shliapnikov, a Russian communist revolutionary best remembered as a memoirist of the October Revolution of 1917, said: 'Once the crowd got their bread they would be content and disperse'. The Tsar was also doubtful if the protests would actually transform into a revolution. Initially, he responded to reports received from Petrograd by telling his Minister of the Courts that, 'The fat-bellied Rodzianko has written me a lot of nonsense, which I won't even bother to answer'. However, he heard that the protests were getting worse, and that the Petrograd garrison had rebelled. So on 28 February 1917, the Tsar ordered for the dissolution of Duma and for the deployment of troops against the protestors. In response, an executive committee was created by the Duma, while a Soviet was formed by the soldiers and workers, and became a rival power-base to the Duma, situated in the Tauride Palace left wing. The Soviet had the power or control in the streets, but it had no legal authority to rule, while the Duma had the legal authority to rule, but had no authority in the streets to support it. The Tsar's late reaction to the protests meant that a power base had been created in the Soviet, and this could never collaborate with the autocratic system. Only two possible outcomes were there—full revolution or full military suppression by already stretched armies.

Because of the war with Germany, the second of the two options became a near impossibility; to withdraw troops from the front so as to suppress the revolutionaries and this would result in almost certain defeat at the hands of the Germans. However, General Ivanov was appointed by Tsar so as to send troops to Petrograd and restore order in the capital. The extent of the revolutionary action in the city was under-estimated by both Ivanov and Tsar, and this was confirmed once General Khabalov was consulted by Ivanov in Petrograd about the situation. Khabalov announced that, 'the whole city was in the hands of the revolutionaries' and that 'the ministers had been arrested by the revolutionaries'. Upon hearing this, Ivanov decided that the offensive would be futile and decided against it. In effect, the decision had been made, and Tsar had little opportunity to do anything but abdicate. Rodzianko confirmed this, and he felt that nothing short of the Tsar's abdication would pacify the rebellious troops.

The continuation of strikes and mutinies have led to supplies to the front being cut; it was also dreaded that turmoil in the capital might broaden to the front only a few hundred kilometers away, resulting in mass desertion in the army. Therefore,

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the generals of Tsar advised Nicholas to abdicate so as to save Russia's war effort, and to somehow satisfy the mutineers in Petrograd. So Nicholas agreed to abdicate and initially named his son, Alexis, as his successor.

Another reason for the fall of the Tsar was his overdependence on Rasputin, a self-proclaimed psychic, mystic and healer, who had unconventional ways of healing diseases and dealing with human sins. A friend of Tsarina had suggested Rasputin when doctors failed to cure her son, Alexis, of hemophilia. Somehow, Rasputin was able to provide temporary relief to the boy. Soon, he gained entry to the Russian court and became an advisor to the Tsars. Rasputin was a womanizer and was much criticized by Russian journalists for his debauched ways and orgies. He weakened the confidence of the Tsars' subjects in him. Whenever Nicholas was away, the German-born Alexandra (his wife), who was a puppet in the hands of Rasputin, added to the subjects' discontent by giving power to those who did not deserve it. Rasputin had assured the Tsar that Alexis would get well, but when Nicholas saw no scope for improvement in Alexis' health, he decided to hand over the autocracy to his brother, Mikhail. But when Mikhail learned that the Soviet was violently opposed to the continuation of the rule of Romanov dynasty, he refused to accept, and the autocratic Tsar rule in Russia ended.

The workers were the most important and most active part of the February revolution which began as a general uprising of the people. Peasants and soldiers sympathy and mutiny led to power being wrested from the hands of the Tsar, and being transferred to the Soviet and the Duma. A series of bad judgements made by the Tsar, underestimating the revolution extent, as well as the war impact, showed his inability to suppress the revolution. When the Tsar's attempts to restore order in Petrograd failed, he was advised to abdicate, which he followed on March 1917, ending over three hundred years of Romanov rule in Russia.

It is interesting to note that the city of Petrograd was first known as St. Petersburg. This name was dropped later after the war with Prussia because the term 'burg' was seen as too German. During 1918, the communists were keen on getting rid of any Tsarist legacies, and Petrograd became Leningrad in the honour of Vladimir Lenin. Later in 1991, the name of St. Petersburg was restored to the city.

- II. The economic causes:** Economic factors like poverty, misery and exploitation of the masses by the nobility played a major role in the Revolution. In the industrial sphere, Russia was backward and depended only on foreign capital. Because of the industrialization, a number of factories were set up in Russia. A large number of peasants left their jobs to take up jobs at these factories. However, the conditions of work in these factories were quite miserable. They had to work for long hours at very deplorable wages. They had to go without any medical relief in case of an accident while on duty. They did not even have a weekly holiday. The workers were not permitted to form trade unions to bargain for better service condition and better salaries, and it was considered a crime to form trade unions. As a result, their economic condition was quite miserable. The concentration of large number of dissatisfied workers gave rise to the feeling of political consciousness and contributed to the anti-Tsarist sentiments.

The condition of peasants was not better. Russia was mainly a backward agricultural country before the Revolution. The royal family, the nobility and the clergy owned most of the agricultural land. The peasants had a very small land holding. Many of them had to earn their livelihood from that small piece of land. In addition to

this, they had to make use of primitive tools and methods of cultivation which were not very effective or productive. As a result of this, the poor peasants became poorer because huge sums of rent, tax and tributes were to be paid by them to their landlords every year. Moreover, no attempt was made by the government to improve these conditions.

Due to the above economic factors there was an imbalance in the social structure. Due to this, 70 per cent of the Russian population was illiterate. The social structure of Russia was completely devoid of education, medical relief, and public health. Above all the system prevailing in the whole of Russia made Russian social life, highly miserable, inhuman and wretched. This created great discontent among the factory workers and farmers who in order to end this economic and social system were ready to revolt against the Tsarist government.

III. Political causes: Political factors also formed an important cause of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Politically, Russia was subjected to autocratic rule of the Tsar Nicholas II, who ruled the country in a ruthless and oppressive manner. No doubt as a result of the 1905 Revolution a parliament had been established in Russia but the sovereignty still rested in the hands of the Tsar and his henchmen. There were no constitutional checks on the authority of the Tsar and the people groaned under the autocratic rule. Even the church extended full support to the autocratic rule of the Tsars through the theory of divine rights of kings. The henchmen surrounding the Tsar were also in favour of the autocratic rule and opposed all kinds of reforms. The tsar also secured the support of the army by providing them numerous facilities which enabled them to lead a comfortable life. The masses on the other hand had no legal means of improving the social structure. A strike was considered to be a mutiny. The people had no media to ventilate their grievances. All this was naturally resented by the common people who wanted a democratic system of government on the pattern of western democracies be introduced in Russia. The people also insisted on effective share in the government of the country, and pleaded for the freedom of speech and press as well as equality before law. However, the Tsar Nicholas II turned down these demands.

People demonstrated against this ruthless, absolute and repressive Tsarist government in 1905. A peaceful demonstration at St. Petersburg was fired upon by the Tsarist troops. This incident further alienated the people from the Tsar Nicholas II. Widespread strikes, riots and the famous mutiny on the Battleship Potemkin ensued. Such was the climate in 1905 that Tsar Nicholas saw fit, against his will, to cede the people their wishes. In his October Manifesto, Nicholas II created Russia's first constitution and the Duma, an elected parliamentary body. The Duma (Parliament) had limited powers so it could not intervene immediately in the matters relating to the Tsar. Later the growing discontent among the masses manifested itself in all aspects of national life. Till that time the working class became highly receptive to Marxist ideas infiltrating into Russia. In 1893, the Social Democratic Party was founded and in 1903, this party was split into two; the Bolsheviks led by Nikolai Lenin, and the Mensheviks led by Martov. While the former was revolutionary and supported by Stalin, the latter was evolutionary and was supported by Trotsky. Therefore by 1917, the ground was fully prepared against the Tsar and the growing discontentment amongst the common people was waiting to burst and turn into a violent revolution. Therefore, historians have observed that the perversity of the Tsar and his blindness to the potential strength of the new forces, which were surging round him, produced the Revolution.

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IV. Impact of liberal Western ideas: The material revolution in Russia was followed by a revolution in the realm of liberal thoughts and ideas. The Russian intellectuals were now divided between the two opposing groups of Slavophiles and Westernizers. Peter the Great was a westernizer much ahead of his times and that is why influences of Western culture are still apparent in St. Petersburg, a city created under him. The Slavophiles and westernizers had completely opposite views on the Russian civilization and how it was to be carried forward. The Slavophiles believed in the superiority of the Russian culture over the Western culture, and though they supported the emancipation of serfs and valued the freedom of speech and press, they still believed in an autocratic form of government. The Westernizers, as the name suggests, were of the view that western technology and ideals of democracy should be adopted by Russia to march on the road to success. They also believed in socialism, liberalism and political radicalism.

Large number of Russians especially the middle class came in contact with the ideas of progressive writers and they were particularly influenced by the writing of Karl Marx who pleaded for the abolition of capitalism and establishment of a regime where the power would be in the hands of the workers and the labourers. The other notable writers and intellectuals whose writings influenced the Russians included Tolstoy, Turgenev and Dostoevsky. These writings revolutionised the minds of the Russians in such a way that the educated and the enlightened people called the support of the intelligentsia and demanded political reforms on the Western lines. On the other hand, the radicals and the followers of Marx and Bakunin stood for socialism. The Russians at the same time also came in contact with the Western ideas of democracy. During the First World War the Allies declared that they are fighting the War for the welfare of general people. The Russians were greatly impressed by this declaration and were determined to fight for the establishment of people's rule in their country. As a result of the 1905 Revolution in Russia the people were assured of some sort of participation in the administration of the country. However, it was not conceded. So the people were determined to get this in actual practice. Under these circumstances nationalism also made its way into Russia which aimed at destroying everything in the existing order of the country. As a consequence of the above factors, demands started becoming louder for the establishment of constitutional and liberal form of government in Russia.

V. The emergence of revolutionary parties: After 1912, various revolutionary parties', especially the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, fortune revived. Both these groups developed from an earlier Marxist movement, the Social Democrat Labour Party, and Karl Marx's ideas influenced them. Karl Marx was a German Jew (1818–83) and his political ideas were mentioned in the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848, and *Das Kapital* in 1867. According to Karl Marx economic factors are the main reason for the historical change and that the capitalists bourgeoisie exploited proletariat (workers) everywhere. It contended that in a fully industrialized society, the workers will 'inevitably rise up against their exploiters and take control themselves, running the country in their interests'. According to Marx, this was 'the dictatorship of the proletariat'.

Vladimir Lenin was one of the social democrats, who helped edit the revolutionary newspaper *Iskra* (The Spark). In 1903 over an election to the editorial board of *Iskra* the party had split into Lenin supporters, the Bolsheviks, the Russian word

for the majority and the rest, the Mensheviks means the minority. The Bolsheviks wanted a small-disciplined party of professional revolutionaries who would work full time to bring about revolution, because the industrial workers were in a minority in the country. Therefore, Lenin believed that they must work with the peasants as well, and get them involved in revolutionary activity. The Mensheviks, on the other hand, were happy to have party membership open to anybody who cared to join. They believed that a revolution could not take place in Russia until the country was fully industrialised, and industrial workers were in a big majority over peasants. They had very little faith in co-operation from peasants who were actually one of the most conservative groups in society. The Mensheviks were the strict Marxists, believing in a proletarian revolution, whereas Lenin was the one moving away from the Marxism.

The Social Revolutionaries were another revolutionary party. They were not Marxists and they did not approve of increasing industrialization, and did not think in terms of a proletarian revolution. After the overthrow of the Tsarist regime, they wanted a mainly agrarian society based on peasant communities operating collectively.

VI. Military debacle in the First World War: The military debacle suffered by Russia during the First World War also provided a great impetus to the revolutionary movement in Russia. Historians also agree that Russian failures in the War made the revolution certain and caused the troops and the police to mutiny, as there were nobody left to defend the autocracy. The common people held the Tsar responsible for the reverses suffered by Russia. The sufferings caused to the people due to shortage of food and heavy losses of men and money in the War further agitated their minds. They appealed to the Tsar to bring necessary improvement in the condition by assuming personal responsibility for the affairs of the government. However, the Tsar did not bother about the demand and indulged in fanciful luxuries. His officials also ignored the wishes and interests of the people. All this forced the people to think in terms of getting rid of the Tsar and this made the Revolution inevitable.

The War also exposed the incompetence of the government, corrupt organization, shortage of equipment and poor transportation and distribution system in the country. Although there was plenty of food in the country during the War, it did not reach the big cities in sufficient quantities, because most of the trains were being monopolised by the military. Bread was scarce and very expensive. By January 1917, most groups in the society were disillusioned with the incompetent way the Tsar was running the War. Sensing the outcome of the War, the aristocracy, the Duma, industrialists, and the army began to turn against the Tsar Nicholas II, realising that it would be better to sacrifice the Tsar to avoid a much worse revolution that might damage the entire social structure.

4.3.2 Course of the Russian Revolution

The first important event of the Revolution in Russia was the March Revolution or the February Revolution in Russia. It was a chaotic affair and it marked the termination of over a century of civil and military unrest. It is important to mention that the March and the November revolutions are till date known as the February and October revolutions in Russia. This is so as the Julian calendar was being used by the Russians, which was

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13 days behind the Gregorian calendar which was used by the rest of Europe, and in 1918 Russia adopted the Gregorian calendar.

In 1905, Russia suffered humiliating losses in the Russo-Japanese War and, during a demonstration against the War in the same year, firing was opened by the Tsarist troops on an unarmed crowd and this further isolated Nicholas II from his people. There were widespread strikes, riots, and the famous mutiny on the Battleship Potemkin. Such was the atmosphere in 1905 that Tsar Nicholas saw fit, 'against his will, to cede the people their wishes'. Nicholas created Russia's first constitution and the State Duma, an elected parliamentary body in Tsar's October Manifesto. However, the belief of Nicholas's in his divine right to rule Russia meant that 'he spent much of the following years fighting to undermine or strip the Duma of its powers and to retain as much autocracy as possible'. In 1914, when Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by political activists in Serbia, the Austro-Hungarian Empire declared war on its neighbours. Serbia talked to Russia for help. Tsar Nicholas II 'saw a chance to galvanize his people against a common enemy, and to atone for the humiliations suffered in the Russo-Japanese War'.

World War I

Russia's disastrous participation in World War I was the final blow in many ways to the rule of Tsar. In the very first rendezvous with the Germans (who had sided with the Austro-Hungarian Empire), the Battle of Tannenberg, the Russian army lost and there were 1,20,000 casualties to Germany's 20,000. Nicholas left St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1915 to take personal charge of the army due to continuing series of losses and setbacks. Around this time conscripts and untrained troops to the front were being sent by Russia, with 'little or no equipment and fighting in an almost continual retreat'. In 1916, morale was lowered as the pressure of waging the war was the hardest on proletarian families, 'whose sons were being slaughtered at the front, and who suffered severe food shortages at home'. The regime of Tsar and the Imperial took the blame as civil unrest heated up.

The February-March Revolution (1917)

According to the Russian calendar, the March Revolution started on 23 February 1917. However, the first revolution actually started on 8 March. On that day, there were bread riots in St. Petersburg. Soon it became a city-wide demonstration as furious industrial workers left factories and protested against shortage of food. They were soon joined by the rioters, and on the next day—encouraged by political and social activists—the crowd had enlarged and virtually every industry, shop and enterprise ceased to function as the entire populace went on strike. Tsar Nicholas wanted the police and military to intervene, but the military was no longer faithful to the Tsar and many mutinied or joined the people in demonstrations. There were fights all over the place and the whole city was in chaos. After five days over 80,000 troops from the army mutinied and looting and rioting spread extensively. The Duma and the generals were convinced, and further, that the Tsar who was on his way back to Petrograd, would have to leave. Nicholas senior generals suggested that he could save the monarchy by renouncing the throne. Faced with this weak situation Tsar Nicholas abdicated his throne on 15 March, and handed over the power to his brother Michael. But, Michael refused to acknowledge leadership unless he was elected by the Duma. He resigned the next day, leaving Russia without any head of state.

The Provisional Government

A Provisional Government was quickly formed by leading members of the Duma after Romanovs abdicated and it was internationally recognised as the legal government of Russia. It was to rule Russia until elections were held. However it did not have any absolute or stable power. A trade union of workers and soldiers—the more radical Petrograd Soviet organization—wielded enormous influence. It supported full-scale socialism over more moderate democratic reforms which were favoured by the Provisional Government members. Russia was consumed with political fervour after centuries of imperial rule, but ‘the many different factions, all touting different ideas, meant that political stability was still a long way after the February Revolution’.

Emergence of Lenin

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov—also known as Lenin—was one person who was eager to take advantage of the chaotic state of affairs in St. Petersburg. Most of the time of Lenin was spent travelling, working, and campaigning in Europe—partly because of fear for his own safety, as he was known Socialist and was considered as an enemy of the Tsarist rule. However, when the Tsar was arrested, and Russian politics was in chaos, Lenin found the opportunity to lead his party, the Bolsheviks, to power. He negotiated a return to Russia from Switzerland, his home, with the help of German authorities. As a supporter of withdrawing Russia from the Great War, the Germans were willing to help Lenin’s passage back through a ‘sealed train’. The Russian people as well as many leading political figures welcomed Lenin’s return to Russia in April 1917. Lenin immediately condemned the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet policies and ideologies instead of uniting the fractious parties. In his April Theses, published in the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda*, he believed in non-cooperation with the liberals (i.e., non-hardline Communists) and an immediate end to the War. Initially, his uncompromising stance isolated both Lenin and the Bolsheviks, but with powerful slogans like ‘Peace, land and bread’, Lenin won the hearts of the Russian people—who were increasingly unable to ‘stomach war and poverty’.

During the summer of 1917, Lenin attempted to invoke another revolution, the likes of which had taken place in February, with the motive of overthrowing the Provisional Government. Lenin sought to maneuver the Machine Gun Regiment which refused to leave Petrograd (as St. Petersburg was then known) for the frontline. However, the coup was thwarted by Kerensky, who was the most important figure of the time and a member of both the Provisional Government and Petrograd Soviet. Experienced troops entered the city to suppress any dissidence and the Bolsheviks were accused of being involved with the Germans. Whilst Lenin escaped to Finland, many were arrested. Despite all this Lenin continued plotting and scheming. Meanwhile Kerensky suffered his own setbacks in politics and even had to appeal to the Bolsheviks for military aid when he feared his War Minister, Kornilov, was aiming for a military dictatorship. ‘By autumn the Bolsheviks were climbing into the ascendancy, winning majority votes within the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets. Leon Trotsky was elected as president of the former’.

The October-November Revolution

By the Julian calendar used in Russia at the time, the Revolution took place in November 1917, and the October Revolution is therefore often referred to as the November Revolution.

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While Russian politics was still in a state of constant flux, Lenin realized that it was the time to capitalize on his party's popularity. He planned a coup that would overthrow the Provisional Government which was increasingly ineffective and replaced them with the Bolsheviks. On 10 October, he held a famous meeting with 12 party leaders, and tried to persuade them that there was need for a revolution. Despite the fact that he received the backing of only 10 of them plotting went ahead.

Differences between the Provisional Government and the Soviets

It was only with the arrival of Lenin from Switzerland and Trotsky from America on the scene that the Russian revolutionary movement assumed new direction. They denounced the provisional government of the country as subservient to the bourgeois of England and France, and laid emphasis on true revolution. They demanded for ending the War without annexation and indemnities, and pleaded for the transfer of all powers to the Soviets and abolition of army, the police, and the bureaucracy. They supported confiscation of all estates, nationalization of all land and merger of all banks into a national bank under the Soviet control. On the other hand the provincial government headed by Kerensky continued to work for the introduction of parliamentary institutions on the Western pattern in Russia. However, the provisional government and the Soviets were sharply divided on the issues of democratization of the army and Russian foreign policy. The provisional government was opposed to democratization of army while the Soviets favoured it. On 1 March 1917, the Soviet issued an order which provided for establishment of elective committees in every army unit, the sending of delegates to the Soviet by each unit, the control of all political activities in the army and army committees by the Soviet, the abolition of compulsory salute and simplified formulas for addressing the officers, etc. On the issue of foreign policy sharp differences existed between the Soviet and the provisional government. While the government considered the revolution as a protest against the ineffective conduct of the War by the imperial regime and insisted on pursuing the War till the victory, the Soviet stood for ending of War with immediate effect and demanded peace without annexation and indemnities. It aimed to put necessary pressure through mass demonstrations to bring the imperial foreign policy to an end.

In view of the sharp differences between the government and Soviets much could not be accomplished. However, it goes to the credit of the provisional government that it succeeded in ending the autocratic rule of the Tsars. It declared Russia as a Republic and courageously tackled the nationality problem. It also put the Poles and Finns on road to independence, encouraged cooperatives in place of private enterprises, and passed a number of laws concerning civil right, prison reforms, equal rights for women, universal suffrage, and religious freedom. But its policies in the field of land reforms were not encouraging. It also failed to exercise proper control over the armies.

Rise of the Bolsheviks

The growing unrest among the workers, peasants, soldiers, and the prevailing anarchical condition in the country were fully exploited by the Bolsheviks under Lenin. They promised nationalization of land as well as banks and industries and won the popular support. Due to this, the Bolsheviks came out victorious in the elections to towns and provincial Soviets. By promising the much desired peace they also won over the soldiers to their side. Encouraged by its growing popularity, the Bolsheviks decided to start an armed uprising. They intensified propaganda for direct action and formed their own Red Guards. As a result, large number of soldiers left the ranks and the peasants continued to capture lands from the proprietors through plunder and violence. In October 1917, Lenin created

the Military Revolutionary Committee which gave the Bolsheviks an effective control over the troops in Petrograd. The Bolsheviks had already raised the armed factory workers as the Red Guards. Lenin wanted to take full advantage of the existing national mood and favoured a revolt at an early date. A Politburo, an inner group of the Committee, was formed to take necessary decisions in this regard. On the other hand, the Provisional Government of Russia led by Kerensky proceeded with certain counter measures to meet the Bolshevik threat. But as the provisional government did not enjoy sufficient authority it could not succeed in containing the Bolsheviks.

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Provisional government overthrown

Before the Revolution, the common people of Russia expected the autocracy of the Tsarist system to be replaced by a democratic republic with an elected parliament. As per the wishes of the people, Duma was set up in 1906 under the pressure of the Russian Revolution of 1905. In July 1917, Alexander Kerensky a moderate socialist took over as the Prime Minister. But, due to his limited authority, the Duma also faced several problems like the Tsars. Taking advantage of this atmosphere on 20 October 1917 the Bolsheviks executed the long planned coup and overthrew the Kerensky government. On 24 October crucial positions in the city were taken over by the troops loyal to the Bolsheviks. These included the main offices of telephone and telegraph, banks, railroad stations, post offices, and major bridges. Guards who were commissioned by the Provisional Government, and who had got wind of the plot, fled or surrendered without a fight. By 25 October, Bolsheviks controlled every key building in St. Petersburg, except the Winter Palace where Kerensky and the other ministers were held up. Before the Bolsheviks could catch Kerensky, he fled the Palace, never to return to Russia, but his ministers were arrested. On the 26th, the Palace was seized with barely a shot fired, and October Revolution of Lenin achieved its objective with the bare minimum of violence or bloodshed. The pre-Parliament was abolished and the power passed on to the hands of Revolutionary Military Committee. Apart from Georgia, Ukraine and Cossack, the Bolsheviks did not encounter much resistance from any other part of Russia and easily captured power.

Formation of Soviet Government under Lenin

The All Russians Congress of the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers, which met on 25 October 1917, approved the coup, which was accomplished by the Bolsheviks with success. Subsequently the Congress authorized the setting up of a new government under the leadership of Lenin. The new government was to be known as the Soviet of People's Commissars. This confirmed that the Bolsheviks had acquired full control over Petrograd and Moscow. However, most of the country was still independent of control. Fighting lasted a week in Moscow before the Soviet won control and it was the end of November before other cities were brought under control. Very few people expected the Bolshevik government to last long because of the complexity of the problems facing it. As soon as the other political groups recovered from the shock of the Bolshevik coup, there was bound to be some determined opposition. At the same time, they had somehow to extricate Russia from the War and then set about repairing the shattered economy, while at the same time keeping their promises about land and food for the peasants and workers.

Causes for the victory of Bolsheviks

Despite trouble in various parts of the country and active intervention of the Allied powers, the Bolsheviks came out victorious in the October Revolution. Various factors

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contributed for the victory of Bolsheviks. First, the opponents of Bolsheviks were dis-united and as a result the Bolsheviks were able to shift their focus on the front where they were most needed. Second, the Bolsheviks control over the interior lines of communications and railways greatly helped them in meeting the challenges. Third, the Bolsheviks carried on an effective propaganda against their enemies, which created dissensions in the ranks of the opponents. Finally, the Red Army which was raised by the Bolsheviks fought with missionary zeal backed by Communist party members who were inspired by high sense of discipline and were willing to undertake any task assigned to them by the Party without any hope of reward. It contributed to the ultimate victory of Bolsheviks in the Revolution.

4.3.3 Lenin's Leadership

The primary basis of Lenin's brilliant successes as the Russian Revolution leader can be attributed to his deep mastery of Marxian theory. He analysed the various objectives and subjective complexities of decaying capitalism and growing socialism, and drew the necessary practical conclusions there from. Lenin indicated clearly to the Communist Party and the common people, both in the Soviet Union and throughout the world, the unfolding path to prosperity and freedom. There was advancement and expansion of Marxism in many fields by Lenin's great theoretical work. Lenin's major achievements include his 'analysis of imperialism as parasitic, decaying capitalism; his survey and evaluation, in the light of dialectical materialism, of many branches of current science; his elaboration of the theory of the uneven development of capitalism and its effects upon imperialist war, proletarian revolution and the realization of socialism in a single country'. He explained the method of transforming imperialist war into civil war; he also analysed the capitalist state and proletariat's dictatorship; Lenin offered a deep theoretical work on the national question; he also clarified the peasantry role in the revolution. Lenin's 'annihilating polemics' against the Narodniks, Economists, Mensheviks and the whole network of international Social-Democracy, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Anarchists, Syndicalists, Trotskyists, and other pseudo-revolutionary groups; and his ability to find solution of innumerable problems, both theoretical and practical, were of the utmost significance in welding the strength and unity—theoretical and organizational—which charted the Bolshevik Party on the course of victory.

Bold and resourceful Lenin was flexible in his political strategy. He repeatedly outlined 'separate mass actions or general courses of policy' upon the initiation and success of which depended the life of the Revolution. These policies were so original and startling that they often surprised the world. On many occasions, Lenin had to persuade opposing majorities of the Central Committee of the Party about the correctness of his proposals, as well as break through the sabotage of alien elements like Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Trotsky and others.

Lenin's great achievements in political strategy were his leadership in the change of the post-war struggle of the masses in 1905 into armed insurrection; in the boycott of the first Duma successfully; converting the imperialist World War into civil war within Russia; in the resolute stand by the Party against the Provisional Government in 1917, and the bold development of the Soviets into the mass organs which overthrew the capitalist, war-making regime; in the mass mobilization to defeat the Kornilov revolt, while at the same time continuing the revolt against Kerensky. Lenin as a political strategist succeeded in determining the precise time and manner for the October Revolution achievement. He gave correct Marxian leadership to the Party and the masses.

During the following years of revolutionary struggle in the USSR, there was Lenin's political masterstroke of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty which gave the revolution a 'breathing-spell' from imperialist attack, saving it from defeat. He led the terribly difficult Civil War and in the complicated development of War Communism. There was his tremendous work of outlining and clarifying the New Economic Policy as the means to get economic reconstruction underway in the devastated country. There was his brilliant attack upon the infantile Leftism of those revolutionaries who refused to work within the reactionary trade unions and bourgeois parliaments.

4.4 FASCISM IN ITALY

Various factors were responsible for the rise of dictatorship or totalitarianism in Europe. In the first place, the democratic governments established after the First World War proved to be disappointing as they failed to resolve the social, economic and political problems facing their countries in the post-war period. Their failure was fully exploited to establish dictatorial regimes. Also, the worldwide Economic Depression of 1929 caused enormous hardships and sufferings to people and gave rise to the feelings of frustration, despondency and despair. Similarly, the failure of the League of Nations to check aggression and preserve world peace also greatly contributed to the rise of totalitarian regimes. Japan, Italy, Germany, etc., committed aggression with impunity and the League of Nations was incompetent in taking any action against them.

In addition to the general causes which contributed to the growth of totalitarian regimes in various countries, there were also some specific causes, which augmented dictatorship in Europe. First, the humiliating treatment meted out to Germany by the Treaty of Versailles immediately after the First World War, created a sense of hatred and revenge amongst the Germans. The Treaty had mutilated Germany physically, humiliated her emotionally, suffocated her economically, and encircled her territorially. This greatly offended the popular sentiments of Germany and Hitler fully exploited these sentiments to establish his dictatorship in Germany.

Second, in Italy, the Treaty of Versailles was also seen in a negative light. Though Italy fought on the side of the bigger nations, it could not gain whatever had been promised to her during the War. On the other hand, Italy had to face poverty, discontentment and disorder. The Italian leaders felt that though they had won the War, they had lost peace. Naturally, the people of Italy sought help from someone who could alleviate them to achieve national ambitions. And they found such attributes in Benito Mussolini, who established his totalitarian rule in Italy.

Third, the successful bid by America and other European powers to curb the growing power of Japan by imposing restrictions on its navy and other ambitions in China, through the Washington Conference of 1921–22 was exploited by the military leaders in the name of ultra-nationalism in Japan to bring discredit to the democratic government and establish a totalitarian rule in Japan.

Fourth, Communism came to Russia during the First World War period. After the War, the Communist leaders were determined to spread Communism all over the world. They crushed all the anti-revolutionary forces within the country with firm hands, tried to promote Communism in other countries of world by resorting to all types of methods.

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Check Your Progress

4. Fill in the blanks.
 - (a) The Russian Revolution of 1917 which is popularly known as _____ is one of the most significant events in the history of the twentieth century world.
 - (b) Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov also known as _____ was one person who was eager to take advantage of the chaotic state of affairs in St. Petersburg.
5. State whether the following statements are true or false.
 - (a) The material revolution in Russia was followed by a revolution in the realm of liberal thoughts and ideas.
 - (b) It was only with the arrival of Lenin from Switzerland and Trotsky from America on the scene that the Russian revolutionary movement assumed a new direction.

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Rise of Fascism in Italy

During the First World War, though Italy fought on the side of the victorious Allies, it emerged from the War as a defeated nation. Italy was not happy by the Paris Peace Settlement (1919) because it was not given what had been promised by the Allies to it in the Treaty of London (1915). When the interests of Italy and Yugoslavia conflicted, the Allied powers decided in favour of Yugoslavia. This was the main reason of Italy's discontent in the post-First World War period. Italy comprehensively failed to secure anything tangible at the Paris Peace Conference and was left humiliated, disappointed and wounded. Elaborating the situation of Italy, historian J. H. Jackson summarized that, 'Italians felt themselves disgraced in the eyes of the world, swindled by their own politicians. War had cost Italy dear, draining her of money, saddling her with a budget deficit of over twelve thousand million Lire, facing up the cost of living. The political party in power in 1919 was pacifist, its leaders old and cynical. It is little wonder that the Italians turned to violence. A crop of secret societies, blood brotherhoods, terrorist gangs of every sort, sprang up all over the country in soil traditionally fertile for such growths.' The people of Italy felt that the country had failed to secure anything favourable for itself due to the incapability of its leadership and thus, they supported Fascism.

Totalitarianism emerged in Italy in the shape of Fascism under the leadership of Benito Mussolini. The word Fascism had its origin from the Roman word *Fascio* which means a bundle of rods which was once the emblem of the Roman authority.

In the post-First World War period, the Italian government was faced with a plethora of problems, which were beyond its capacity to solve. Demobilization after the War increased unemployment and the country faced economic bankruptcy, starvation and inflation. Strikes, lockouts and riots by people became the order of the day. The value of national currency fell steadily and the cost of living rose very high. The uneasiness of the government to tackle these mounting problems was quite evident. Between 1919 and 1922, six-coalition governments mostly of heterogeneous character were formed in Italy. This situation prepared the ground for Fascism and the resulting autocracy was the product of the prevailing situation where democratic sentiments proved incompatible with effective parliamentary government.

The Russian Revolution also inspired the authoritarian leadership of Italy. The socialist leaders of the country tried to use the fragile economic condition to their advantage and tried to imbibe the Soviet system of Communism in Italy. Daily strikes and lockout of these socialist leaders further created a chaotic condition, which the Fascist fully exploited.

The faulty system of franchise prevailing in the country and the programme of the Fascists that promised the people 'order and glory' also greatly attracted the people and they extended their wholehearted support to its leaders. Some of the main principles emphasised by the Fascists were:

- (i) Democracy was not suitable for the country because it widens the gap between the rich and the poor, therefore the country could make progress only under one leader
- (ii) The interests of the country must get precedence over individual interests
- (iii) Quality was more important than quantity
- (iv) The Fascist leaders who embodied the will, sentiments and emotions of the people were symbols of nation's pride
- (v) It favoured equal control over all sections of society

- (vi) It favoured aggressive foreign policy and regarded war as an instrument of national interest

4.4.1 Role of Benito Mussolini

Mussolini and the fascist party were attractive to many sections of society because Mussolini himself said that he aimed to rescue Italy from the existing feeble government. He played an important role in establishing a fascist rule in Italy. Mussolini was born in 1883 as the son of a blacksmith in Romagna. Politically, he was a socialist but began to make a name for himself as a journalist, and became the editor of the socialist newspaper *Avanti*. He separated from the socialists because they were against Italian intervention in the war, and finally started his own newspaper, *Popolo d'Italia*. Before the formation of the fascist party, he was not well known in Italy and outside. Commenting on Mussolini J. H. Jackson said, 'Who was this Mussolini? He was totally unknown outside Italy, and not well known within. The outside world was not much reassured when they heard his record. Son of a village blacksmith, christened Benito after Benito Juarez, the Mexican revolutionary; a firebrand Socialist in his young days; eleven times imprisoned; leader of an abortive coup in June, 1914, during which "red days" twenty men were killed; editor of the Socialist paper *Avanti* until November, 1914, when he was expelled from the party for advocating war against Austria; then editor of the *Popolo d'Italia*, a paper directed by himself and founded, it has been said, with French funds; creator of the Fascist groups; leader of riots against the Socialists who had once been his colleagues it was not a comforting record.'

During the First World War, Mussolini joined the army. The War greatly aroused his patriotic feelings and after the War in 1919, he founded the fascist party with a Socialist and Republican programme and showed sympathy with the factory occupations of 1919–20. The local party units were known as the *fasci di combattimento* or fighting groups. The word *fascies* meant the bundle of rods with protruding axe which used to symbolize the authority and power of the ancient Roman consuls. He tried to arouse national sentiments of the Italian people and inspired them to work for a progressive and powerful Italy. Taking full advantage of the prevailing discontent in the country, Mussolini organised a march to Rome, where the King, Victor Emmanuel III, terrified by this action, dismissed his Prime Minister Luigi Facta and invited Benito Mussolini to form the government. On 30 October 1922 Mussolini came to power in a constitutional manner. Having won over big business houses, Mussolini began to make conciliatory speeches about the Roman Catholic Church which he had earlier criticized. Seeing him as a good anti-communist weapon even the Pope Pius XI swung the Church into line behind Mussolini. When Mussolini announced that he had dropped the Republican part of his programme in 1922, even the king began to look more favourably on the fascists. The anti-fascist forces on the other hand failed to cooperate with each other and made no determined effort to drive the fascists out from Italy.

After assuming power, Mussolini devoted himself to make Italy a powerful nation. During that time, the economic condition of the country was awful. Describing the condition of Italy, historian J. H. Jackson observed.

Now was the time to begin the real work of Fascist reconstruction of Italy. Mussolini had achieved power by force; he could hold it only if he succeeded in improving the economic conditions of his people. Italy was a poor country; with two thirds of her land mountainous and sterile, she could not grow enough wheat to feed her population; with no substantial mineral deposits and no colonies rich in raw materials, she had to rely on exports from foreign countries

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for the stuff of her industries for coal, iron, petrol, and cotton. To pay for these imports, she exported mainly wine, olives and fruit, leatherwork, woodwork and glass, the products of the traditional skill of Italian husbandmen and craftsmen. The exports were not enough to pay for the imports, and the balance was made up, before the war, in a rather humiliating way by the remittances sent back to their families by [the] Italian emigrants, and by the money spent in the country by foreign tourists. During the war the tourist traffic ceased, and after the war foreign countries had no more use for Italian emigrants. Poverty increased in Italy, and the resultant dissatisfaction was behind the strike epidemic of post-war years.

To change the fate of Italy, Mussolini carried out administrative reforms and balanced the national budget. He took measures to stall further devaluation of Italian currency. He tried to eradicate illiteracy by making elaborate provisions for education. He introduced compulsory military training and tried to enhance the naval power of Italy to match it with the naval powers of other European countries, particularly Germany and France. He tried to improve the lot of workers by nationalising all factories and mills and set up syndicates to improve relations between the capitalists and workers. He brought more lands under cultivation and tried to improve and expand transport system and railways. Apart from these, he took several other steps to make Italy economically self-sufficient.

In 1929, Mussolini concluded the Lateran Treaty with the Pope by which the Pope agreed to accept a subordinate position to Mussolini. The Pope was compensated for giving up his political rights. He was permitted to keep in his possession the Vatican and the Cathedral of St. Peters. He was authorised to appoint bishops and teachers to teach religion. Under the pact, the fascist government recognised the Roman Catholic religion as the state religion and religious instructions were made compulsory in all schools. Some historians see the ending of the long breach between the church and the state as Mussolini's most lasting and worthwhile achievement.

4.4.2 The Benefits of Fascist Rule

Much of the Fascist policy was concerned with improving the economy, though Mussolini knew very little about economics. The big drive was for self-sufficiency which was essential for a warrior nation. The early years of Mussolini's rule were successful. Industry was encouraged with government subsidies so that the iron and steel production doubled by 1930, and during this period other industrial productions had also gone up. The 'Battle for Grain' in 1920s encouraged farmers to concentrate on wheat production and by 1935 wheat imports had been cut by 75 per cent. A programme of land reclamation was launched involving irrigation and planting trees in mountainous areas, as part of the drive to improve the agricultural yield.

An impressive public works programme was designed to reduce unemployment. It included the construction of roads, bridges, railway lines, flats, sports complex, schools and new townships on reclaimed land. Due to these infrastructural advantages, education and sporting activities grew manifold and the country performed exceedingly well in sports during the fascist rule as the Italian Soccer Team won the World Cup twice in 1934 and 1938. The 'after-work' organization or *Topolaboro* provided the Italian people many options like cheap holiday packages, cruises for tours, theatres, dramatic societies, libraries, orchestra and sporting organizations to do in their leisure time. To promote the image of the country as a great power, a pragmatic foreign policy was carried out.

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However, the promise of the early years of the Mussolini's rule was in many ways never fulfilled. Little was done to remedy its basic shortage of raw materials like coal and oil. Therefore as an iron and steel producer, Italy could not match even a small state like Belgium. Though the 'Battle for Grain' was a successful endeavour, it was achieved only at the expense of dairy and arable farming. During that period, the wages of farm labourers fell by 20 to 40 per cent. As a result agriculture remained inefficient and farm labourers became the poorest class in Italy. In order to show that Italy had a strong economy Mussolini revalued the currency of Italy, Lira, far too high at 90 to the pound instead of 150 in 1926. Unfortunately, this made Italian exports more expensive in the world market and led to reduced orders. The Great Depression which occurred during the rule of Mussolini in 1929 made matters worse. Exports fell further, unemployment rose to 1.1 million and yet the government refused to devalue the Lira. The regime of Mussolini was inefficient and corrupt, so many of its policies were not carried out properly. Part of the problem was Mussolini himself because he tried to do everything himself and refused to delegate power to others because he wanted total control. On this, D. M. Smith has observed that, 'By trying to control everything, he ended by controlling very little'.

4.4.3 Mussolini's Foreign Policy

The failure of Italy to secure the land promised to it at the Paris Peace Conference had caused much bitterness and dissatisfaction in Italy. Mussolini was determined to revive the past glory of Italy and to make it a great nation by addressing the concerns of injustice meted out to it after the War and he followed an aggressive foreign policy. He himself asserted, 'The main duty of fascist Italy is to keep her army, navy and air forces ready. We shall have to be alert so that we can rearm the five million people at a moment and only then our rights and demands will gain recognition.' In fact, Mussolini wanted to demonstrate to the world that Italy had enough strength not only to protect herself but also to attain the lands she had been promised. An aggressive foreign policy was also helpful in diverting the attention of people from domestic politics. Italy was also keen to regain her Roman inheritance by establishing a Mediterranean and African empire. Mussolini openly declared, 'We are hungry for land, because we are prolific and intend to remain so'.

The objectives of Italy's foreign policy during the fascist regime were summarized by Katharine Duff, 'As things were, the Mediterranean far from being her empire was her prisons; Corsica, Malta, Tunis and Cyprus formed that prison's bars while Gibraltar and Suez guarded its gates and Greece, Turkey and Egypt were ready to complete the chain encircling her. Determined first to break her prison bars and then to march to the ocean without access to which she must be considered only half independent. Italy might push towards the Indian Ocean by linking Libya with Ethiopia through the Sudan towards the Atlantic through French North Africa'. Thus, Italy was keen to have control over the South Eastern Europe, Africa and even further ahead.

Italy and South-Eastern Europe

Mussolini first concentrated his attention on the South-Eastern Europe and took various aggressive steps to strengthen Italy's position in this area. By the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, Italy got back the Dodecanese Islands, which it had surrendered to Greece in 1920. In the same year the Italian army bombed the Corfu Island and occupied it. After the League's intervention and receipt of compensation from Greece, Italy left Corfu.

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This gave a fillip to the prestige of Mussolini. Italy concluded the Treaty of Rome with Yugoslavia in 1924 by which the free state of Fiume was divided between the two. The city of Fiume went to Italy and neighbouring Porto Baros went to Yugoslavia. Likewise, in 1926 the Treaty of Tirana with Albania was signed by which Albania became a dependency of Italy and in 1939 it was annexed to Italy. At the London Naval Conference in 1930, Mussolini demanded naval parity with France, and in 1931 he advocated the revision of the peace treaties.

By these aggressive foreign policy measures Mussolini was able to strengthen Italy's control on the Adriatic, increase her prestige in the Mediterranean, and extended its diplomatic and commercial influence in the South-Eastern Europe.

Seizure of Abyssinia

Abyssinia was the next victim of the expansionist policy of Mussolini. Italy was prompted to undertake this action because:

- (i) It needed more territory for the growing population of the country.
- (ii) It needed raw materials for its growing industries and markets to get finished products.
- (iii) This step was essential to divert the attention of the people from the miserable economic condition of the country.
- (iv) A war against Abyssinia could arouse patriotic spirit of the Italians who had suffered a defeat at the hands of Abyssinia in 1896.
- (v) The Abyssinia area was of strategic value to Italy. It could link the Italian possession in Somaliland, Eritrea and South-East Africa.

Although Mussolini had nourished designs against Abyssinia for a long time, he did not actually undertake this project till he was sure of a military victory against it. The attitude of the League of Nations and other big powers towards the conquest of Manchuria by Japan convinced Mussolini that despite the principle of collective security, nobody was going to stop him from conquering Abyssinia. Further, due to the Great Economic Depression, the great powers of Europe were preoccupied with their domestic problems. Internationally, they were occupied with problem of Hitler's rise to power and the pursuit of an aggressive policy by him. Taking this opportunity into consideration, the Italian troops entered into Abyssinia in October 1935. Immediately the League of Nations declared that, 'Italy had resorted to war in disregard to its obligations under Article 12 of the Covenant'. The League appointed a Coordination Committee and asked every member of the League to prohibit all loans or credits to Italy and place an embargo on export to Italy. However, the Italian forces continued to penetrate into Abyssinia and ultimately occupied it in May 1936.

4.4.4 Italy Until the Second World War

During the inter-war period, Mussolini opposed the Union of Germany with Austria, because such a union was likely to restrict the Italian influence in Europe. In 1931, he opposed the tariff union between these two countries, and in 1934 Nazis revolted and wounded the Chancellor of Austria. Mussolini immediately ordered the Italian army to help Austria. Thus, Austria was saved from the German annexation.

In South Eastern Europe, Italy tried to steal a march over France by impressing on the states of the region to form alliances with Italy rather than France. Initially Italy was able to outwit France by forming alliances with both Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. However, later France was able to increase its political influence over small states in Europe. Italy made efforts to destroy political influence of France by the dissolution of the little Entente and substituting it with a combination directed from Italy. When Italy was unable to have a monopoly of these alliances, it encouraged Germany against France's plans of reconstruction. Even in the matter of disarmament, Italy also supported Germany's stand of parity between Germany and French strength. Italy was convinced that it would give the Italian army balance of power in the European continent.

Though Italy was keen to secure German cooperation, Italy's stand on Austria against Germany made it practically impossible for the two to come closer. Consequently, on 7 January 1935, Italy signed a pact with France in Rome. By this Agreement, France met the main demands of Italy in Africa in return for concession by Italy in Central and Eastern Europe. The two parties also undertook to respect their mutual frontiers and abstain from meddling in the internal affairs of each other. Both Italy and France also agreed to oppose any unilateral revision of the Treaty of Versailles particularly with respect to German rearmament. However, after France participated in the economic sanctions enforced against Italy on account of her intervention in Abyssinia, the friendly relations suffered a setback.

After the emergence of Hitler, and rise of Germany under his leadership, Italy started improving its relations with Great Britain. At the Stresa Conference (1935), Italy had aligned itself with France and Great Britain. In January 1937, Great Britain and Italy issued a declaration that they had agreed to preserve status quo in the Mediterranean region. Another agreement was concluded by the two countries in April 1938 by which they regulated a number of issues in the Mediterranean and the Near-East area arising out of Italy's conquest of Abyssinia.

Mussolini by philosophy and attitude was closer to Germany. Therefore, in 1937, Italy joined the Anti-Comintern Pact, concluded by Germany and Japan in 1936, as a result of which the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis came into existence. Hitler referred to this Axis as 'a great world political triangle and determined to protect decisively their right and vital interests'. In March 1938, Hitler occupied Austria. Mussolini had assumed the self-imposed role of protector of Austria. He informed Hitler that 'Austria did not interest him at all'. By this act, Mussolini was able to earn the gratitude of Hitler but lost his cherished dream of following an independent policy and establishing protectorate over Austria.

Though the Second World War started in September 1939, Italy remained neutral in the initial phase. Its plan was to attack when the Allies were almost exhausted, because that would save Italy from the destruction of the War and would entitle it to share in the spoils of the victory. In 1940, when France was on the verge of collapse, Italy declared war against Britain and France. It formally joined the Triple Alliance with Germany and Japan on 27 September 1940. Italy declared war against Russia in June 1941 and against the US in December 1941. However, after 1942 the course of war changed and the defeat of Mussolini and Italy became imminent, due to continuous defeats and internal economic crisis. In 1943, Mussolini was arrested but later Germany army freed Mussolini and put him back into power. But, when the Allies attacked North Italy in 1945, Italy unconditionally surrendered to Allies. This marked the fall of Fascist Italy.

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Check Your Progress

6. Fill in the blanks.
 - (a) The failure of the _____ to check aggression and preserve world peace greatly contributed to the rise of totalitarian regimes.
 - (b) The _____ believed that the interests of the individuals must get precedence over state's interests.
7. State whether the following statements are true or false.
 - (a) Mussolini separated from the socialists because they were against the Italian intervention in the First World War.
 - (b) Mussolini concluded the Lateran Treaty in 1929 with the Pope by which the Pope agreed to accept a subordinate position.

4.5 NAZISM IN GERMANY

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The First World War ended disastrously for Germany. The collapse of Germany led to political turmoil in the country. Kaiser William II, the last German Emperor, was held responsible for the debacle of the German army and the miseries of the people. A countrywide anti-monarchist revolution compelled Kaiser to abdicate his throne. To take shelter, he fled with his family to Holland. With his abdication, a Provisional Democratic Government was established under the socialist leadership of Ebert and Scheidemann to manage the affairs of the state simultaneously. The Provisional Democratic Government conducted elections on the basis of adult franchise to elect members to the Democratic National Assembly. The Assembly was entrusted with the responsibility of drafting a Democratic Constitution for the German Republic. The Constituent Assembly met at Weimer on 6 February 1919 because Berlin was still torn by political unrest and drafted a new Constitution. This Constitution came into effect on 11 August 1919 and was known as 'Weimer Constitution'.

The Weimer Republic, which bridged the years between the Hohenzollerns and the Nazis, had a number of outstanding achievements to its credit. Due to the introduction of the Dawes Plan in 1924, Germany witnessed unprecedented prosperity in all sectors. Industrial production recorded an enormous increase. Huge foreign contribution and aid enabled Germany to re-establish the currency and rationalisation of its industrial and business life. The establishment of branches of the foreign firms in Germany not only led to the utilisation of the German raw materials but also provided employment to the huge unemployed German labourers.

In the sphere of foreign policy, Germany, during this period pursued three aims: (i) to induce the Allies to evacuate areas of Germany, which they had occupied; (ii) to restore the sovereignty of the Reich, and recovery of Danzig and the frontier in Upper Silesia; and (iii) settlement of the reparation problems to strengthen Germany's capacity. Through these aims, Germany wanted to make her own decisions. For the achievement of the above objectives, Germany signed the Locarno treaties, by which her frontiers with France were settled. Germany concluded the Treaty of Rapallo with Soviet Union in 1922, by which both the states renounced their respective demand against each other and agreed to cooperate in the commercial sphere. In 1926, Germany was admitted to the League of Nations council with a semi-permanent seat. She succeeded in getting a promise of withdrawal of foreign troops from the Ruhr in 1924 and the valley was freed in 1930. Germany convinced Great Britain, France and Belgium to withdraw their troops from the Rhineland region. The problem of reparation was also largely settled by the Young Plan. In 1932, the Lausanne Conference further cut down Germany's obligations of reparation to \$750 million. During the Weimer rule Germany began to rearm itself after the economic and diplomatic revival. Till the first part of 1930 the economic revival of Germany was started and in 1931, when economic depression was at its worst phase, Germany was spending \$700 million on its arms. Despite all these achievements, the German people, especially the younger generation was not happy with the Republican government and continued to nourish ambitions for a powerful Germany. The attempt on the part of the officials to drag down the ideals and heroes of imperial Germany also greatly irritated the young students, above all the people were not happy with the way the democratic parliamentary system was functioning in the country. The people still

remembered the days when order and discipline prevailed in the Reichstag which was in quite contrast to the bickering and quarrel going on in the lower house of the Republic, and they felt that only a strong man could restore prosperity and prestige to Germany.

4.5.1 Formation of the Nazi Party

Hitler and his associates formed the Nazi party in 1920 after the end of the First World War. In the same year, the party announced the Twenty-five Point Programme, which emphasised the need of scraping the Treaty of Versailles which had been imposed on Germany, establishment of vast German empire after bringing back the lost colonies of Germany, increase in the military power of the country, non-recognition of Jews as the German citizens and their removal from all important positions, ban on the entry of foreigners into Germany, imposition of ban on parties which propagated against nationalism, opposition to communism and opposition to Parliamentary system of government which was detrimental to the interest of the country, etc. In the economic sphere, the party stood for increasing incomes, limitation of profits from wholesale enterprise, land reform, nationalisation of all trusts, departmental stores and ban on land speculation. Similarly, in the social sphere, the party favoured increased old age and maternity benefits, reorganisation of higher education and government control of press, etc. It may be noted, that apart from the so-called Twenty-five Point Programme, the Nazis did not possess any positive philosophy. However, by demagogic appeals to latent emotions, fear of communism and resentment against the Treaty of Versailles, the party soon gained considerable following among the lower-middle classes who as a result of the widespread unemployment and extreme frustration were suffering untold agony.

The Nazi party was to have its own army. The army constituted two types of members; one who wore the brown shirt and the other wore the black shirt. The members of the army were recruited from ex-soldiers, veterans and hoodlums, and took part in all types of demonstrations. They were expected to disturb the meetings of other parties and ensure that their party meetings were not disturbed. The Nazi party also started its own paper entitled *Radical Observer*, which awakened the emotions of common people against Communism and the Treaty of Versailles. The extreme nationalists, who could never reconcile themselves to Germany's defeat, firmly supported the ideology of Nazi party.

4.5.2 Rise of Adolf Hitler

The leader of the Nazi party and the Nazi movement in Germany, Adolf Hitler was an Austrian citizen. He began his career as a political agitator after the First World War. Before embarking on a political career in September 1919 at the age of thirty, Adolf Hitler had been an insignificant person in Germany. Hitler had no formal qualifications, and he was an aimless drifter and failed artist before joining the army on the outbreak of war in August 1914. In the army he was not considered worthy of promotion as there was 'a lack of leadership qualities', although his award of the Iron Cross First Class proved that he was very courageous. He succeeded in gaining and exercising supreme power in Germany during the next 26 years and, in the process, arguably left more impact on world's history in the twentieth century than any other political figure. 'The explanation for this remarkable transformation rested partly on Hitler himself, in his particular personal qualities and gifts, and partly in the situation in which he found himself, with a nation in deep crisis.'

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In 1920, Hitler joined the German workers party, the National Socialist German Worker's Party, popularly known as the Nazi Party. Hitler's skills for publicity and as a speaker gradually popularised the Nazi Party. Soon Hitler succeeded in ousting the leader of the party Drexler and assumed supreme power in the party. In 1923, he attempted to overthrow the Bavarian government at a coup but this attempt was unsuccessful. During his trial he made the remark, 'There is no such thing as high treason against the traitors of 1918', which attracted much attention. He was sentenced to five years imprisonment, but was actually released after nine months in prison. During his imprisonment, Hitler wrote the *Mein Kampf* or 'My Struggle' in which he repudiated the parliamentary practice of majority rule and foreshadowed the future programme of Germany's territorial ambitions. According to Hitler there were easy solutions to the complex problems which the people of Germany faced in the 1920s. He blamed Germany's weak government and stated that Germany lost the war because of 'a stab in the back'. He further argued that if pure Germans who were also known as Aryans controlled Germany's destiny, it would return to greatness. Hitler blamed Jews for many of Germany's problems.

During the imprisonment of Hitler, the Nazi party was proscribed and its disintegration was set in. The party participated in the elections of 1924, but the number of its supporters fell considerably. In 1925, Hitler rebuilt the Nazi Party, and decided that he had to obtain power by democratic means rather than by force. The Wall Street crashed in 1929 because of the Great Economic Depression and the subsequent worldwide depression also hit Germany hard. Hitler used this situation and blamed Jews and Communists, using them as scapegoats to gain support for himself. Hitler spoke in a charismatic style that impressed the people of Germany. He blamed outsiders for causing troubles in the nation. Due to his charisma, the popularity of Nazi party started increasing. In the election of 1932, the Nazi Party captured 230 of 608 seats in the Reichstag. However, Hitler was restless to capture power. In 1932, he contested the presidential elections but lost to Hindenburg by a narrow margin. Therefore, during the primary part of the 1930s, the Nazi movement had grown quite powerful in Germany.

In early 1933, Hindenburg dismissed his Chancellor Schleicher and he was succeeded by Hitler as the chancellor by forming a coalition with the Nationalists and others. Hitler dissolved the Reichstag and ordered for a fresh election on 5 March 1933. The Nazis, now in power, were able to use all the apparatus/devices of the state, including the press and radio to try to whip up a majority. Senior police officials were replaced with reliable Nazis and the second private army got instructions to show no mercy to the Communists and other enemies of the state. Six days before the ballot, the Reichstag building was burnt, Hitler accused the Communists of arson and bloody revolution. He ordered the arrest of thousands of Communists and Social Democrats and suppressed the campaign activities of the anti-Nazi parties. The Nazi party was able to secure 44 per cent of the votes polled. The Nazis won 288 out of the 647 seats, 36 short of the magic figure for majority. The Nationalists again won 52 seats. This turned out to be the best performance of Nazis in a free election, and they never won an overall majority. However, Hitler managed majority in the Reichstag by putting all the Communist deputies behind the prison. Within hundred days, all opposition was suppressed. In August 1934, Hindenburg died and Hitler himself became the president of Germany and by the Enabling Act of 1933, he also got dictatorial powers.

4.5.3 Factors for the Rise of Nazism in Germany

Adolf Hitler, who was almost unknown until 1929 in or outside Germany, emerged as the unchallenged leader of Germany in 1934. Several factors contributed to the rise of Nazism and Hitler to power in Germany and these were as follows:

1. **Treaty of Versailles:** After the First World War, Germany was filled with a sense of discontent, hatred and revenge, as the Treaty of Versailles crippled her physically, exhausted her economically and weakened her emotionally. The humiliating treatment meted out to Germany under the Treaty of Versailles was greatly resented by the German people and army, and they wanted to see Germany rise to the glory which it once enjoyed.

No doubt, during the Republican rule, Germany's terrible amount of war indemnity was reduced, reparation was divided into 58 installments and the allies withdrew their armies from the Rhine land, yet the Germans nourished a feeling of resentment against the humiliating and insulting behaviour meted out to them by the Allied power and eagerly looked for an opportunity to avenge the same.

These sentiments were fully exploited by Hitler, who in the words of Benns, 'was an adept psychologist, a clever demagogue and a master showman, he was a resourceful agitator, a tireless worker and an able organizer'. He openly encouraged the Germans 'to consign the Treaty of Versailles into the waste-paper basket'. The humiliating treatment was also the major factor, which Hitler exploited to win the popular support. As Langsam said, 'The continuing hostile attitude of France, the quarrel over the Ruhr, the Rhineland occupation, the Saar and the Reparation, the wrangling over disarmament-all these fed the anger of many Germans'.

2. **Growing danger of Communism:** The growing strength of the Communists in Germany was also exploited by the Nazis to strengthen their position. After the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the Communist influence in Germany considerably increased. The Communists organised themselves effectively and succeeded in capturing a number of seats in the Reichstag. Hitler expressed grave concern over these developments and warned the people that the Communists of Germany on getting power shall become the orderlies of the Russian masters and Germany shall be clouded by destructive doctrines of Communists. He impressed on the people that Nazism alone could keep the growing influence of Communism under check. Hitler asserted, 'If the National Socialist Party collapses there will be another ten million Communists in Germany'. By taking an open anti-communist stance, the Nazi Party succeeded in securing the support of the big industrialists and wealthy people who were greatly scared of the Bolshevik ideals. Highlighting this point Schuman says, 'Industrialists and Junkers subsidized the brown shirt Nazi storm troopers hoping to make use of them against Communists, Socialists, the trade unions and other threats, real or imaginary, to prosperity and privilege.'
3. **The economic crisis and growing unemployment:** The economic crisis, which confronted Germany in the post First World War period, and the growing unemployment, also considerably contributed to the rise of Nazism in Germany. No doubt as a result of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was forced to suffer in agricultural production, colonies, foreign investments, merchant marine and foreign trade contracts. However, after 1923, Germany staged a remarkable recovery and made considerable industrial progress.

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By the end of 1929, as a result of commercial boom, the standard of living of the Germans rose very high. However, this position did not last long and after the middle of 1929, the country witnessed a steep economic decline. The reparation quarrels continued and Germany was not able to secure any foreign loans. The foreign countries raised tariff walls against the German goods. As a result, there was considerable increase in the number of unemployed youth. During the period of Economic Depression following the 1930s, unemployment figures reached an all-time high. In a population of 6,40,00,000 there were around 10 per cent people who were unemployed. Even the condition of the farmers and shopkeepers was miserable. The Nazi Party fully exploited this and asserted that all it would see that no one walked without a job in Germany. Hitler said that the day the entire German race happened to abide by the Nazi ideology; it would recapture its lost glory, power and prosperity. Fortunately for the Nazis, when they came to power, the world began to recover from the Economic Depression. This greatly appealed to the German people and they extended full support to the Nazi Party.

4. **Resurgence of militant nationalism:** The Germans by nature and temperament had weakness for prestige and glory. They could not reconcile with the weak democratic parliamentary system prevailing in the country and still remembered with pride the days when order and discipline prevailed in Reichstag. They felt that only a strong man could restore the past prosperity and prestige of Germany. When they found such a strong man in Hitler, who promised them all glory, they welcomed him with open arms. The Germans felt the need for a strong man to check the growing popularity of Communism in the country, due to swelling ranks of the discontented workers.
5. **Nazi propaganda against Jews and absence of unity among the opposition:** The anti-Semitic propaganda carried on by the Nazi Party also contributed to its popularity. The Nazi Party described the Jews as traitors who conspired with the Allies during the war and had the potential to commit treason against Germany. It impressed on the people that their hardship was due to the exploitation by the Jews, who dominated the German economy. It called upon the people to settle the accounts with the Jews. In view of this anti-Semitic propaganda, all the anti-Jew people thronged behind the Nazi Party. Also, the rise of Nazi Party in Germany was facilitated due to a lack of any strong opposition party or unity among the opposition parties. As a result the Nazi Party did not encounter any effective resistance and gained smooth popularity.
6. **Establishment of volunteer corps:** The development of Nazism in Germany was greatly facilitated by the establishment of volunteer corps. Under the Peace Settlement, the number of forces of Germany was considerably curtailed and a large number of German soldiers were thrown out of employment. The Nazi Party roped in all these soldiers and organised volunteer corps, which served as party army. The party army was divided into two wings. One wing wore brown shirts and red patch on the left arm with *swastika* sign. The other wing, which consisted of the chosen members of the party, wore black shirts. These party army members propagated the programme of the Nazi Party and worked for safeguarding its interests. These cops rendered great service to the popularisation of the Nazi Party in Germany.
7. **Leadership of Adolf Hitler:** The personality of Hitler was one of the major factors in the rise of Nazism in Germany. As historians pointed out, Hitler was an

adept psychologist, a clever demagogue and a master showman. He was a resourceful agitator, a tireless worker and an able organiser. He was convinced that a political revolution must be preceded by a psychological revolution. He tried to create this psychological revolution through his autobiography *Mein Kampf* and mentally prepared the young Germans to avenge the wrong done to them by the Allies in 1918.

8. **Contrast between the Weimar Republic and the Nazi Party:** The Weimar Republic, which was the name given to the parliamentary representative democracy of Germany after the First World War, was dull in working and unable to maintain law and order. Whereas on other hand, the Nazis promised strong, powerful, and decisive government for the restoration of national pride. People were impressed by this irresistible combination of the Nazi party.

Moreover, Germans favoured Nazism as it provided a sense of normality after the Weimar Republic instability. Therefore, any violent act committed by the Nazis, whether directed or aimed against the Jews, Communists or any opposition faction of German society, was legitimised and this in turn led to both active and passive consent from the German population, whose attitudes were already finely tuned by propaganda. The success of Nazis, whether in foreign policy, matters of economy or the creation of a sense of national community explains peoples' active consent throughout most of the Nazi regime or period. The impact or effect of Nazism was so much on the German population that even when the tide began to turn against the Nazis in 1942–43, Nazism was not actively resisted by the German population; instead, they remained passive with some informal resistance.

Although many different interpretations concerning the extent of Nazism's social-political impact are there, it is unreasonable to state that partial inroads were made into wider German society. Significant and important changes took place in mentality among the general population as well as the creation of a national community, but at the same time there was no change in the basic class structure. These inroads can be explained by the successes of the Nazi regime in the fields or areas of foreign policy, increased economic prosperity and political stability, as these were manipulated by Nazi propaganda and there was terror to create a society that either actively supported the regime, or was too afraid to openly resist it. For millions of Germans, the feeling of insecurity and instability of Weimar was replaced by a sense of normality and strong leadership, and for rest of the world this was the violence and injustice of the Nazi regime or period. The rise of Nazi Germany and the aggressive policies pursued by it encouraged the growth of revisionist sentiments strengthened the status quo forces. This led to a division of the world in two hostile camps, which ultimately culminated in the Second World War.

4.6 SUMMARY

- The Industrial Revolution in Europe leading to the search for newer markets and sources of raw material, the growth of modern means of transport, new found consciousness of nationalism and spread of trade and commerce led to fierce competition among the countries.
- The competing nations soon started building alliances to serve their common interests and protect their territories from rival powers. The objective of improving economic situation expanded into the act of raising a strong army and huge military build-up to safeguard the newly acquired territories and markets.

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Check Your Progress

8. Fill in the blanks.
- (a) Hitler got the dictatorial powers through the _____.
- (b) Hitler attempted to overthrow the _____ government at a coup in 1933.
9. State whether the following statements are true or false.
- (a) In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler repudiated the Parliamentary practice of majority rule in Germany.
- (b) The Treaty of Versailles was greatly resented by the German people and was one of the factors that led to the rise of dictatorship.

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- The First World War, which was fought on global scale, was a major war centred in Europe. This War began in 1914 and lasted until 1918, for a period of four years and three months, and had its impact practically on all the countries and regions of the world.
- The War involved all the great powers of the world, which were divided into two opposing alliances that were the Allies and the Central Powers.
- Though the immediate cause of the First World War was the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the fundamental causes for the outbreak of the First World War were many like the imperialistic foreign policies of the great powers of Europe, including Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey, Russia, Great Britain, France and Italy; the growth of narrow nationalism, militarism and economic imperialism were also responsible for creating an enabling atmosphere for the War.
- The First World War posed a serious threat to the educational system of that time as many educational institutions were forcibly closed down and students were encouraged to undergo military training to provide the necessary fighting force for the War.
- The Treaty of Versailles was signed between the Allies and Germany on 28 June 1919. The draft of the Treaty was presented to the German Foreign Minister on 7 May 1919 and Germany was given three weeks' time to file written objections if any. On 29 May objections to the Treaty were received from Germany.
- The First World War placed an unbearable strain on Russia's weak government and economy, resulting in mass shortages and hunger. In the meantime, the mismanagement and failures of the war turned the people and particularly the soldiers, against the Tsar, whose decision to take personal command of the army seemed to make him personally responsible for the defeats.
- The first revolution in February overthrew the Tsar on 15 March 1917, and set up a moderate provisional government. When this government also failed to live up to the expectations and proved no better than the rule of Tsars, it was overthrown by the Bolshevik Revolution in October 1917.
- The Russian Revolution of 1917 which is popularly known as Bolshevik Revolution is one of the most significant events in the history of the twentieth century world and ranks in importance in the category of the French Revolution.
- There were various factors and forces which were responsible for the Russian Revolution in 1917. The main factors were the series of bad judgements by the Tsar, the resentment at the treatment of peasants cruelly by the landowners, experience of poor working conditions by labourers and workers in the industries, and an increasing sense of political and social awareness of the people in general because of democratic ideas that reached Russia from the West.
- After 1912, various revolutionary parties, especially the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, fortune revived. Both these groups developed from an earlier Marxist movement, the Social Democrat Labour Party, and Karl Marx's ideas influenced them.
- Vladimir Lenin was one of the social democrats, who helped edit the revolutionary newspaper *Iskra* (The Spark). In 1903, over an election to the editorial board of *Iskra* the party had split into Lenin supporters, the Bolsheviks, the Russian word for the majority and the rest, the Mensheviks means the minority.

- In 1905, Russia suffered humiliating losses in the Russo-Japanese War and, during a demonstration against the War in the same year, firing was opened by the Tsarist troops on an unarmed crowd and this further isolated Nicholas II from his people. There were widespread strikes, riots, and the famous mutiny on the Battleship Potemkin.
- The first important event of the Revolution in Russian was the March Revolution or the February Revolution in Russia. It was a chaotic affair and it marked the termination of over a century of civil and military unrest.
- According to the Russian calendar, the March Revolution started on 23 February 1917. However, the first revolution actually started on 08 March. On that day, there were bread riots in St. Petersburg. Soon it became a city-wide demonstration as furious industrial workers left factories and protested against shortage of food.
- Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov—also known as Lenin—was one person who was eager to take advantage of the chaotic state of affairs in St. Petersburg. Most of the time of Lenin was spent travelling, working, and campaigning in Europe—partly because of fear for his own safety, as he was known Socialist and was considered as an enemy of the Tsarist rule.
- The primary basis of Lenin's brilliant successes as the Russian Revolution leader can be attributed to his deep mastery of Marxian theory.
- In the post-First World War era democracy received a great boost in the world and in the European countries in particular. In most of these countries, monarchies were abolished and demand rose in favour of democracy, representative assemblies, universal suffrage and people friendly representative governments.
- The concept of modern totalitarianism arose in the 1920s and 1930s. It was a new kind of state. Even today many scholars have trouble defining it. According to the early writers it originated with the total war efforts of the First World War, and that the War called forth a tendency to subordinate all institutions and classes to the state so as to achieve the supreme objective—victory.
- Various factors were responsible for the rise of dictatorship or totalitarianism in Europe. In the first place, the democratic governments established after the First World War proved a miserable failure as they failed to solve the social, economic and political problems facing their countries in the post-war period. Their failure was fully exploited to establish dictatorial regimes. Also, the worldwide Economic Depression of 1929 caused enormous hardships and sufferings to the people and gave rise to frustration, despondency and despair among the people.
- Totalitarianism emerged in Italy in the shape of Fascism under the leadership of Benito Mussolini. The word Fascism had its origin from the Roman word *Fascio* which means a bundle of rods which was once the emblem of the Roman authority.
- Mussolini was born in 1883 as the son of a blacksmith in the Romagna. Politically he was a socialist but began to make a name for himself as a journalist, and became the editor of the socialist newspaper *Avanti*. He fell out with the socialists because they were against Italian intervention in the War and started his own newspaper, *Popolo d'Italia*. Before the formation of the fascist party, he was not well known in Italy and outside Italy. During the First World War period, he joined the army and took active part in it. The War greatly aroused his patriotic feelings.

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- To change the fate of Italy, Mussolini carried out administrative reforms and balanced the national budget. He took measures to stall further devaluation of the Italian currency. He tried to eradicate illiteracy by making elaborate provisions for education.
- The leader of the Nazi party and Nazi movement in Germany, Adolf Hitler was an Austrian citizen. He began his career as a political agitator after the First World War.
- Hitler and his associates formed the Nazi party in 1920 after the end of the First World War. In the same year the party announced the Twenty-five Point Programme, which emphasised the need of scraping the Treaty of Versailles which had been imposed on Germany, establishment of vast German empire after bringing back the lost colonies of Germany, increase in the military power of the country, non-recognition of Jews as German citizens and their removal from all important positions, ban on the entry of foreigners into Germany, imposition of ban on parties which propagated against nationalism, opposition to communism and opposition to parliamentary system of government which was detrimental to the interest of the country, etc.
- In the economic sphere, the party stood for increasing incomes, limitation of profits from wholesale enterprise, land reform, nationalisation of all trusts, departmental stores and ban on land speculation.

4.7 KEY TERMS

- **Weltpolitik:** This term meant 'world policy' and referred to the policy adopted by Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany in 1897, and replaced the earlier 'Realpolitik' approach.
- **Triple entente:** This was the name given to the alliance among France, Britain and Russia after the Anglo-Russian Entente was signed in 1907.
- **Treaty:** It is an express agreement under international law entered into by actors in international law, namely, sovereign states and international organizations.
- **Imperialism:** The *Dictionary of Human Geography* defines imperialism as, 'the creation and/or maintenance of an unequal economic, cultural, and territorial relationship, usually between states and often in the form of an empire, based on domination and subordination'.
- **Industrial Revolution:** It is the name given by historians to the period in history when there was significant and rapid change in the way things were made, produced or manufactured.
- **Italia Irredenta:** The term means unredeemed Italy and refers to an Italian patriotic and political party, which was of importance in the last quarter of the 19th century.
- **Militarism:** The term means a strong military spirit or policy or the principle or policy of maintaining a large military establishment.
- **Dreadnought:** This was the British battleship which was launched in 1906, and was the first of its type.

- **Entente Cordiale:** This was an understanding reached by France and Britain in April 1904, which settled outstanding colonial disputes.
- **Internationalism:** This is a policy or practice of cooperation among nations, especially in politics and economic matters.
- **Duma:** The Duma was the council assemblies and was created by the Tsar of Russia.
- **Bolshevik Revolution:** It refers to the overthrow of the government of Russia, which took place in the fall of 1917.
- **Communism:** Communism (derived from Latin *communis*—common, universal) is a revolutionary socialist movement to create a classless, moneyless, and stateless social order.
- **Socialism:** This is a social and economic doctrine that calls for public rather than private ownership or control of property and other natural resources.
- **Pravda:** It is a Russian political newspaper and official mouthpiece of Communist Party of the Russian Federation.
- **Totalitarianism:** It is the concept of modern totalitarianism arose in the 1920s and 1930s. It was a new kind of state.
- **fasci di combattimento:** The local party units in Italy were known as *fasci di combattimento* or fighting groups. The word *fascies* meant the bundle of rods with protruding axe which used to symbolize the authority and power of the ancient Roman consuls.

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4.8 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The First World War began in 1914 and ended in 1918.
2. When Great Britain concluded a treaty with Russia in 1907, the Triple Entente came into existence.
3. The Treaty of Versailles was signed between the Allies and Germany on 28 June 1919.
4. (a) Bolshevik Revolution; (b) Lenin
5. (a) True; (b) True
6. (a) League of Nations; (b) Fascists
7. (a) True; (b) True
8. (a) Enabling Act of 1923; (b) Bavarian
9. (a) True; (b) True

4.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Give reasons for the outbreak of the First World War.
2. List the Fourteen Points announced by President Woodrow Wilson.
3. What is the economic impact of the First World War?

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4. List the territorial provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.
5. State the economic causes of the Russian Revolution.
6. Write a short note on the October-November Revolution.
7. Write a short note on the emergence of Lenin's leadership.
8. What were the benefits of the Fascist rule?
9. Compare the ideologies of Benito Mussolini and Adolph Hitler.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the series of international crises that led to the First World War.
2. Explain the course and impact of the First World War.
3. Describe the various provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.
4. Critically evaluate the causes and course of the Russian Revolution.
5. Explain the February-March Revolution (1917).
6. Evaluate the impact of the Russian Revolution.
7. Explain the causes for the rise of dictatorship or totalitarianism in Europe with special reference to the rise of Fascism in Italy.
8. Evaluate the causes of the rise of Nazism in Germany.

4.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 5 WORLD WAR II AND POST-WAR MOVEMENTS

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Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Unit Objectives
- 5.2 Second World War: Causes and Effects
 - 5.2.1 Propaganda Campaign in the Sudetenland
 - 5.2.2 The Munich Conference, 1938
 - 5.2.3 The German Occupation of Czechoslovakia, 1939
 - 5.2.4 Hitler's Demand for the Return of Danzig
 - 5.2.5 Causes of the Second World War
- 5.3 Colonialism and Nationalism in Asia
 - 5.3.1 Growth of Nationalism in Indonesia
 - 5.3.2 Growth of Nationalism in Vietnam
 - 5.3.3 Growth of Nationalism in Burma
- 5.4 Summary
- 5.5 Key Terms
- 5.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 5.7 Questions and Exercises
- 5.8 Further Reading

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Three factors were responsible for the expansion of imperialism which were very significant to the start of the First World War. These factors included the demand for raw materials by the European nations, the emerging sense of nationalism, and military expansion. The demand for raw materials was the main reason for the growth of imperialism.

The First World War and the subsequent Great Economic Depression considerably weakened many erstwhile European powers but it also led to the rise of dictatorship in several countries. The tensions and resentments resulting from the First World War and the interwar period in Europe made a bigger conflict unavoidable. The culmination of all these events led to the outbreak of the Second World War. Unlike the 1914–18 (First World War), the Second World War was a much more complex affair with major campaigns taking place in the Pacific and the Far East, in North Africa and Russia as well as in Central and Western Europe and the Atlantic. This War later turned out to be even more horrific and disgraceful compared to its earlier version. Many historians still believe that the Second World War was Hitler's personal war, and that he always intended to fight a war—as a re-run of the First World War. He did not believe that Germany had lost fairly. However, it is difficult to accept that the Second World War started only because of Hitler's assault on Poland. In fact, it was a continuation of the First World War and the chain of political crisis that followed from 1919 to 1939. The main cause of the two World Wars was definitely the desire of Germany to become the greatest world power. But the Second World War was also a war of revenge initiated by Germany. It cannot be denied that Germany stood first and foremost for revenge. It also stood first for rearmament and then for loot and German domination. But historians like

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A. J. P. Taylor do not agree. According to them, 'Hitler never intended a major war, and at most was prepared only for a limited war against Poland.' However, many historians believe that the policy of appeasement adopted by England and France towards the dictatorial powers, largely contributed to the commencement of the War. From the mid-1920s until 1937, there was a mistaken notion that War must be avoided at all costs, and Great Britain and even France drifted along, accepting the various acts of aggression and breaches of the Treaty of Versailles.

In May 1937, when Chamberlain became the British Prime Minister, he gave a new drive to appeasement. He took the initiative to find out what Hitler wanted and further wanted to show him that reasonable claims could be met by negotiation rather than use of force. Chamberlain went to the extent of observing at the time of Locarno treaties that, 'no British government would ever risk the bones of a single British grenadier in defense of the Polish Corridor', the German's thought that Great Britain had turned her back on Eastern Europe. Appeasement reached its climax at Munich, where Britain and France were so determined to avoid war with Germany that they made Hitler a present of the Sudetenland, setting in motion the destruction of Czechoslovakia. This act of Britain and France emboldened Hitler even more who had decided to destroy Czechoslovakia as part of his *Lebensraum* (Living Space) policy as he hated the Czechs for their democracy as well as for the fact that their state had been established under the controversial Versailles settlement.

This unit discusses the causes and effects of the Second World War. It also discusses the growth of colonialism and nationalism in Burma, Indonesia and Vietnam.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the causes of the Second World War
- Assess the significance of the Munich Conference, 1938
- Analyse the growth of nationalism in Indonesia
- Evaluate the Japanese occupation of Indonesia
- Explain the growth of nationalism in Indo-China and Vietnam
- Describe the growth of nationalism in Burma

5.2 SECOND WORLD WAR: CAUSES AND EFFECTS

The Treaty of Versailles was being seen by Germany as a mark of humiliation. When Hitler came to power in Germany, he decided not to honour the treaty that was a source of mortification for Germany. Under Hitler, Germany had become an aggressor and a totalitarian regime. Hitler had his own expansionist plans and he had strengthened his army and navy to carry on his plans. But the Great Britain and France wished to avoid a repetition of World War I, and so adopted the diplomatic policy of appeasement. Under this policy, they allowed Hitler to capture territories. The Treaty of Versailles allowed the demilitarization of Rhineland. Hitler gave excuses of Germany feeling threatened and so sent the German forces to capture Rhineland. He feared the interference of France and Great Britain, and had ordered his forces to retreat if they faced resistance

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by France. But both France and Great Britain failed to act and Hitler was encouraged to capture more territories. The Treaty of Versailles also forbade Germany to capture Austria, but Austria was Hitler's birth country. So, Hitler decided to integrate Germany and Austria. And even here, Neville Chamberlain, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the Allied Powers adopted the appeasement policy to secure peace, which the League of Nations had clearly been failed to do. Part of this inaction can be attributed to the economic slump that most economies were facing at this time. This inaction by the Allied Powers instilled more confidence in Hitler.

The Treaty of Versailles had made provisions for the creation of Czechoslovakia that also comprised the Sudetenland. Sudetenland was mainly occupied by the German population. The Nazi influence had spread even in Sudetenland, and in April 1938, a demand for autonomy came from the Sudeten Nazis. At this point, Chamberlain feared German invasion of Czechoslovakia. So, he issued a warning of Britain's interference to Hitler if Czechoslovakia was captured by him. Hitler ordered his military forces to launch an attack on Czechoslovakia.

Chamberlain tried to hold peaceful negotiations with Hitler to prevent the invasion of Czechoslovakia. But Hitler had a new demand—that of absorbing Sudetenland into Germany. The Czech President was advised by Britain and France to hand over all German territories that had a majority of German population. But this meant a huge loss to Czechoslovakia.

Hitler warned that he would occupy Sudetenland and will expel the Czechoslovaks living there. Soon, events turned in a different direction, and a four-power conference was held on 29 September, comprising Hitler, Chamberlain, Édouard Daladier (the Prime Minister of France) and Benito Mussolini (the Prime Minister of Italy) in Munich. They allowed Hitler to carry on his invasion of Sudetenland, but allowed that an international commission would be established to decide the fate of other disputed areas. Czechoslovakia was denied support from all other countries, and so, it had no alternative but to comply. A peace treaty was signed between the United Kingdom and Germany. Chamberlain believed that he was able to establish peace now that the peace treaty had been signed. But he could not be more wrong as a month later, Czechoslovakia ceased to exist, and was divided among Germany, Hungary, Poland and an independent Slovakia. (See Figure 5.1)



Fig. 5.1 Map of Sudetenland Showing its Integration with Germany

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The act of appeasement and capitulation before Germany that unfolded in Munich exposed the vulnerability of the erstwhile European powers like Britain and France, and paved the way for more such acts of aggression. The policy of appeasement helped in temporarily averting the War but it gave Hitler an apparently effortless way of furthering his policy of aggression through the 1930s. In his book *The Origins of the Second World War* (1961) A. J. P. Taylor argues that, 'Appeasement was a logical and realistic policy, but the mistake made by Chamberlain was of abandoning it which brought the war on'.

5.2.1 Propaganda Campaign in the Sudetenland

Hitler's excuse for the opening propaganda campaign in the Sudetenland was that 3.5 million Sudeten Germans under their leader Konrad Henlein, were being discriminated against by the Czech government. It is true that unemployment was higher among the Germans, but apart from that they were probably not being seriously discriminated against. The Nazis organised huge protest demonstrations in the Sudetenland, and clashes occurred between the Czechs and the Germans. The Czech President, Benes, feared that Hitler was stirring up the disturbances so that the German troops could march in to restore order. The British Prime Minister Chamberlain and the French Prime Minister Daladier were afraid that if this happened, war would breakout. They were determined to go to almost any lengths to avoid war and they put tremendous pressure on the Czechs to make concessions to Hitler. Chamberlain flew to Germany twice to confer with Hitler, but no progress could be made.

5.2.2 The Munich Conference, 1938

In a conference held in Munich, Germany, an agreement was negotiated among the major powers of Europe without the presence of Czechoslovakia. This Agreement was signed by Germany, France, the United Kingdom and Italy. The main aim of the Munich Conference was to discuss about the Sudetenland's future in the face of territorial demands that were made by Adolf Hitler. In other words, it was an Agreement that permitted Nazi Germany's annexation of Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland. Sudetenland comprised areas along the borders of Czechoslovakia, which were mainly inhabited by the ethnic Germans. These areas were of immense strategic importance to Czechoslovakia, as most of its border defenses and its banks were situated or located there. When it seemed that war was inevitable, Chamberlain and Daladier were invited by Hitler to a Four-power Conference which met in Munich on 29 September 1938. Here a plan that was actually written by the German Foreign Office was produced by Benito Mussolini and it was accepted.

According to the plan unveiled at the Conference, Sudetenland was to be handed over to Germany immediately, but Germany along with the other three powers had to assure the rest of Czechoslovakia will remain intact. Neither the Czechs nor the Russians were invited to the Conference. The Czechs were told that if they resisted the Munich decision, they would receive no help from Great Britain or France, even though France had guaranteed the Czech frontiers at Locarno. The state of Czechoslovakia which was not even invited to the Conference felt betrayed by this act of the United Kingdom and France, and the Czechs and Slovaks called the Munich Agreement the 'Munich Dictate'. Sometimes, the phrase Munich Betrayal is also used because the military alliance which Czechoslovakia had with France and the United Kingdom was not honoured. The Government of Czechoslovak realising the hopelessness of fighting the Nazis alone reluctantly agreed to abide by the rules mentioned in the Agreement. According to the

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Settlement, Germany got the Sudetenland starting 10 October 1938 and also had de-facto control over the rest of Czechoslovakia as long as Hitler agreed to go no further. After some rest on 30 September, Chamberlain went to Hitler and asked him to sign a peace treaty between the United Kingdom and Germany. After this was interpreted to Hitler, he happily agreed. When Chamberlain came back in Britain, he was given a rapturous and joyful welcome by the public who thought war had been averted. Chamberlain himself remarked, 'I believe it is peace for our time'. Though the British, the French, the Nazi military and the German diplomatic leadership were pleased, Hitler was furious. He felt as if he was forced into acting like a bourgeois politician by his diplomats and generals. He shouted furiously soon after the meeting with Chamberlain and said, 'Gentlemen, this has been my first international conference and I can assure you that it will be my last'. However, everybody was not so enthusiastic like Britain and France. Churchill called Munich 'a total and unmitigated defeat'. Duff Cooper, the First Lord of the Admiralty, resigned from the Cabinet, saying that 'Hitler could not be trusted to keep the agreement'. Later, it was proved that they were right.

5.2.3 The German Occupation of Czechoslovakia, 1939

As a result of the Munich Agreement, Czechoslovakia was crippled by the loss of 70 per cent of its heavy industry and almost all of her fortifications to Germany. Slovakia began to demand semi-independence and it looked as if the country was about to fall apart. Hitler pressurised the Czechoslovakian President, Hacha, into requesting Germany for help to restore order. Consequently in March 1939 Germany troops occupied the rest of Czechoslovakia. Britain and France protested but as usual took no action. Chamberlain said the guarantee of the Czechoslovakian frontier given at Munich did not apply, because technically the country had not been invaded rather Germany troops had entered by invitation. However, the German action caused a great rush of criticism. Even for the first time the appeasers were unable to justify what Hitler had done because he had broken his promise and seized non-Germany territory. Even Czechoslovakia felt this was going too far and for that it hardened its position. After taking over the Lithuanian port of Memel, Hitler turned his attention to Poland.

5.2.4 Hitler's Demand for the Return of Danzig

The German resented the loss of Danzig and the Polish Corridor at Versailles, and now that Czechoslovakia was safely out of the way and Polish neutrality was no longer necessary. In April 1939 Hitler demanded the return of Danzig and a road and railway across the Corridor, linking East Prussia with the rest of Germany. This demand was not unreasonable, since Danzig was mainly German speaking. However, after the seizure of Czechoslovakia the Poles were convinced that Germany demands were only the preliminary to an invasion. Already strengthened by the British assurance of help in the event of any action which threatened Polish independence the Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck rejected the German demands and refused to attend a conference. The British pressure to surrender Danzig had no impact on the Poles.

The only way to save Poland could have happened through a British alliance with Russia but the British response was slow and they were hesitant in their negotiations for an alliance, which allowed Hitler to reach out first and sign a non-aggression pact with the USSR. It was also agreed to divide up Poland between Germany and the USSR. Hitler was convinced now that with the Russian neutrality, Britain and France would not risk intervention. When the British ratified their guarantee to Poland, Hitler took it as a bluff. When the Poles still refused to negotiate, a full-scale German invasion began on 1

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September 1939. Even on this situation the British Prime Minister Chamberlain had still not completely thrown off appeasement and suggested that if Germany troops were withdrawn, a conference could be held, but Germany preferred to remain silent on this. Only when pressure mounted on him in the parliament and in the country Chamberlain did send an ultimatum to Germany. When this expired on 3 September, Britain declared war with Germany. Soon afterwards, France also declared war.

5.2.5 Causes of the Second World War

The Second World War which began in 1939 lasted for 6 years. Major powers of Europe were involved in this War, battles were staged in all corners of the world and 'it was the most widespread war in history, with more than 100 million people engaged in the military exercise that ensued'. In a state of total war, the major participant countries placed their entire economic, industrial, and scientific capabilities and abilities at the service of the war effort, and this erased the distinction between the civilian and military resources. This War was marked by many significant events involving the mass death of civilians, which included the holocaust and the only use of nuclear weapons in warfare. The War resulted in 50 million to over 70 million fatalities. Because of these deaths, the Second World War is considered as the deadliest conflict in all of human history. Although the immediate cause for the outbreak of the Second World War was the invasion of Poland by Germany but the real causes were much deeper and diverse in nature.

1. The Follies of Victors in the First World War

The Second World War origins were contained in the First World War itself. At the end of the First World War, many of the disputes were outstanding which still needed to be settled. When Germany surrendered, the Germans felt a huge amount of resentment for other countries interfering in their matters. The ill-feeling and divide between Germany and other countries was so massive that Germany was not even invited to participate in the peace treaties that were put in place at the end of the War. The Treaty of Versailles that specifically dealt with Germany's future left no room for discussion on the part of the Germans. The consequence was that Germany was left bitter and full of hatred for those who had sought to demean it as a race-hatred that would be exploited by Hitler in the 1930s during his rise to power. 'Hitler stood under the banner of revenge against other countries for Germany's defeat. His desire for power was justified by claims that he wanted to get rid of the government that surrendered in the First World War, and replace it with his own organization, the National Socialist German Workers' Party, which became known as the Nazi party, so that he could have full control of the European powers that had subjugated Germany after 1918.' Thus, it is justified to conclude that the First World War was the major cause of the Second World War as it was the first in the chain of events that finally led to the declaration of war in 1939.

2. The Treaty of Versailles

The Treaty of Versailles was concluded in 1919 immediately after the First World War but the same angered the German people for several reasons. The first was that it was a Diktat or Dictated Peace settlement and Germany had no say in the preparation of the Treaty. Germany was forced to agree to the terms of this harsh Treaty and the mass opinion which was decisively not in favour of it. Over the period of time, other European powers realised that the original terms had been very strict. The basis of the Treaty was mainly spirit of revenge. Germany was deprived of her colonies, territories and natural resources and was also burdened with reparations which were beyond its capacity or

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control to honour. This factor of dictation and humiliation led to the spirit of revenge. Germany started looking for a chance to tear off the Versailles treaty and finally when Hitler broke the Treaty after many years, it was taken as an indication that many people agreed with Hitler that the Treaty had been wrongly thrust on the Germans. The consequence of the Treaty of Versailles was that it did not settle any dispute; it created more conflicts between countries which were already restless and were trying to recover from the previous war. If the Treaty of Versailles was drafted with magnanimity, and foresight, and Germany was meted with a light treatment, the Second World War might have been turned away. Thus, the short sighted and selfishness of the winners was one of the main causes that paved the way for another World War.

3. Aggressive Nationalism of Germany

Another reason was the desire of the German leaders to make her a world power and to take on the policy of militarisation greatly added to the Second World War. After Hitler's position was consolidated, he embarked on the path of expansion of German empire. He occupied Rhineland, Czechoslovakia and annexed Austria. After this, he casted his eyes on Danzig and Poland. Hitler could pursue aggressive policies due to an attitude of indifference on the part of Great Britain and France. This 'aggressive nationalism' of Germany ultimately led to the Second World War.

4. Rise of Fascism in Italy

The growth of extreme nationalism in Italy in the form of Fascism was another factor responsible for the Second World War. Benito Mussolini, the Fascist leader glorified war. He said, 'war alone bring to their highest tension all human energies and puts the stamp of nobility upon people who have the courage to meet it'. It was under Mussolini that Italy began to think of restoring the glory of the Old Roman Empire. Italy annexed Abyssinia and in Spain the Italian volunteers were able to place General Franco in the saddle. In 1937 Italy joined the Anti-Comintern Pact to strengthen its position and concluded a 10 years alliance with Germany in 1939. It was agreed by both the countries to help each other if any of them was involved in war.

5. Japanese Imperialism

Another cause of War was the Japanese imperialism. After the First World War, Japan obtained many concessions at the Peace Conference. However, these were to some extent taken away from Japan by the Washington Conference of 1921–22. But Japan had decided to dominate the Far East. In 1931, Japan intervened in Manchuria and in spite of opposition from the League occupied it. Japan started an undeclared war against China in 1937 and conquered many cities one after other. When the Second World War began the Chinese war was still going on. Japan had joined Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis, and this gave a further momentum to the Japanese programme of expansion and conquest. A war was inevitable under such circumstances.

6. The Great Economic Depression

An economic strife throughout the world was caused due to the Economic Depression which was triggered by the stock market crash in America in the late 1920s. America could not finance Germany to meet the obligations of reparations, and instead they wanted the money back from Germany. As a result of this America went into isolation as it wanted to nurse its own economy and avoided being dragged into another costly

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European war. Economic crisis was being faced by countries all over the world, and distrust started to develop again between countries. There was unemployment all over the world, and this problem was solved by countries by creating large armies. In Germany, Adolph Hitler's Nazi Party sought to establish a fascist government. With the beginning of the Great Depression, domestic support for the Nazis rose and, Hitler was appointed the Chancellor of Germany in 1933. In the aftermath of the Reichstag fire, a totalitarian single-party state was created by Hitler and it was led by the Nazis. During that time in order to overcome the serious problem of unemployment some of the countries started arms manufacture, but this gave a serious setback to disarmament efforts and promoted military competition among the states. Therefore, the global Economic Depression which surrounded the world for some years after 1929 was also a contributing cause of the Second World War and this gave Germany an excuse to break away from the Treaty of Versailles and establish larger armed forces on their own turf.

7. Failure of the League of Nations

In 1919 the League of Nations, an international organisation, was set up to help keep peace in the world and eliminate war as an instrument of policy. The intention was that all countries would be members of the League and that in case of disputes between countries they could be settled by negotiation rather than by force. If this was not successful then countries would stop trading with the aggressor country and if that too did not work out then countries would use their armies to fight. Theoretically, the League of Nations was a good idea and did have some early successes. But finally it turned out to be a failure.

In the late 1920s the whole world was hit by a depression. A depression is when an economy of the country falls, trade decreases, businesses lose income, prices drop and unemployment rises. Japan was hit badly by the Economic Depression in 1931. People lost confidence in the government and turned to the army to find a solution to the problem. Manchuria in China, an area rich in minerals and resources was invaded by the army. China appealed to the League of Nations for help and solution. The dictatorial Japanese government was told to order its army to leave Manchuria immediately. However, the army took no notice of the government orders and continued its conquest of Manchuria.

Then the League called for countries to stop trading with Japan but due to the Economic Depression many countries did not want to risk losing trade and disagreed to the request. After this the League made a further call for Japan to withdraw from Manchuria but instead Japan left the League of Nations. Italy invaded Abyssinia in October 1935. The Abyssinians were unable to withstand an attack by Italy and appealed to the League of Nations for help. The League criticised the attack and called on member states to impose trade restrictions with Italy. But these trade restrictions were not carried out as they would have little effect because Italy would be able to trade with non-member states, particularly America. Furthermore, Great Britain and France did not want to risk Italy attacking them. A meeting was held to stop Italy's aggression by the leaders of Great Britain and France and it was decided that Italy could have possession of land in Abyssinia only if there were no further attacks on the African country. Although Benito Mussolini accepted the plan, but there was a public outcry in Great Britain and the plan was ultimately dropped. In 1935 Italy occupied Ethiopia and Albania in 1936. Though economic sanctions were imposed by the League upon Italy yet the other members did not apply them.

Encouraged by these developments Germany defied the Treaty of Versailles in 1936 and rearmed itself. In 1938 Germany occupied Austria and Czechoslovakia by using force. The League remained silent. In 1939, Russia attacked Finland, and this led to Russia's expulsion from the League.

There were many reasons for the failure of the League of Nations. These were as follows:

First, though the idea of formation of the League of Nations came from the American President Woodrow Wilson, there was a change of government in the United States before the Treaty was signed and the new Republican government refused to join it. An early blow was suffered by the League when the US could not join it. Germany was not allowed to join the League as a punishment for having started the First World War and Russia was also not included due to a growing fear of Communism. Some of the other countries decided not to join and some joined but later left the membership. The main idea of collective security was that when one country attacked another, the aggressor would have sanctions imposed against it. First there would be material sanctions and then military sanctions. The trading with that country would be stopped. This process was known as collective security, as all the other countries were supposed to support the League and contribute to stopping the aggressive country from waging a war. Even those states who accepted membership of the League showed indifference to this principle of collective security.

Second, the League of Nations was powerless. The main weapon or tool of the League was to ask member countries to stop trading with an aggressive country. However, this did not succeed as countries could still trade with non-member countries. When the Economic Depression in the late 1920s hit the world, countries were unwilling to lose trading partners to other non-member countries.

Third, the League had no army of its own. Member states were to supply the soldiers. However, countries were reluctant to get involved and risk provoking an aggressive country into taking action directly against them and failed to provide troops.

Fourth, the League was not able to act quickly. The Council of the League of Nations only met four times a year and its decisions had to be agreed by all nations. When countries called for the League to intervene or mediate, the League had to organise an emergency meeting, hold discussions and gain the agreement of all its members. This process meant that the League could not act quickly or rapidly to stop an act of aggression.

And finally, as the League of Nations was unable to maintain international peace, the European countries lost faith in its efficacy and entered into mutual political and military alliance. Therefore, the weakness of the League of Nations was a major cause for the outbreak of the Second World War because if it had worked, then there would have been peace within Europe, and there wouldn't have been a Second World War. However, as it was unable to fulfill its promise to protect member states, countries broke the rules to get what they wanted or desired.

8. Failure of Disarmament

Another major cause, intimately connected with the League of Nations was the failure of disarmament. The Cold War between the United States of America and the Soviet Union led to the beginning of an arms race. America knew that it had become a superpower mainly because it was able to crush Japan's imperial designs by dropping an atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Moreover, the rising feeling of insecurity

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among nations after World War II made them find new ways of establishing supremacy and avoid containment. The two World Wars had made it clear that annihilation of countries was possible with bombs, and so efforts were made to establish peace in the world by following the policy of disarmament. Thus, the Security Council was created in the United Nations. The council tried to enforce the policy of nuclear disarmament. But the Soviets and the Americans did not trust each other, and entered an arms race. Article 8 of the Covenant had restricted the member states to take steps for the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety. But as the League members had no faith in the system of collective security guaranteed by the League they entered into a race of rearmament. Due to mutual distrust of the members the various conferences for disarmament failed to achieve much both within and outside the League. Apart from Germany, which was compulsorily disarmed, the other country to reduce arms was Great Britain. After 1935 even Germany introduced conscription in violation of the Treaty of Versailles. The other totalitarian states also followed the principle of 'guns before butter'. This race for armaments had disastrous results for the security of peace loving countries.

9. Ideological Conflict

Another major cause of the Second World War was the ideological conflict between Dictatorial States of Germany, Italy, Japan and Democratic States like Great Britain, France and the US. Commenting on the ideological conflict Mussolini remarked, 'The struggle between the two worlds can permit no compromise—either We or They'. This conflict was inevitable due to the different approaches and worldviews clashing with each other and trying to outwit each other. While the democratic countries stood for maintenance of status quo, the Fascist countries were keen to expand. Japan was land hungry and was determined to establish its supremacy in the Far East. Germany and Italy also wanted to expand their territories. This inevitably invoked a clash with the powers who were not willing to sacrifice their colonial empires.

10. Attitude of the Western Powers towards Russia

The Western powers continued to treat Russia as an outcast. They were scared of Bolshevism and encouraged the Fascist and the Pro-Fascist politicians in the West against Bolshevik expansion. The Western powers failed to realise that the Fascist aggression was directed not only against Russia but also against them. It was a folly on the part of the Western powers to have spurned the offers of friendship and truce made by Russia. Ultimately Russia got frustrated with the attitude of Western powers and concluded a no war pact with Germany.

11. Failure of the Policy of Appeasement

The policy of appeasement adopted by Great Britain and France towards the Dictatorial States also contributed largely to the outbreak of Second World War. During the 1930s, many protagonists of appeasement policy and politicians in both Britain and France came to see that the terms of the Treaty of Versailles had placed restrictions on Germany that were unfair and the dictators had a real cause of grievance. Actions of Hitler were seen as understandable and justifiable. In 1934, when Germany began rearming, many politicians felt and believed that Germany had a right to rearm in order to protect itself. It was also argued or maintained that a stronger Germany would prevent the spread of Communism to the West.

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In 1936, Hitler argued that as France had signed a new treaty with Russia, Germany was under threat from both France and Germany, and it was important for Germany to provide security for troops stationed in the Rhineland. France was not strong enough to fight Germany without the help from British and Britain was unwilling to go to war at this point. Furthermore, many people believed that since Rhineland was a part of Germany it was reasonable that the German troops should be stationed there.

Chamberlain became the prime minister of Britain in May 1937. According to him the Treaty of Versailles had treated Germany badly and that there were many issues associated with the Treaty that needed to be corrected. According to Chamberlain giving in to Hitler's demands would prevent another war. This policy that was adopted by Chamberlain's government was known as the Policy of Appeasement. The most notable example of appeasement was the Munich Agreement of September 1938. The Munich Agreement was signed by the leaders of Germany, Britain, France and Italy, and it was agreed that the Sudetenland would be returned to Germany and that Germany would make no further territorial claims. The Government of Czech was not invited to the Conference and it protested about the Sudetenland loss. They felt that both Britain and France with whom alliances had been made, had betrayed them. But, the Munich Agreement was generally viewed as a triumph and an excellent way of securing peace through negotiation rather than war. In March 1939, when Hitler invaded the rest of Czechoslovakia, the terms of the Munich Agreement were broken by Hitler. Although it was realised that the Policy of Appeasement did not work out, according to his statement Chamberlain was still not willing to take the country to war, 'over a quarrel in a far-away country between people of whom we know nothing'. Instead, he made a guarantee to come to Poland's help if it was invaded by Hitler.

According to the critics of the Policy, this Policy was based on wrong assumptions and should have been disposed of as soon as the designs of Axis powers became clear. It was a folly to have persisted or continued with this Policy after 1937 when the designs of Nazi Germany became clear. However, according to the defenders of the Policy of Appeasement the Policy was necessary and important to postpone the war to gain time for the Western powers to grid themselves for the expected struggle. By perusing this Policy after 1937, Chamberlain played for time and made available the Western powers the much needed time for preparing for the struggle against the Fascist power. This no doubt gave the Western powers the time to increase the military strength. But, at the same time Germany and other Axis powers were not sitting idle. The time was more in favour of the Axis powers rather than the Allies as Germany was able to increase the number and strength of its army relatively in a more effective way. According to some historians if war had started in 1938 it was almost certain that Germany would have been quickly defeated. By their inaction countries like Great Britain and France created a situation under which the democracies had to go to war under much worse or bad conditions.

Thus, the Second World War was the result of the follies of the victors, rise of Fascism in Italy, Japanese imperialism, collapse of collective security, failure of disarmament, ideological conflict and the Policy of the Appeasement persuaded by Great Britain and France. Above all the Second World War was a 'war of revenge initiated by Germany and definitely the growing ambitiousness of Germany to become the greatest world power'. In 1937, although Japan was already at war with the Republic of China, the Second World War is generally said to have begun on 1 September 1939, when Poland was invaded by Germany, without a declaration of war. Great Britain and France declared war on Germany on 3 September and all the members of the Commonwealth of Nations, except Ireland, quickly followed suit.

Check Your Progress

1. Fill in the blanks.
 - (a) In his book _____ A. J. P. Taylor argues that, 'Appeasement was a logical and realistic policy, but the mistake made by Chamberlain was of abandoning it which brought the war on'.
 - (b) The phrase _____ is used because the military alliance which Czechoslovakia had with France and United Kingdom was not honoured.
2. State whether the following statements are true or false.
 - (a) If the Treaty of Versailles was drafted with magnanimity, and foresight, and Germany was meted with a light treatment, the Second World War might have been turned away.
 - (b) The main weapon or tool of the League was to ask member countries to stop trading with an aggressive country.

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5.3 COLONIALISM AND NATIONALISM IN ASIA

A dictator would be a strong nationalist because nationalism is described as a strong feeling of pride for one's country and a strong identification with a nation. In this unit, you will study about nationalism in Indonesia.

In 1905 victory of Japan over Russia gave an impetus to the rise of nationalism in many Asian countries. It showed that an Asian country, which had an organized army and relevant equipment, could face and withstand a strong and aggressive Western power. However, nationalism reached Asia after changing the structure of various governments in Western countries. The growth and rise of nationalism in various parts of Asia proceeded on different lines and depended on the political and economic conditions. In Asia nationalism became an important social force where the nation faced competition, rivalry or danger from other nations. In a country like Japan, nationalism developed and grew under conditions of unusual economic growth over a long period of time. But in other countries where there was foreign danger and no growth in economy, nationalism played an important role in trying to free the country from foreign domination.

Many factors were responsible for the development of national consciousness in Asian countries. These were: popular education, popular press, conscription armies, industrial revolution and foreign danger. The Asian nationalist leaders adopted different methods and strategies in different countries to achieve their nationalist aspirations. The Turks, in order to win their freedom, fought with a crusading zeal. India is the only striking example where people did not resort to force in gaining their independence. Consequently, India attained Independence in 1947 with the least amount of bloodshed. The success of nationalist movements in Asiatic countries brought stability and prosperity where there were foundations for liberal democracy and modern nationhood. But in some cases the unifying forces of the old order were destroyed quickly without adequate planning for its substitute. In such circumstances, there existed political chaos in the country.

5.3.1 Growth of Nationalism in Indonesia

Though the rise of nationalist movement in Indonesia is popularly dated from 17 August 1945 when the Proclamation of Indonesian independence was made, but the Indonesians had started some sort of sustained struggle about three centuries earlier when the Dutch started ruthless warfare to annex certain independent kingdoms. However, during the initial stages the struggle took the form of isolated attempts at resistance against local oppression. The anti-imperialist struggle in the sense of a mass movement aiming at complete independence of Indonesia from the colonial rule started only in the early twentieth century.

Early Anti-imperialist Struggles

The first to raise voice against the unfair and discriminatory policy of the Dutch was Prince Diponegoro, popularly known as the Sultan Radja of Mataram. Prince Diponegoro, who had good relations with the masses, was greatly agitated over the Dutch malpractices and policy of discrimination in the fields of politics, religion, social, and cultural spheres. He wrote a letter to the Dutch authorities against their policy of terrorism and exploitation against the common people. But when the Dutch authorities were not willing to change their policy he led the entire population of East and Central Java in a revolt against the

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Dutch and with it the War of Independence, which soon spread to various parts of Java, started in 1825. Prince Diponegoro succeeded in retaining control over the territory of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, and inflicted heavy loss of life on the Dutch. The Dutch could not suppress the power of Prince Diponegoro so, they resorted to trickery in 1830, and in the pretext of a negotiation treacherously arrested him and exiled him to Celebes. In 1875, the people of Aceh (northernmost Sumatra) revolted against the Dutch and it continued for almost 30 years. Apart from these, numerous other uprisings in various parts of the country kept the anti-imperialist struggle alive in Indonesia.

National Movement in the Twentieth Century

With the dawn of the 20th century the spirit of nationalism grew stronger in Indonesia and the movement entered a new phase. The growth of nationalism in Indonesia became possible due to the Western education. The Western education had exposed large number of Indonesians, especially those studying in abroad to Western developments and modern thinking, and these Western educated people took initiative to form the first apolitical cultural organization *Budi Utomo* in 1908. Under the leadership of Dr Wahidin Sudisuhusudo, a retired government physician, this organization was founded, with a view to work for the advancement of the masses. However, shortly this apolitical organization assumed political character and lost its membership to the nationalist organizations.

Soon another organization based on the principles of Islamic religion known as the *Strek as Islam* was formed with a view to organize the small indigenous industrialists. However, in course of time the party developed political tendencies and in 1913 put forward the demand for self-government for Indonesia within the Dutch empire. As the Dutch authorities did not respond positively, the *Strek as Islam* declared its goal as attainment of complete independence, by force if necessary.

In the meantime, during the First World War, the Dutch government provided certain concessions and in 1916, they provided a Peoples' Council or *Volksraad*, a consultative body. This was an ineffective body but it provided the Indonesians a common platform to unite. The members bitterly criticised the lapses of the Dutch administration in the field of education and social reforms.

Causes of the National Movement

Various factors were responsible for motivating the Indonesians to launch a massive struggle against the colonial Dutch administration.

Firstly the Western ideas and the native intellectuals played a great role in realising that each human being has a right of human dignity in social, economic and other spheres. These intellectuals due to their education abroad discovered lot of discrepancy between the liberal thoughts of the West and practical realities in Indonesia. Contrary to the belief in equality, the colonial administration actually practiced discrimination in jobs, pay, educational opportunities, etc.

Secondly, the developments in other countries also provided great motivation to the national movement. The emergence of Japan as a great world power, the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the upsurge of nationalism in India, the Russian Revolution of 1917, etc., were some of the events abroad which exercised profound influence on the Indonesians. Even the peace treaties concluded at the end of the First World War provided an impetus to national movement by emphasising the principles of national self-determination.

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Thirdly, the post war Economic Depression in Indonesia also contributed to the growth of nationalism in the country. The Dutch in order to salvage their own financial interest completely neglected the interests of the native. This was greatly resented by the Indonesian people, and there were sporadic uprisings and movements in various parts of the country.

Finally, the colonial government in order to deal with the growing violence resorted to ruling through ordinances and martial law. It deported most of the political activists along with their families to an internment camp set up in Boreh Digul, in the heart of Dutch New Guinea. A number of persons were also killed or hanged to serve as a warning to others. The Dutch government itself admitted that over 13,000 adults were taken into custody in November 1926 alone. Therefore, the violence of the colonial government further aggravated the common people of Indonesia and forced them to join the national movement.

Formation of Indonesian Nationalist Party

Despite the policy of repression pursued by the colonial Dutch government, the national movement could not be crushed. To free the nation from the clutches of the Dutch government some of the young national revolutionaries under the leadership of Achmed Sukarno founded the Indonesian nationalist party (Perserikatan Nasional Indonesia or PNI), in 1927, which advocated complete independence. Soon the Party, due to the oratory skills of its leaders like Sukarno, gained mass following. This greatly alarmed the Dutch authorities. It therefore, dissolved the Party and imprisoned Sukarno and three other leaders.

In the meantime, the Indonesian students studying in Holland and other European countries founded *Perhimpunan Indonesia*, another party under the leadership of Dr Mohd. Hatta. This Party believed in the policy of building-up nationalism gradually with the support of the elite and then enrolling the support of the uncoordinated masses. Dr Hatta represented Indonesia in the League of anti-imperialism, and Colonialism, an Asian Students Organization set up for the propagation of national freedom. It was at this forum that he came in contact with the Indian freedom fighter Jawaharlal Nehru, who was a prominent leader of this movement.

These political parties, especially the PNI, laid great emphasis on the idea of Indonesian unity and gave a call for one nation, one flag, and one language. The Party also adopted the emblem and symbol of free Indonesia and used national anthem at its meeting. To deal with the growing nationalistic feeling, the Dutch government took to repression and in 1929 arrested Sukarno, Hatta and other top leaders. These leaders were subjected to trial and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. This sent a wave of indignation throughout the country. After their release, Sukarno, Dr Hatta, Sjahrir joined hands and provided a fresh momentum to the revival of anti-imperialist forces, which lay dormant for some time. The Dutch government again adopted repressive measures and locked up these political leaders after arrest.

Japanese Invasion and the National Movement

In 1942, in view of the danger of Japanese attack, Dr Hatta, Sjahrir suggested the Dutch government to initiate an emergency programme of training of Indonesians or permit to open independent defence units for the defence of their homeland. However, the colonial government did not respond favourably and refused to permit the Indonesians to form their own defence units. Even the attitude of the government did not show any sign of

change, rather they resorted to more police force, increased political arrests and further restrictions on the nationalist leaders. As a result, the tension between the people and the colonial Dutch government greatly increased. In view of this tension the Dutch government could not offer any effective opposition to the Japanese when they attacked Indonesia, and on 9 March 1942, just within a week of Japan's attack, made a complete surrender to them.

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Japanese Occupation of Indonesia and New Direction to Nationalist Struggle

Though the occupation of Indonesia by the Japanese did not lead to the emancipation of the Indonesian people, it gave a new direction to the Indonesian national struggle. The Japanese soon after their occupation of the country released all the national leaders. They also declared their faith in the principle of 'Asia for the Asians' and 'Greater Asia Co-prosperity Sphere'. The Japanese administrators did everything possible to build up Indonesian antagonism towards the Dutch in particular and the white man in general. They organized an all-inclusive political party, youth groups, and labour organizations. The Indonesians keeping the requirement of time in view divided themselves into two sections and strategically worked according to the plan. While one section extended passive cooperation to the Japanese, the other group continued to struggle from underground. However, these sections maintained close co-ordination in their movement.

The Japanese occupation proved to be a boon for the Indonesians. As the Japanese did not have sufficient number of men to run the administration in Indonesia, they appointed the Indonesians to various administrative, technical and supervisory posts. This provided the Indonesians the first real opportunity of self-government and gave them the confidence that they could very well govern their own country. With a view to promote their own interests the Japanese also provided the Indonesians extensive training in techniques of military warfare, which further enhanced the power and confidence of the Indonesians. However, later the Japanese proved to be more ruthless rulers and worst exploiters than the Dutch, who even taught the people to steal and cheat. In the words of Sjahrir, 'during the period of three and [a] half years of Japanese occupation, everything spiritually as well as materially was taken loose from its old mooring'. But despite the fact that the period of Japanese occupation was a terrible period, it produced number of good results. To quote Dr. Hatta, 'While the people groaned under Japanese excesses, they began to take stock of the Dutch and the consequence of Dutch rule. With sharper insights, they were able to perceive how ineffective and valueless the Dutch administration had been. From that movement Indonesia awakened to the truth and there was a sudden upsurge of nationalism stronger and deeper than ever before'.

5.3.2 Growth of Nationalism in Vietnam

As the Second World War drew closer and the prospects of Japanese defeat became imminent, nationalism in Indonesia was at its ultimate state and the Indonesian leaders prepared themselves to declare their independence from the Netherlands crown. Whereas the Dutch sought to re-establish their authority in Indonesia and asked the Japanese army to 'preserve law and order' in Indonesia, the Japanese, however, were in favour of helping the Indonesian nationalists prepare for self-government. On 7 September 1944, with the War going badly for the Japanese, Prime Minister Koiso promised independence for Indonesia, but no date was set.

In the meantime, representatives consisting of all political parties set up a preparatory committee in June 1945 to draft the Constitution for the Republic of Indonesia.

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Ultimately, on 17 August 1945 Sukarno made the proclamation of independence, which read, 'We the people of Indonesia hereby declare Indonesia's independence. Matters concerning the transfer of power and other matters will be executed in an orderly manner and in the shortest possible time'. A Red and White flag was hoisted and the national anthem was for the first time sung in an independent Indonesia. The following day the Central Indonesian National Committee elected Sukarno as the president, and Dr Hatta as the vice president.

This marked the first step towards the creation of greater Indonesia. The Proclamation electrified the whole nation and all the Indonesian civil servants, police and military groups immediately declared their allegiance to the new Republic. After the formal surrender by Japan when the British forces landed in Indonesia on behalf of the Allies they found that the Indonesians had already set up a working government. Therefore, in view of the political realities the British government decided to accord *de facto* recognition to the Republic. Later the Dutch who returned to Indonesia after Japan's exit agreed to negotiate with the Indonesians under pressure from Britain. After prolonged negotiations the *Linggadjati* Agreement, brokered by the British and which was concluded and signed in November 1946, saw the Netherlands recognise the Republic as the *de-facto* authority over Java and Sumatra. Both parties agreed to the United States of Indonesia formation by 1 January 1949, which was a semi-autonomous federal state with the Monarchy of the Netherlands at its head. The Central National Committee of Indonesia did not consent to the Agreement until February 1947. Neither the Republic nor the Dutch were satisfied with it.

On 25 March 1947, the Lower House of the Dutch parliament approved of a 'stripped down version of the Treaty, as it was not accepted by the Republic. Both sides accused each other of violating the terms of the Agreement. At midnight on 20 July 1947, Operation Product was launched by the Dutch and it was considered as a major military offensive, with the intention of conquering the Republic. The Dutch claimed violations of the *Linggadjati* Agreement, and described the campaign as 'police actions' to restore law and order. In the meantime, the United Nations Security Council became directly involved in the conflict, established a Good Offices Committee to sponsor further negotiations, and this made the Dutch diplomatic position particularly difficult. At the same time, the United Nations Security Council brokered the Renville Agreement in an attempt to correct the collapsed *Linggadjati* Agreement. In January 1948, the Agreement was ratified and recognised a cease-fire along the so-called 'Van Mook line', an artificial line which connected the most advanced Dutch positions.

The final breaking point came on 19 December 1948 when the Dutch launched their Second Police Action and attacked the Republican capital. They captured President Sukarno, Vice-President Dr Hatta and a host of other important political leaders. This action aroused the people against the Dutch and they refused to offer any co-operation to the Dutch government. Due to strong resistance, the Dutch were finally forced to retreat. With the pressure from the UNO, India and other countries the Dutch agreed to release the Republican leaders in May 1949. On 30 June 1949, the Dutch withdrew from Yogyakarta and the Republican government moved in. The hostilities between the two ended on 1 August 1949. After a round table of the representatives of the Dutch, the Republic, the non-Republican territories and the United Nations Commission for Indonesia which was held at Hague on 23 August 1949 and the formal transfer of sovereignty took place on 27 December 1949 at Hague and Djakarta. This marked the culmination of Indonesia's anti imperialist struggle and paved the way for the emergence of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia on 17 August 1950.

Growth of Nationalism in Indo-China

Indo-China, which comprised Cambodia, Annam, Tongking and Cochin-China came under the colonial rule of France towards the close of the nineteenth century. Its early history shows many different groups of people living in this area under the shadow of the powerful empire of China. Even when an independent country was established, Vietnam continued to maintain the Chinese system of government as well as Chinese culture. Vietnam was also linked to the maritime silk route that brought in goods, people and ideas. The French intervention in Indo-China goes back to the year 1786 when a catholic bishop led a group of soldiers into Cochin-China. For the first time the French acquired territorial control in Indo-China in 1862. However, it was only towards the close of nineteenth century that France succeeded in establishing its domination over the three eastern provinces of Cochin-China. France also established protectorate over Tongking, Annam, Cambodia and Laos. This system of colony and protectorate virtually existed in theory because all the parts of Vietnam were under the control of a highly centralised system of the French administration.

Early Nationalist Movement

The nationalist movement in Indo-China started almost at the same time when the French succeeded in establishing their domination. Frequent plots for the overthrow of the foreign rule were prepared but the French put down these plots ruthlessly. The liberal policy followed by the Governor General Paul Doumer from 1897 to 1902 and the Governor General Albert Sarraut from 1911 to 1917, gave a further momentum to the nationalist movement in Indo-China. The writings of the French scholars like Montesquieu and Rousseau also exercised profound influence on the people and contributed to strengthen the nationalist movement. The victory of Japan over Russia also influenced the nationalist movement. However, it was the First World War, which brought the people of Indo-China in direct contact with the Western country. During the War over one lakh, Indo-Chinese troops were sent by the French government to take part in the War and they got an opportunity to experience the democratic system.

In the meantime, the French continued to exploit the territories of Indo-China. They obtained rubber, coal, rice and all precious items from this land. From the inception, they carried on the government in an oppressive manner without caring about the interests of the people. The local people engaged by the French government were paid minimum wages and the general public was subjected to a heavy dose of taxation. This was naturally irritating to the people and they were keen to get rid of the foreign rule.

These feelings against the foreign rule reinforced the movement and particularly in the post First World War period, the nationalist movement gained momentum and grew stronger in Indo-China. During the War period France made very generous promises to the people to win their support and to maintain peace in the country. At the end of the War, France refused to redeem these promises. This naturally wounded the feelings of the people and provided an impulsion to the growth of the subversive activities. The elite and the intellectuals of Indo-China, who were greatly stirred by the doctrine of self-determination proclaimed by the Allies during the War, deplored the French policy of denying political and economic responsibilities to the local people. Various political parties like Tokinese Party and the Constitutionalist Party also made demands for reforms. However, the government turned down the demand for reforms. This gave a serious setback to the Moderates and the Extremists succeeded in stealing the limelight.

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Revolutionary Movement in Indo-China

In 1925, the Revolutionary Party of Young Annam was founded but the Party was paralyzed due to internal conflicts. In 1927, the Nationalist Party modelled on the Kuomintang Party of China, was formed at the instance of Phan Boi Chau a revolutionary leader. The Party maintained contacts across China's Kwangtung province border and sponsored to eliminate the French Governor General in 1929. In February 1930 the Party staged a rebellion known as the Yen Bai Mutiny and on its directions the Vietnamese soldiers revolted and killed their French officer at the fortress of Yen Bat situated on the river North of Hanoi. However, the French ruthlessly suppressed this rebellion. Most of the leaders were arrested and force was used even against unarmed demonstrators. Also, its pro-Chinese organization was another reason, which prevented the popularity of the party amongst the people. After some time a peasant uprising was organized against the French but it was also ruthlessly suppressed. This greatly undermined the prestige of the Party and after some time it was dissolved.

Emergence of Communist Leadership

Another notable feature of the nationalist struggle in Indo-China was the emergence of Communist Movement. Nguyen Ai Quoc, popularly known as Ho Chi Minh, started this Movement in the 1920s. He advocated a liberal programme for Indo-China, which included self-rule, civil liberties, equality of rights, end of French mercantilist policies in Indo-China, etc. In 1930, Ho Chi Minh organized the Communist Party of Vietnam. Soon after its formation, the Party organized a small army mutiny. It also organized demonstrations in urban centers and abortive peasant uprising in Tongking. In view of the severity of the police action, the Communist Party went underground. However, on account of highly effective nature of the organization of the Party, it was able to survive the repression and continued its activities underground. But due to this repressive policy of the government the Party could not gain in numbers.

Second World War and its Impact on Nationalist Movement

The outbreak of the Second World War produced a great impact on the nationalist movement in Indo-China. It convinced the people that the Europeans were not invincible and it provided new direction to the nationalist movement. France after the defeat at the hands of Germany in 1940 was forced to make certain concessions to Japan. In September 1940, France granted to Japan its right to station aircrafts in Indo-China. By the Darlan Kato Agreement of July 1941, Indo-China was fully integrated into the Japanese military system, even though France continued to administer the country. Thus the people of Indo-China had to wage struggle at two fronts. On the one hand, they organized a number of popular risings against the France authorities, even though these were effectively brought down by the French. On the other hand the common people of Indo-China also started an anti-Japanese movement under Ho Viet Minh.

In the meantime an important change took place in Vietnam on 9 March 1945, when the Japanese ousted the French Admiral Decona and interned the French troops and personal. The Japanese also encouraged Bao Dai, the Emperor of Annam to declare independence and acknowledged him as the head of the independent state of Vietnam, created by uniting Tongking, Annam, and Cochin-China. Similarly the king of Cambodia and Laos were also permitted to declare their independence. All this convinced the people of Indo-China that Europe was not invincible and greatly contributed to the nationalist movement.

Nationalist Movement in Post Second World War Period

As the Second World War drew closer, it became evident that the French shall have no troops to send to Indo-China to organize the territories surrendered by Japan. Anticipating that the Allies decided at the Potsdam Conference that pending the return of France, Indo-China should be temporarily occupied by China to the north of the six-tenth parallel and by the British to the south of the said line. Meanwhile, in the hills of the Tongking Viet Minh founded a provisional government for Vietnam. As soon as the Japanese were defeated, Bao Dai abdicated the throne and handed over the power to the provisional government. On 2 September 1945 Vietnam declared its independence. After overcoming his rivals Ho Chi Minh announced the policy of less taxes, lower rents, no forced labour, more food, better health and better school.

On 28 February 1946, an agreement was reached between Ho Chi Minh and the French. Under this Agreement, the Chinese troops were to leave Vietnam. By another agreement of 6 March 1946, France recognized Vietnam as a free state with its own government, parliament, army and finances, forming part of the Indo-Chinese Federation and the French Union. A referendum was to be held in Cochinchina to decide whether it should join the Republic. It was also agreed that further conference would be held to decide matters pertaining to the diplomatic relations of the Republic, the future status of Indo-China and the French cultural interests in Vietnam. The conference was held at Dalat in April 1946. At this Conference France and Vietnam offered different interpretations about independence. As a result no agreement could be reached. The things assumed serious dimensions following announcement by the French Admiral d'Argenlieu creating an autonomous Republic of Cochinchina. This was contrary to the assurance given to the nationalists, so, naturally this decision met with resentment. However, the French and the Vietnamese agreed to the cessation of hostilities on 14 September 1946 and also settled a number of cultural and economic questions.

The ceasefire between the two did not last long and soon hostilities broke out. The Vietnamese leaders were not willing to accept anything less than full sovereignty to Cochinchina. On 19 December 1946, the Vietnamese staged a surprise attack on the French garrison in Tongking and Annam. With this, the hostilities developed into full scale war. For the rigid stand of both the parties the War continued to drag on for almost 8 years. One of the main obstacles in arriving at any negotiated settlement was Ho Chi Minh, the leader of Vietnam who was a Communist and the French were not willing to enter into negotiations with him. Ultimately, on 20 May 1948, France proclaimed the Central Provisional Vietnam government with the President Nguyen Van Xuan as head of French sponsored states of Cochinchina. In March 1949, the French succeeded in persuading Bao Dai to become the head of the new French dominion consisting of Cochinchina, Annam and Tongking. However, the French retained control over foreign affairs and defence.

The things got further complicated with the emergence of Communist rule in China. The Peoples' Government of China immediately accorded recognition to the government of Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam. Soon the USSR and its European satellites also accorded recognition to Ho Chi Minh's government. On the other hand, Great Britain and the US proceeded to accord formal recognition to Bao Dai government. With this Vietnam got embroiled in the 'cold war'. Now the French continued the war with American money. However, with passage of time the hope of France victory became dim. The US insisted France to adopt a bolder plan but the France plans were shattered when the

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Vietnamese inflicted a crushing defeat on the French at Dien Bien Phu on 6 May 1954. In view of the growing public opinion against the French involvement in France, Mendes decided to bring this hopeless and costly colonial war to an end.

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The Geneva Conference

The Geneva Conference was held in 1954, to conclude the Armistice Agreement with regard to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Cambodia, Laos, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the USSR, China, the US and Britain attended the Conference. Under the Geneva Agreement, it was decided to partition Vietnam. While the north portion went to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and south portion went to the Saigon Government. However, the partition was envisaged purely as a provisional arrangement and general election was to take place in July 1956 under the supervision of International Commission to unify Vietnam. To supervise and control Vietnam an International Control Commission consisting of India, Poland and Canada was set up.

At the Conference, the two governments (the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Saigon Government of Vietnam) had agreed to hold discussions about the arrangements for holding elections in the country. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam faithfully worked for holding the proposed elections. But in view of the non-helpful attitude of the Saigon regime the elections could not be held and the Geneva Agreement was buried. After this incident, the American involvement in Vietnam continued to grow. America backed the Diem government in South Vietnam but due to its anti-Buddhist policy, it was unpopular with the people. The growing resentment against the Diem regime culminated in the formation of the National Liberation front of South Vietnam in Cochinchina with an objective to overthrow the dictatorial Diem regime. The growing resentment found outlet in a popular revolt in 1963 in which the Diem government was overthrown. However, America continued its help in terms of military equipment as well as military advisers to South Vietnam. Despite this help, America could not check the growing influence of the Communists. Ultimately, America decided to send full-fledged combat troops into Vietnam to crush the National Liberation front of South Vietnam, which was receiving arms and men from North Vietnam. Because of the American intervention, the civil war in South Vietnam was transformed into a full-flagged war between America and Vietnam.

The Soviet Union immediately issued a stern warning stating, 'Soviet Union will be compelled, together with the Allies and friends, to take further measures to ensure the security and strengthen the defence capacity of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam'. China went a step further and publicly offered help to North Vietnam. Despite all this America continued the bloodbath for 3 years and finally agreed to stop bombardment and hold peace talks at Paris. At the Paris peace talks, USA and North Vietnam agreed on an unlimited ceasefire. In addition, they recognised the right of the people of the South Vietnam to self-determination. It was also agreed that an international conference to acknowledge the signed agreements, to guarantee the ending of the war and to maintain peace would be held within 30 days of the signing of the cease-fire. The Agreement was hailed all over the world and brought peace to Indo-China almost after 30 years of struggle. On 2 July 1976, the newly elected national assembly announced the unification of the country under the name Socialist Republic of Vietnam with Hanoi as its capital. This marked the culmination of the anti-imperialist struggle in Vietnam.

5.3.3 Growth of Nationalism in Burma

Like Ceylon (presently Sri Lanka), Burma was also liberated from British control in 1948. After freedom, the Burmese patriot pioneers were embroiled in battles within their state with the military. In 1989, the name of the nation was formally changed to Myanmar, drawing on the conventional relationship, just as Ceylon was renamed Sri Lanka. In the same year, Aung San Su Kyi, the daughter of the early pioneers of the patriot development against the Japanese in Burma, was put under house arrest for her leadership in the fair resistance.

5.4 SUMMARY

- The First World War and the subsequent Great Depression considerably weakened many erstwhile European powers but it also led to the rise of dictatorships in several countries. The tensions and resentments resulting from the First World War and the interwar period in Europe made a bigger conflict unavoidable. The culmination of all these events led to the outbreak of the Second World War.
- The main cause of the two world wars was definitely the desire of Germany to become the greatest world power. But the Second World War was also a war of revenge initiated by Germany. It cannot be denied that Germany stood first foremost for revenge. It also stood first for rearmament and revenge and then for loot and German domination.
- In a conference held in Munich, Germany, an agreement was negotiated among the major powers of Europe without the presence of Czechoslovakia. This Agreement was signed by Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and Italy. The main aim of the Munich Conference was to discuss about the Sudetenland's future in the face of territorial demands that were made by Adolf Hitler.
- As a result of the Munich Agreement, Czechoslovakia was crippled by the loss of 70 per cent of its heavy industry and almost all of her fortifications to Germany. Slovakia began to demand semi-independence and it looked as if the country was about to fall apart. Hitler pressurised the Czechoslovakian President, Hacha, into requesting Germany for help to restore order. Consequently in March 1939 Germany troops occupied the rest of Czechoslovakia. Britain and France protested but as usual took no action.
- The Second World War which began in 1939, lasted for 6 years. Major powers of Europe were involved in this War, battles were staged in all corners of the world and 'it was the most widespread war in history, with more than 100 million people engaged in the military exercise that ensued'.
- In a state of total war, the major participant countries placed their entire economic, industrial, and scientific capabilities and abilities at the service of the war effort, and this erased the distinction between the civilian and military resources. This War was marked by many significant events involving the mass death of civilians, which included the holocaust and the only use of nuclear weapons in warfare. The War resulted in 50 million to over 70 million fatalities.
- Although the immediate cause for the outbreak of the Second World War was the invasion of Poland by Germany but the real causes were much deeper and diverse

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Check Your Progress

3. Fill in the blanks.

(a) The first to raise voice against the unfair and discriminatory policy of the Dutch was Prince Diponegoro, popularly known as the _____.

(b) Another organization based on the principles of Islamic religion known as the _____ was formed with a view to organize the small indigenous industrialists.

4. State whether the following statements are true or false.

(a) As the Second World War drew closer, it became evident that the French shall have no troops to send to Indo-China to organize the territories surrendered by Japan.

(b) The liberal policy followed by the Governor General Paul Doumer from 1897 to 1902 and Governor General Albert Sarraut from 1911 to 1917, gave a further momentum to the nationalist movement in Indo-China.

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in nature. Like the follies of victors in the First World War, the Treaty of Versailles, aggressive Nationalism of Germany, rise of Fascism in Italy, Japanese imperialism, the Great Economic Depression, failure of the League of Nations, failure of disarmament, ideological conflict, attitude of the Western powers towards Russia, failure of the Policy of Appeasement.

- Many factors were responsible for the development of national consciousness in Asian countries. These were: popular education, popular press, conscription armies, industrial revolution, and foreign danger. The Asian nationalist leaders adopted different methods and strategies in different countries to achieve their nationalist aspirations.
- Though the rise of nationalist movement in Indonesia is popularly dated from 17 August 1945 when the Proclamation of Indonesian independence was made, but the Indonesians had started some sort of sustained struggle about three centuries earlier when the Dutch started ruthless warfare to annex certain independent kingdoms.
- With the dawn of the twentieth century the spirit of nationalism grew stronger in Indonesia and the movement entered a new phase. The growth of nationalism in Indonesia became possible due to the Western education.
- As the Second World War drew closer and the prospects of Japanese defeat became imminent, nationalism in Indonesia was at its ultimate state and the Indonesian leaders prepared themselves to declare their independence from the Netherlands crown. Whereas the Dutch sought to re-establish their authority in Indonesia and asked the Japanese army to 'preserve law and order' in Indonesia, the Japanese, however, were in favour of helping the Indonesian nationalists prepare for self-government.
- Indo-China, which comprised Cambodia, Annam, Tongking and Cochin-China came under the colonial rule of France towards the close of the nineteenth century. Its early history shows many different groups of people living in this area under the shadow of the powerful empire of China. Even when an independent country was established, Vietnam continued to maintain the Chinese system of government as well as Chinese culture.
- Vietnam was also linked to the maritime silk route that brought in goods, people and ideas. The French intervention in Indo-China goes back to the year 1786 when a Catholic Bishop led a group of soldiers into Cochin-China. For the first time the French acquired territorial control in Indo-China in 1862. However, it was only towards the close of nineteenth century that France succeeded in establishing its domination over the three eastern provinces of Cochin-China.
- The nationalist movement in Indo-China started almost at the same time when the French succeeded in establishing their domination. Frequent plots for the overthrow of the foreign rule were prepared but the French put down these plots ruthlessly.
- The outbreak of the Second World War produced a great impact on the nationalist movement in Indo-China. It convinced the people that the Europeans were not invincible and it provided new direction to the nationalist movement. France after the defeat at the hands of Germany in 1940 was forced to make certain concessions to Japan. In September 1940, France granted to Japan its right to station aircrafts in Indo-China.

- As the Second World War drew closer, it became evident that the French shall have no troops to send to Indo-China to organize the territories surrendered by Japan. Anticipating that the Allies decided at the Potsdam Conference that pending the return of France, Indo-China should be temporarily occupied by China to the north of the six-tenth parallel and by the British to the south of the said line.
- The Geneva Conference was held in 1954, to conclude the Armistice Agreement with regard to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Cambodia, Laos, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the USSR, China, the US and Britain attended the Conference. Under the Geneva Agreement, it was decided to partition Vietnam. While the north portion went to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and south portion went to the Saigon Government.
- Like Ceylon (presently Sri Lanka), Burma was also liberated from British control in 1948. After freedom, the Burmese patriot pioneers were embroiled in battles within their state with the military. In 1989, the name of the nation was formally changed to Myanmar, drawing on the conventional relationship, just as Ceylon was renamed Sri Lanka.

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5.5 KEY TERMS

- **Diktat:** It is an order imposed by a powerful authority without popular consent.
- **Imperialism:** It refers to a policy of extending a country's power and influence through diplomacy or military force.
- **Munich Dictate:** The state of Czechoslovakia which was not even invited to the Conference felt betrayed by the act of the United Kingdom and France, and the Czechs and Slovaks called the Munich Agreement the 'Munich Dictate'.
- **Budi Utomo:** It was the first apolitical cultural organization in 1908 under the leadership of Dr Wahidin Sudiso Husodo, who was a retired government physician.
- **Streks Islam:** It is an organization based on the principles of the Islamic religion, formed to organize the small indigenous industrialists.
- **Valksrad:** It is a consultative body which was an ineffective body but provided the Indonesians a common platform to unite.
- **Perhimpunan Indonesia:** It was a party formed under the leadership of Dr Mohd. Hatta.
- **Linggadjati Agreement:** The Linggadjati Agreement was brokered by the British and concluded and signed in November 1946, and it saw the Netherlands recognize the Republic as the *de-facto* authority over Java and Sumatra.
- **Darlan-Kato Agreement:** It was an agreement signed on July 1941, by which Indo-China was fully integrated into the Japanese military system, even though France continued to administer the country.

5.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) *The Origins of the Second World War* (1961); (b) Munich Betrayal
2. (a) True; (b) True

3. (a) Sultan Radja of Mataram; (b) *Strek as Islam*
4. (a) True; (b) True

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5.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. List the causes of the Second World War.
2. Write a note on Hitler's demand for the return of Danzig.
3. State the factors that led to the failure of the Policy of Appeasement.
4. What motivated the Indonesians to launch a struggle against the colonial Dutch administration?
5. Write a note on the revolutionary movement in Indo-China.
6. Write a note on the significance of the Geneva Conference.
7. State the similarities between the growth of nationalism in Ceylon and Burma.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the propaganda campaign in the Sudetenland.
2. Explain the Munich Conference, 1938.
3. Describe the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, 1939.
4. Assess the growth of nationalism in Indonesia.
5. Evaluate the significance of the Japanese occupation of Indonesia in the Indonesian national struggle.
6. Discuss the growth of nationalism in Indo-China.

5.8 FURTHER READING

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