EIILM UNIVERSITY
SIKKIM

EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN INDIA: THROUGH THE AGES

Subject: EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN INDIA: THROUGH THE AGES   **Credits: 4**

SYLLABUS

Introductory & Cultures in Transition
Harappan Civilisation and other Chalcolithic Cultures, Hunting-Gathering, Early Farming Society, Pastoralism, Reconstructing Ancient Society with Special Reference to Sources, Emergence of Buddhist Central And Peninsular India, Socio-Religious Ferment In North India: Buddhism And Jainism, Iron Age Cultures, Societies Represented In Vedic Literature

Early Medieval Societies & Early Historic Societies: 6th Century - 4th Century A.D
Religion in Society, Proliferation and consolidation of Castes and Jatis, The Problem of Urban Decline: Agrarian Expansion, Land Grants and Growth of Intermediaries, Transition To Early Medieval Societies, Marriage and Family Life,Notions of Untouchability, Changing Patterns in Varna and Jati, Early Tamil Society –Regions and Their Cultures and Cult of Hero Worship, Chaityas, Viharas and Their Interaction with Tribal Groups, Urban Classes: Traders and Artisans, Extension of Agricultural Settlements

Medieval Society & Society on the Eve of Colonialism
Rural Society: Peninsular India, Rural Society: North India, Village Community, The Eighteenth Century Society in Transition, Socio Religious Movements, Changing Social Structure in Peninsular India, Urban Social Groups in North India,

Modern Society & Social Questions under Colonialism
Social Structure in The Urban and Rural Areas, Pattern of Rural-Urban Mobility: Overseas Migration, Studying Castes in The New Historical Context, Perceptions of The Indian Social Structure by The Nationalists and Social Reformers, Clans and Confederacies in Western India, Studying Tribes Under Colonialism, Popular Protests and Social Structures, Social Discrimination, Gender/Women Under Colonialism, Colonial Forest Policies and Criminal Tribes

Suggested Reading:

1. Nation, Nationalism and Social Structure in Ancient India : Shiva Acharya

2. The Social Structure Of Patidar Caste In India : Jayprakash M. Trivedi

3. Gender, Social Structure and Empowerment: Status Report of Women in India : Sangeeta Bharadwaj-Badal

CHAPTER 1
Introduction
STRUCTURE

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

Understand the Ancient Society: Anthropological Readings.

Understand the nature of archaeology.

Explain the archaeological evidence for Paleolithic societies

Understand the Harappan Culture

RECONSTRUCTING ANCIENT SOCIETY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SOURCES

Sources

Here we introduce you to dissimilar types of sources that help us reconstruct the social structure.

Epigraphy

Epigraphy is the revise of inscriptions. Epigraphic proof form one of the mainly reliable sources of ancient history. Inscriptions are engraved on stone tablets, metal plates, pillars, walls of caves, etc. The inscriptions symbolize several languages at dissimilar spaces and era of time. Some inscriptions provide details in relation to the political and religious behaviors of that time. Others are official, commemorative, and historical. The edicts of Asoka, the pillars of Samudragupta and Rudradaman I are religious and

administrative inscriptions. Bilingual inscriptions at Delhi and Berhampur and musical rules establish in the Pudukottai, treatise on architecture inscribed on a tower at Chittor is some other motivating examples of inscriptions. Inscriptions on metal plates also cast light on the historical era. The Mandasor copper plates, the Sohgaura plate from Gorakhpur district, the Aihole inscription of Mahendra-Varman, the Uttiramerur inscriptions of Cholas cast light on deal, taxes, and currency. Some of these dated in the Saka and Vikrama period reflect on the social condition of India. They provide knowledge in relation to the boundaries of kingdoms and empire.

Epigraphy throws light on the life existed in the past, the nature of society and economy, and the common state of life. Inscriptions in the South Indian context establish on the hero stones for instance open up a dissimilar dimension of a rustic economy for our consideration.

Numismatics

Numismatics is the revise of coins. The coins made of gold, silver, and copper speak of the economic situation of that era. Coins provide us information in relation to the some chronological issues as well. They also provide us information in relation to the extent of power of scrupulous ruler or kingdom and its dealings with the distant regions. Roman coins exposed in India provide us and thought in relation to the subsistence of contacts with the Roman Empire. Portraits and figures, Hellenistic art and dates on the coins of the western satraps of Saurashtra are extra ordinary sources for reconstructing this era. The Puranic accounts of the Satavahanas are ascertained from the Jogalthambi hoard of coins.

The circulation of coins in gold and silver Throughout the Gupta Empire imparts a thought of the healthy economic condition throughout the rule of the Guptas.

Archaeology

Archaeology is the revise of the material remnants of the past. They contain structures, monuments and other material leftovers that the inhabitants

of that era were associated with. Besides all these pots, pottery, sticks, skeletal remnants all are inseparable parts of the reconstructing the context in which they were establish. Lord Curzon under the Director Generalship of Dr Marshall set up the Department of Archaeology. Excavations mannered at several sites in the valley of the river Indus, Lothal in Gujarat, Kalibangan in Rajasthan, at Sind and Punjab provide us knowledge of the culture throughout in relation to the 2700 BC. Excavations at Taxilla provide a thought in relation to the Kushanas.

Parallel of monuments exhumed in India and abroad set up a dealings flanked by several regions Excavations at south Indian sites such as Adichanallur, Chandravalli, Brahmagiri highlight the prehistoric periods. The rock cut temples of Ajanta and Ellora with its sculptures and paintings express the artistic finery of that era.

Literature

Literature in the ancient era was not fuelled through the urge to preserve history but was a complication of experiences and rules of worship. The literature comprises the Vedas, the Brahmanas, the Aryankas, the Upanishads, the Epics Ramayana and Mahabharata, the Brahashastras, the Puranas. The Buddhist and Jain literature provides knowledge of the traditions prevalent in those periods. The literature of this era is in Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit. It provides us knowledge in relation to the music, dance, painting architecture and management of several kings. Kautilya's Arthasastra is an extra ordinary job on the organization of management. The Sangam literature in south is an elaborate record of life in South India.

Interpretation

Historical troubles can be discussed with open minds only. Rewriting of History is a continuous procedure into which historian brings to bear new methodological or ideological insights or employs a new analytical frame drawn upon hitherto strange facts. The historians' craft as Marc Bloch, has

reminded us, is rooted in a method specific to history as a discipline, mainly of which has evolved through philosophical engagements and empirical investigations throughout the last many centuries. No methodology which historian invokes in pursuit of the knowledge of the past is really valid unless it compliments the method of the discipline. Even when methodologies fundamentally differ, they share sure general grounds, which constitute the field of the historian's craft. Notwithstanding the present skepticism in relation to the possible engagement with History, a strict adherence to the method of the discipline is observed in all usually accepted shapes of reconstruction of the past. The students of history should not be presenting definitive conclusions but suggesting possibilities that are based on the sound reading of the proof. Here we have taken into consideration anthropological, archaeological, and textual sources to illustrate the revise of ancient society. The anthropological reading of the source pertains to a reading of a tribe; the archaeological reading considers a chalcolithic resolution and the textual one seems at the Rig-Veda in conditions of an interpretation of a textual source.

However we have not followed any definitive chronology here, yet there is a sure understanding of time sequencing. The colonial construction of India's past shapes the earlier contemporary writing of Indian history. European scholars searched for histories of India that would have conformed to their stereotype of history writing but could discover none. The only exception was Kalhana's Rajatarangini, a twelfth century history of Kashmir. There were primarily two strands of writing Indian history in the colonial perspective, the Utilitarian and the Orientalist. The Utilitarian perspective basically argued for a changeless society in the Indian subcontinent. It also suggested that this backward society can be changed through legislation which could be used through the British officers to bring in relation to the _progress' in the other wise stagnant and retrograde Indian society.

James Mill therefore harped on the negative characteristics of Indian society. Although James Mill's periodisation of Indian history into Hindu and Muslim periods is usually pointed out as an instance of this colonial view, approximately every aspect of the social, cultural, and political life was incorporated into this religious schema. This view has had an abiding power on Indian historiography, with a big number of Indian historians of vastly

dissimilar ideological persuasions rather uncritically internalizing this interpretation. Therefore the history of India is seen through a series of stereotypes rooted in religious identity. No aspect of society or polity has escaped this religious view, be it social tensions, political battles or cultural differences.

The Utilitarians also are credited with the dubious theory of the Oriental Despotism. The theory of Oriental Despotism argued for a subsistence of an organization of governance that consisted of a despotic ruler with absolute power at the top and the self-sufficient villages at the bottom. The surplus created through the villages was creamed through the despotic ruler and his court. Much of the Asia was assumed to be arid and manage of irrigation networks was critical in the organization of manage. Later on Marx too took a leaf out of this theory and gave a dissimilar mode of manufacture, the _Asiatic' to the Asian society. It was the later more scientific reflection on India's past, first through the Nationalist school and later on through the Marxists that led to the rejection of this rather obscurantist view of the past. Indian history in the 1960s and 70s moved from being mainly a body of information on dynasties and a recital of glorious deeds to a broad based revise of social shapes. In this there was a focus on religious movements, on patterns of the economy and on cultural articulations. The multiple cultures of India were explored in conditions of how they contributed to the creation of Indian culture. So, several characteristics of this multiplicity and its varying cultures – from that of forest dwellers, jhum cultivators, pastoralists, peasants, artisans, to that of merchants, aristocracies and specialists of ritual and belief – all establish a lay in the mosaic that was slowly being constructed. Identities were not singular but plural and the mainly meaningful studies were of situations where identities overlapped.

These incorporated Marxism of several types, schools of interdisciplinary research such as the French Annales School, diversities of structuralism and others. Lively debates on the Marxist interpretation of history, for instance, led to the rejection of the Asiatic Mode of Manufacture as proposed through Marx, and instead focused on other characteristics of Marxist history. There was no uniform reading in the middle of Marxists, leading to several stimulating discussions on social and economic history. The

thoughts of historians, such as Marc Bloch, Fernand Braudel, and Henri Pirenne, were incorporated in these discussions. The intention was not to apply theories without questioning them, but to use relative history to inquire searching questions.

The Ancient Society: Anthropological Readings

„At the easternmost reach of the inhabited world, beyond which lies nothing but empty desert, there is an enormous country populated with fantastic animals as well as strange nations and tribes. It is a lay of mighty banyan trees, of a sun so hot it appears ten times its ordinary size of multiple great rivers fed through torrential rains. Gryphons and satyrs roam there beside with gigantic elephants, deadly snakes, multicolored peacocks and parrots, fierce jackals, and manlike monkeys. Its human population is more numerous that that of any other land. The people in the North are tall and fair, resembling Egyptians, while those in the South are dark skinned; like Ethiopians, however lacking their wooly hair. The northerners, extensive existed and free of disease, wear brightly colored clothing ornamented with jewelry of gold and sparkling stones. Settled agriculturists, their land is so bountiful it sustains two rising seasons every year. Organized into stable classes, they are ruled through types who live in opulent palaces graced through pleasure gardens, and are guided through wise philosophers, who, like Plato, teach the immortality of the soul. The people of the North pay a tribute in gold to the Persians which they acquire effortlessly in their deserts from deposits left through vast gold-burrowing ants. Bizarre itinerant tribes are scattered throughout the rest of the country including pygmies, cannibals, breastless Amazons, men without noses, giants five fathoms tall, headless people, as well as those with feet so big they are able to use them as umbrellas, shielding themselves from the sun while lying on their backs. The whole land is wealthy in ordinary crops, herd animals, and gold, but also in beautiful gems, shimmering silk, exotic spices, and potent drugs. "

This is the view of India that arose in Greece flanked by the sixth and fourth centuries BC, was passed on to the Romans when they super ceded the Greeks as the centre of the ancient Mediterranean world, and migrated to Northern Europe after the Roman Empire fell under the impact of the barbarian invasions. Its principal sources lie in the writings of four men: Scylax of Caryanda, a Greek officer sent through Darius, the ruler of Persia, approximately 515 BC to reconnoiter the Indus valley, his easternmost province; Herodotus who wrote in relation to the India half a century later in The Histories, his well-known treatment of the Persian wars; Ctesias of Cnidus, critic of Herodotus, and Megasthenes, a Greek ambassador to the court of the Mauryas, who resided in the Gangetic plain and wrote extensively in relation to the Indian organizations and customs approximately 300 BC, in the aftermath of Alexander the Great's invasion. Here the quotation reveals the method the ancient Greece thought in relation to the East. Alike notions have prevailed concerning the earliest civilizations. This rather exotic view of the past needs to be tempered with more measured understanding of our past. At the stage of hunting and gathering, the society, as we understand it had not appeared. The elements hunted jointly for a while and dispersed. There was no permanency in societal relationships. This stage of gathering and hunting remained for approximately ten million years. It is only with the domestication of plants and animals that the first settlements emerge. The transition from gathering and hunting to the domestication of plants and animals also resulted in the emergence of what is recognized as the tribal world. It was a condition where three elements defined the nature of that condition, viz., the manufacture was for consumption, individual rights were embedded in the society ownership rights, and power and not power was respected.

The label —tribe has been an unstable category that has been deployed within multiple networks of power dealings, such as state-society, local-national and national-global spheres. As suggested, question the contending meaning of tribes, variously defined as indigenous, aboriginal, primitive, underdeveloped, disempowered, and marginalized. Conversely, as suggested, draw attention to the ways in which —tribe has also been used to empower and resist the nation state and the global economy. British colonial rule imagined and institutionalized tribes in the northern and northwest boundary, tribe-based

demands for statehood in regions such as Jharkhand and Bodoland, the creation of tribe as an economic and political category in the northeastern boundary, the politics of tribal identities in Assam today and the resurgence of the figure of the tribal in modern literary and cultural discourses of globalization.

The term adivasi was coined as a translation to the colonial category of aboriginal. The tribal and the aboriginal are not synonymous categories. They are infect two dissimilar categories altogether. The term tribe refers to the political organization of the society while the term aboriginal means one present from the beginning (origin) or of the sunrise (literal meaning). Any identification of a scrupulous people with the region implies a genetic sub text and a stability of flanked by them and the first human populations of those areas. This hypothesis may have some limited validity in the New World but none in the Old World.

Let us consider the ground reality as is obtained from the archaeological data. There is considerable proof that the domestication of plants and animals occurred at dissimilar spaces in the subcontinent at times. The location close to Allahabad suggests an introduction of wild rice and tame animals in the diets of the people in the area through the eighth millennium BC. We have sites from sixth millennium BC where there is enough proof of domestication of cattle, sheep and goats. Mehrgarh at the foot of the Bolan Pass in the 9000BP provides us signs of wheat and barley. The archaeological proof does not support the constant superiority of farming as a survival strategy for some millennia after its appearance. In information the opening of the first millennium BC saw the prevalence of hunting and gathering, pastoralism and agriculture as the three varying strategy as per the demands of the eco-niche in the subcontinent. We cannot lay the ‗tribal' in the hunter gatherer context always. These were responses determined through the eco-niche and the limitations of manpower and technology.

The state too had an uneasy connection with the people who existed in the forests. The forest produce was crucial to the state, and manage in excess of the similar was desirable. The Mauryan State for instance, in one telling stroke warned the forest dwellers therefore, *"and the forest folk who live in the dominions of the Beloved of Gods, even them he entreats and exhorts in*

regard to their duty. It is hereby explained to them that, inspite of his repentance, the Beloved of the Gods possesses power enough to punish them for their crimes so that they would turn from their evil ways and would not be killed for their crimes. The 13th rock edict is extra ordinary for its clarity and ruthlessness. An empire had to be run and the possessions had to be marshaled. It was in that context that the people were being warned.

However we cannot argue from the perspective of the indigenous, certainly we can form the perspective of the marginalized. The first question to be asked pertains to the defining elements of the term _tribal'. Prof. Shereen Ratnasar has argued a tribe is not presently a group of people that shares a general society, a name, an ethnic identity, and a language/dialect; more significant, its members, even if they live in dispersed villages or pasture grounds, consider they are one people because they trace their origins to a general ancestor. Descent is traced mainly often through the male row, but in some groups like the Khasis, through the female row.

A general ancestor means that members are whispered to be related through blood. An individual is a member of a tribal society through virtue of his/her birth in it. The possessions of nature have been inherited from the tribal ancestors or ancestor-gods, are held through the group as a group in trust for future members, and hence are not alienable. Sometimes a tribe with a big population has internal divisions (clans, lineages, or parts) that each hold their own regions of natural possessions, so that a member has rights to them through virtue of birth in a scrupulous lineage, part, or clan. To be related through kinship (blood), furthermore, means a series of duties and obligations towards others in the tribe. Of course, this does not prevent friction or disputes altogether, and it could be said that the low stage of development of organizations of dispute resolution is one of the limitations of tribal society. When did this type of social organization approach into being? The earliest civilizations in the world were not tribes, but are described _bands' or _hunter-gatherers'. Periodic movement, no permanent villages, and the lack of clearly defined membership in residence groups characterized them. The only stable social group was the family. The men of dissimilar families might co-operate in raising shelters at a seasonal resolution, or in hunting a big animal, but such co-operation was only for that scrupulous task. A hunting team

shaped a week later may be constituted through some of these participants, but also other men. When agriculture began (thousands of years ago), people settled down to cultivate land. In conditions of job, agriculture was dissimilar from hunting and gathering. The returns on labour were no longer immediate: you ploughed a field and sowed the seed, say, with the first rains of the year, but the crop was ready to harvest many weeks later. And then you stored the cereal rice, wheat, or barley, to last you until the after that harvest. So sedentary and stable village life, and sustained co-operation flanked by families, were feature social correlates of the new economy. This is the context in which civilizations united through kinship, which are recognized as _tribes', came into being. It is in the context of the above that we need to locate the archaeological proof in its anthropological readings. The two go jointly and provide an interpretative support. The location of Inamgaon in the Deccan is a good case in point for the similar.

Nature of Archaeology

The realm of archaeology in the south Asian context is not rooted in the so described hard data or scientific precision. We do not have the municipality of Pompeii here. In mainly of the cases the archaeologist deals with material that has been discarded through the people who were by it once. These things create small sense outside of the context in which they are established. So the archaeological data gets understood in from the attributes of the exhumed material in the context in which it is establish and the inference that is drawn from it. These are the limiting factors for the data. It cannot through itself argue in relation to the identity of an ethnicity; however it may suggest the subsistence of several groups through the manner in which the material remnants differ. It in this case and in several others requires a corroborative proof from other sources, textual, epigraphic or numismatic. In some instances the other corroborative source may not exist. In such situations the archaeologist will have to generalize on the foundation of livelihood prehistory, i.e. from observing a phenomenon that still exist and attempt and create a connection. The richness of the material remnants may also pose a

range of questions to archaeology. The interpretation of the similar from the historical point of view will therefore mainly depend on the context in which the data is being exhumed as well as the context from which it is being argued out.

If for instance a typical chalcolithic resolution were exhumed then it would yield in a structured stratigraphy a diversity of relics. It would for instance yield pottery, animal bones, grain, burial and a host of other things. In order to create any sense out of that material we need to examine it in the context in which it was taken out. Therefore the reading of stratigraphy would be vital beside with the connection of all the relics in the similar strata to be contextualized. In Inamgaon for instance (a chalcolithic location exhumed through the team of archaeologists from the Deccan College) the excavation was accepted out from 1968 to 1983. This is perhaps the longest excavation done in the annals of chalcolithic sites in the Indian context. The excavation at Inamgaon allows us to look at the changes that happen in the material society in excess of an era of time, from 1600 to 700 BC. This time span is further divided on the foundation of the stratigraphy and the variation in the material cultural sequence into three periods the Malwa (is the earliest) the Early Jorwe and the Late Jorwe. Further generalizations could be drawn in relation to the survival patterns, social stratification and changing nature of the resolution. Still further generalizations are possible which could be drawn on the issues that pertain to the social structures. Here there might be a divergent opinion, as we do not have any corroborative proof in the form of epigraphy or numismatics or oral custom or textual sources. Here the location itself is a text that would be deconstructed. The archaeological proof in this case is the only proof. But there would be other contexts and other time sequences where there is other type of evidences, accessible in the form of inscriptions, coins, texts and oral traditions. In such a situation the nature and the interpretation of the archaeological proof would confirm, deny or throw an alternative argument for historian's consideration. Let us also keep in mind that archaeology is a discipline in its own right.

Such as this discipline has also its own epistemology and historiography. The nature of interpretation would depend on which of the historiographical traditions the archaeologist is drawing upon to arrive at the

generalizations. Archaeology in that sense is not a sub discipline of history in a sense epigraphy or numismatics is. Let us now move on to the textual context beyond the chalcolithic and towards the threshold of the change in the ancient society.

Textual Sources

Let us now turn to the textual sources. Here as suggested, take one specific instance of Rig-Veda to illustrate our point concerning the textual sources and our understanding of the similar. Rig-Veda is not an easy source to understand the past. Rig-Veda is dated roughly to 1500-1000 BC. Rig-Veda is not like the Arthasastra or the Puranas. It is not a job of literature as well. The earlier commentary with the text of Rig-Veda is compiled through Yaska who is dated even before Panini (before 400BC). Yaska also refers to the earlier commentaries written before him. This suggests that Yaska is not the first one to comment on the text. Today the text that we get is the one compiled through Sayana (1387 AD).

Let us examine this text to understand the difficulties related to it. The text is compiled in the ‗Vedic' language that predates Sanskrit. It is a compilation of 1028 suktas/hymns that panegyrize the gods. It is divided in ten mandals out of which the first and the tenth mandala have been compiled later. It is not a religious text alone. It is a collection of a composition of hymns serving useful purposes. It was passed on from generation to generation through a pre decided manner of recitation. There are a number of ways in which the Rig-Veda can be recited.

It paints a picture of a society that was rustic in nature, tribal in conditions of social structure and gave tremendous importance to the cow. Horse and the chariot were valued in times of war. There are references to the gods such as the Indra and Agni. The simile used in the text is a votary of historical information. For instance we do get references to cattle wealth and its importance. Clearly the early society values the herd and the wealth was counted in conditions of the number of cattle one had. The Rig-veda as a text then gives us with a glimpse of one segment of society that was rustic. It

designates as to what the society valued as wealth and also provides some indicators of the material cultural context which the archaeology can seem for.

HUNTING-GATHERING, EARLY FARMING SOCIETY, PASTORALISM
The Archaeological Proof for Palaeolithic Civilizations
In the Indian subcontinent, the earliest proof for humans goes back to in relation to the 1.9 million years ago from Rawalpindi in Pakistan. This era from roughly 2 million years ago till in relation to the c.10, 000 years ago is recognized archaeologically as the Paleolithic. The word Palaeolithic means Old Stone Age (where _palaeo' means old and _lithic' comes from *lithos*, the Greek word for stone). Within the Palaeolithic, sub-phases are differentiated into Lower, Middle and Upper on the foundation of kinds of stone apparatus and the techniques for creation them as well as relative dates based on stratigraphy. The Lower Palaeolithic is roughly dated from 1.9 million years ago, the Middle Palaeolithic from in relation to the 80,000 years BP to 40,000 years BP and the Upper Palaeolithic from 40,000 till 10,000 years BP.

The Lower Palaeolithic is usually recognized through the attendance of two kinds of apparatus: the chopper-chopping apparatus and the hand axes. The former, particularly in a non- Indian context, are measured to be earlier to the hand axe custom. Middle Palaeolithic apparatus are recognized through flake industries and the preferred apparatus were scrapers. Mainly the Lower Palaeolithic industry concentrates on quartzite as the raw material; from the Middle Palaeolithic, more fine-grained stones were preferred. The tool creation technology in the Lower and Middle Palaeolithic is relatively easy, with flakes struck off parent nodules. In the Lower Palaeolithic, apparatus of the chopper-chopping diversity were flaked on working edges, while hand axes were also recognized as bifaces or apparatus flaked from both sides. The real change in tool creation technology occurs, perhaps from the Middle Palaeolithic but more obviously in the Upper Palaeolithic, when nodules were cautiously prepared, so as to remove a number of blades from a single pebble of stone. The raw materials used were fine-grained stones that would result in

sharp-edged apparatus. The technology also implied some amount of mass manufacture and a more efficient method of creation apparatus. Apparatus were also richer from the Upper Palaeolithic, capable of being used for varied purposes. It is also from this era that bone was used for creation apparatus. A gradual reduction in tool size is a characteristic of the Palaeolithic with the largest apparatus in the earliest sub-phase, the Lower Palaeolithic. This is noted at sites in Central India like Adamgarh Hill in Hoshangabad District or Bhimbetka where occupations of Lower and Middle Palaeolithic humans were marked through apparatus increasingly smaller in size.

Palaeolithic stone apparatus are established in many contexts: environment sites in rock shelters or in the open; factory sites close to sources of raw material where apparatus were made; environment sites cum factory sites; or scatters of apparatus. Sometimes, one may discover Palaeolithic apparatus in parts beside the banks of rivers. These may not indicate actual livelihood regions of Palaeolithic man but may symbolize apparatus moved through river action. We are likely to get better proof from say, rock shelters where early man may have existed for periods of time, than from the relatively more open regions. Geographically in the Indian subcontinent, sure regions would have been preferred for environment through early humans: regions with stone outcrops that would have provided raw materials for apparatus, regions with water, and so forth. Therefore, we discover Palaeolithic sites mainly on the foothills of the Himalayas, beside the margins of the Ganges plain bordering on the hills of central India, margins of the Thar Desert, and much of central and peninsular India.

Another body of proof from the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic is the art establish in the form of rock engravings, rock bruising and as paintings on walls of caves and rock shelters. Geographically, these are obviously limited to regions where rock formations are accessible such as the extensive sandstone formations of central India, where shelters with paintings are commonly establish. Separately from central India, Ladakh in North India is a region where rock engravings are still being exposed, and South India where carvings and bruising have already been recorded. There are also examples of portable art such as the decorated ostrich eggshells establish from Rajasthan that have been radiocarbon dated to c. 40,000 years BP. The Patne eggshells

have been dated to 25,000 years BP. The mainly evocative and extensively studied are the rock paintings. The major ascribed cause for the art itself has been magical. Early paintings mainly centre on scenes of hunting and gathering. The depiction of the hunt has been seen in conditions of ensuring the efficacy of the actual hunt that in _killing' the animal through a depiction would ensure the similar in practice.

Dating examples of prehistoric art is not easy, and one has a very big time range for the paintings, from in relation to the c. 40,000 BP to 1000 AD. While it is hard to obtain exact dates, one may be better able to obtain relative dates. The information that paintings are often superimposed one upon the other would enable us to figure out which painted layer was earlier than the others, but the dates for each layer or the relative time elapsing flanked by each layer would be less easy to ascertain. Cave shelters that have job deposits can be exhumed and the paintings can be correlated to the deposits. One instance illustrates this: at Bhimbetka, a well-known cave shelter intricate in Madhya Pradesh, paintings in a shelter were adjudged to be Upper Palaeolithic in date as they were depicted in green pigment. The correlation was made on the foundation of pieces of green pigment establish in job layers within the shelter that contained Upper Palaeolithic apparatus. On that foundation, V.S. Wakankar also measured the use of green pigment as indicative of the earliest prehistoric paintings. Though, this last point has been disputed as early paintings have also been established in red colour.

Social Structure of Hunting-Gathering Civilizations

Let us take the instance of the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic location of Budha Pushkar approximately a lake in the Thar Desert in Rajasthan. Artefacts are establish in groups that perhaps symbolize small livelihood and multi-action sites suggesting that groups may have camped here periodically. This archaeological picture beyond a point would not help us to understand ancient society. Information on social structures can be inferred with help from anthropological or ethnographic data from livelihood hunting-gathering civilizations.

Just as to Elman Service and Marshall D Sahlins hunting-gathering civilizations are essentially at the band stage of social organisation. The term band is used to signify very small groups (20-50 persons) with a flexible membership. Therefore the family is the essential element of manufacture with foraging behaviors performed through the nuclear family within the band's range. Mainly behaviors (like collecting, fishing, foraging) are performed at the family stage, while hunting of big game could have involved a group of males from many families and/or from a dissimilar band. The membership of such groups may have changed from hunt to hunt. Hunting-gathering civilizations are solely dependent on wild plants and animals. Wild plant foods gathered mainly through women may have been a more substantial component of the diet than the meat from the hunt. In information, scholars feel that such societies should be more appropriately termed ―gatherer-hunters . Whatever was composed/ hunted would have been just as to need and consumed immediately – there was no likelihood of storage or surplus. Camps would have had to regularly shift in response to the availability of both plant and animal possessions. The frequent mobility of bands also ensured that population remained low; in information, families deliberately limited their numbers.

Band stage civilizations are essentially egalitarian, with only two types of social elements comprising of families and bands of related families. There is no formal, permanent or hereditary leadership – either elder may have had power in excess of moral issues or a particularly skilled hunter may have assumed a leadership role throughout a hunt. However there is no clear territoriality, there is some type of tacit understanding in excess of resource use or the regions where these were accessible. Conflicts in excess of use of possessions may often have been resolved through the moving absent of one group. Ritually, there may have been totalistic beliefs. A totem could be a plant or animal or inanimate substance that was protected and revered. The dealings flanked by a group and a totem could be such that the group took its identity from the totem.

Mesolithic-Neolithic Continuum and the Procedure of Domestication

Approximately 10,000 years BP, the Pleistocene gave method to the Holocene. This shift was marked through climatic changes to a warmer climate much like the present, with an augment in rainfall and humidity resulting in dependability on water sources such as lakes and rivers. Vegetation too changed with an expansion of forests and grasslands into previously arid regions. Human version to the changed environmental circumstances is marked through the Mesolithic. Essentially the Mesolithic is a stage middle flanked by the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic, falling flanked by hunting gathering and food producing civilizations. Therefore, the Mesolithic, in comparison to the Palaeolithic, almost certainly witnessed the experimenting with a superior range of survival strategies. On one end of the continuum would have been reliance on hunting gathering and fishing, involving a mobile subsistence and on the other end, a relatively more settled pattern approximately a house base.

What we know of a Mesolithic stage in India is not so much one that is clearly middle flanked by Palaeolithic and Neolithic, but one that is chronologically more diffused, sites in some cases modern to Neolithic and Chalcolithic cultures. Very few sites have been dated; for instance, Chopani Mando in the Belan Valley (c. 6000BC) and Bagor in Rajasthan (c. 5000-2800 BC). On the other hand, we have indications of an advanced Mesolithic, where sites may have been permanent or semi-permanent, consisting of groups of small huts, with earthen floors, hearths and walls of wattle and daub (reeds plastered with mud). Apparatus contain grinding stones, hammer stones, querns and microliths. Animal bones were of both wild and domesticated species. That would explain the finds of microliths, and heavy stone implements as also the subsistence of hearths and huts. Querns and grinding stones may have been used for processing edible wild plants that could have been gathered or even cultivated.

From the Close to East (the area comprising present-day Syria, Palestine, Israel, Jordan and Turkey to Iraq-Iran, referred to as the ˍFertile Crescent'), the proof for the transition to a Neolithic method of life is clearer. Flanked by 10,000 and 8,000 years BP, human civilizations tended to cluster

approximately water bodies on a reasonably permanent foundation. There is a shift from the hunting of big game to small animals preferring grassy regions (deer, sheep, goat) and to aquatic possessions, as well as to a more limited range of edible plants (in this case wheat and barley). It is these plants and animals (wheat-barley, sheep-goat) that would shortly be domesticated. Through domestication we mean the procedure through which humans make a new form of plant or animal. Domestication is likely to have taken lay in those regions where wild shapes, of plants and animals, were already present. The selection of sure plants and animals, those with preferred attributes, would have necessitated an extensive procedure of domestication. Those attributes would be: in the case of plants those already relied upon through hunting-gathering civilizations; —generalist species that could grow in disturbed circumstances; those that are adapted to rising jointly rather than in dispersed shapes; also those that would be able to tolerate moisture and temperature circumstances of storage. Sure characteristics would have been looked for – their seed retention capability and the structure of the plant itself. Of plants that grow in the wild, only those that escape human gathering have the chance of getting dispersed on the ground and sprouting. When humans began to store seed stock for the after that rising season, it was these seeds that shaped the genetic stock of subsequent harvests. And early farmers would have preferred plants that kept (retained) their seeds till they were harvested, and also those that had their seeds bunched jointly rather than dispersed all beside the stalk of the plant. Obviously in the latter case, much more effort in harvesting would have been required and several seeds would get missed altogether. Therefore, the procedure of domestication of plants was precisely the gradual procedure of selecting for actual advantages, a procedure that continues even today. Therefore, hardier plants would have been noticed and their seeds preferred in excess of more delicate diversities, those that grew quickly, those that had higher yields, and those that appeared disease-resistant.

Similarly, the domestication of animals was also an extensive procedure beginning with following herds of animals, to slowly attracting them to human company, to the preliminary corralling or penning of animals and their protection from other wild animals. Again, the procedure would job better with sure more docile, friendly animals. Specialized feeding habits

prevent easy domestication of animals – hence goats and pigs are ideal species. Social species are preferable and those that are predisposed to follow a dominant animal are more likely to accept a human substitute. This submissive behaviour is a significant requirement for animal domestication. No wonder then, that goat and sheep were the first species to be domesticated in the Close to East: both are relatively placid and slow-moving foragers; neither is territorial; and both form highly social groups with a single dominant leader. Also, such species uphold small house ranges and are therefore amenable to human manage. The ultimate end of domestication would be where a plant or animal would be unable to survive through it and needs human initiative even for its propagation.

It is this step taken towards domestication that had distant-reaching implications, which V. Gordon Childe described as the ‗Neolithic Revolution'. In the Close to East, the transition took in excess of c. 2000 years, hence indicating that the change was not sudden but was more in conditions of its impact. The procedure of domestication ushered in a change in ecological dealings, with human civilizations now being much more in manage of their food supply. Now plants and animals could be taken from their original habitat and nurtured elsewhere, therefore expanding the possible regions of environment. With the reliance on a limited range of annual crops, there is now a greater need to store granules for the year as well as for seed. The rising of cereal crops meant their protection and careful tending in excess of an extensive rising season. This would have required some amount of sedentarization. At the similar time, Neolithic strategies would have also involved the herding of animals (sheep, goat, cattle). Herding involves varying levels of mobility in some cases where for part of the year, animals may have to be pastured at some aloofness from the house base. It is likely that combinations of farming and herding may have been practiced, rather than a dependence on either one alone. Moreover, hunting and fishing as also gathering would have had their lay in survival strategies. Archaeologically, settled civilizations do indicate some growth of population. One of the causes could be sedentarisation where there would be no need to limit the size of the family. In information, children may be quite useful in protecting rising plants and the herding of animals in and close to the resolution. We now clearly see

nucleation of population in the form of the _village'. A Neolithic village would be comprised of a cluster of homes with hearths and storage facilities, particularly for granules. In the context of animal food, storage _on the hoof' was resorted to, that is, protecting animals and butchering them as and when required. Crafts form a part of the Neolithic method of life. Pottery would now be required for storage purposes as also for the cooking of the hard cereal granules. Weaving of flax and cotton were almost certainly practiced.

Other than villages, there could also have been settlements occupied on a relatively temporary foundation - such as seasonal settlements, rustic camps, camps for processing raw materials and so forth. The Neolithic villages would not have been in accessible entities. There would have been get in touch with crossways villages and flanked by mobile and sedentary groups for varying causes (social ties, buffering mechanisms, barter, perhaps even ritual links).

The Archaeological Proof for Early Food Producing (Neolithic) Villages and Campsites

Let us attempt and see what these Neolithic settlements were like. A significant location for the Neolithic is Mehrgarh in Baluchistan in Pakistan. The site of this location in the fertile Kachi Plain recognized as the _bread basket' of Baluchistan, is particularly important. The location is situated on the bank of the Bolan River and lies at the foot of the Bolan Pass, perhaps a significant route linking the northern and western valleys with the Indus Plains.

With a very extensive history of job, Mehrgarh is recorded through archaeologists as having eight cultural stages, of which the first two, Era I and II were Neolithic. Era I is a ceramic (without pottery) while pottery appears in Era II at the location. The earliest resolution may go back to c. 7000 BC. From the beginning of job, mud bricks were used for constructing the groups of 2-4 small rectangular rooms that may have been homes. These were associated with fireplaces. There is proof for the crafts of bone and stone tool creation. A new characteristic seen here is the setting of multiple blades in bitumen on a bone or wood handle, to be used as sickles for the cutting of plants.

Burials in Era I indicate early beliefs concerning the disposal of the dead. Items deposited with the dead were ornaments, made of materials of which some came from distant regions, such as marine shell. Other materials deposited in graves were bitumen-lined baskets and food, including whole young goats. In Era II, structures with numerous compartments were constructed. Some of these were of two rows of cells separated through a central corridor or passage. These types of structures may have been used as storehouses or granaries. Mehrgarh is a valuable location for the Neolithic because of the proof for domestication. Plant remnants are established in the form of impressions, particularly in brick, and as burnt specimens. Mainly these were of wheat and barley. In excess of half the animals represented in the ceramic Neolithic were wild, with the largest number being gazelle, beside with other deer species, nilagai, onager, wild pig and so forth. Of domesticated species, goats are the largest in number followed through sheep and cattle. Through the end of Era I, gazelle appear to have approximately disappeared with other wild species establish in small amounts, while sheep-goat are in excess of half of the domesticated species.

The proof of domesticated species may symbolize the importance of herding in the Neolithic economy. There may have been rustic campsites at varying distances from the house base. Though, the archaeological discovery of such campsites will not be as easy as that of a sedentary village, for the easy cause that herders on the move will carry small with them. Also, since occupations are for short durations, there will be small build-up of job deposits. Moreover, rigorous explorations, necessary to detect such sites, have not been possible for several causes. Another geographical region where Neolithic sites have been established is Kashmir, where a significant location, Burzahom was exhumed. At Burzahom, early Neolithic (dated approximately 3000 BC) dwellings were in the form of pits of varying depths. Holes approximately the pits may have been used for erecting poles and some sort of roofing made of birches, of which burnt pieces have been establish. Cooking may have been done both inside and outside the pits as seen through the proof for hearths. The suggestion is that the pits were mainly used as dwellings in the cold weather. Separately from Neolithic ground stone axes, bone apparatus were also used. Crude handmade pottery was also established.

In the later Neolithic (which sustained until 1700 BC) at Burzahom, the pit dwellings were given up and structures of mud or mud bricks were made. Handmade pottery and Neolithic apparatus sustained. Separately from this, a few objects may indicate get in touch with outsiders. A few copper arrowheads, a wheel-made red ware pot with 950 drops of stones like agate and carnelian, and sure painted pottery may suggest get in touch with Mature Harappan settlements in the Greater Indus Valley to the south. Other motivating details from the later Neolithic are animal burials (of wild dogs) establish beside with those of humans. The use of red ochre in the burials and in other parts of the resolution has also been noted. A cluster of Neolithic villages (dated flanked by 4000 and 2500 BC) showing links with the Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic have been accounted in the Vindhyan area, particularly the Ganges Plains and the Belan and Son Valleys. Hand-made pottery of several kinds is established as well as the ground stone axes typical of the Neolithic. The small squarish flat ground stone axes and cord-impressed pottery are hints that this area was the western extension of an Eastern Neolithic society of Eastern Central India, Assam and South East Asia. The significance of this region may lie in its being the locus of an early domestication of rice in the subcontinent. The penning of cattle appears to be a new characteristic in these sites.

A dependence on cattle-keeping may also have been a characteristic of the South Indian Neolithic. Sites in this area are the distinctive ash mounds (literally mounds of ash suggesting big-level ancient burning of heaps of cow-dung), as well as ash mounds associated with habitations or habitations alone. The ash mounds or stockaded cattle pens were the earliest Neolithic sites in the south, dating flanked by c. 2900 and 2400 BC. Examples of such sites were Utnur, Kupgal, Kodekal and Pallavoy, all in contemporary Karnataka. These stockades were in two consecutive rings of palm trees, the inner one for perhaps enclosing animals and the outer for the herders. Those ash mounds occurring alone (without permanent environment sites) may have been rustic campsites. Their site in the midst of forests may add to such an interpretation. The environment sites usually date from 2000 BC. Presently like at Mehrgarh, survival strategies would have involved animal herding as well as grain (almost certainly *ragi*) collection or farming. Through c. 2000 BC, *ragi* is

archaeologically detected and this may have been the main cereal consumed, as this area is well suited environmentally to the farming of millet. In the South Indian Neolithic, materially, one discovers the similar proof as in other parts of the subcontinent – stone artefacts like querns, hammer stones and sling balls, as well as blades of fine-grained stones. Pottery is established throughout the Neolithic era. One of the causes for the site of sites in this area may be the proximity to the gold possessions of Karnataka and the possibility that some small-level early gold mining may go back to this era. The modern of the South Indian Neolithic with the Early and Mature Harappan cultures may be a cause for the extraction of gold.

Social Structure of Early Food Producing (Farming and Herding) Civilizations

A Neolithic society is a tribal society. Through tribe is meant a scrupulous stage in social organisation as well as a scrupulous kind of society. It is not necessary that band civilizations (hunting-gathering) would evolve into tribal civilizations. A tribal society, in contrast to bands, comprise superior numbers (100 onwards) of people held jointly through kinship dealings, lineages, general ancestors and joint ownership of and equal access to possessions, through descent groups. A tribe is composed of a number of clans, which in turn comprises of dissimilar lineages/descent groups. The negligible social element is the extended family, not the nuclear family. It enables the pooling of labour required to take care of diversified behaviors typical of Neolithic civilizations and to offset risks.

Socially, the tribal stage of society is characterized through the importance given to kinship dealings. Essentially egalitarian, there is small social stratification. Kinship dealings not only govern mainly characteristics of society, but also function as integrative mechanisms. Exchanges, for instance, flanked by secure kin would act as safety nets against situations of stress and scarcity of food. Marriages flanked by descent groups, bringing in relation to the alliances, act as forces of cohesion. At the tribal stage, dissimilar shapes (matrilateral, patrilateral, bilateral) of cross-cousin marriage (with frequent reversals of wife-givers and wife-takers) prevent the hierarchisation of

lineages. Another integrative force at the tribal stage would have been pan-tribal associations, some of which cut crossways kinship ties. These would have incorporated individuals bound jointly through general characteristics, such as age and proficiency in ritual or warfare or healing. The fourth integrative force is that of inter-tribal warfare, where one tribe perforce unites against another. Inter-tribal warfare is chronic in tribal civilizations, and is never conclusive. Warfare in the form of raids or ambushes, aims at the capture of booty and the prevention of encroachment into favored regions. These integrative forces were necessary in the absence of political organizations binding the tribe jointly. Tribal leadership (Big Man) depends on personal charisma or qualities of individuals and is not permanent. There is no real power attached to this office; the role of a Big Man is as an advisor. Kinship dealings also prevent the misuse of the location of a big Man.

Ancestor worship as forming part of religious beliefs assumes importance in the tribal stage of society. Such beliefs involve the worship of immediate (at the family stage) and more remote (at the stage of the clan) ancestors. Ancestors are measured responsible for the well being of the members of society. Misfortunes require the placating of ancestors at family and clan stages through sacrifices and ritual exchanges. Sure individuals within the tribe have skills perhaps not accessible to all- to communicate with the supernatural world, through a state of trance, to cure, to divine. Such skills may or may not be hereditary. These individuals, described in anthropology as shamans, inhabit a significant location in society.

HARAPPAN CIVILIZATION AND OTHER CHALCOLITHIC CULTURES
The Backdrop
The Greater Indus Valley (Baluchistan, Sind, the Punjab and parts of Rajasthan) is the background of cultural growths in the subcontinent until the 2nd millennium BC. There is continuous job at the location from Neolithic to chalcolithic, with the beginning of the resolution going back to c.7000 BC. The chalcolithic is roughly dated from 4000 BC to 2200 BC but Mehrgarh has

no Harappan job. The era, roughly from 3300-2600 BC, is marked through what are described Early Harappan or Early Indus cultures, the Amri-Nal, Kot Diji, Sothi-Siswal and Damb Saddat cultures. Essentially differentiated on the foundation of ceramics, there is some spatial overlap flanked by these cultures.

What is relevant is that mainly of the regions of the Greater Indus Valley are settled in this era. Wheat, barely, cattle, sheep and goat shaped the major survival base. Home structure methods also illustrate some stability from this era in to the Mature Harappan era (c.2600-1900 BC). Archaeologists like M.R. Mughal have pointed out similarities flanked by the Early and Mature Harappan in ceramic forms and designs, relics like terracotta toy-cart frames and wheels, cakes and cones.

The continuing elements have led archaeologists like B. Allchin, R. Allchin and J.M. Kenoyer to consider the Early Harappan as a stage of incipient urbanism, one that is formative in the development of the Harappan culture. On the other hand, G.L. Possehl, J. Shaffer and D.L. Lichtenstein consider the Early Harappan to be pre-urban leading to a short (100-150 years) middle era, culminating in the Harappan culture. S. Ratnagar, though, points out the discontinuities. For one, only in relation to the one fifth of the Early Harappan / Early Indus Settlements continue to be occupied in the Harappan era. Moreover one-fifth of the Early Harappan / Early Indus settlements continue to be occupied in the Harappan era. Moreover, the size range of Harappan sites contrasts with that for the earlier cultures: in the case of the Harappan, location sizes range from less than 1 ha to 125 ha (some considering the latter figure to be more than 200 ha). For the earlier era, the range is from less than 1 ha to 30 ha. She also sees the variation flanked by the two cultures in conditions of social organization, where big fortified Early Indus settlements like Rahman Dheri, in Dera Ismail Khan District in the western plains of the Indus, may have been the locus of a chief ship. In contrast, the Harappan is seen in conditions of an early state.

The Harappan Society

The Harappan society (also termed as the Indus Valley Culture and the Mature Harappan) covers a big geographic region, comprising of Sind, the Makran, the Punjab, Northern Rajasthan, Kutch and parts of Kathiawad with some outlying sites such as Shortughai in northeast Afghanistan and Manda in Jammu & Kashmir. The Harappan society is a proto-historic society, where writing (limited to sticks and other inscribed material) was recognized but there are no lengthy texts. Therefore, for mainly interpretation of society and economy, we are dependent on the material record. The question is what in the material record would enable us to recognize a Harappan location? Sites are classified as Harappan on the foundation of the recovery of the following kinds of relics. Thick red pottery decorated with black paintings, square steatite sticks with a boss, chert cubical weights adhering to a sure average, burnt bricks with dimensions of a scrupulous ratio, terracotta toy-cart frames and wheels, triangular terracotta cakes, steatite micro-drops, extensive cylindrical carnelian drops, etched carnelian drops with scrupulous treatment of the surface and designs, extensive chert blades and so on. It is not the attendance of one or two of these artefact-kinds, but the co-occurrence of a number of them, that comprises an archaeological assemblage, on behalf of mainly spheres of human action. Moreover, these artefact types should approach from a limited, defined and continuous geographical region and era of time and would comprise an archaeological society. For instance, etched carnelian drops with dissimilar designs can be established in the Iron Age (from 1000 BC) in Karnataka. That does not mean that those sites are Harappan. The Karnataka sites would belong to a dissimilar archaeological society. Similarly, presently finding a single artefact-kind, like extensive chert blades, in a location belonging to the similar era will not qualify the location to be described Harappan. To take a concrete instance, drops of typical Harappan kind establish cautiously kept in a pot in a chalcolithic location in Madhya Pradesh, Kayatha, would not mean that the location was Harappan. The whole material assemblage, separately form the drops, was chalcolithic in nature. Therefore, discover of those drops would almost certainly symbolize a hard, secreted absent, indicating some interaction with the Harappan society.

Moreover, finding an artefact with some vague resemblance to a Harappan artefact in form or material in an aloofness region like eastern India would not mean the extension of the Harappan society to that area. This is because there should be some rigor in recognizing artefact-kinds. Artefact-kinds should comprise of multiple attributes (and not presently a single one) such as form, size, material, colour, context and so forth.

Therefore, in the Harappan case, we discover the sharing of a somewhat uniform material assemblage in excess of a big geographic region and era of time. In information, early archaeologists, such as Stuart Piggott, measured Harappan products as standardized and uniform. Though, with more excavations and research, local variations have been delineated. Yet, one cannot deny that sure artefact-kinds do have a wide sharing. We need to go into the implications of such a sharing. There is a strong likelihood that we may be dealing with a state(s) in the Harappan era, a discussion that as suggested, go into later in this Element. To go back to an earlier point, we had mentioned that in the Harappan era, there is a greater size range for sites, in contrast to the Early Indus era. So there are some very big sites such as Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Rakhigarhi, Ganweriwala and Dholavira. Second, the Harappan society is marked also through a profusion of crafts in level and range. This expansion of non-survival manufacture is a differentiating characteristic of the Harappan culture from preceding and subsequent periods. This can be explained through the information that the Harappan culture gives the earliest proof of urbanism in the subcontinet.

Urbanism

To qute Shereen Ranagar, —a municipality is a node where population chooses to concentrate, to make a resolution superior and more thick than mainly other modern settlements, not in order to create food manufacture more efficient, but because of an engagement in non-survival behaviors such as crafts or deal, management or ritual services .

Let us take the instance of a small rural resolution. Just as to geographers, like M. Chisholm, a region of land (upto an aloofness of 4 km) round a resolution would be used for locating agricultural meadows. Regions

further absent would be used for other purposes such as pasture lands, forests and for other necessities, as it would be disadvantageous to locate meadows more than an hour's walking aloofness absent from the resolution. This agricultural land would give livelihood for the inhabitants of the village. If land for meadows were accessible only further absent, one would discover fissioning of the village, with the ‗hiving-off' or ‗budding-off' of daughter settlements. In a nucleated resolution (a municipality/city) on the other hand, that amount of agricultural land that can conveniently be cultivated is unlikely to suffice for the whole population. Hence, there is a greater significance in the engagement of non-survival behaviors. Why is there a need for population to nucleate? There could be ritual or political causes, in a region being a ritual or political centre, or for defense purposes or to create non-agricultural manufacture and transactions more efficient. In the case of the latter, let us contrast again a rural resolution from an urban one. In a rural landscape, each resolution may have a single potter or some may have no potter. Each potter would job in separation, procuring his own raw materials, like clay, fuel and so forth, structure his own facilities, and distributing his own products in the village and to nearby villages. In the case of nucleated resolution on the other hand, potters could cooperate to procure raw materials, share facilities like the kiln and sharing networks. Moreover, the superior consuming population would give for expansion in manufacture and perhaps enable a greater tendency for specialization.

Socially an urban situation gives for residence within the resolution as being more important than kinship dealings. Due to nucleation of population, dealings within the municipality are more likely to be flanked by strangers, unlike in a rural resolution. This would create method for changes in social structures and for the subsistence of a state. Mohenjodaro and Harappa are clearly the two largest Harappan settlements. As suggested, take the case of Mohenjodaro to illustrate a Bronze Age municipality. Mohenjodaro is divided into two parts, a higher and a smaller western part termed the Citadel and a lower and superior region to its east described the Lower City. These two parts are clearly spatially separated and may have been individually walled. Mainly big seemingly special purpose (non-residential) structures locate on the Citadel (such as the storage facility, the Great Bath); however some big

structures happen in the Lower City too. This may indicate the special nature of the Citadel as well as a possible effort to segregate its functions and inhabitants from the rest of the municipality.

Social heterogeneity can be inferred from the lack of uniformity in home kinds and sizes. Within the Lower City, big and small homes happen jointly. Material society too designates differences in consumption. For instance, an extensive (upto 12 cm) bead in carnelian (a favored red colored stone) appears to have been unusual and copied in clay. Mohenjodaro also provides proof for metallurgy, shell working, bead creation and the manufacture of sticks and weights. These crafts are not practiced in every household, and several in the middle of them clearly required intricate skills and facilities. Through and big scholars concur that there is an integral connection flanked by urbanism and state civilizations. A state need not have urban centers, but the opposite does not usually hold true while the subsistence of urban centers usually necessitates a state structure, however here again there can be exceptions.

State Structure

To ascertain the subsistence of a state, one would have to seem for markers of manage in excess of several spheres of society. Manage could be in excess of territory, in the form of mobilization of surplus and labour, and in the provisions of infrastructure for management, swap and manufacture. Through by the term surplus we mean that part of the produce that is extracted through a social centre/power and which is used through the social centre/elite for several purposes, such as for their own maintenance, for maintaining social dealings, for the support of specialists and for promoting society enterprises.

Archaeologists have interpreted big storage facilities at Mohenjodaro and Harappa as granaries that would indicate that surplus was composed at least at these two centers. Though, these structures need not necessarily have been used for manufactured goods and raw materials. While in a more urbanized state organization, surplus mobilization termed as tax or rent would have lived (there is enough written proof for later states like the Mauryan

Empire), the Harappan situation is more ambiguous. There is a separate possibility that the mobilization of labour may have been preferred mode of maintaining manage. There are several indications of manage of labour. Urban settlements such as Mohenjodaro and Harappa have a fairly elaborate drainage organization that would have required supervised construction and regular maintenance. The similar would have been in the case of roads and streets. Similarly, storage facilities too would have required personnel for loading and unloading purposes. Several construction behaviors at the superior centers particularly the firing of millions of bricks would have envisaged the mobilization of labour. The job of craft specialists, the setting up of craft centers, some at remote distances (such as Shortughai) and the obtaining of raw materials perhaps through specially set-up expeditions may have been other ways of controlling manufacture and swap.

There is a sure amount of debate in excess of the issue whether there was a single state or many in the Harappan era. S.P. Gupta, B.B. Lal and J.M. Kenoyer prefer to think of many municipality-states in the Greater Indus Valley in the 3rd millennium BC, with Mohenjodaro at the centre of one, Harappa of another, and similarly with Rakhigarhi, Dholavira, Ganweriwala and so forth. This conception mainly rests on a backward projection of the recorded proof of municipality-states in the Early Historic era, and on what they perceive as the appearance of autonomy and a separate local identity for the big urban centre of the Harappan culture. On the other hand, J. Jacobson and S. Ratnagar have argued for the case of a single state. this rests on a more or less general material society in excess of a big geographic region, the provision of a uniform organization of recording (the writing) and mensuration (the weights), the provision of infrastructure such as a general metal and stone took kit, the lack of local groups in animal symbols on steatite sticks, the general appearance of the unicorn symbol on sticks, the establishment of settlements at specific loci for scrupulous purposes (like craft centers or for the procurement of raw materials) and the unevenness of big urban centers distributed in excess of the map (Harappa, Rakhigarhi and Ganweriwala all groups in the eastern part of the Harappan area).

Also important is that we are dealing with a non-market economy and an absence of coinage, with an early state that would have vestiges of a tribal

and chiefdom society. Characteristics of an urbanized state organization, such as a bureaucracy and a standing army, are markedly absent.

Social Structure

While in chiefdom civilizations, kinship determined social and economic dealings, in state civilizations on the other hand, extra-kin dealings have to be worked out. Political purposes could be served and the incorporation of societies could be achieved through mechanisms such as gift-giving, marriage alliances, patron-client relationships. Therefore, in an urban situation, solidarity is not dependent on kinship but on interdependence and a general residence pattern. Yet, we cannot dismiss the continuance of kin groupings in society as is clear from Bronze Age Mesopotamia and China. Joint ownership of possessions may have sustained and the mobilization of labour too may have been on kin rows. Therefore what is clear is that there would have been considerable social heterogeneity, particularly if population nucleated to form urban centers. Archaeologically, social heterogeneity can be distinguished in several ways.

In the first lay, the information that some Harappan settlements shown a separation flanked by a Citadel and Lower City may indicate not only functionally dissimilar regions within a resolution but also perhaps a degree of social segregation. Plans for Mohenjodaro in turn indicate a diversity of home shapes and sizes. Difference in sizes may not necessarily indicate economic differences but could reflect household or family elements. This ensured the privacy of the courtyard and the inner rooms. It is, though, not quite clear whether a socially heterogeneous population necessitated such privacy. There is enough proof to illustrate that there was occupational differentiation in society. At the similar time, we need to note that sure skills, particularly in craft, may have been promoted but these need not have meant fulltime occupations. We need not presume that specialists would not have occupied in survival-procurement behaviors.

Diversity of kinds and materials of relics may indicate differences in consumption patterns: spindle whorls of terracotta or faience, vessels of

terracotta or bronze, bangles and drops of clay, stone, bone, shell, faience, metal and so forth. At the similar time, it should be pointed out that there is no easy correlation flanked by, say size of residence and seemingly wealth objects. Practices of disposal of the dead mainly comprise of burials however there may have been other methods less archaeologically identifiable. Even within burials, one discovers some amount of difference: there is proof of extended burials, burials in urns or big pots, in coffins and burials may also have been secondary or symbolic. Interestingly, Harappan burials illustrate small proof of social hierarchies, unlike Mospotamian, Egyptian or Chinese Bronze Age burials, where some interments may indicate considerable wealth. Moreover, Harappan burials were confined to cemeteries situated absent from habitations. It is not yet if these cemeteries were limited to scrupulous social groups.

Inference of Harappan religion and belief remain conjectural due to our reliance on material proof alone. Artefacts like terracotta female figurines termed as Mother Goddesses have been establish at major urban centers like Mohenjodaro. Pits with proof of burning, sometimes associated with animal bones, were establish from Kalibangan and Lothal and have been interpreted as fire altars. An image, on a seal and tokens, of a seated male in yogic posture was measured as a proto- Siva. Ritual practices may be depicted through sure motifs on steatite sticks, such as the narrative scenes. The Mohenjodaro Great Bath, itself, has been measured as the locus of a public/royal ritual.

What is significant is that religious beliefs or practices may not have been homogeneous for the Harappan culture as a whole. If there was a fire cult, it was limited to a few centres. Mother Goddess figurines, for instance, are not established in Kutch. Public rituals involving immersion in water may have been confined to Mohenjodaro. Neither can we eliminate the possibility of cults involving vegetation, nature or animals in sure regions. Sticks as class of objects, perhaps functioned as identity markers, indicating dealings with strangers or provided proof of authenticity. These steatite objects are provided with a pierced boss (protrusion) at the back through which string was almost certainly threaded, enabling it to be perhaps worn. The front of the seal is usually engraved with a motif usually of an animal (or sometimes narrative scenes or vegetation motifs or of a seated human) beside with signs of the

Harappan writing. While the unicorn- a mythical creature - is the mainly popular, none of the seal motifs concentrate locally.

Sticks are also important because of their inscriptions. This earliest proof of writing in the subcontinent has superior implications, of literacy in the society. The information that sticks, used for swap purposes, were inscribed does not necessarily mean that literacy was widespread. It is quite likely that the knowledge of writing may have been limited to few individuals.

The Bronze Age is measured to be an expanding political economy primarily due to the need for materials of restricted occurrence such as copper and even more so tin. Moreover, big urban centres in the Harappan culture indicate the use of a wide range of raw materials. Both these indicate wide interaction spheres in the 3rd millennium BC, in other languages, dealings with the outside world. This could be with regions on the margin such as chalcolithic settlements in the copper-rich parts of Rajasthan (Ganeshwar-Jodhpura), or with settlements in Baluchistan, termed as Kulli society sites. Farther absent are Neolithic settlements in South Kashmir (Burzahom, for instance). Interactions with areas much farther absent (Mesopotamia, Oman, Bahrain) are recognized through Mesopotamian written records as well as archaeological material. These interactions would have been of varied nature; we know through ethnographical and historical accounts that interactions need not all be subsumed under deal alone. Hence, some interactions may have approach under the form of expeditions to obtain raw materials, or political embassies to further diplomatic links. It is also clear that the state may have provided for the movement of people, in the establishment of settlements such as Shortughai, close to the lapis lazuli mines in Afghanistan, and craft centres such as Chanhudaro in Sind and Lothal in Gujarat. *These interactions, epitomizing open expanding structures may have had other implications such as bilingualism or multilingualism.*

There is therefore in the Harappan era a dramatic transformation in society. Centered on the municipality, this change reflects a considerable social heterogeneity. And yet there is cohesiveness and this may have been achieved through a general common code of rules and regulations that is imposed from above. One may think of this as a Great Custom subsuming multiple Small Traditions. In a method this solidarity or cohesion appears to

have been transitory, because with the disintegration of the Harappan state, the social structure reverts back to a tribal form. Perhaps this designates that kin groupings in society would have retained their importance even in an urban situation with new social organizations.

End of the Harappan Culture

Roughly approximately 1900 BC, there is a visible change in the material record. First, numerous Harappan settlements in the core regions of the Greater Indus Valley (Sind, Punjab and the Hakra Valley) are abandoned. For instance, from Mughal's survey in the Hakra Valley, it appears that out of 83 Harappan environment sites, only one sustained to be occupied and 27 new settlements were recognized in the later era. Moreover, the material society also undergoes a change: a distant smaller and that too more in the vicinity exploited, range of raw materials appears to have been utilized and diversity of kinds of relics also decreases. Feature Harappan artefacts that we look to disappear: cubical weights, extensive carnelian drops, etched carnelian drops, square steatite sticks and so forth. These changes have been seen as _decline' or the _end' of the Harappan culture. Several explanations have been offered for the ranging from natural calamities (like floods), climatic change, environmental degradation, Aryan invasion and due to inherent weaknesses in the socio-political structure.

Leaving aside the Aryan invasion, a theory that has extensive age been discarded, mainly prevailing thoughts of environmental degradation or climatic change as responsible for the end of the Harappan culture cannot be establish to apply to the whole region sheltered through the Harappan society. For instance, the drying up of the Ghaggar/Hakra River resulted in the desertion of sites in the Cholistan Desert, but that would not have been a factor for the abandonment or desertion of sties in other regions. It is clear that approximately 1900 BC, the Harappan state was collapsing or going through a crisis. This perhaps led to widespread desertion of sites (both rural and urban) in the core regions and considerable migrations of people to outlying regions, such as Kathiawad and eastern Punjab. We should not assume that all

characteristics of life associated with the Harappan came to an end. Those characteristics related to the state and urban livelihood does disappear, but others, linked with vital survival practices or technologies look to continue. That social organization that may have been created to forge ties flanked by non-kin within urban settlements and flanked by distant settlements appears not to have taken root.

Other Chalcolithic Cultures

Following the Harappan era, we discover the Greater Indus Valley occupied through many areas chalcolithic cultures, such as the Cemetery H and Jhukar cultures. In outlying regions, to the East and South (the Punjab and Kathiawad), we discover material elements reappearing that had been there prior to the Harappan and sustained contemporaneously with it. These cultures are mainly distinguished on the foundation of ceramics while other relics indicate the use of local raw materials and a limited range of kinds. The diversity of crafts visible in the Harappan is no longer present. Materially, there are a few new elements appearing: sticks or amulets as Jhukar (differing from the Harappan in form, material and perhaps function), paintings on Cemetery H pottery, terracotta headrests at Jhukar, and so forth. These cultures comprise small rural settlements with homes of mud.

Outside the Indus Valley and Gujarat, there are other chalcolithic cultures occurring in several parts of the subcontinent. These are partly modern with the Harappan society at the earliest and continue into later periods. These contain the Banas/Ahar society in eastern Rajasthan, and region recognized for copper deposits (with a major location, Ahar, giving proof for copper smelting). Further to the east, in Malwa, we approach crossways other chalcolithic cultures termed as the Malwa Society, followed through the Jorwe Society. Though, Jorwe society predominantly occurs in the northern part of the Deccan Plateau. Again, pottery is a characteristic differentiating cultures form each other. Mainly of these chalcolithic cultures appear to have had tribal social structures with the capability to develop into chiefdoms. One clear case of the

latter is given of Inamgaon, a Jorwe Society location that may have urbanized into the seat of a chiefship. A chiefdom stage of organization refers to tribes with one or more status groups: chiefs (sometimes with a graded hierarchy) and commoners. Often, chiefly positions are hereditary. To quote M.D. Sahlins, ―power resides in the (chiefly) office, in an organized acquiescence to chiefly privileges and organized means of upholding them. Incorporated is a specific manage in excess of the goods and services of the underlying population. The people owe in advance their labour and their products. And with these funds of power, the chief indulges in grandiose gestures of generosity ranging from personal aid to huge support of communal ceremonial or economic enterprise ‖. What could have been ways to archaeologically detect the attendance of chief ships? These could be through the analysis of mortuary remnants, resolution size hierarchies, structural remnants and some organization of manufacture. In the context of mortuary remnants, one would seem for the size of funerary monuments, the attendance of wealth objects within graves as well as children's burial of valuables, themselves unusual in chalcolithic contexts, would mean their being taken out of circulation. Also, infants being buried with such objects would indicate an ascriptive, rather than achieved status.

Resolution size hierarchies would rest on the understanding that sure settlements at the top of the hierarchy would be those where differently graded chiefs would reside. (The hierarchy of chiefs essentially depends on proximity to the general ancestor, with the senior-mainly descendent at the top of the hierarchy). At the bottom of the hierarchy may be numerous small settlements clustering approximately the seats of chief ships. The latter would be relatively superior in size because they would draw followers and loyal kinsmen. Structural remnants within seats of chief ships may indicate differing social statuses. For instance, a chief's home would tend to be superior in size than the others due to the need to entertain visitors. There would also be storage facilities attached to the home of chiefs, attesting to the important redistributive role of chiefs. The chief is seen as a ritual leader, and is so offered tribute through their kinsmen and followers, which is termed as ―first fruits ‖. Much of this tribute goes back to the society through gift-giving or as aid in times of stress or for society works and inherently shows the non-

appropriative role of chiefs. Essentially, this aspect of chief ships is necessary because of secure kin dealings.

Organization of manufacture, clearly witnessed through ethnographic accounts, in the case of crafts is through sponsorship of sure skilled individuals for the manufacture of prestige goods. These individuals may be supported through part of the tribute composed through the chief. These skilled individuals may be supported through part of the tribute composed through the chief. These skilled individuals are not specialists in that they only job at crafts, but more in the context of ability. Prestige goods would often be displayed on ceremonial occasions to illustrate the prestige of the chiefs and at times may also be given as gifts to other elites. There is another category of objects that function as primitive valuables. The main variation flanked by prestige goods and primitive valuables would be that the latter can be used in more generalized exchanges, such as payment for death compensation, or war or alliances, or payment for the labour of craftsmen, or marriage payments and could be used to obtain a diversity of survival goods. In contrast, prestige goods cannot be exchanged for survival goods but may move in their own separate sphere of swap.

As suggested, now take up the scrupulous case of Inamgaon. M.K. Dhavalikar measured the location as representative of a chiefship centre on the foundation of the analysis of burials and structural remnants. Situated on the Ghod river in the Bhima Valley of Maharashtra, this location of in relation to the 5 ha was occupied from 1600-1700 BC. Its earliest job was the Malwa phase (1600-1400 BC) followed through the Early Jorwe 91400-1000 BC) and finally the Late Jorwe phase (1000-700 BC). As distant as structural remnants are concerned, a big multi-roomed (5 rooms) home contrasted with the other single-roomed homes in the Early Jorwe era. This big structure was in the central part of the resolution and after that to it was recognized a granary with pit silos and round mud platforms. Two big fire pits were established in the granary. In the courtyard of this home was also establish a four legged clay jar, enclosing a skeleton of an adult male sitting cross-legged with feet intact. This latter characteristic has been contrasted with other burials at Inamgaon, where bodies were buried without feet. A four-legged jar establish in a slightly earlier stage is measured to symbolize a symbolic burial as it contains no

human skeleton. There was only an animal bone and the jar was sheltered with a knobbed lid. Secure to this big structure has been establish another burial comprising of two clay jars fitting into one another. Enclosed within the jars was the skeleton of a two-year old girl child with a necklace of alternating jasper and copper drops. The latter may give an instance of ascribed or inherited status. A possible irrigation channel (118 m extensive, 3.50m deep and 4 m wide) with an embankment of stone rubble (2-4 m wide, 240 m extensive) was apparently constructed in the Early Jorwe era. This proof may indicate a society project involving some amount of labour mobilization through the chief. In the Late Jorwe phase, mostly round huts were uncovered while a four-roomed rectangular structure was established in the eastern margin of the resolution. This structure enclosed a double burial (one man, one woman), with intact feet, under the floor of one of the rooms. Dhavalikar proposed that the chiefship passed into a dissimilar family in this late phase due to the shift in site. At a more common stage, it may be pointed out that chief ships are inherently unstable polities. Rather than expanding and developing into a more elaborate structure, there is a greater tendency for chief ships to fission. The role of kinship as an enabling and a limiting factor to the power of chiefs essentially differentiates that social formation from a state. Therefore, for a state society to develop, a new set of social organizations (overriding kin dealings) needs to be set in lay.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Discuss the text of Rig-veda as a source.

Explain the social structure of hunting-gathering societies.

Briefly describe the archaeological evidence for Paleolithic societies

CHAPTER 2
Cultures in Transition
STRUCTURE

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you should be able to:

Identify some of the terms used in the Vedic literature which highlight the nature of Vedic society;

The focus will be on a period that sees the emergence and use of a new material, iron. Our emphasis will be to analyze the kind of impact this new material could have had on society, economy and polity.

Understand the context in which Buddhism and Jainism arose.

Familiarize you with the spread of Buddhism in Central and Peninsular India.

SOCIETIES REPRESENTED IN VEDIC LITERATURE
The Development of Varna

Varna is a term that literally means colour. Though, in the Vedic context (and later as well), it is used to designate social categories. Such designations can be viewed from at least two perspectives. One, some people, in this case the priests, can claim the right to assign status/ranks to themselves as well as others. Two, these ranks or labels can be accepted/ rejected/ customized through those to whom these are assigned. Let us look at the situations in which the term was used, and its implications. One method in which the term is used in the *Rig-Veda* is to distinguish flanked by two varnas, the *arya* and the *dasa*. There have been extensive debates on

the distinctive characteristics of these categories. Initially, in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, it was suggested that the variation flanked by the two varnas was racial. Though, these racist perceptions have been described into question, and it is apparent that while there were social differences in early India, these were not categorized in conditions of race. What is likely is that the aryas and the *dasas* differed in language, cultural practices and in religious beliefs and practices.

References to the *arya* and the *dasa* happen in specific parts of the Rig-Veda: in hymns addressed to Indra, where the deity is invoked to ensure the victory of the *arya* in excess of the *dasa* or praised for having defeated and overcome them. Though, these references are not very plentiful: all told less than forty references in a text that runs into more than 10,000 verses. More regularly, we discover social groups being recognized by two conditions, which sometimes appear to be synonymous. One is the term *Jana* (which is used till date in many Indian languages, and means people). The second is the term Vis from which the word *Vaisya* was derived. Both the conditions refer to groups of people who constituted a society with shared interests — economic, political and ritual. Present-day scholars often consider these conditions to be equivalent to our notions of tribes or clans. There are indications that the *Jana* or the *Vis* functioned as a militia, participating in raids on rival groups. It is also likely that they participated in assemblies, where the dominant role was almost certainly played through priests or chiefs.

At this stage, the *Jana* and the *Vis* were not regarded as *varnas*. Though, there is occasional mention of the *arya Vis* and the *dasa Vis*, which may suggest that sometimes the conditions Vis and Varna were thought to be interchangeable. There is, though, one spectacular and regularly cited reference to the four-fold *Varna* order in the *Rig-Veda*. This occurs in the tenth *mandala*, one of the latest parts of the text, in a hymn recognized as the *purusasukta*. This describes the sacrifice of a primeval man and visualizes creation as emanating from this sacrifice. In this context, it is stated that the *brahmana* appeared from the mouth of this man, the *ksatriya* from his arms, the Vaisya from his thighs, and the *Sudra* from his feet. There are two thoughts that are implicit in this conceptualization: one that the four fold order is of divine origin, and hence cannot be questioned, and second there is a clear cut hierarchy amongst the *varnas*, with the Brahmanas at the top of the order, and the others ranked below. Separately from the *purusasukta*, there are very few references to Varna categories in the *Rig-Veda*. While we do have references to priests, they are not invariably recognized as Brahmanas. The term ksatriya, too, occurs infrequently. So, scholars have argued that the thought of Varna was relatively undeveloped in the early Vedic phase.

It is in the later Vedic phase that we discover proof of a number of new growths, and a rising preoccupation with identifying men in conditions of Varna, as well as defining the contents of Varna identities. It is useful to visualize these identities as crystallizing approximately three concerns: access to the ritual domain, access to political power, and access to possessions. As is obvious, these concerns were interwoven rather than watertight compartments. Besides, the texts at our disposal are Brahman cal, so we often get to see resolutions from the brahmanical point of view, which need not necessarily have been accepted through members of the other varnas. Besides, not everybody necessarily accepted Varna as a category of identity. These qualifying remarks need to be kept in mind in the course of the following discussion.

To start with the ritual domain, we notice two or three dissimilar issues being explored. One of these is the issue of ritual specialists: who were to be regarded as Brahmanas? Here what appeared as a resolution was a combination of the criterion of birth and knowledge of the ritual custom or *sruti*, in Sanskrit. It appears that birth was regarded as a necessary but not an enough condition. The proclamation and the acceptance of these criteria meant that effectively men who were assigned to other varnas, as well as women were excluded from legitimately acting as ritual specialists. The second problem centered approximately participation in the ritual – on what foundation were people to be involved in the proceedings? Here wealthy patrons (especially ksatriyas) were recognised as being of crucial importance. Others, including wives of the patrons, their sons, and their supporters, were also incorporated in the ritual, where they were expected to play specific roles. The third issue was of the significance to be assigned to rituals. Throughout the later Vedic and post-Vedic periods, there was a move absent from the actual performance of rituals to a contemplation of their inner significance, which in turn led to the philosophical speculation of the Upanishads. This, as may be expected, almost certainly posed a challenge to the status of Brahmans as ritual priests.

Through the time when the Dharma Sustras were composed, the Brahmanas claimed exclusive manage in excess of the ritual domain. Six _means of livelihood‘ were recognized for them: these included learning and teaching the Vedas, performing and getting sacrifices performed, giving and getting gifts. At the similar time, the texts recognized that these options could not be exercised in all situations, and incorporated a series of provisions, catalogued as *apaddharma* or rules to be followed in a crisis, which could be adopted through Brahmanas in situations where legitimate manners of livelihood were not accessible. If the Vedic custom records a systematic effort on the part of the Brahmanas to monopolize claims to the ritual

domain, it is also marked through recognition that political power, which was becoming consolidated, should ideally belong exclusively to the ksatriya. Later Vedic literature is replete with myths, legends and rituals that talk about the regulation of access to political power. These explore two or three dissimilar possibilities.

The first possibility that is explored is that of rivalry, or competition flanked by the brahmana and the ksatriya. As may be expected, the texts resolve these conflicts through suggesting that the brahmana is inevitably victorious. But, at the similar time, the authors insist that the ideal situation is one not of competition but of co-operation flanked by the two, and that the ideal ruler should acknowledge the supremacy of the Brahmanas. We may never know whether this represented reality but it is likely that the connection flanked by the brahmana and the ksatriya varied in concrete situations.

The second situation that is discussed is the connection flanked by the ksatriya and the Vis or Vaisya. This is visualized less as a situation of rivalry and more as one where the foundation of mutual support was being described into question. There is a constant refrain that in the early Vedic context the connection flanked by these two categories was harmonious and they were mutually supportive. Though, in the later Vedic situation, the ksatriya is visualized as appropriating possessions from the Vis, and in this context, the resentment and resistance of the Vis, as well as the threat of withdrawing support looks to have been real. So efforts were made to set up some type of understanding flanked by the two. One means of achieving this was through incorporating significant members of the Vis within the administrative structure. We discover this happening with the village headman, or the *gramani*, who was recognised as one of the supporters of the king. The Dharma Sutras lay down the ‗means of livelihood‘ for the ksatriya as well. Three of these, viz. learning the Vedas, getting sacrifices performed and creation gifts are general with the brahmana and the Vaisya. The other pertains to collecting taxes, administering justice and protecting the people. Curiously, some of the major post- Vedic ruling lineages, such as those of the Nandas, Mauryas and Sungas are not recognised as ksatriyas. It is also worth noting that whenever the fourfold Varna order is mentioned in Buddhist and Jaina traditions, the ksatriyas are invariably placed first, before the Brahmanas. This would suggest that the norms for political dealings that the brahmanas attempted to lay down were not invariably followed.

Turning to the question of material possessions being tied to Varna, it is apparent that the brahmanas were ideally supposed to depend on gifts as a means of livelihood. For ksatriyas, possessions were to be obtained from warfare, as taxes that could be levied as wages for protection that was to be offered to subjects, and as fines

levied for offences. The visas were conceived as the backbone of the organization, with the Dharma Sutras prescribing that they could engage in agriculture, pastoralism and deal. If we look at the archaeological record, it is apparent that both agriculture and pastoralism had been practiced in the area for a very extensive time. The proof of sites associated with the NBP would indicate that deal was developing as well. This is suggested both through the proof of the spread of this distinctive pottery, as well as through the wide dispersal of punch marked coins.

The _sudras' figure marginally in the later Vedic custom. They are occasionally mentioned as participants in rituals, but wherever they were present, this was viewed as a situation that required special ritual precautions. More often than not, they were assigned roles that underlined their subordination in civilization. And in the later Dharma Sutras, the only role assigned to sudras is that of serving the three higher varnas. We also discover the beginnings of notions of untouchability, although these are not sharply crystallized at this stage. Yet, the texts reluctantly acknowledge that there were alternatives, and that in some situations, sudras could be wealthy. We also know that ruling dynasties such as the Nandas were regarded as being of Sudra origin through some. So, it is clear that the Varna order was not as fixed as the brahmanas may have ideally wanted it to be and that variations and contestations were possible.

Kinship Dealings and the Consolidation of Patriarchal Structures
The early Vedic context presents us with a diversity of proof on kinship dealings. Gods (and occasionally goddesses) are visualized in kinship conditions: as fathers, brothers, and even sons. We also have depictions of conjugal dealings. It is likely that these images of the divine world were based on human practice. The bond that figures mainly commonly is the father-son tie. This is envisaged as one of mutual support: presently as the father supports the son when he is small, the son is expected to support the father in his old age. At another stage, there are frequent prayers for brave sons in the *Rgveda*. Prayers for daughters are virtually absent, although there are many prayers for children in common.

This situation continues approximately unchanged in the later Vedic context, where we discover many rituals being prescribed to ensure the birth of sons as well as to reinforce the bonds flanked by father and son. These contain rituals like the *agnihotra* or the daily offering to the fire that was prescribed for the householder, as well as major rituals such as the asvamedha and the rajasuya. What is more, we begin

to discover statements viewing daughters as negative elements, as source of sorrow for their parents. The father-son bond was also visualised as extending beyond the immediate pair. This thought was urbanized through the concept of the *pitr*, the patrilineal ancestor. The pitrs are relatively unimportant in the *Rgveda*, being mentioned mainly regularly in the tenth *mandala*, which, as noted earlier, is a relatively late part of the text. Though, they are assigned distant more importance in the later Vedic custom, where they were invoked on virtually every ritual occasion. The pitrs were usually defined as three generations of male patrilineal ancestors: the father, the grandfather and the great grandfather. Offering prayers to them meant that their memories would be preserved, while those of other ancestors, including matrilineal kinsfolk, would be marginalised. It is likely that emphasizing the father-son bond was significant in situations of resource manage, where claiming to be part of a specific lineage was often a means of staking a claim to the inheritance of its possessions. While the emphasis on patrilineal ties looks to grow in excess of time, relationships with other kinsmen are envisaged as being more complicated. We can seem at these under two heads: kinsmen related through marriage (affinal relatives) and kinsmen who are visualized as potential rivals.

The first category would contain the father-in-law and the maternal uncle. The latter is virtually strange in the early Vedic custom, and the former figures in a text recognized as the marriage hymn, which is part of the late tenth *mandala* of the *Rgveda*. Both are accorded respect and recognition, as well as special hospitality, especially in the post-Vedic custom, which would suggest that bonds with these categories were regarded as increasingly significant. The second category incorporated those designated as the *bhratrvya* and the *sapatna*. The first term means brother-like man, while the second means rival (the literal meaning looks to be men who either share a general wife or are related through a woman who is the wife of one of them). Both these conditions are very unusual in the Rgveda, but become significant in the later Vedic situation, where rituals were intended to resolve conflicts with the bhratrvya and the sapatna. Usually the resolution was envisaged in conditions of elimination/destruction and/or appropriation of the possessions of these rivals.

Other kinsmen were designated as *samana* (literally equals), *sva* (one's own) or *sajata* (those who shared a general birth). Later Vedic rituals were often intended to win the support of these groups but at the similar time to treat them as subordinates. What we can suggest then is that kinship dealings were being envisaged in conditions of disagreement and inequality. The only significant exception to this was the father-son bond. Perhaps the mainly dramatic and systematic changes that

were envisaged were those within the household. The *Rgveda* contains a diversity of conditions that were used to designate the household. Some of these may have been synonyms; in other cases, it is likely that the conditions stood for dissimilar organizations. Two of the conditions that have attracted considerable attention are *dam* or *dama* and *grha*. The dam was envisaged as a household under the joint manage of the husband and wife, who were described the dampati (dual). They were expected to be harmonious, and of one mind, to job in accord with one another. What is more, both sons and daughters look to have been welcome in the dam.

The situation in the grha appears have been rather dissimilar. It was envisaged as an institution with a single male head, recognized as the *grhapati*. The grha is recognized as a significant social element in the later Vedic custom, where references to alternative manners of household organization decline sharply. Ultimately, it becomes virutally the sole form of household that is recognized in texts such as the *Grhya Sutras*. The ideal grha was expected to have three components: a **patni** or wife who was ideally a virgin belonging to the similar Varna as the pati, cattle– the vital productive resource, and sons. The functions assigned to the grhapati contain offering hospitality and possessions to the priest and the king, as well as to other both within and outside his house. He was also expected to perform rituals. The grhapati figures as a significant social category in Buddhist custom as well, where he was regarded as an ideal patron of the Buddhist *sangha*. It is apparent that the later Vedic/post Vedic texts are preoccupied with consolidating a vision of the social order as patriarchal, with the grhapati as a nodal figure in the whole procedure.

Rituals and their Significance

Given the information that we are examining ritual texts, it is perhaps necessary to seem at their social significance more closely. As we have seen, there are two broad categories of texts under consideration: those that contain mantras, and those that are explanatory or justificatory in nature. The mantras are in the nature of prayers. The skill to learn and chant mantras was restricted to a select few, the priest, and in some situations the patron of the sacrifice or the *yajamana*. As such, access to the mantras in itself could have constituted a foundation for social differentiation. Mantras also tell us in relation to the hopes, fears and aspirations of those who used them. While there are some prayers for intangibles, several of the prayers were intended for specific, material goals. These incorporated acquiring cattle in scrupulous and animals in common, winning battles, getting progeny. Interestingly, while several of these are visualized as communal goals in the *Rgveda*, the use of

mantras and rituals in the later Vedic custom looks to be more individuated, with provision for a single sacrifice/patron, which was expected to benefit from the performance of the ritual.

It has also been argued that the visualization of the deities in the ritual context might reflect the social order. For instance, if prayers are addressed to Agni, and if Agni is conceived of as a divine priest (as indeed is often the case), then one can argue for the importance of the priest in human civilization. It has also been suggested that given that goddesses are marginal in the Vedic custom (in conditions of numbers, prayers addressed to them, as well as invocation in the ritual context); it is likely that women were subordinated in civilization. While such reconstructions are plausible, we need to keep in mind that the connection flanked by religious imaginations and social realities is not always neat. At another stage, mainly rituals can be understood as occasions of public performances. These were important in a diversity of ways. Any ritual occasion, through definition, has an aura of sanctity associated with it, as it is a situation where gods and men (and occasionally women) are brought into get in touch with one another. As such, ritual performances may carry distant greater weight than ordinary routine manners of social communication. While rituals can have a range of functions, they are also used to legitimize social dealings.

As an extension of this, the roles performed through men and women in the ritual context acquire a heightened significance. We have seen how priestly roles were often defined as exclusive and central to ritual performance. It is likely that these could be used to claim power in other social contexts as well. The Dharma Sutras suggest that brahmanas claimed exemption from taxation, and from capital punishment. We do not know how distant this was acquiesced in through rulers, but the possibility that such claims were influential cannot be altogether ruled out. Other participants incorporated the yajamana or the patron of the sacrifice. This could be an aspiring chief/king or the grhapati, ideally the head of a household and a man belonging to one of the first three varnas. A vital criterion for eligibility was access to possessions required to perform the ritual, pay the requisite sacrificial fees, and offer hospitality to those who attended the ritual. Therefore, a skill to perform a sacrifice was a public proclamation of status. Through extension, the success of the ritual required the participation of other people, separately from the yajamana. Some of these were almost certainly basically spectators, who could be more or less adequately impressed through the ritual displays. Others were men and women who were linked with the yajamana, as his supporters, including his kinsfolk. In major rituals such as the *asvamedha* or the

rajasuya they could be drawn from other varnas. Their attendance was taken to be a public statement of their support for the yajamana as well as an implicit and at times explicit recognition of their subordination. Alike principles evidently operated as distant as the attendance of kinsfolk was concerned. For instance, men who were recognized as the sva or the sajata were assigned roles that can be designated as supportive but subordinate. The wife too, had an identical role. What is more, she was visualized as somewhat instrumental. Her attendance in the ritual was regularly envisaged as a situation that was conducive to procreation. In other languages, she was regarded as a symbol of fertility that could be used in the ritual context.

These inclusions and exclusions hold true for the rituals that were designated as *srauta* (derived from the word *sruti* or revealed custom), and which incorporated a range of sacrifices such as the daily *agnihotra*, the fortnightly new and full moon sacrifices, and grand, elaborate rituals such as the *asvamedha* and the *rajasuya*. Unluckily, we do not have the means of assessing whether and how often such rituals were performed. Buddhist custom and the epics indicate that some of the elaborate sacrifices may have taken lay, but even in these narratives, the historicity of specific accounts remnants unverifiable. What we do know is that in the post Vedic situation, a whole range of domestic rituals were brought within the purview of the brahmanical custom, through the composition and compilation of texts such as the *Grhya Sutras*. Here, two or three trends are in proof. On the one hand, several *srauta* rituals were simplified, so that they could be performed through the average householder. On the other hand, a wide range of rites of passage, associated with occasions such as birth, marriage and death, were brahmanized. This was done through a three fold strategy: through recommending the use of Vedic mantras, through suggesting that a priest should be present on such occasions, and through insisting on the setting up of a sacrificial fire. As may be expected this was almost certainly planned as a strategy for introducing the ideals of Varna and gender hierarchies within the household.

The extent to which such strategies succeeded is uncertain. Post-Vedic brahmanical texts produced extensive lists of ―deviants : people who violated social and ritual norms. These incorporated brahmanas who did not learn the Vedas, who performed sacrifices for those who did not meet the criteria laid down in the texts, which did not perform the soma sacrifice and so on. The lists grow longer with the passage of time.

IRON AGE CULTURES

The Archaeological Proof for the Iron Age in North India

The earliest occupations of the Iron Age, associated with the PGW, are established from the Ghaggar/Hakra River in eastern Pakistan and northern Rajasthan to the Ganga- Yamuna Divide. There may have been PGW stages of job with no iron, particularly those overlapping with Late Harappan occupations at sites like Bhagwanpura. Broadly, PGW sites have been dated flanked by 800-400 BC; however there is a possibility that at some sites PGW stages may go back to 1100/1300 BC. In the material assemblage, several ceramics have been recognized, such as Black Slipped Ware, black-and-red ware and red ware, the last that is mainly commonly establish. Associated with these ceramics is PGW that is the mainly separate. It, though, comprises presently 10% of the total pottery assemblage. It appears to have been a deluxe pottery made of very fine clay, its grey colour resulting from firing in reducing (in absence of oxygen) circumstances, and is painted in black. Iron objects appear to have been mainly used as weapons or for defense/offence (hunting) purposes, while agricultural apparatus and household implements are distant fewer in number. On the whole, iron appears to be limited in usage. Copper continues to be used, for apparatus, weapons and ornamental purposes. Separately from iron, a new material, glass, comes into focus in his era, and is used for creation bangles and drops.

On the foundation of the material assemblage and the information that this establish from a compact geographical region and era of time, we may consider PGW sites as on behalf of a general archaeological civilization that is often termed as the PGW civilization. Essentially the PGW symbolizes Early Iron Age rural settlements. Structures mainly comprise homes of mud, mud-brick and wattle and daub. Very few crafts look to have been arrested and the range of materials utilized appears to be mainly local, such as clay, bone, stone and a small shell and ivory. Survival practices involved a combination of agriculture, herding and hunting. Rice is apparent in the middle of the plant remnants while bones of horse, cattle, buffalo, sheep, pig and deer are establish. The late Phase of the Iron Age mainly coincides with what is recognized as the Early Historic era (600 BC-300 AD). This phase of the Iron Age is represented in north India through the NBPW beside with other elements of architecture and material civilization. Chronologically, the NBPW is establishing flanked by 600 and 100 BC. Elements of material civilization appearing at several stages could be terracotta ring-wells, soak-pits, baked brick structures, fortifications, coinage, arecanut-shaped terracotta drops and etched drops of agate and carnelian. The NBPW is a pottery distinctive due to its surface treatment of a glossy luster.

Scholars point out the similarities flanked by NBPW and PGW in clay preparation, firing techniques and typology, and in their probable function as deluxe or table wares.

Ring-wells are also feature of the Late Phase of the Iron Age. Three kinds have been recognized, one that consists of shafts dug down into the soil, lined up to a point with earthernware (terracotta) rings; the second that are lined throughout with terracotta rings; and the third that consists of big soakage jars placed one above the other with their bases perforated. The exact function of such ring-wells is not quite clear, as some may have been used as sewage pits or drawwells. Drains of burnt bricks or consisting of pottery pipes have also been establish. Iron objects augment in quantity and diversity through this phase, with ultimately iron being used for dedicated purposes. A rising and varied use of glass is also attested. The use of moulds for forming terracotta figurines slowly comes into use, enabling a sure degree of mass manufacture.

The Late Phase of the Iron Age is also an era of urbanism and state civilizations. Unlike the Bronze Age that required elite procurement networks, iron metallurgy could be more local with small necessity for state intervention in procurement of raw material or manufacture. So, iron could truly replace stone for the major implements, something that bronze of copper could never do. The technology of iron metallurgy is dissimilar from copper/bronze metallurgy. Iron is a metal that can melt only very high temperatures: 1540ºC whereas copper melts at 1083ºC. Smelting (breaking down the ore to attain the pure metal) temperatures of copper and iron are 400º and 800º respectively. Iron, moreover, has a strong attraction to oxygen that corrodes it. Therefore, the smelting of iron, unlike copper, is very dissimilar as rising the temperatures in the furnace (usually through drafts of air) would be counter-productive due to this attraction for oxygen. Therefore the furnace design has to be such as to uphold a temperature flanked by 1200º and 1300ºC, as temperatures exceeding 1300º would oxidize the iron. Iron, then, can only be smelted through totally covering the ore with big quantities of fuel and through closing the vents in the furnace, therefore creating a concentration of carbon monoxide, and a reducing atmosphere in the furnace. Also, since iron cannot ideally be melted with pre-industrial techniques, ironworkers would not sue the casting technique, one that was popular with bronze.

The implications of iron technology would hence rest on the introduction of the reducing furnace as well as the capability to construct high-temperature kilns. This development would have been a necessary pre-condition for the manufacture of potteries such as PGW, black slipped wares and NBPW, all made in reducing

circumstances. At the similar time, the introduction of the craft of glass working was also important as it mainly depended on iron apparatus, as well as a high temperature kiln. The full advantages of iron do not appear to have been recognized immediately, primarily because social circumstances did not favor more dedicated use of the metal. Early use of iron appears to have been limited to vital survival purposes, for hunting and agricultural apparatus and for implements of defense. It is only in urban situations that iron in more dedicated shapes would begin to be used for varied crafts. The implications of iron metallurgy in the development of urbanism and state structures have been debated on. It is R.S. Sharma's contention that the introduction of iron enabled big-level clearance of forests and the use of the iron ploughshare that would have impacted on the extension and intensification of agriculture. This in turn would have created a greater surplus ushering in state structures.

Sharma's location was contested through N.R. Ray, who pointed out that clearance of land could have been done through burning the vegetation. Wooden shares could have been used instead of iron. Hence, iron was not necessary for either land clearance or plough agriculture. Moreover, he showed that early iron apparatus were mainly hoes and spades that could not have been used in extensive agricultural operations and hence no urbanization was possible. For A. Ghosh and D.K. Chakrabarti, other social organizations, instead of iron, would have brought in relation to the urbanization. Ghosh very validly points out that the availability of a surplus cannot bring in relation to the urbanization, that surplus is a _social product', requiring administrative mechanisms and coercion for its collection. Therefore, it is only the state that can extract a surplus; iron technology through itself is not going to make a social surplus. For Makkan Lal, there were no fundamental changes in iron apparatus flanked by the PGW and NBPW periods. New apparatus kinds approach into use only in the Late Phases of the NBPW. Moreover, on the foundation of his survey in the Kanpur district, Lal discovers that better settlements locate beside the Ganges River where open land was in any case accessible. Therefore, big-level clearance of forests would not be required. Hence, other factors need to be measured for the rise of urbanism.

To conclude, unlike the Bronze Age where we have seen an inextricable link flanked by bronze and a state civilization, no such link is necessary in the Iron Age. Therefore, the introduction of iron metallurgy did not necessitate the involvement of a state. From this we can also point out that when a state did develop in the Early Historic era, its structure was very dissimilar from the Bronze Age state. Where the latter depended on distant links for the procurement of copper and tin, extensive-aloofness trading links in the Iron Age were for dissimilar causes and with dissimilar

regions. With commodification apparent in the later phase of the Iron Age (particularly with the introduction of coinage), it would have been dedicated merchant guilds/groups, rather than the state, what would not be responsible for much of the deal. Also with varied necessities, such as forest (gums, wood, resins, honey) and animal products (leather, wool), dissimilar parts of the subcontinent would not be opened up. Unlike the Bronze Age where there was a westward orientation (due to the need for copper and tin), in the Iron Age, the development of deal routes now connect mainly areas of the subcontinent. Several urban centres now emerge as nodes beside these deal routes. Interestingly, these deal routes remain in lay from now on and several urban centres preserve, unlike in the Bronze Age.

Social Structure

Archaeological data can only inform us upto a sure point on social structures, as you may know through now. Yet it may be pointed out that the nature of the literary proof (the *Rigveda*, the Later Vedic literature, the two Epics, the Sutra literature, Panini's *Astadhyayi*, the Buddhist literature and the *Arthasastra*) is selective and cannot be used to reconstruct every aspect of socio-political structures. Hence historians of early India have also used anthropological theory to reconstruct past social organizations.

The Later Vedic literature has been correlated through some scholars with the PGW civilization. This correlation (flanked by the Later Vedic literature or separate lineages with the PGW) has been done on the foundation of the geographical region sheltered through the PGW sites. Just as to Romila Thapar, the Later Vedic era was characterized through combination of a lineage civilization and a house holding economy. The term lineage civilization has been preferred in excess of tribal civilization due to troubles with the latter term, which has been used in multiple contexts, such as for hunting-gathering as well as peasant civilizations. Lineages are central to such a civilization particularly in relation to power and access to possessions. Her contention of social stratification flanked by senior (*rajanya*) and junior (*vis*) lineages that begin in the Early Vedic era (as represented through the Rigveda) would obviously continue into this era. A house holding economy (a term borrowed from Karl Polanyi) is used for a context where the household functions as an element by family labour as well as the labour of others for several productive tasks. For R.S. Sharma, on the other hand, this era symbolizes a chiefship beside with elements of an incipient state. Archaeologically, George Erdosy suggests the

attendance of chiefdoms in the PGW phase of the Iron Age. This was suggested on the foundation of a survey in Allahabad district that revealed a two-tier hierarchy of settlements, the latter indicating differences flanked by the settlements. The two lineages from the Early Vedic era undergo a change in the Later Vedic era. The rig Vedic *rajanyas* provide method to the *ksatriyai* of the Later Vedic era, where the focus appears to be on power through manage of people and territory; the *brahmans* emerge as ritual specialists; the *sudras* and the *dasas* emerge as a category performing labour services for the *vis*. There appears to be both ritual and social exclusion of the *vis*, creation them clearly socially subordinate. The *vis* is now expected to offer tribute and prestations (*bali, bhaga, sulka*) to the *ksatriya* – that is in turn given as *dana* and *daksina* to the *brahmans*. This can be measured as a case of redistributive economy with exploitative undertones. The demands of the *ksatriyas* for the produce of the *vis* imply increased manufacture necessitating a requirement of labour outside the family. This then explains the emergence of the *sudras* and *dasas*. This increasingly socially stratified civilization was being arranged in this era into a framework of *varna*.

To understand the growths in the after that phase of the Iron Age (c.6th century BC- 100 BC), we can rely on the Buddhist literature as well as the archaeological proof of NBPW sites that indicate the Middle Ganga Valley as the focus. Though, the archaeological proof is wholly inadequate to understand socio-political growths because of the types of excavations so distant undertaken coupled with the information that several Early Historic sites continue to be inhabited even today (several as municipalities), therefore limiting the chances of excavation. Hence, for this discussion, as suggested, have to rely on historical interpretations in scrupulous Romila Thapar's. Essentially, in this era, there are two types of polities, the *ganasanghas* or chiefships and monarchies. The *ganasanghas* (Sakyas, Vrijjis, Kolias, Mallas) look to have been confined to the *terai* or the foothills while the monarchies (Kosala, Magadha, Kasi, Kausambi) prefer the river valleys. he *ganasanghas*, while essentially a lineage/ tribal civilization, differed from the lineage civilization of the preceding era. Unlike the latter where there were two lineages (senior and junior), now there appeared to be only a single lineage, that of the *ksatriyas*. Also, unlike the earlier situation where *ksatriya* manage rested on cattle raids and prestations, now *ksatriyas* also owned land (however not individually but through the lineage). There is now a very clear distinction flanked by the *ksatriya* lineage that owned land and others (non-kin) that worked the land or provided the labour. There is also proof for cross-cousin marriage (for instance in the middle of the Sakyas), a means of controlling wealth. Interestingly, the organization of social status

within the framework of *varna* appears to have been absent in the *ganasanghas*. There is also no house holding organization – social dealings are structured approximately kin dealings and lineages. Fissioning of *ksatriya* lineages provided an avenue for the settling of new lands. Fissioning is also a feature of chief ship polities, creation for its inherent instability.

The element of manage in excess of non-kin and the clear variation flanked by the ruler and the ruled marks the monarchical form of polity. Scholars have recognized four essential attributes of a state: power within a territorial limit, delegation of power and duties, a regular income obtained through coercion that is used for vital maintenance and the integration of diverse socio-economic groups. The last is accomplished through the *varna* framework that is used to arrange and uphold a social hierarchy. Integration and the creation of social order can also take lay through laws and rules. Several of the laws pertain to the maintenance of the *varna* organization and are eventually systematized in the *Dharmasutras*. Yet at the similar time, the incorporation of customary laws in these texts designates attempts to prevent fissioning of civilization. We now discover clearly three separate groups in the upper stages of civilization – the *khattiya* (*ksatriya*), the *Brahman* and the *gahapati* (*grihapati* or the *vaisya*). At the lower stages are *sudras* and *slaves* (few in number and primarily limited to the household). Finally at the bottom of the hierarchy were *candelas* or untouchables. Much of the social and economic changes taking lay in this era can be connected to urbanism. It is the municipality that gives the backdrop for the movement of *gahapatis* into deal. Earlier these were essentially householders, but the wealthier in the middle of them transferred their possessions to trading initiatives. It is this social group that in information gives the main support to the newly emerging religions of Buddhism and Jainism, in them urban faiths. In the orthodox Brahmanical fold, the economic wealth of the *gahapatis* was obviously not commensurate with their social location in the *varna* framework. Patronising these new religions would give an avenue for upward social mobility. Moreover, urban characteristics such as usury (that only later would enter the rural sphere), prostitution, general eating-homes, and so forth would have been strongly disapproved of through the orthodox. Organizations such as the *sreni* (merchant and artisan guilds), systems of commodification such as coinage would now discover their lay. Therefore, it is clear that the municipality ushers in new social structures, organizations and adjustments.

The expansion of trading networks and movement of commodities may perhaps explain discovers of luxury wares such as NBPW from several parts of the subcontinent. This characteristic can be attributed to c.4th – 1st century BC. This era

mainly coincides with that of the Mauryan Empire (321-180 BC). The expansion of trading networks and movement of commodities may perhaps explain discovers of luxury wares such as NBPW from several parts of the subcontinent. This characteristic can be attributed to c.4_{th} – 1_{st} century BC. This era mainly coincides with that of the Mauryan Empire (321-180 BC). This brings us to the Mauryan Empire and its impact on social structure. As Romila Thapar worked out, the Mauryan Empire can perhaps be conceived as comprising of three component elements: a) Magadha or the metropolitan state, b) the core regions (such as Gandhara or Bharuch or Ujjain) that were either states themselves or centres of swap and c) the peripheral regions (including primarily hunting-gathering civilizations or tribal civilizations), regions that may not have recognized a state organization. The Mauryan Empire may have been primarily concerned with extracting possessions and not with restructuring the existing framework, except for in Magadha. Two significant points necessity be taken note of. One is that there would have been obviously diverse civilizations existing contemporaneously – band stage, tribal civilizations, chiefships and states, including the Mauryan, a intricate state. Therefore, any discussion of social structures would need to take into explanation their vital heterogeneity. This would also have been a situation prevailing in the Harappan Bronze Age and would continue to be a characteristic in later state civilizations as well.

The other significant point is that the lack of vital social restructuring in the core and peripheral regions would mean that the disintegration of the Mauryan empire would not essentially affect these regions. Perhaps the mainly immediate impact may have been felt in Magadha. Yet, we discover that in the post-Mauryan era when manage shifted to the Sunga dynasty, there do not look to have been marked disruptures in Magadha. This last point may lead us to understand the variation flanked by the Bronze Age state and the Early Historic situation. In the case of the Harappan, mainly characteristics of manufacture were under state manage and the break-up of the state, and the lack of successor state, would have led to a disruption as noted in an earlier Element. In the case of the Early Historic state, mainly productive behaviors were mainly in the hands of other organizations such as the guilds and perhaps even monastic establishments. The break-up of the Mauryan Empire would not have had so drastic an impact with the more immediate and direct manage in excess of Magadha passing on to a succeeding power.

The Archaeological Proof for the Iron Age in Peninsular India

Megaliths, just as to *The Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology*, contain a diversity of sepulchral and commemorative monuments that are either built of big stones, rude or chiseled or else associated with a somewhat homogenous group of black-and-red ware and an equally homogenous group of iron apparatus and weapons. Mainly these symbolize communal burials of remnants (bones) that have been first exposed to the elements. This class of funerary monuments may sometimes not be associated with big stones or with black-and-red ware or iron implements or human remnants. Therefore, one may not discover all these traits jointly in every case. Finding a single trait has provided justification to some scholars to term these as megalithic complexes. These burials are usually situated in forests or wastelands. These range from a single internment to small groups and occasionally extend in excess of big regions (for instance at Adichanallur where the intricate extends in excess of 46 hectares with many thousands of burials. As distant as sharing is concerned, megaliths are establish in mainly parts of the subcontinent, except for the Punjab plains, the Indo-Ganga divide, the Ganga Valley, Rajasthan desert and the North Gujarat plain. Though, their main concentration is in peninsular India.

On the foundation of radiocarbon dates and stratigraphic record, megaliths can be mainly dated flanked by 600 BC and 100 AD; however individual sites may provide every early or late dates (for instance Hallur with a date of 1000 BC and Pykara with a date of 1000 AD). Mainly megalithic sites are burial sites with habitations and habitationcum- burials in a minority. We have some sizes for burial-cum-environment sites in Vidarbha area. Takalghat covers 2.25 ha, Naikund 10 ha, Bhagimahari 8.2 ha and Khairwada 10.7 ha. Megalith burials cover a wide diversity of kinds. Let us seem at the major kinds of burials. The kinds that are variously described as a cist, dolmenoidcist and dolmen essentially consist of a chamber made of upright stone slabs, described orthostats that enclose a legroom that may be square, rectangular, oblong or trapezoidal on plan. Horizontally covering the upright slabs is a covering slab described a capstone. This whole structure may be either totally below ground or partially below ground or totally above ground in which cases it would be described a cist, dolmenoidcist and dolmen respectively, the dolmen meaning a stone table. These structures may sometimes be bounded through a circle of stones. Very often, if the structure is a cist, the surface proof would presently comprise the stone circle. These three kinds of structures also described as chambered tombs, are usually reinforced from the outer face through rubble packing. These kinds of megaliths are

commonly establish from North Karnataka where there is an ample supply of structure material.

In sure other cases (establish from all the four southern Indian states) one of the stone uprights or orthostats, more usually the eastern one, has in it a hole, termed as a port-hole. This port-hole ranges in size from 10-50 cm in diameter and may have provided some sort of access to the inner separately of the tomb. Sometimes port-holed cists are approached through a slabbed antechamber and are hence described transepted cists, very general in the Pudukottai district of Tamil Nadu. Pit burials comprise burials in ovaloid, oblong or cylindrical pits dug into the ground that contain the usual skeletons, pottery and iron objects. Pit burials associated with stone circles but without any rubble packing are also establish. One may in sure regions discover pit burials with a single upright stone. These standing upright stones are described menhirs (a word meaning extensive/tall stone). Urn burials are another kind of megalithic monument, often not associated with big stones. These consist of burials kept in pyriform jars buried underground. This is a kind of burial very commonly represented in the Madurai-Tirunelveli region of Tamil Nadu. Sometimes the urn is sheltered with a stone slab.

In Kerala some unusual megalithic burial kinds were recovered. One of these is described topical or umbrella/hat stone. Made of local laterite, the umbrella stone comprises a low cone with a wide circular flat base resting on four slabs joining up into a square below the balanced cone. Hoodstone resemble the topical but are not supported – they rest directly on the ground. These resemble a handleless umbrella popular in Kerala and may conceal an urn burial. In Kerala (and also parts of South Kanara) are establish rock-cut caves, a kind of megalith that is suited to the local rock circumstances. The soft laterite can be easily hollowed out into a stepped rectangular pit that opens out towards the eastern face of the pit, the entrance being from the ground surface. The floor may be roughly circular, semicircular or oblong. In peninsular India are also establish megalith kinds comprising of a terracotta sarcophagus. Boat-shaped terracotta troughs sometimes with legs (that could number from 4 to 12) and with a separate covering lid of pottery have been establish. Finally, one also discover alignments of stones or menhirs that are usually vast boulders (more rarely slabs) that are aligned in parallel rows in a scrupulous pattern. Hence upright stones are from 1-3 m in height. These stone alignments may be erected in excess of a few funerary pots containing bones or sometimes can enclose within them stone circles.

Therefore, there is a wide diversity of megalithic burial kinds. Sure kinds are confined to a scrupulous area while in other regions; one may discover more than a

single kind. The area of Vidarbha, that has the majority of megalithic sites in Maharashtra, has only one kind, the stone circle with a cairn filling. No cists are establish perhaps because slabs cannot be cut from the local rock formation is the Deccan Trap. That reminds us that some megalithic kinds may be localized because of sure ecological factors. Therefore, chamber tombs and cists are general in Andhra and Karnataka where there is plenty of quartzitic sandstone whereas rock cut caves tend to be establish in Kerala where the laterite allows for easy excavation. It is clear that not only is there a local diversity, the mode of disposal may differ within the similar cemetery. As we have seen, these burials do not always happen in contexts with big stones; hence the use of the term megalith is not entirely appropriate. For this cause, L.S. Leshnik proposed the term _Pandukal intricate' (*Pandu* in Tamil means _old man' and *kal* means stones, therefore implying the traditional name given to burials). Given the wide spatial sharing of these burials, it is open to question whether these belonged to one civilization intricate or many. Much more job needs to be done on the megaliths.

Pottery comprises a major component of the grave goods. The pottery termed as black-and-red ware with a crackled appearance (almost certainly due to salt-glazing), is establish in several of the megaliths of peninsular India. There may be other associated ware, red ware, black ware, russet-coated painted ware, and other potteries that are clearly local in nature. Iron objects range from celts or axes with crossed iron bands, flanged spade, arrowheads, tridents, swords, lances, spearheads, spikes, wedges, billhooks, sickle, hoes, chisels, horse-bits, knives/daggers, blades, lamps and so forth. Copper/bronze also was used for creation vessels, elaborate lids with sculpted figures of birds and animals, bells, horse furniture and so on. Whole shells and shell objects decorated with patterns are sometimes establish. Gold is also establish from South Indian megaliths, from sites like Maski, Nagarjunakonda, Brahmagiri, Janampet and Adichanallur. Mainly these are drops, bangles, leaf and diadems. Semi-valuable stone drops, including etched drops of carnelian, are also establish. Terracotta substance such as cones, figurines, spindle-whorls are establish, as well as querns and pestles of stone. Proof for plant remnants from environment sites consists of general pea, black gram, wheat lentil, jujube, barley, *kulthi* (a type of gram), green gram, *ragi* and rice. Wheat is mainly establish in the Vidarbha area in the northern part of peninsular India, whereas from more southern sites, *ragi* and rice have been recovered. Concerning animal remnants from environment sites in Vidarbha area, cattle bones predominate followed through goat, sheep, buffalo and pig. Horse bones are very few but their significance will be discussed later. Bones of

wild species such as fowl, sambhar and pig suggest hunting and fishing may have been practiced, as suggested through the discover of fishbooks.

From the plant and animal remnants and the kinds of agricultural apparatus (in scrupulous the absence of the ploughshare), as also the paucity of environment sites, it may be suggested that agro-pastoralism, involving a combination of herding and hoe farming, may have been the vital survival strategy. Hunting and fishing as pointed out may have complemented this practice. Such a survival strategy may have involved mobility and that may also explain why more environment sites have not been recognized. If sites are short-existed, then they tend to accumulate small cultural material and hence it becomes hard to identify such sites in the landscape. The role of the horse is an enigma and needs further research and investigation.

Social Structure

The proof of the _megalithic' burials designates a change from the preceding chalcolithic burial practices where the dead were disposed of within the resolution region and more specifically under home floors. Now there are separate cemeteries. This shift is obviously intriguing as are the diverse manners of disposal within the similar cemetery. These may be all related to social practices but small job has been done on these issues. Hence not much can be spelled out. In the similar context, could the information that _megalithic' burials are mainly communal have something to do with extended families or descent groups? These two stages of social structures are inherent components of tribal civilizations. This suggestion may be plausible as it is unlikely for unrelated individuals to be interred jointly. Therefore, indications of reuse may be the provision of portholes and linking passages beside with surface markings to point out sites of burials.

Mainly, burials contain pottery vessels and iron implements and weapons suggesting interment of personal possessions and perhaps a belief in life after death. Some burials look to contain more distinctive objects that could be made from materials such as gold, copper/bronze, semi-valuable stones, shell and so forth. It is the form that several of these objects take that creates them distinctive – bronze lids with sculpted figures of birds and animals, etched carnelian drops, and other such objects. Similarly, at Takalghat-Khapa in Vidarbha, one burial alone revealed horse bones, horse-bits and horse-ornaments. This was also the largest burial circle. At Mahurjhari, 4 out of 12 burials revealed horse remnants. The burial of horses and horse furniture may therefore indicate that the animal may have been a status-marker.

The excavations at Brahmagiri in Karnataka have given some proof of a diversity of grave goods. Therefore, burials could range from those with no iron objects and only a few pots to those with numerous iron objects and pottery. A single burial at Brahmagiri, clearly the richest, had 33 gold and 2 stone drops, 4 copper bangles and 1 conch shell. Differential discovers of special relics may suggest that they were status goods. Keeping in mind that small contextual or relative analysis has been done on ‗megalithic' grave goods, one cannot say much in relation to the social organization we are dealing with. Yet, it is tempting to consider that these may have been tribal/chiefship civilizations.

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS FERMENT IN NORTH INDIA: BUDDHISM AND JAINISM
Political Context
The political context of northern India in 6th century B.C. was in a state of flux. The spate of migrations and resolution was in excess of and the procedure of state formation gained a considerable momentum. The political focus had shifted from the northwest and Punjab to the Gangetic plain. The preceding era had witnessed confrontations flanked by the polities based on clan organisation. Though, permanent resolution in a scrupulous region gave a geographical identity to a clan, which assumed concrete form through the emergence of a territorial entity with a definite political organisation of either chiefdom or a kingdom. Therefore, the tribal clans were slowly creation method for a territorial state. India was divided into a number of *janapada*s (political elements), which incorporated monarchies as well as the so-described republics or tribal chiefships, popularly recognized as *gana-sangha*s. Of these, sixteen were *mahajanapada*s as referred to in Buddhist texts. These were Anga, Magadha, the Vrijji confederacy and the Mallas in the middle Ganges valley; Kasi, Kosala and Vatsa to its west; Kuru, Pancala, Matsya and Surasena further west; Gandhara and Kamboja in northwest, Avanti and Chedi in western and central India and Assaka (Asmaka) in the Deccan. The *mahajanapada*s mentioned in the Jaina texts are spread in excess of much wider geographical region, the list almost certainly having been compiled at a later date.

Gana-sanghas: The compound term *gana-sangha* has a connotation of *gana* - those claiming equal status and *sangha*-an assembly. These

were the systems, where the heads of families of a clan governed the territory of the clan through an assembly. In some cases, a few clans shaped a confederacy, where the chiefs of all the clans constituted an assembly to govern the territory of the confederate clans. The assembly was presided in excess of through the head of the clan. This office was not hereditary. The actual procedure of governance involved the meeting of the assembly, situated in a main municipality. The *gana-sangha*s with their egalitarian character were less opposed to individualistic and self-governing opinion than the kingdoms and were more ready to tolerate unorthodox views. These *gana-sangha*s were *Kshatriya* clans. Their social organization was easy, with a preponderantly *Kshatriya* population and a marginal non-*kshatriya* population composed of brahmanas, artisans and the *dasa-karmakara* or slaves and labourers forming the clan and the support element. The land was owned in general through the clan, but was worked through the hired labourers and slaves. The *dasa-karmakara*s were not represented in the assembly and had virtually no rights. Of the sixteen *janapada*s of the era, Vrijjis, Mallas and Chedis were *ganasangha*s. A number of other *gana*s such as Sakyas, Koliyas were also prevalent.

Vrijjis: This *gana-sangha* was a confederacy of eight or nine clans. Of these, the Videhans, the Lichchhavis, the Jnatrikas and the Vrijjis were the mainly prominent clans. Vaishali (Basarh, north Bihar) was the headquarters of this powerful Vrijjian confederacy.

Malla: It was a powerful tribe of eastern India. It was the confederacy of nine clans. Kusinagara (Kasia, close to Gorakhapur) and Pava (Pandaraona, close to Kasia) were prominent municipalities of this chiefdom.

Chedi: It was one of the mainly ancient tribes of India.

Kingdoms: In contrast to the *gana-sangha*s, the kingdoms had a centralized government with the king's sovereignty as its foundation. Power was concentrated in the ruling family, which became a dynasty as succession to kingship became hereditary. The crucial variation

flanked by the State and the Chiefships was that the membership of the former was not based on the kin group or the kin location. The king was advised and assisted through ministers, advisory councils and an management manned through officers. The officers assessed and composed the revenue, which was redistributed in the form of salaries and public expenses. Clan loyalty weakened in the kingdoms giving method to loyalties to the caste and the king. The already prevalent thought of attributing divinity to kingship was reinforced from time to time through elaborate ritual sacrifices. Therefore, both *brahmanas* and *kshatriya*s joined hands in establishing power and monopolized the highest positions in the civilization.

The kingdoms were concentrated in the fertile Ganges plain, while the *gana-sangha*s were ranged approximately the margin of these kingdoms, in the Himalayan foothills, and in the northwest and western India. They tended to inhabit the less fertile hilly regions, which may suggest that their establishment predated the transition to kingdoms since this region would have been easier to clear than the marshy jungles of the plains. Alternatively, it is possible that more self-governing minded settlers of the plains moved up towards hills and recognized societies more in keeping with egalitarian traditions as against newly emerging, orthodox, powerful kingdoms. The rejection of Vedic power through the *gana-sangha*s and common disapproval of these chiefdoms in brahmanical sources indicate that they may have been maintaining an alternative custom.

This era was marked through constant thrash about for power flanked by the monarchies and also flanked by monarchies and *gana-sangha*s. Though, through this era, *gana-sangha*s were slowly on decline and the kingdoms were gaining prominence. Magadha, Kosala, Vamsa and Avanti were significant kingdoms. All four were in constant disagreement with each other in spite of secure matrimonial alliances flanked by them. The *gana-sangha*s offered strong resistance to expansionist policies of kingdoms through forming confederacies. Finally it was Magadha, which appeared as mainly powerful state. Magadha was ruled through the powerful king,

Bimbisara, who conquered Anga and gained manage of part of Kasi as the dowry of his chief queen, who was the sister of Prasenjit of Kosala. His son and successor Ajatasatru waged war against Prasenjit and finally incorporated Kosala. After this conquest, he turned his attention to the Vrijji confederacy. Following a extensive war, lasting for approximately six years, he succeeded in occupying their chief municipality, Vaishali after weakening them through treachery. Finally, he incorporated their territory and Magadha appeared as an imperial state, controlling all the nearby areas. Magadha sustained to hold the foremost location for centuries to approach.

Economic and Social Context

The procedure of state formation was influenced and accelerated through major economic changes. The era was marked through expansion of economy caused primarily through marked agricultural expansion leading to a wave of urbanization, which started in the Ganges valley and spread to other parts of the country. This phenomenon is usually referred to as second urbanization, the first being the urbanized culture of Indus valley, dated back to the middle of 3rd millennium B.C. It was whispered that the expansion of agriculture was caused through introduction of iron. The new iron technology was instrumental in clearing the big tracts of marshy Ganges valley, which was not possible with copper apparatus. The theory was first expounded through D. D. Kosambi and was strongly supported later on through R. S. Sharma. Though, in the light of new evidences, it is now whispered that iron technology did not play such a decisive role. The archaeological excavations at a number of sites have pushed back the antiquity of iron to 1200 B.C.; There are stray references to iron in Samhita literature, dated roughly to 1000-800 B.C. Therefore, it is argued that if iron appeared as early as 1200 B.C., how it affected the economy as late as 600 B.C. Again, mainly of the iron implements establish from the archaeological excavations are weapons and very few agricultural apparatus have approach to light. Therefore, role of iron in clearing the jungles of Ganga valley is much debated, however it definitely gave fillip to already recognized rural economy. Moreover, approximately simultaneous appearance of iron in South Indian Megalithic civilization did not lead to expansion of agriculture in this area. Therefore, it was the functioning of multiple procedures operating in the Ganga valley, which initiated a phase of major change Throughout this era.

It is sure that there was definite expansion of agriculture Throughout this era, which was caused both through improved climatic circumstances and refined iron technology leading to surplus manufacture. There was definite augment in population as attested through tremendous augment in the number as well as the size of settlements of this era as apparent from archaeological explorations and excavations. From waiting secure to the banks of rivers, some settlements moved into the interior where they cleared land for farming. However all the significant crops were recognized from the chalcolithic era, there was considerable improvement in agricultural techniques. The introduction of wet-rice farming was beneficial as it provided a higher yield. The wide flood plains of northern Bihar were well suited for rice-farming. Since farming of rice was necessarily a single-crop agriculture, it was significant to produce substantial excess at each harvest. To achieve this aim, more and more land was brought under farming with improved techniques and intensified labour. These factors, beside with the rise of organized state with proper administrative machinery, were responsible for agricultural surplus. The surplus could support a big population. It accelerated the procedure of urbanization and state formation. This era also witnessed the beginning of the network of inland deal and some amount of foreign deal with Achaemenid Empire. The commodities involved in the early deal incorporated metals, salt, pottery and textiles. The deal behaviors opened up routes to several interior parts and also to the distant off spaces of the sub-continent. The deal was accepted out both through river and road routes. The increased deal behaviors led to the development of metal currency in the form of silver bent-bars.

The population rise, agricultural surplus and beginning of deal leading to expanding economy initiated the early phase of urbanization. A number of dissimilar types of municipalities appeared in Ganges valley. Some grew out of political and administrative centers such as Rajagriha in Magadha, Sravasti in Kosala, Kausambi in Vatsa, Champa in Anga and Ahichhatra in Panchala. All these municipalities were situated on major routes, land and/or riverine. The rise of Magadha was not solely due to its powerful rulers. It occupied very strategic site, commanding all major routes. Its land was fertile and naturally irrigated. The forests of the Rajamahal hills provided supplies of timber and elephants and major iron ores were situated to its south. Therefore, expanding economy also contributed in the emergence of imperial state. Other municipalities grew out of markets, usually situated where there was agricultural surplus that could enter into regular swap nexus. The strategic site of some of the settlements on the deal routes helped their development into cities of significance. Another significant aspect of this changing economy was the beginning

of craft specialization. Textual sources refer to some villages specializing in blacksmithing, pottery, carpentry, cloth weaving, basket weaving and so on. These were the villages secure to the raw materials and connected to routes and markets. Therefore, dedicated craftsmen gathered at one lay because of facilitated access to possessions and sharing of the craft items. Such spaces eventually urbanized into cities, which in turn expanded their manufacture to become commercial centers. The literary sources:

Mention *grama* (village),

Nigama (local market),

Nagara (city), *and*

Mahanagara (big municipality).

Introduction of iron technology brought in relation to the technological improvements in several craft behaviors. The archaeological proof designates striking augment and qualitative improvement in the creation of the items from bone, glass, ivory, drops of semi-valuable stones etc. as compared to earlier chalcolithic era.

The era in question was the beginning of the procedure of state formation and urbanization, which culminated with the establishment of Mauryan empire in 321 B.C. and subsequent development of deal of highest volume with the western world, accelerating the growth of big municipalities in all parts of the country flanked by 3rd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D. These major changes in politico-material characteristics naturally brought several changes in the civilization. Brahmanas still held the highest location in *varna* hierarchy. Though, the emergence of several republics and monarchies, mainly of which were ruled through kshatriyas, led to the rise of kshatriyas to a prominent status. Moreover, the urbanization and expanding trading behaviors witnessed the beginning of the emergence of vaishyas or trading society as a powerful caste. There are numerous literary references to _gahapati' (*grihapati*), who was an affluent _home-holder', as a rising powerful society. The changed economy led to the proliferation of a number of occupational groups and craft specialization. This resulted in the assimilation of several _tribal' or marginal groups into mainstream brahmanical civilization, which were absorbed at the lower stage of the civilization. Therefore, slowly a well-

stratified civilization was emerging with Brahmanas-Kshatriyas-Vaishyas and several artisans, landless labourers and others.

Socio-Religious and Intellectual Ferment

As distant as the religious context is concerned, Vedic Brahmanism was mainly prominent. Though, old Vedic religion had been reduced to an much formalized ritualism in the hands of Brahmans. The emphasis was on the rigid observance of the rules prescribed for the performances of the sacrificial rites, which had become the mainly significant aspect of the religion. These sacrifices had become very lengthy and expensive affair, affordable only to the high and rich classes of the civilization. The Brahmanas, who monopolized the reading and interpretation of Vedas, were the mainly powerful and prominent caste. The changing politico-economic-social scenario naturally invoked much change at intellectual stage. The era was marked through proliferation of ascetic sects with a wide range of thoughts spanning from annihilations (*ucchedvada*) to eternalism (*sasvatavada*) and from fatalism to the materialism. However the ascetic custom and the thoughts propagated through several sects had a extensive history, their appearance in a concrete form of definite sects in the 6th century B.C. was provoked through the changes of modern civilization.

The emergence of imperial state against the decline of republics provoked much discussion. The kingdoms came to be favored through mainstream brahmanical civilization, which advocated the ideal of ‗Universal Ruler'. Though, another thought procedure protested against such power, which later on came to be manifested in the philosophy of Buddhism and Jainism. Some scholars even go to the extent of suggesting that the political troubles of the age provided its more sensitive souls with incentive to withdraw from the world, which accelerated the popularity of ascetic custom. The newly emerging castes of kshatriyas and vaishyas resisted the highest status claimed through the brahmanas as they also aspired to rise in the social hierarchy. This disagreement flanked by the recognized orthodoxy and the aspirations of new groups in the urban centers intensified the intellectual

procedure, which resulted in a extra ordinary richness and vigor in thought, rarely to be surpassed in the centuries to approach. Moreover, so several changes produced a sense of social stress and awakened the spirit of questioning. The experience of social change and suffering is undoubtedly linked with the quest of new pathways in religion and philosophy. Social change is an effect rather than a _reason' of spiritual change. There is no doubt that the older Vedic gods and sacrifices were conceived in the midst of rural and agricultural landscape. In the new atmosphere of city-life, much of the symbolism of the older religion derived from natural phenomena and pastoral agricultural functions would become dim, the gods less convincing and the rituals obscure. The changing milieu witnessed the appearance of new concepts and thoughts.

Brahmanism

A sharp contrast had urbanized within Brahmanism flanked by formalistic, ritualistic tendencies of Vedas and the new trend towards an esoteric and ascetic direction visible in the Upanishads. In these texts, the doctrine of ritual act was often replaced through that of knowledge and sometimes through that of theistic devotion as well as moral conduct. Ritualism was receding, while ascetic renunciation and creed of life of virtue and devotion was gaining importance. Therefore, there was rising cleavage of thoughts within Brahmanism itself.

Rise of Asceticism

A religious custom parallel to Brahmanism was the custom of asceticism, which was prevalent for a extensive time. The ultimate origins of this ascetic custom are obscure. There are traditions in relation to the ancient teachers, often in very remote era, but their historicity has not been recognized as yet. Its definite history can be traced from 6th century B.C. The growth and spread of asceticism in 6th century B.C. is the mainly feature characteristic of the new religious life that sprang up. This new movement was led through the non-Brahmanas. Some Brahmanas also joined it, but they thereby left the

brahmanical custom. The philosophers of these new schools of asceticism were described ‗Sramanas' or ‗Parivajrakas'. They were the men who had left the civilization and become wanderers. They existed on alms and practiced rigorous penance of several shapes. They rejected the Vedas and the power of the Brahmanas. They ridiculed the complicated rituals and tried to illustrate the absurdity of the Veda as a canon of ultimate truths through pointing out contradictions in it. They declared that the whole brahmanical organization was a conspiracy against the people through the Brahmanas for the purpose of enriching themselves through charging exorbitant fees for rituals. In lay of this authoritarian custom, the Sramanas sought to discover explanations through own investigations. Even if the life of wandering in the forests was old, mainly of the philosophies of the era was new, taking explanation of major changes at all stages of life. The establishment of organized societies of Sramanas as opposed to individual wanderers was an innovation of the era. Debate, discussion and teaching were significant characteristics of these schools. Audiences gathered approximately the new philosophies in the *kutuhala-sala*s, the lay for creating curiosity.

Sramana Philosophy

However there were a number of ascetic schools with self-governing concepts mainly followed a common pattern. Their conception of the Universe was that it was a natural phenomenon, evolving itself just as to ascertainable natural laws. It was not subject to the manage of gods or a God and had not been created through such supernatural powers. If there were gods, as some of them admitted might be the case, they were natural beings on a stage with humans and animals, inhabiting in dissimilar area, but presently as subject to natural laws as humans. The gods were not immortal, but existed and died as humans did. Though, the mainly schools denied the subsistence of God. Mainly of the Sramanas whispered in transmigration in some form, either of a ‗soul' or of a stream of consciousness from a dying body to a newly conceived one. Through this era, Brahmanism also had accepted this thought. Mainly of these schools regarded life as on the whole unhappy, filled with sufferings, concluding that their aim should be, not to be reborn in it in better

circumstances, which any method would be temporary, but not to be reborn at all. However the methods to achieve this aim differed, the emphasis was primarily laid on the moral conduct and personal efforts of an individual, rather than complicated rituals with the help of Brahmanas.
A number of such schools are mentioned in the literature of subsequent era. In Pali literature of Buddhists, there is reference to 62 doctrinal views before Buddha, while the Jaina canons refer to 363 sects. Though, of these, a few groups were mainly prominent and influential.

Ajivikas
This sect was founded through a group of prominent teachers in Kosala. The leader of this school was Makkhali Gosala. Other significant teachers were Purna and Kakuda. The Ajivikas whispered in transmigration on a grand level. Their key doctrine was that _niyati' or impersonal _destiny' governed all; such that humans had no skill to affect their future lives through their karma as actions were not freely done, but were predetermined. The destiny controlled even the mainly insignificant action of each human being and nothing could change this. Therefore, they whispered in rebirth, but not in karma. They practiced rigorous asceticism such as fasting and nakedness.

Lokayatas
The followers of this school were materialists. The main spokesman was Ajita Kesakambala. They denied any type of self other than the one, which could be directly perceived. Each act was seen as a spontaneous event without karmic effects and spiritual progression was not seen as possible. Man was made of dust and returned to dust. Therefore they denied soul, transmigration and also destiny. This school was also recognized as Do-as-you-like school (*yadrcchavada*). They whispered that the aim of livelihood beings was happiness and highest happiness was of pleasures of the senses. Unlike other schools, they maintained that there was more happiness than unhappiness in life. Later on, Charvaka became the prominent leader of this theory.

Skeptics

Their spokesman was Sanjaya Belatthaputta. They avoided commitment to any point of view. They held that no conclusive knowledge was possible and did not even commit them to saying that other people's views were wrong. One of the primary concerns of these Sramanas was whether moral actions would have any affect on the person who performed them, in other languages, the subsistence and functioning of karmic reason and effect. If moral actions did have effects, then the religious practitioners had to investigate how he might break his karmic bonds and free his mind or soul and achieve final release from the cycle of birth and rebirth. Such was the cultural milieu in which Buddhism and Jainism rose.

Buddhism

Buddha (566-486 B.C.) was the Kshatriya prince of the republican clan of Sakyas and was recognized as Siddhartha in his worldly life. He was born at Lumbini, on the Nepalese face of Indo-Nepal border. After livelihood a life of an aristocrat, he encountered sickness, suffering and death as well as asceticism for the first time in his life through well-known four visions of a sick, an old and a dead person and an ascetic. Highly dissatisfied with the transitory nature of life, he finally left his home, wife and the child at the age of 29 and became an ascetic. He joined several ascetic groups and followed dissimilar kinds of asceticism prevalent at the time. He wandered approximately for six years. When nothing worked, he decided to discover his path through meditation. He achieved enlightenment at the age of 35, while meditating under a tree at Bodhagaya. He gave his first discourse at Sarnath, close to Varanasi, where he gathered his first five disciples. For 45 years, he wandered approximately, mainly in Bihar area, preaching his creed in the local language, Pali. The religion was soon adopted several significant dignitaries of the era as well as a number of general people. He died at the age of 80 years at Kapilavatsu after establishing his sect on firm footing. Buddha promulgated a doctrine, which had all the main features of the Sramana movement. He

rejected all power except for experience. One should experiment for himself and see whether the teaching is true. The Universe is uncreated and functions on natural laws. It is in continuous flux. He denied the subsistence of soul, however accepted the procedure of transmigration and karma. Just as to him, in transmigration, the new life arises as part of the chain of events, which incorporated the old. The only stable entity was Nirvana, the state of infinite bliss. The aim of human life was to achieve this nirvana and end transmigration. The path to achieve this aim constituted mainly significant part of teaching. The vital principles of Buddhism are Four Noble Truths:

World is full of suffering,

Suffering is caused through human desires,

Renunciation of desire is the path to salvation,

Ssalvation is possible through Eightfold path, which comprised of eight principles, emphasizing on moral and ethical conduct of an individual.

Buddha preached the _Middle Path', a compromise flanked by self-indulgence and self-defeating austerities. The religion was essentially a congregational one. Monastic orders were introduced, where people from all walks of life were accepted. However Buddha was initially against the entry of women into asceticism, an order of nuns was recognized eventually. Monks wandered from lay to lay, preaching and seeking alms, which gave the religion a missionary flavour. The organisation of *Sangha* was based on the principles of a *gana-sangha*.

Jainism
Jainism has longer history than Buddhism. Jaina thoughts are said to have been prevalent since time immemorial as twenty-three tirthankaras or makers of fords are recorded to have existed before Mahavira in remote past. However the historicity of these tirthankaras is not proved, the 23rd tirthankara, Parsvanatha could have been a historical personage of 8th century B.C. Though, it was Mahavira who reorganized the sect and provided it with historical foundation. The sect was initially recognized as _Nirgrantha'

(_knotless' or free from bonds), but later on came to be recognized as _Jaina', after Jina-the Conqueror, which refers to Mahavira.

The life of Mahavira (540-468 B.C.) has striking similarities with that of Buddha. He was also a Kshatriya prince of Jnantrika clan, which was a part of well-known Vrijji confederacy. He was born at Kundugram, a suburb of Vaishali and was recognized as Vardhamana. In Buddhist texts, he is also described Nataputra and Videhan, son of Jnatras and resident of Videha. He too, after livelihood a life of an aristocrat, renounced the world at a young age of 30. He practiced rigorous asceticism for twelve years in search of truth. He wandered in Bihar and parts of Bengal. He finally achieved enlightenment outside the city of Jambhiyagama after which he preached his doctrine for 30 years. He mainly traveled in Bihar, spending maximum time at Vaishali and Rajagriha. He met with great success in Bihar and parts of western Bengal also came under his power. Several significant personalities of his time and rich merchants are said to have accepted his creed. Several ordinary people were also brought into the fold. He establishes the orders of monks and nuns. He too preached in the local language, Ardhamagadhi. He died at the ripe old age of 72 at Pawa.

The Jainas also rejected the subsistence of God. Just as to the Jaina philosophy, the Universe is uncreated and moves in a cyclic motion of decline and progress. Throughout each epoch, twenty-four tirthankaras are born who revive the Jaina religion. The universe functions through the interaction of livelihood souls (*jiva*s) and five categories of non-livelihood entities (*ajiva*), which are *akasa, dharma, adharma, kala* and *pudgala*. Not only the human, animal, and vegetable organisms, but also things like earth; fire and water have souls. Through nature, the soul is bright, pure and conscious, but it gets sheltered through the matter of karma, which accumulates through any and every action. Only through removing this karma, one can achieve *moksha* or liberation from the cycle of transmigration, which is a state of inactive bliss. The annihilation of karma comes through prevention of the influx and fixation of karma in soul through careful, disciplined conduct of right knowledge, right vision and right conduct. Unlike Buddhism, Jainism laid great emphasis on self-mortification and rigorous austerities, mainly fasting. It differed from Buddhism and also Brahmanism in believing that full salvation was not

possible for the laymen as total abandonment was necessary for attaining nirvana. The path to nirvana was observance of five vows;

Non-killing (*ahimsa*),

Non-stealing (*achorya*),

Non-lying (*astyeya*),

Non-possession (*aparigrahara*) and

Celibacy (*brahmacharya*).

While Parsvanatha preached the first four vows, Mahavira added the last one. The Jainas laid great emphasis on ahimsa and formulated a number of rules for observing ahimsa in daily life. Therefore, the emergence of these two alike ascetic sects, which accentuated the transitory and painful nature of human life and preached the salvation as the final solution, to be achieved through observing moral conduct, entirely through an individualistic effort as against through intricate rituals through a priest, was a reaction to a changing civilization and an effort to fulfill the needs of new civilization.

EMERGENCE OF BUDDHIST CENTRAL AND PENINSULAR INDIA
Spread of Buddhism
Early Phase
Buddhism was well recognized in Bihar Throughout the lifetime of Buddha. He moved from city to city, village to village and *janapada*s to *janapada*s throughout this area, preaching his creed. He wandered in Magadha, Kosala, Anga, Sakya and Vajji territories. Through his commanding personality and excellent techniques of communicating with the people, he soon gained the patronage of several kings, chiefs, significant dignitaries as well as people from all walks of life. He organised the orders of monks and nuns, who were recruited from several layers of the civilization. Magadha king Bimbisara and his son Ajatsatru were secure to Buddha and had leanings towards Buddhism. Therefore, Throughout this era, *Majjhimadesa*

(*Madhyadesa*) was the limit of Buddhism. *Majjhimadesa* was the area which was traveled in excess of through Buddha, comprising of mainly contemporary Bihar. All the significant municipalities of the area such as Sravasti, Kapilvastu, Lumbini, Kusinagara, Pava, Vaisali, and Rajagriha appeared as powerful centers of the sect. Though, the monks and lay disciples were forbidden to travel beyond this area, into the *paccantima janapada*, which was said to be inhabited through *milakkha*s or barbarians. This area was the region outlying *Majjhimadesa*, perhaps tribal regions such as the forested areas of the Vindhyas. The monks were forbidden to mix with them as tribesmen often followed a primitive means of livelihood incompatible with the vital principles of Buddhism. Though, it held pre-eminent location in Bihar and parts of Uttar Pradesh with a big following. After Buddha, the religion slowly expanded and spread both in numerical and geographical conditions; however it split into several sub-sects owing to conflicting attitudes and practices of dissimilar groups of monks. Immediately after the death of Buddha, the first Buddhist council was described through Magadha king Ajatasatru close to Rajagriha under the presidency of the aged Maha Kassapa, one of the first members of the Order, to draw up the canons. The second council was held at Vaisali, in relation to the 100 years after the first, for settling differences in excess of the practices followed through the monks of Vaisali. This council marked the first open schism in the sect, which came to be divided into 18 sub-sects. Throughout this era too, the sect was more or less confined to its earlier limits, however small societies of brethren may have approach into subsistence as distant south as Ujjain. At the time of second council, invitations were sent to societies in distant spaces like Patheya and Avanti.

Later Phase
Role of Asoka (273-232 B.C.), though, it was under the Mauryan king Asoka that the sect spread to distant lands. Asoka is held to be the greatest follower and the first royal patron of the sect. He is whispered to have converted to Buddhism after the great war of Kalinga in the 8th year of his reign, when he was filled with remorse at the loss of a number of lives in the

fierce battle and turned to Buddhism. He had the moral preaching of Dhamma written on specially built pillars or rocks all in excess of his empire. He appointed *dhammamahamatra*s (religious officers) to go round the country on religious missions. However a few scholars consider that the Dhamma preached through Asoka with emphasis on moral conduct and tolerance towards all the sects was a common ethical teaching rather than Buddhist Dhamma, the parallel flanked by some portion of a few edicts with passages from Pali Buddhist literature and his highly acclaimed location as a patron in the Buddhist literature indicate that he definitely had leanings towards Buddhism. He is also said to have paid visit to the spaces associated with Buddha, such as Bodhagaya, Lumbini, and Sarnatha, spaces of Buddha's enlightenment, birth and first sermon, and the attendance of his pillars at last two spaces point at the Buddhist affiliation of his edicts. He is said to have erected a big number of *stupa*s and Buddhist monasteries, but none are extant today, however the beginning of some of the well-known *stupa*s such as those at Bodhgaya, Sarnatha in Bihar and Sanchi, Bharhut in Madhya Pradesh might date back to the Mauryan era. He also organised the third Buddhist council under the presidency of well-known monk Moggaliputta Tissa at Pataliputra to set up the purity of the Canon, which had been imperiled through the rise of dissimilar sects and their rival claims. In this council it was decided to dispatch missionaries to dissimilar countries for the propagation of the sect. Consequently, the missions were sent to the land of Yavanas, Gandhara, Kashmir and Himalayan areas in the North, to Aparantaka and Maharattha in West, to Vanavasi and Mysore to South and to Ceylon and Suvarnabhumi (Malay and Sumatra) further southwards. Asoka sent his son Mahendra and daughter *Sangha*mitra to Ceylon. It is clear that the efforts of Asoka were mainly responsible for the spread of Buddhism in distant parts of the country and outside the country.

Emergence of Buddhism in Central and Southern India
Central India
Buddhism was introduced in central India soon after Buddha. Avanti with its capital at Ujjaini was an significant centre of Buddhism as the invitation for the second Buddhist council was sent to the society of monks here. Throughout Maurya and post-Maurya era, Buddhism gained popularity and appeared as a stronghold of the sect. The greatest centers came up at Sanchi and Bharhut, which appeared approximately as pilgrimage sites. A number of *stupa*s were built here. Although these *stupa*s were enlarged and renovated in excess of a extensive era, its beginnings were perhaps made Throughout Mauryan era. The additions in the form of stone encasing, stone railings, stone toranas (gateways) and finally the icons of Buddha were made Throughout Sunga-Kusana and Gupta periods. Therefore, both these location sustained to be a important centres of Buddhism from the Mauryan era to Gupta era.

Southern India
The South India was traditionally recognized as Dakshinapatha, which was usually measured to be the country South of Vindhyas, however there are dissimilar traditions in relation to the its exact northern limit. A number of *janapada*s of this area such as Asmaka, Mulaka, Bhogavardhan, Andhra and people of the area such as Damila (Tamila), Pandya, Chera, Chola are recognized from literary texts, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, as well as early inscriptions. The definite date of the introduction of Buddhism in South India is not clear. There are stray literary references to the attendance of Buddhism in pre-Mauryan era. A few later Buddhist traditions associate some sites in south India with the visit and preaching of Buddha himself, however they are treated as later fables. Although Buddhism might have been introduced here in pre-Mauryan era, the Mauryan era is measured the datum row. Asoka sent missions to South India. His edicts are establish at a number of sites. The Chinese traveler, Hieun Tsang, who visited India in 7th century A.D., has recorded traditions in relation to the association of Asoka with

several *stupa*s and monasteries of South India. Therefore, Buddhism gained ground in South India Throughout Mauryan era.

Deccan

The contemporary states of Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh, forming the traditional Deccan area, were actually group of dissimilar geographical elements recognized through separate appellations.

Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan phase

There are scanty references to Aparanta and Maharattha in early Buddhist texts as a area beyond Majjhimadesa. Aparanta was the coastal area of northern Konkan in contemporary Maharashtra or the whole western seaboard. Aparanta with its capital at Surparaka (Sopara, suburb of Mumbai municipality) was an significant political element of the ancient India, mentioned in several literary texts as well as in numerous early inscriptions including the Asokan edicts. Maharattha more or less denoted to the plateau area to the east of Sahyadris of contemporary Maharashtra. Not much is recognized in relation to the Buddhism Throughout pre-Asokan times in these areas. At the end of third Buddhist council, Yonaka Dhammarakkhita and Mahadhammarakkhita were deputed through Moggaliputta Tissa for propagating the religion here. Yonaka Dhammarakkhita is said to have converted a big number of people. The occurrence of Asokan Rock Edict and a *stupa* at Sopara and a structural *stupa* at Pauni, Bhandara district, both of which might date back to the Mauryan era, point at the attendance of Buddhism Throughout Mauryan era in this area.

Post-Mauryan Phase

The post-Mauryan era witnessed a phenomenal expansion of Buddhist sites and the rise of Buddhism to a prominent location in this area. Under the Satavahanas and western Kshatrapas, Buddhism received royal patronage. But more than the royal patronage, it was the popular support and patronage of the

general people from all classes of the civilization that led Buddhism to such a high location. Buddhism sustained to be a popular and prominent sect under Vakatakas and subsequent era, at least up to 7th-8th century A.D.

Hinayana Faith

Buddhism was powerful and popular sect Throughout the early era from approximately 2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D., when Hinayana faith, characterized through symbol worship, was prevalent. Sopara and Pauni were the earliest centers of the sect in this area. Subsequently, a big number of Buddhist sites appeared. These sites are in the form of rock-cut caves exhumed in the hill ranges of mountainous area of western Maharashtra. These caves were primarily *vihara*s, the rain retreats or residential cells meant for monks to stay Throughout the four months of rainy season, when they were forbidden to travel and expected to stay at one lay. However originally a residence for a specific era of time in a year, it slowly turned into permanent residence for the monks. To each *vihara* intricate was added one or two *chaitya* caves, which was the worship region for both, the monks as well as laity. The *chaitya* cave contained a *stupa*, originally a funeral monument and a memorial relic later on, which was the main substance of worship in Buddhism before the introduction of image worship. The *chaitya* cave contained either an apsidal, vaulted-roofed or a square, flat-roofed hall with the rock-cut *stupa* at one end having circumambulatory shaped through a row of pillars approximately and a verandah. A *vihara* was basically a hall with a number of cells beside all sides and with or without a verandah. These caves were easy with sparse decoration in the form of ornamental pillars, elaborate façade and a few auspicious symbols occurring above the cell doors.

In relation to the 800 such rock-cut caves were exhumed at several sites in western Maharashtra Throughout a span of in relation to the four centuries. Some significant centres were Junnar, Karle, Bedsa, Bhaja, Shelarwadi (Pune dt.), Nasik (Nasik dt.), Kanheri (Thane dt.), Mahad, Kondane, Kuda (Raigad dt.) and Ajanta (Aurangabad dt.). Some of the sites such as Karle, Bedsa, Bhaja, Kanheri and Ajanta have very big and highly embellished *chaitya* caves; while mainly of the sites have very easy caves. The

largest cluster of caves was at Junnar with 184 caves, exhumed in the hills encircling the city of Junnar within a radius of 8 kms. Kanheri with more than 100 caves was another big centre, which also have caves of later era. Nasik and Karle also were sites of considerable size with in relation to the 20 to 30 caves. These caves contain a big number of donative inscriptions recording the excavation of the cave or a part of the cave such as pillar or a cell and water cistern and endowments to the monastic establishments in the form of land, money or commodities for the maintenance monks. The caves at Nasik and Karle record royal donations of Satavahanas and western Kshatrapas. A few caves at Nasik were exhumed and endowed with donations through well-known Satavahana rulers such as Gautamiputra Satkarni, his wife Balasri and his son Vashisthiputra Pulumavi. A cave at Nasik was exhumed through Usavadatta, son-inlaw of well-known western Kshatrapa ruler Nahapana, while a cave at Karle was endowed with a donation through Nahapana himself. Though, mainly of the caves were exhumed and supported through the people from all layers of the civilization such as traders, craftsmen, farmers etc.

The number of caves and spread of these sites provide an thought in relation to the numerical strength of Buddhist monks as well as laity and the popularity of the sect Throughout this era. It is also clear that the sect was well organised with proper orders of monks, who maintained the donations in cash as well as type.

Mahayana and Vajrayana Faith

The Mahayana or later phase of Buddhism, which was characterized through the introduction of icon worship, was confined to much less sites compared to the earlier era. While a few Hinayana centres such as Kanheri, Nasik and Ajanta sustained to be important, few new sites such as Ellora and Aurangabad (Aurangabad dt.) appeared. A *chaitya-vihara* cave contained a pillared verandah, square hall with cells beside three sides and a shrine with an icon of Buddha in the back wall of the hall. Therefore, it was the combination of residential and worship regions in a single cave. The caves of this faith were very ornamental monuments with a big number of icons of Buddha-

Bodhisattvas and decorative architectural components. The well-known caves at Ajanta, datable to 5th-6th century A.D. are mainly elaborate structures filled with beautiful paintings, while the caves at Ellora are big monuments, some of them being double and triple storied. The later caves at Aurangabad, Ellora, Kanheri and Panhale kaji (Ratnagiri dt.) also display a retinue of Buddhist deities of Vajrayana faith, which had tantric power. Mainly of these sites except for, Kanheri and Panhale kaji in coastal Maharashtra, declined through 7th century A.D.

Andhradesa (Contemporary Andhra Pradesh)
Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan Phase
Andhra is the country of the Andhras, an ancient tribe of the Deccan. The Andhras of southern India are mentioned in several Sanskrit and Pali texts and also Greek texts. Andhra has been variously recognized at the dissimilar points of time with the area of Krishna district or the country lying to the northern and southern bank of Krishna river. Andhradesa can be recognized with the contemporary state of Andhra Pradesh.
Unlike Maharashtra, there are a few literary traditions in relation to the attendance of Buddhism in Andhra Pradesh Throughout pre-Mauryan era. The well-known Buddhist sites of Amaravati and Dhanyakataka are associated with Buddha, as a birthplace of one of the previous births of Buddha and a preaching location of Buddha respectively. Though, these could have been later fables, suggested to assign sacred nature to some well-known sites. Another literary proof is the occurrence of ‗Andhaka' sub-sect of Mahasanghika School of early Buddhism, which is mentioned in the ‗Kathavatthu', a text incorporated in the Pali cannon. Just as to the text Mahavamsa, this canon was written Throughout the third Buddhist council convened at the time of Asoka. Therefore, there already lived a society of monks in Andhra Pradesh recognized to be belonging to Andhaka sub-sect at this time. Again, the relic casket inscription from the well-known *stupa* at Bhattiprolu is whispered to be pre-Mauryan, recording the preparation of the casket to deposit the leftovers of Buddha and the bone relic from the *stupa* is

whispered to have been that of Buddha himself. These are scanty and indefinite references and are debatable. Though, with the Mauryan era, the history of the sect in this area acquires a firm and definite footing.

However there is no specific mention of any mission sent to Andhradesa through Asoka, its site flanked by Magadha and Ceylon, where an significant mission was sent, necessity have helped in the establishment of Buddhism here. Asoka's Thirteenth Rock edict refers to the Andhras beside with Pulindas and other southern people. His *dhammavijaya* prevailed in the middle of the Andhras. His edicts are establish at Amaravati and other sites. The *stupa*s at Amaravati and Bhattiprolu definitely had early beginning, dating back to the Mauryan era and were significant centres of the sect since then.

Post-Mauryan Phase

As Maharashtra, Andhradesa or Andhra Pradesh also appeared as stronghold of Buddhism in post-Mauryan era. It reached the zenith of its popularity roughly Throughout 2nd century B.C. to 3rd-4th century A.D. under the Satavahana- Ikshvaku rulers. A big number of Buddhist sites appeared Throughout this era. Almost 60 Buddhist sites dated to the early centuries of the Christian period were situated in the Krishna-Godavari delta and distributed beside the east coast. These sites with structural *stupa*s as well as monasteries were significant centres of Buddhism, where a big number of monks resided. Some of the significant sites were Amaravati, Bhattiprolu, Chezrala, Goli (Guntur dt.), Jaggayyapeta, Gudiwada, Ghantasala (Krishna dt.), Guntapalle (West Godavari dt.) and Bezwada or Vijayawada (Vijayawada dt.). These sites contained stone-built *stupa*s, *chaitya*s, brick or stone-built *vihara*s, apsidalcircular- square temples and other structures, built Throughout the era from 2nd century B.C. to 3rd-4th century A.D. These were relatively plain structures; however some of the *stupa*s sheltered with minutely carved stone slabs, were quite elaborate monuments. Since several of the sites sustained to hold significance in excess of a extensive time, these leftovers came up in successive stages as the location urbanized. A number of sites have also revealed icons of Buddha. Other than these structural monuments, some rock-cut caves were also exhumed close to the hilly area of Vijayawada at

Mogalarajapuram, Sitaranagam and Undavalli, which are whispered to have been Buddhist. These are plain *vihara*s, but of substantial size. The caves at Undavalli are multi-storeyed. A big number of donative inscriptions establish from several of these sites reveal that while a few sites like Nagarjunakonda received royal patronage of Ikshvakus, mainly of the sites were primarily patronised through a diversity of people from all classes of civilization. Of these sites, Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda with a big number of structures were the mainly significant sites of the era.

Amaravati and Dhanayakataka

Amaravati, in relation to the 29 km from Guntur was a great Buddhist center of the area, well-known for its exquisitely carved *stupa* and structural monuments. Though, the *stupa* at Amaravati dates back to Mauryan era as attested through attendance of an Asokan edict at the location. This *stupa*, the largest in Andhra Pradesh and referred to as a _*mahachaitya* " in inscriptions, was built in excess of successively in later centuries with major additions of ornamental vedika railings, stone encasing, other embellishments and enlargements. At least five phases of construction are recognized, datable to Asokan, post-Asokan, Satavahana, Ikshvaku and early Pallava or late medieval periods. It received endowments as late as the 12th century A.D. The location was the stronghold of Mahasanghika school of Theravada Buddhism.

Nagarjunakonda (ancient Sriparvata) and Vijayapuri

Nagarjunakonda, _hill of Nagarjuna', a location of outstanding importance in the history of Buddhism, is situated on the south bank of the Krishna river in Guntur dt. All round the location is a girdle of lofty hills, which shapes a natural, secluded valley. In the middle of the valley was situated the ancient municipality of Vijayapuri, the capital of Ikshvakus. The location contained a big number of monuments containing at least nine *stupa*s of several sizes, numerous *vihara*s, stone or brick-built apsidal temples, halls, cloisters, *ayaka* (auspicious) pillars and other structures, all decorated with beautiful carvings and sculptures. The location assumed importance under the

Ikshvakus from the second quarter of 3rd century A.D., before which Dhanyakataka under later Satavahanas was epicentre. The Ikshvakus, mainly the ladies of royal family, built a number of structures and made elaborate donations to monastic establishments here. It was a big centre with big monastic orders. It appeared as a great pilgrimage centre and a seat of learning as pilgrims and visitors came from all parts of India, Ceylon and even China. Approximately all the significant structures were built Throughout the Ikshvaku era. After this era, however the location sustained to exist; it lost its earlier glory.

Mahayana Faith

Andhra Pradesh is measured to be the birthplace of Mahayana philosophy. It was propounded through well-known Buddhist philosopher Nagarjuna (2nd century A.D.). Though, a very few dominant sites of this faith flourished, however a number of Buddha icons have approach to light from Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and other sites. After the Ikshvakus, the heydays of Buddhism were in excess of, however it sustained to exist as late as 16th century A.D.

Peninsular India

Unlike Deccan area, Buddhism never gained great popularity and support in the peninsular states of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala, however it flourished in few pockets from 3rd-2nd century B.C. to 13th century A.D. Karnataka: Buddhism in this area was introduced through Asoka, who sent Mahadeva to Mahishmandala and Rakkhita to Banavasi, both in Karnataka. A number of Asokan edicts are establish from Karnataka such as at Siddhapura, Brahmagiri and Jatinga in Chitradurga dt., Nittur and Udgola in Bellary dt., Koppal in Raichur dt., Maski, Sannathi in Gulbarga dt. The post-Mauryan era witnessed the spread of Buddhism in several parts; however none of the sites were as prominent or well-known as the sites in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. Though, Chandravalli and Banavasi were significant centres.

In the middle of the monks, who took part in the ceremony of consecration at Bhattiprolu, Andhra Pradesh, Candagutta Maha-Thera belonged to Banavasi. Except for a few donative inscriptions and icons of Buddha from Chandravalli, no other structural remnants have approach to light, however Hieun Tsang (7th century A.D.) refers to several monasteries of both Mahayana and Hinayana faiths at Banavasi. A double-storeyed structural Buddhist *vihara* exists at the well-known temple-location of Aihole built Throughout the early Chalukya era.

There are a number of direct and indirect references to Buddhist temples, monks and Buddhism in the literature and inscriptions of early and late medieval periods, especially late Chalukya era (973-1189 A.D.). Few Buddhist temples necessity has lived at Balligave, Dambal, Terdal etc. The attendance of Vajrayana faith is indicated through detection of icons of a few Vajrayana deities such as Tara. Though, none of these were great centres.

Tamil Nadu

Asoka mentions Tamil country of Codas and Pandyas where his *dhamma-vijaya* prevailed. One of the monks, who took part in the ceremony of consecration at Bhattiprolu, Andhra Pradesh, Mahadeva Maha-Thera, belonged to Pallavabhoga. The well-known Tamil epic Manimekhalai is a great saga of Buddhism. There are very few references to the location of Buddhism in this area Throughout early era, when Jainism was prevalent.

Though, a few significant Buddhist settlements of early medieval era were at Nagapattam, Kanchi and Kaveripattam. A king of the Sumatran empire of Srivijaya erected a big monastery at Nagapattam for the use of his subjects when they visited the area, as Nagapattam was the first South Indian port from Malaya and Indonesia. This monastery was endowed with a donation through the Chola king Rajaraja. Hieun Tsang refers to the attendance of 100 Buddhist monasteries with 10,000 brethren at Kanchi. Though, except for five Buddha images from approximately Kamakshi temple, no remnants have approach to light. It is whispered that Kamakshi was originally a temple of Buddhist goddess Tara. Kanchi sustained to be an significant centre of Buddhism as late as 14th century A.D.

Kerala

Very small is recognized in relation to the Buddhism in Kerala. Asoka mentions Keralaputyas. Just as to a custom, one of the Bana rulers of Malbar converted to Buddhism. A few monasteries necessity have lived. The Tamil epic, Manimekhalai, refers to wide prevalence of Buddhism in ancient Kerala and there were *chaitya*s at Vanji.

Procedure and Factors of the Spread/Popularity of Buddhism in Central and Peninsular India

It is clear from the survey that Buddhism appeared in central and southern India through Mauryan era and was mainly prominent Throughout 2nd century B.C. to 2nd-3rd century A.D.; however it sustained to flourish till 5th-6th century A.D. in fewer pockets before declining through 7th-8th century A.D. and surviving insignificantly at stray sites as late as 13th-14th century A.D. What were the causes behind such development of the sect? Why and how did Buddhism gain such prominence in these areas Throughout early historic era? The spread of Buddhism to distant lands of peninsular India, central India and also to other countries is often associated with the mechanism of expanding deal networks and empire structure behaviors. There is no doubt that it was primarily the proselytizing efforts of dynamic and enterprising monks, who ventured through strange lands to preach the creed that led to the spread and popularity of Buddhism in distant-off lands. But the procedure of second urbanization, which spread from the Gangetic valley to the rest of the country, with its rising trading networks, definitely accelerated the spread of Buddhism.

The phenomenon of urbanization and deal, which started in 6th century B.C., gained momentum in the subsequent centuries. The volume of deal increased immensely as the deal with the Mediterranean world, which almost certainly lived for a extensive time, was intensified. Through 3rd-2nd century B.C., approximately all parts of the country experienced a phase of urbanism, accompanied through the emergence of a powerful imperial state, agricultural

expansion and rising economy characterized through increased volume of deal, appearance of metal currency as well as craft specialization. The marginal regions or ‗prohibited regions' outside the pale of mainstream Brahmanical civilization of Gangetic valley became accessible through several deal routes. The knowledge of the earliest routes comes from the religious texts, which mention the travels of stray persons from lay to lay. With the intensification of deal, especially with the Mediterranean world, the western texts mention a number of municipalities and urban centres. Much information is also gathered from the archaeological evidences testifying to extensive-aloofness swap of goods. Therefore, a broad, but indistinct picture of a network of deal routes emerges. The mainly significant in the middle of these was the ‗Dakshinapatha', a route to south, which opened up the regions south of Vindhyas. So significant was this route that the whole country to the south came be designated ‗Dakshinapatha'. A big number of articles, primarily raw material of dissimilar kind, were exported to the Mediterranean world, while a few were also imported. The southern area comprising of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala, with its extensive coastline actively participated in this deal mechanism. A number of big municipalities appeared on strategic sites of deal routes and also as ports. Therefore, the expanding deal definitely opened up distant lands for the monks to venture out and preach. This procedure was accelerated and strengthened through emergence of powerful imperial states. Throughout this era appeared the Mauryan empire, the first major instance of the centralized kingdom controlling big geographic regions. The extent of Mauryan empire is recognized from the sites of Asokan edicts, which are establish as distant south as Chitradurga district in Karnataka and Kurnool district in Andhra Pradesh. It is postulated that subsequent emergence of the powerful state of Satavahanas and Ikshvakus in Deccan, helped the spread of Buddhism in this area, which is marked through proliferation in Buddhist monastic sites Throughout this era.

The association of deal, urbanism and powerful states with Buddhism is indicated through occurrence of mainly of Buddhist sites of the era on strategic sites, either on deal route or close to big urban centre. Bharhut in central India occupied the northern end of the valley, in an region rich in mineral possessions. The sites in Maharashtra were situated on major deal

routes. Junnar, with largest cluster of caves was situated at the head of Naneghat, an significant pass. Similarly, Kanheri, another significant location, was situated in the vicinity of port of Kalyan. Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh were situated close to the flourishing capital municipalities of Satavahanas and Ikshvakus. The other sites were situated within rich, fertile, rice-rising Krishna delta and beside arterial routes. Buddhism came to be favored through traders. Buddhism, with its opposition to the Brahmanical taboos on purity and contamination, encouraged travel and in turn accelerated extensive aloofness deal. The literary and archaeological records link Buddhism with king and the merchant. These sources portray the social milieu of Buddhism as a intricate urban environment with kings, wealthy merchants, craftsmen and professionals. There is big number of references to urban centres in Buddhist literary sources as opposed to stray references to rural settlements. The largest number of monks and nuns of early *sangha* came from big cities and from powerful, wealthy families. There is a marked preference to deal in excess of other professions in the Buddhist literature.

Buddhism also provided much-needed support organization to the changing cultural milieu. At the ideological stage, it influenced and encouraged the accumulation and reinvestment of wealth in trading ventures through lay devotees, at the social stage, donations to Buddhist monasteries provided status to traders and other occupational groups, while at the economic stage, the Buddhist monasteries were repositories of information and essential skills such as writing. Moreover, the organised institution of Buddhist *sangha* brought monasteries into closer get in touch with lay society and provided identity and cohesiveness to trading groups. Therefore, Buddhism spread against the backdrop of expanding deal network and empire structure procedure of early historic era, both of which opened up routes to distant lands of southern India. The well-organised institution of Buddhist *sangha*, the proselytizing efforts of dynamic monks and the nature of Buddhism, which favored deal and urban life-approach, were some of the factors that led to immense popularity of the sect Throughout this era in central and southern India. A big number of monasteries appeared on major deal routes and/or close to big urban centres and thrived on the big-level donations, primarily through the trading society. When the deal dehydrated up

and deal routes became inactive, the sect declined, however sustained to survive in stray pockets till very late.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Discuss the role varna played during the Vedic times. Was it the sole identity available to men of this period?

Discuss the role of rituals in the Vedic texts.

Discuss the implications of iron metallurgy in the development of urbanism and state structures.

Discuss the changes in material culture taking place around 6th century B.C.

What were the different trends of the thinking which emerged in the wake of the socio-religious ferment?

Examine some aspects of spread of Buddhism in central and peninsular India.

CHAPTER 3
Early Historic Societies: 6th Century-4th Century AD
STRUCTURE

Learning objectives

Urban classes: traders and artisans, extension of agricultural settlements

Chaityas, viharas and their interaction with tribal groups

Early Tamil society—regions and their cultures and cult of hero worship

Marriage and family life, notions of untouchability, changing patterns in varna and jati

Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

Understand the Indian urban classes

Understand the Chaityas, Viharas and their interaction with tribal groups.

Understand the early Tamil society.

Explain the marriage and family life, notions of untouchability, changing patterns in varna and jati.

URBAN CLASSES: TRADERS AND ARTISANS, EXTENSION OF AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENTS
The Second Urbanization in India
Urbanization is a intricate socio-economic procedure through which ‗municipalities' emerge amidst/ from rural settlements. Traditionally the urban-rural dichotomy dominated the urban studies however now scholars question the binary conceptual distinction flanked by urban and rural in the

context of the studies in the region of urbanization. Hence the focus has shifted to the revise urbanization procedure. How can we decide whether traces of urbanization are present in a scrupulous historical context? A number of parameters are used to ascertain the attendance of urbanization in a scrupulous situation. Gordon Childe lists the following ten criteria for determining the attendance of urbanization:

Permanent resolution in thick aggregations;

Nonagricultural specialists;

Taxation and wealth accumulation;

Monumental public structures;

Ruling class;

Writing techniques;

Predictive science;

Artistic expression;

Deal for vital materials; and

Decline in importance of kinship.

These have been complemented through other indicators as well and the list grows. Here we are more concerned with the procedures of urbanization and the new classes it threw up in the early historic phase of Indian history. The Indus Valley/Harappan Culture which flourished in third millennium B.C to middle of second millennium B.C. witnessed the first phase of urbanization in India. The genesis of the second phase of urbanization can be situated in the state formation in Magadha in the sixth century B.C. This phase lasts till the fourth century A.D. Throughout this phase, many urban centres, which functioned as political headquarters besides functioning as the nuclei of traders and artisans, create their appearance crossways the sub continent. The epi-centre of the early phase can said to have been in the area of Magadha which occupied the rich gangetic belt and straddled the river route. Mainly of the criteria proposed through Childe to detect the subsistence of urbanization procedure are apparent in the era from 600 B.C. to 400 A.D. Several urban centres with thick population appeared, with a few having fortification wall approximately. Use of Brahmi writing also began in this era.

Buddhism and Jainism grew and spread and these sects criticized the rituals and sacrifices and questioned the dominance of Brahmanas. Therefore they became popular in the middle of the groups placed at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Buddhism made attempts, however unsuccessfully, to do absent with the caste organization. Buddhists also admitted women in their monasteries. Extensive aloofness deal began to flourish from the beginning to the Christian period. The deal with the Roman Empire and the Southeast Asian countries was active. We hear from Greek writers that the balance of the Indo-Roman deal was in favor of India. The Caturvarna organization further transformed and strengthened in this era. Merchants, artisans and peasants were incorporated into organization under broad caste categories. As a result of urbanization merchants and artisans were treated as separate social groups. The wealth brought through deal behaviors enabled the merchants to move up in the social hierarchy, which consisted of Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras. The merchants received support from the Buddhist monasteries and in turn they gave material support to these establishments. The alliance flanked by the merchants and monasteries saw their successful spread in parts of Deccan and south and Sri Lanka from the Ganga-Yamuna Valley. The peasants also gained some importance, as farming began to play an significant role. Mainly of the artisans and craftsmen were placed in the Sudra group. The social hierarchy became stringent in due course and with caste began to play a major role the method of life of the people. Individuals could not change the castes, but the castes could move up in the social hierarchy.

Extension of Agricultural Settlements
Extension of agricultural settlements was one of the key factors that supported the second urbanization. The increased, effective use of iron technology and the demand for agricultural produce to feed the non-agricultural specialists livelihood in the cities and the population augment led to the necessity of bringing more untamed lands under farming and job. *Satapatha Brahmana* (800-600 B.C.) mentions the clearing forest by fire. The agricultural behaviors Throughout the second urbanization usually focused on

the river valleys, for instance the Ganga-Yamuna valleys. Archaeological proof also designates the proliferation of settlements in this era. The pottery described _Northern Black Polished Ware' (NPW) is dated to the era of second urbanization. Settlements with this pottery are establish in abundant number, when compared to the pottery of previous phase, i.e. Painted Gray Ware. The attendance of Mahajanapadas in North India also supports the expansion of agricultural settlements. The similar organizations are absent in the Deccan perhaps due to the lack of intensification of agricultural behaviors. However agricultural behaviors might have been undertaken in these regions, their intensity was low.

From the Pali texts we know that there were agrarian meadows with peasant settlements (*gramas*) in the jungles. They cultivated wheat in the winter and rice in the summer. References in the Pali texts indicate that the villages were controlled through the chiefs recognized as *gamasvamiko* who had slaves (*dasas*) and other craftsmen (*kammmakaras*) and artisans (*karukas*). Mostly Brahmanas and other upper castes were in manage of such settlements and the workers belong to sudra group. The non-kin labour controlled through the upper classes made possible the necessary produce to feed the municipalities. In the south, the agriculture expansion took lay slightly later than the north. However proof for farming Throughout the pre-Iron Age context is accessible, extension of agriculture perhaps took lay approximately the beginning of the Christian period. The number of settlements in the Krishna-Godavari and Kaveri Deltas increased. There are also references to heaps of rice, by elephants and cattle for threshing rice in the Sangam literature. We hear of the Chola king Karikalan of Sangam Age converting forest lands into cultivable lands. He is also said to have built a bund crossways the Kaveri to prove water for farming.

Traders Artisans and Guilds

With the advent of urbanization, traders and artisans appeared as strong societies. The Mahavamsa speaks of South Indian traders in pre-Christian times who were also politically powerful and who in information

dominated the area. There are references to 18 guilds of artisans and smiths and carpenters and leather workers were organised into guilds. There are also references to carpenter's village in the neighbourhood of Varanasi. There also references to dishonest elements in artisan groups. *Arthasastra* speaks of the means trapping fraudulent artisans.

Romila Thapar informs us that —The sources regularly refer to the organization of guilds which began in the early Buddhist era and sustained through the Mauryan era. …. Topography aided their development, in as much as scrupulous regions of a municipality were usually inhabited through all tradesmen of a sure craft. Tradesmen's villages were also recognized, where one scrupulous craft was centered, mainly due to the easy availability of raw material. The three chief requisites necessary for the rise of a guild organization were in subsistence. Firstly, the localization of job was possible, secondly the hereditary character of professions was recognized, and lastly the thought of a guild leader or *jetthaka* was a widely accepted one. The extension of deal in the Mauryan era necessity have helped considerably in developing and stabilizing the guilds, which at first were an intermediate step flanked by a tribe and a caste. In later years they were dominated through strict rules, which resulted in some of them slowly becoming castes. Another early incentive to forming guilds necessity has been competition. Economically it was better to job in a body than to job individually, as a corporation would give added social status, and when necessary, assistance could be sought from other members. Through gradual stages guilds urbanized into the mainly significant industrial bodies in their regions.

—Having arrived at a point when the guilds controlled approximately the whole manufactured output, they establish that they had to meet greater demands than they could cater for through their own labour and that of their families; consequently they had to employ hired labour. This consisted of two categories, the *karmakaras* and the *bhrtakas* who were regarded as free labourers working for a regular wage, and the dasas who were slaves. Asoka refers to both categories in his edicts when he speaks of the *bhrtakas* and the *dasas*. Therefore through the Mauryan era the guilds had urbanized into fairly big-level organizations, recognized at least in the northern half of the subcontinent if not throughout the country. It would look that they were

registered through local officials and had a recognized status, as there was a prohibition against any guilds other than the local co-operative ones entering the villages. This suggests that a guild could not move from one region to another without official permission.

Thapar explains that the sharing of job was not only organized in conditions of the professions livelihood in the city but also in conditions of the physical job through dissimilar professions of dissimilar parts of the city. Each *sreni* had its own professional code, working arrangements, duties and obligations and even religious observances. Matters relating to wider regions of dispute were sometimes settled through *srenis* in the middle of themselves. Social mobility in the middle of such groups, where an whole group would seek to change its ritual status based on an improvement of actual status, would be more frequent, since the economic opportunities for improving actual status would be more easily accessible, particularly in periods of expanding deal. It is not coincidental that the greatest action of heterodox sects and of religious movements associated with social protest was in periods of expanding deal.

U.N. Ghosal informs us that Narada prohibits mutual combination and unlawful wearing of arms as well as mutual conflicts in the middle of the groups. Brihaspati lays down the extreme penalty of banishment for one who injures the general interest or insults those who are learned in the Vedas. Just as to Katyayana, one committing a heinous crime, or causing a split, or destroying the property of the groups, is to be proclaimed before the King and _destroyed'. On the other hand, all members, we are told through Brihaspati, have an equal share in whatever is acquired through the committee of advisers or is saved through them, whatever they acquire through the King's favour as well as whatever debts are incurred through them for the purpose of the group…The proof of the late Smriti law of guilds is corroborated in part through a sure kind of clay-sticks, which, have been recovered from the excavations of Gupta sites at Basarh (Vaisali) and Bhita (close to Allahabad). These sticks bear the legend *nigama* in Gupta characters (Bhita) and more particularly the legends *sreni-kulikanigama* and *srenisarthavaha- kulika-nigama* (Basarh). These names are often joined with those of private individuals. We have here a probable reference to the conventions or compacts

made through local industrial and trading groups with private individuals or individual members. Such documents would be described *sthitipatras* or *samvitpatras* in the technological sense of the late Smritis.

Thaplyal shows that both Merchant Guilds as well the Craft Guilds were very much present and played a vital role in the prevalent socio-economic structure. His database is literary proof as establish in the scriptures, texts and also archaeological findings. Thaplyal sketches a brief historical review and discusses several characteristics of the laws, apprenticeship, structure, offices, accounts and the functions of these guilds. He also shows the connection of the guild to the state. Reference is made to the cobblers' guild, the oil millers' guild, potters guild, weavers' guild, and hydraulic engineers' guild. It has been argued that Buddhism and Jainism, which appeared in the 6th century BC, were more egalitarian than Brahmanism that preceded them and provided a better environment for the growth of guilds. Material wealth and animals were sacrificed in the Brahmanical *yajnas*. The Buddhists and Jains did not perform such *yajnas*. Therefore, material wealth and animals were saved and made accessible for deal and commerce. Since the Buddhists and Jains disregarded the social taboos of purity/ pollution in mixing and taking food with people of lower *varnas*, they felt less constrained in conducting extensive aloofness deal. The *Gautama Dharmasutra* (c. 5th century BC) states that —cultivators, herdsmen, moneylenders, traders, and artisans have power to lay down rules for their respective classes and the king was to consult their representatives while dealing with matters relating to them. The *Jataka* tales refer to eighteen guilds, to their heads, to localization of industry and to the hereditary nature of professions. The Jataka stories regularly refer to a son following the craft of his father. Often, *kula* and *putta* happen as suffixes to craft-names, the former indicating that the whole family adopted a scrupulous craft and the latter that the son followed the craft of his father. This ensured regular trained job force and created more specialization. Here it is pointed out that the hereditary nature of profession in Indian guilds creates them dissimilar from the European guilds of the middle Ages whose membership was invariably based on the choice of an individual. It may, though, be pointed out that adopting a family profession was more general with members of artisans' guilds than with members of traders' guilds.

Scholars are divided on the issue of whether the guild organization was in subsistence in the early Vedic era. Some consider Vedic civilization sufficiently advanced to warrant the subsistence of such economic organizations and consider conditions, like *sreni*, *puga*, *gana*, *vrata* in Vedic literature as indicative of guild organization and *sreshthi* as president of a guild. Others consider early Vedic civilization to be rural with nomadism still in vogue and opine that the Aryans, preoccupied with war as they were, could not produce surplus food-granules, so vital for enabling craftsmen to devote their whole time in the pursuit of crafts. They hold that neither conditions like *sreni* and *puga* in Vedic literature denote a guild, or *sreshthi*, the _guild president'. Agriculture, animal husbandry and deal, the three occupations of the Vaisyas, in course of time urbanized as separate groups. Kautilya considers the possibility of guilds as agencies capable of becoming centers of power. It has been pointed out that the Mauryan Empire (c. 320 to c. 200 BC) witnessed better maintained highways and increased mobility of men and merchandise. The state participated in agricultural and craft manufacture. The government kept a record of deals and crafts and related transactions and conventions of the guilds, indicating state intervention in guild-affairs. The state allotted guilds separate regions in a city for running their deal and crafts. The members of the tribal republics that lost political power due to their incorporation in the extensive Mauryan Empire took to crafts and deals and shaped economic organizations.

The decline of the Mauryan Empire (c. 200 BC) led to political disintegration and laxity in state manages in excess of guilds, allowing them better chances to grow. The epigraphs from Sanchi, Bharhut, Bodhgaya, Mathura and the sites of western Deccan refer to donations made through dissimilar artisans and traders. Guilds of flour-makers, weavers, oil-millers, potters, manufacturers of hydraulic engines, corn-dealers, bamboo-workers, etc. discover mention in the epigraphs. The era witnessed a closer commercial intercourse with the Roman Empire in which Indian merchants earned vast profits. The proof of the *Manusmriti* and the *Yajnavalkyasmriti* shows an augment in the power of guilds in comparison to earlier periods. Epigraphic proof of the era refers to acts of charity and piety of the guilds as also their bank-like functions.

Guild Laws

Separately from their socio-economic importance, the guilds necessity has exercised considerable political power as well in those times as can be demonstrated quoting from the texts and the scriptures at length. It has been stated that the guilds had their laws, based on customs and usage, concerning organization, manufacture, fixation of prices of commodities, etc. These rules were usually recognized through the state. The laws were a safeguard against state oppression and interference in guild affairs. The *Gautama Dharmasutra* enjoins upon the king to consult guild representatives while dealing with matters concerning guilds. In Kautilya's scheme, a Superintendent of Accounts was to stay a record of the customs and transactions of corporations. Manu enjoins that a guild member who breaks an agreement necessity be banished from the realm through the king. Just as to Yajnavalkya, profits and losses were to be shared through members in proportion to their shares. Just as to the *Mahabharata*, for breach of guild laws, there was no expiation. Yajnavalkya prescribes severe punishment for one who embezzles guild property. Just as to him, one who does not deposit in the joint finance money obtained for the corporation was to pay eleven times the sum through method of penalty. The guild rules helped in smooth functioning of the guilds and in creating greater bonds of unity in the middle of guild members.

Guild Structure

The structure and organisation of the guild looked something like this.

The Common Assembly

All the members of the guild constituted the Common Assembly. *Jataka* stories provide round figures of 100, 500, 1000 as members of dissimilar guilds. There is a reference to 1000 carpenters of Varanasi under two heads. This could be because the number was measured big enough to create the guild unwieldy, however it may be pointed out that a few references to 1000 members of a guild, without division, do happen. The Nasik

Inscription of the time of Nahapana refers to two weavers' guilds at Govardhana (Nasik). Mention of bickering within big guilds is not infrequent and it is possible that a lay had more than one guild of the similar deal.

The Guild Head

The head of a guild is often referred to as the *jetthaka* or *pamukkha* in early Buddhist literature. Often he is referred to after the job followed through the guild of which he was the head, e.g. _head of garland makers' (*malakara jetthaka*), _head of carpenters' guild' (*vaddhaki jetthaka*), etc. Apparently the guild Head exercised considerable power in excess of the members of his guild. *Setthis* were merchant-cumbankers and often headed merchant guilds. The guild head could punish a guilty member even to the extent of excommunication. Texts do not look to specify whether the office of the head of a guild was elective or hereditary however there are positive references to either. It appears that normally headship of a guild went to the eldest son. Succession is mentioned only after the death of the head and not in his lifetime, which would suggest that the head remained in office life-extensive. The proof of two Damodarpur Copper-plate inscriptions of the 5th century AD shows that one Bhupala held the office of *nagar sreshthi* for well nigh half a century supports this.

Executive Officers

To assist the guild head and to seem after the day-to-day business of the guild, Executive Officers came to be appointed. The earliest reference to Executive Officers is met with in the *Yajnavalkyasmriti*. Their number varied just as to need and circumstances. Yajnavalkya says that they should be pure, free from avarice and knower of the Vedas. It is not specially stated whether the Executive Officers were elected through the Assembly or were nominated through the guild head.

Functions of the Guilds

Besides serving the purpose of keeping the members of a deal jointly like a secure society, the guilds undertook several useful roles such as administrative, economic, charitable and banking functions. The guilds had a good deal of administrative manage in excess of their members. Looking after the interests of their member's creation things convenient for them was their prime concern. The trained workers of the guilds provided a congenial atmosphere for job. They procured raw materials for manufacturing, controlled quality of manufactured goods and their price, and situated markets for their sale. Although the *Arthasastra* does not contain any reference to guilds loaning money to the common public, yet there are references suggesting that the king's spies borrowed from guilds on the pretext of procuring several kinds of merchandize. This shows that guilds loaned money to artisans and merchants as well. Guilds recognized their efficiency and integrity, and epigraphic proof shows that not only the common public, even the royalty deposited money with them. Though, the guilds had limited scope in banking in comparison to contemporary banks. A Mathura Inscription (2nd century AD) refers to the two permanent endowments of 550 silver coins each with two guilds to feed Brahmins and the poor from out of the interest money. Of the two Nasik Inscriptions (2nd century AD) one records the endowment of 2000 *karshapanas* at the rate of one per cent (per month) with a weavers' guild for providing cloth to *bhikshus* and 1000 *karshapanas* at the rate of 0.75 per cent (per month) with another weavers' guild for serving light meals to them. Separately from these more epigraphs and inscriptions are mentioned as proof in this regard. In addition to this the guilds occupied in works of charity as well. Guilds worked to alleviate distress and undertook works of piety and charity as a matter of duty. They were expected to use part of their profits for preservation and maintenance of assembly halls, watersheds, shrines, tanks and gardens, as also for helping widows, the poor and destitute.

Besides these functions, the guilds could attempt their members for offence in accordance with their own customs and usages, which came to acquire approximately the status of law. A guild member had to abide through both guild and state laws. The *Vasishtha Dharmasutra* holds the proof of

guilds as valid in settling boundary disputes. Though, the jurisdiction of guild courts was confined to civil cases alone. All guilds acted as courts for their members but either only significant ones, or representatives of several guilds authorized through the state, would have acted as courts for common public. Guilds, being organizations of people of dissimilar castes following the similar profession, would also have had some Brahmin members, some of whom would have been Executive Officers and almost certainly they, with the help of members or Executive Officers of other *varnas* would have shaped the courts of justice.

Considering the distinction flanked by the caste and the guild some historians hold that however alike in some compliments, they were basically dissimilar. Guilds were economic organizations; castes were social groups. Whereas caste is necessarily hereditary, the guild membership is not so. One could be a member of only one caste, but one could be a member of more than one guild. Though, in regions populated through people of the similar caste membership of guild and caste coincided and the head of the guild presided in excess of the meetings of both guild and caste. Yajnavalkya lays down that such rules of corporations as are not against sacred laws should be observed. Even Kautilya, a champion of state manage in excess of all spheres of action, lays down rules for the protection of artisans. Since the state earned a sizable income from taxation through guilds, it naturally provided facilities to them through maintaining roads for transport of merchandise and also granted subsidies and loans to them. Some wealthy merchants, as members of the guilds, or otherwise, necessity have extended financial support to kings in times of emergency. Kings honored guild heads through offering gifts. Guild heads were present at significant state ceremonies. There is no proof of a guild or a combination of guilds attempting to capture political power. The guilds of the era were local in character, with no central organization. Interests of dissimilar guilds were of dissimilar types, sometimes even conflicting and so they could hardly form a joint front against the state. Though, in case of contests for succession to the royal throne, they might have helped the claimants of their choice in acquiring it. Though, Kautilya advises the king to see that heads of dissimilar guilds do not unite against him, and win the support of the guilds through means of reconciliation and gifts, and to weaken

the ones as are inimical to him. He also advises the king to grant land, which is under attack from enemy to the guild of warriors. Guild quarrels, both internal and external, provided the king with appropriate opportunities to interfere in guild affairs. Yajnavalkya enjoins that a king should settle quarrels in the middle of guilds just as to their usages and create them follow the recognized path.

CHAITYAS, VIHARAS AND THEIR INTERACTION WITH TRIBAL GROUPS
The 'Tribal' Problematic
In this context where do we lay the tribes in relation to the Chaityas and the Viharas? We need to have clarity in relation to the term _tribe itself before we can articulate any possible connection flanked by the visible expressions of Buddhist structures and the _tribes'. The label —tribe has been an unstable category that has been deployed within multiple networks of power dealings, such as state-civilization, local-national and national global spheres. We need to question the contending meaning of tribes, variously defined as indigenous, aboriginal, primitive, underdeveloped, disempowered and marginalized. The term *Adivasi* was coined as a translation to the colonial category of aboriginal. The tribal and the aboriginal are not synonymous categories. They are in information two dissimilar categories altogether. The term tribe refers to the political organization of the society while the term aboriginal means one present from the beginning (origin) or of the sunrise (literal meaning). Any identification of a scrupulous people with the region implies a genetic sub text and a stability of flanked by them and the first human populations of those areas. This hypothesis may have some limited validity in the New World but none in the Old World. The equivalence of the aboriginal to the tribal in the 19th century led to the theory of race (in Africa especially), where it was argued that the Africans were quite incapable of progressing beyond tribal organizations, unless forcibly integrated into civilizations dominated through superior races. This led to the aboriginal – tribal and vice versa.

In information the opening of the first millennium BC saw the prevalence of hunting and gathering, pastoralism and agriculture as the three varying strategy as per the demands of the eco-niche in the subcontinent. We cannot lay the _tribal' in the hunter-gatherer context always. These were responses determined through the eco-niche and the limitations of manpower and technology. The state too had an uneasy connection with the people who existed in the forests. The forest produce was crucial to the state, and the manage in excess of the similar was desirable. The Mauryan State for instance, in one telling stroke warned the forest dwellers therefore,

—and the forest folk who live in the dominions of the Beloved of Gods, even them he entreats and exhorts in regard to their duty. It is hereby explained to them that, inspite of his repentance, the Beloved of the Gods possess power enough to punish them for their crimes so that they would turn from their evil ways and would not be killed for their crimes.

The 13th rock edict is extra ordinary for its clarity and ruthlessness. An empire had to be run and the possessions had to be marshaled. It was in that context that the people were being warned. Needless to state that alike attitudes still prevail that lead to the utter dehumanization of our tribal populations. Let us now consider the so-described tribal, in the context of the above. Just as to Shereen Ratnagar however we cannot argue from the perspective of the indigenous, certainly we can form the perspective of the marginalized. The first question to be asked pertains to the defining elements of the term _tribal'. It is not ethnicity that marks out any group as a tribal civilization, but its social organization. One method of looking at the topic is to focus on the information that tribes are civilizations without caste hierarchies. Not all tribesmen or tribeswomen are ever equal in talent, industriousness, or wealth. Through definition, all members of a tribe hold their natural possessions jointly; these are agricultural land, forests, pasture grounds, fisheries, or water possessions. A tribal family tills a plot of land because it has the right to do so through virtue of birth in that tribe. No family is deprived of access to these possessions; all members have rights to land, or

to graze their animals on open ground in the tribe's terrain. On the other face of the coin, no member of a tribe has the right to dispose of his plot to an outsider or to sell it off. The social stratification in the tribal civilization results due to a intricate procedure of appropriation of respect, of power and of a capability to participate in the cycles of reciprocities. Therefore tribal tenure is joint tenure, and qualitatively dissimilar from private property in land. Tribal cultures do not create commodities of their natural possessions! In other languages the term tribe can said to be applied to that specific context where individual rights were embedded in the society rights, where manufacture was for consumption and where there lived power but not power. Where did this civilization prevail in the context of the early history of the subcontinent? Can we speculate on the nature of any connection flanked by the tribal world and Buddhism? These are motivating issues that need a greater commitment to research. These cannot be left as speculative matters.

EARLY TAMIL SOCIETY—REGIONS AND THEIR CULTURES AND CULT OF HERO WORSHIP

Sources
Here as suggested, familiarize you with several sources of learning the early Tamil civilization.

Sangam Literature
The Sangam literature shapes the main source of information for the Early Historic era. The literature derives its name from Sangam, where it is whispered to have been composed or compiled. Just as to Tamil custom, there were three Sangam Ages, each extending in excess of a era of thousands of years and these Sangams were patronised through the Pandya rulers. The Sangam perhaps functioned as an academy or assembly, where a number of poets were present. The extant works, which are attributed to the third Sangam Age, were compiled in the early medieval era. All the Tamil works that were produced in the first two Sangams are said to have been lost. Though, there is

very small historical or linguistic proof to prove the authenticity of this legend. It has also been stated that the term ‚Sangam' is of very late origin. The Sangam literature is the oral bardic literature of the ancient Tamils. Mainly of the works were composed through the bards and poets who praised the kings and received their patronage in return. They are also the emotional outpourings of the poets. The literature offers vital information for reconstructing the socio, economic and political history of the Early Historic Tamil country. However the situations in the poems were described just as to the poetic conventions, the poets have taken real life situations and the happenings in the civilization for similes, metaphors and other codes and symbols. The symbols and codes have hidden meanings, which are not obvious. A careful analysis of these symbols and codes can offer valuable information. These works are preserved mainly due to the efforts of scholars including U.V. Swaminatha Iyer, who composed the manuscripts and published them in the contemporary era.

The major works produced Throughout this period are grouped into *Pathinenmelkanakku* (eighteen major works - narrative) and *Pathinenkilkanakku* (eighteen minor works –didactic). *Pathinenmelkanakku* is divided into *Ettutokai* and *Paththupattu*. Besides these works, there is *Tolkappiyam*, an ancient Tamil grammatical treatise. There are five major Tamil epics, *Silappadikaram*, *Manimekalai*, *Sivaka cintamani*, *Valaiyapati* and *Kundalakesi*, which postdate the Sangam Age. In the middle of these, *Silapatikaram* and *Manimekalai* are the well-known works. There are also five minor epics, *Yasodhara-kaviyam*, *Chulamani*, *Perunkathai*, *Nagakumara-kaviyam* and *Nilakesi*, written through Jain authors.

Tolkappiyam – Grammatical Job
Tolkappiyam, the ancient extant Tamil grammar job, was written through Tolkappiyar, who was whispered to be a disciple of the mythical sage Agasthya. The *Tolkappiyam* lays down the rules and regulations for Tamil literature. The *Tolkappiyam* is divided into three components:

Eluttatikaram (Orthography)

Collatikaram (etymology and syntax) and

Porulatikaram (deals with akam and puram and prosody).

Chronology of *Tolkappiyam* is debatable. Some scholars date it to approximately the beginning of the Christian period, while others lay it in fifth century A.D.

Pathinenmelkanakku (the Eighteen Major Works)

Pathinenmelkanakku comprises *Ettutokai* (eight anthologies) and *Paththupattu* (ten Idylls), which are the earliest Sangam works.

Ettutokai (the eight anthologies)

The *Ettutokai* is a collection of eight extensive and short poems. The *Ettutokai* works are:

Narrinai: The common theme of *Narrinai* is love and it consists of 400 stanzas, composed through 175 poets.

Kuruntokai: It is a _short anthology', consisting of 402 love poems.

Ainkurunuru: This _short five hundreds' deals with love songs of five fold landscape.

Pattirrupattu: The _ten tens' consists of ten extensive poems divided into ten parts. It is a *puram* job praising the valour of the Chera kings. The job is valuable for reconstructing the history of the early Chera rulers.

Paripatal: It is a composition of devotional songs dedicated to deities such as Vishnu and Karthikeya.

Kalitokai: It consists of 150 stanzas with mainly of the songs dealing with love theme and a few songs on moral values.

Akananuru: It contains 401 stanzas of poems composed through almost 145 poets. All the songs deal with love theme.

Purananuru: It comprises of 400 heroic poems, composed through 157 poets.

Paththupattu (Ten Idylls)

The *Paththupattu* is a collection of ten extensive poems. Out of them, five belong to the *arrupatai* class in which a bard directs another to a person/king for the acquisition of wealth. They are:

Tirumurukarruppatai: A bard directs another to the abode of Lord Muruga, to acquire spiritual wealth. All the significant shrines of Lord Muruga are described in this job. It was composed through Nakkirar.

Porunararruppatai: It praises the valour of the Chola king Karikala. It was composed through Muttatamakanniyar.

Ciruppanarruppatai: In this job, the bard directs the minstrel to the court of Nalliyakotan, a chieftain. While describing his kingdom, the job also portrays the capital municipalities of three major kingdoms, namely, the Cheras, the Cholas and the Pandyas. It was written through Nattattanar.

Perumpannarruppatai: This *arrupatai* is in praise of the ruler of Kanchi, written through the poet Uruttirakkannanar. Management of the municipality of Kanchi and its trading behaviors are widely described in this job.

Mullaipattu: The shortest of ten idylls, containing 103 rows was composed through Naputtanar. This job deals with the *akam* concept.

Maturaikanci: The longest of ten poems, contains 782 rows. Mankuti Marutanar praises the valour of the Pandya king Netunceliyan and describes in detail the deal, commerce and administrative characteristics of the Pandya Kingdom.

Netunelvatai: This *puram* job was written through Nakkirar in praise of Netunceliyan, the Pandya ruler.

Kurincipattu: Kapilar's job deals with *akam* concept.

Pattinapalai: In praise of the Chola ruler Karikala, this job was composed through Uruttirankannanar. This job deals with the deal dealings flanked by ancient Tamil country and foreign countries.

Malaipatukatam: Composed through Perumkaucikanar, the job is an *arrupatai*, directing the fellow bard to the kingdom of Nannan.

Pathinenkilkanakku (Eighteen Minor Works)

The eighteen minor (*Kilkanakku*) works which are didactic in nature are later than the *Melkanakku* works. They illustrate more power of Prakrit and Sanskrit cultural traditions than the *Melkanakku* works. The impact of Jainism and Buddhism is also seen in these works, which mostly contain codes of conduct for kings and people. The *Kilkanakku* literature was composed in fourth-fifth centuries A.D., when the Tamil country was under the Kalabhra rule. The mainly well-known in the middle of these works is *Muppal* or *Tirukural*, written through Tiruvalluvar. It deals with philosophy and maxims. The eighteen minor works are:

Naladiyar;

Nanmani Kadigai;

Palamoli Nanuru;

Aintinai Elupathu;

Aintinai Aimbathu;

Tinai Malai Nurrambathu;

Acharakovai;

Tinaimoli Aimbathu;

Muppal (Tirukural);

Tirikadugam;

Cirupanchamulam;

Kalavali Narpathu;

Kar Narpathu;

Inna Narpathu;

Iniyavai Narpathu;

Kainilai;

Innilai; and

Eladi.

Foreign Accounts

The Periplus Maris Erythraei (The Periplus of Erythrean Sea), compiled in first century A.D., serves as an significant source of Indo-Roman

Deal. The anonymous author of this job was a Greek merchant or sailor from Egypt. This job mentions in relation to the major ports and cities in India Throughout the Early Historic era and also the items of Indo-Roman deal. Accounts of the Roman Writer, Pliny the Elder (23-79 A.D.) are also useful for investigating the Indo-Roman deal. Pliny speaks in relation to the draining of wealth of the Roman Empire due to the demand for spices, especially pepper, in Rome. These accounts are quite useful in knowing in relation to the Indo-Roman Deal. Claudius Ptolemy's *Geographia* is another significant source for Indo-Roman Deal. He was a Greek. He existed in Alexandria, the Roman capital of Egypt and was the head of the renowned library at Alexandria from 127 to 150 A.D. Sure significant information is also accessible in the Buddhist chronicles of Sri Lanka, namely, *Mahavamsa* and Deepavamsa.

Archaeological Materials
The archaeological proof comprises megalithic burials or monuments, coins and exhumed sites, especially urban centres. Megaliths are a class of burial or memorial monuments, erected as a part of ancestral worship. The term ‗Megalith' means ‗big stone'. Since the monuments were made of big stones, they are described megaliths. The megaliths are establish all in excess of the Tamil country. The dead were buried with grave goods like iron objects, black-and-red ware pottery and drops and other materials, and monuments were erected. Sometimes valuable materials were also placed beside with the remnants of dead as offerings. Iron objects, especially, weapons of offence are establish in big numbers in the burials. The burial kinds are: Cairn circle, Urn burials, Dolmens, *Topikals* and *Kodaikkals*. Numerous megalithic sites have been exhumed in Tamil country. Sanur, Kunnathur, Amirthamangalam, Kodumanal, Porkalam and Mangadu are a few of them.

Exhumed Environment Sites
Separately from the megalithic burials, several environment sites, especially urban centres of the Early Historic era have been exhumed in Tamil

Nadu. These sites offer a lot of information in relation to the Early Historic era. Vasavasamudram close to the mouth of the Palar, Kanchipuram on the bank of the Palar, Arikamedu close to Pondichery, Kaveripattinam close to the mouth of the Kaveri, Uraiyur on the bank of the Kaveri, Alagankulam close to the mouth of the Vaigai and Korkai close to the mouth of the Tambrabarani River are the significant exhumed Early Historic environment sites in Tamil Nadu. They provide valuable proof for the Indo-Roman deal, and cities of the Sangam Age. Brick structures, pottery with Tamil Brahmi inscriptions and imported pottery from Rome (e.g. Amphora) have been establish at these sites. The exhumed sites are also indirectly useful in determining the chronology of the Sangam literature.

Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions

Another category of proof is the Tamil Brahmi inscriptions establish on the rock shelters carved with stone beds for the residence of Jain monks and on pottery. They serve as corroborative proof for dating the literature. They have been establish at many sites close to Madurai and Karur. The inscriptions at Pugalur close to Karur provide information in relation to the genealogy of the Chera rulers.

Coins – Indian and Roman

Coins of Early Historic era have been establish at several sites in Tamil Nadu. They contain coins of the Sangam Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas. Besides these local coins, gold, silver and copper Roman coins have also been establish in big numbers from many sites. Mainly of the Roman coin hoards are concentrated in the Coimbatore area. This is attributed to the significant role this area had played in the Indo- Roman deal.

Chronology

Dating the Sangam literature has not been an easy task in the absence of specific proof. As a result, there is no unanimous opinion in the middle of

the scholars on the date of the Sangam literature. Some scholars date it flanked by third century B.C. and fifth century A.D., while others lay it flanked by first century and fifth century A.D. Some of the criteria used for dating the Sangam literature are listed below:

Based on the linguistic development of Tamil language used in the Sangam literature, the works are dated flanked by second century B.C. and third century A.D.

Tamil Brahmi inscriptions with alike individual names mentioned in the Sangam literature are dated from second century B.C. to fourth century A.D.

Foreign accounts such as *Periplus Maraei of Erythrei* date the trading centres mentioned in the Sangam literature to the early centuries of Christian period.

No reference to the Pallava rulers in the Sangam literature denotes a pre-Pallava chronology for the works.

However the broad time range of the whole corpus of Sangam literature can be easily fixed, the internal chronology is a problematic. In the middle of the Sangam works, the texts grouped under the *Pathinenmelkanakku* are measured earlier than the *Pathinenkilkanakku* texts. Within the *Pathinenmelkanakku*, *Ettutokai* with the exception of *Kalitokai* and *Paripatal* was the earliest. Some of the *arruppadai* literature is also dated to early era.

Areas and their Cultures (Aintinai/Five Fold Landscape)
Here we describe the econiches in which the early Tamil Civilization existed.

Tinai Concept
The ancient Tamils had divided the Tamil country into five separate ecological zones, with each zone having its own features. Each zone with its separate features is described Tinai. The concept of *tinai* can be compared to

the contemporary ecosystem approach adopted in the revise of cultures. The five *tinai* are:

Kurinci – mountainous zone;

Mullai – rustic zone;

Marutam – riverine zone;

Neytal – coastal zone; and

Palai- arid zone.

These zonal classifications were adopted for the composition of poems. Besides, they also more or less reflected the actual ecological systems of Tamil country. Though, it should not be measured that the five fold divisions were establish as separate elements in reality. They were idealized landscapes. However such separate elements lived in some regions; quite a few areas had overlapping of several *tinais*. *Tolkappiyam* refers to such a situation as *tinai mayakkam*.

Each zone or *tinai* comprises the conduct code ascribed to love situations (*akam*) and war situations (*puram*). The *tinais* have separate feature characteristics, namely, time, season, fauna, flora, avifauna and job. In the composition of poems the poets followed these conventions. While composing a poem on Marutam *tinai*, the plants, animals and the method of life seen in that zone are incorporated in the poems. While creating these conventions the poets have visualised the method of life they saw in each *tinai* and created the conventions. In actual life, the survival and several characteristics of the life in these zones are varied depending upon the landscape patterns. The *Akam* and *puram tinais* also reflect the predominant behavioral patterns in the middle of the people of each landscape. It can be concluded that these poems more or less reflect the ground reality; however it is quite possible that sure generalizations and exaggerations establish their lay.

Kurinji

The Kurinji landscape was the mountainous zone. The people who existed in this zone are described *kuravan*. Hunting and gathering was the main job here. Muruga was the God of Kurinji. Features of Kurinji Landscape:

Tinai or Landscape: Kurinji, mountainous zone (named after a flower of the hilly area (*Phelophylum Kunthianum nees*).

Time: Midnight.

Season: Early winter and early dew season.

Flora: Jackfruit and bamboo.

Fauna: Elephant, monkey, tiger.

Avifauna: Peacock, parrot.

Resolution: Small resolution (*cirukuti*).

Survival Pattern: Hunting of wild animals and gathering of honey and plant produce, slash-burn farming.

Food/Crops: Rice, pepper, *tinai*, tuber, honey.

People: People of mountains (Kuravar, Kanavar & Vetar).

Deity: Muruga, the God of warfare.

Conduct Code (Akam): Clandestine meeting of the hero and the heroine (*punartal*).

Conduct Code (Puram): Cattle lifting (v*etci*).

Mullai

Mullai was the rustic zone. Pastoralists existed in this area and animal husbandry was the main job. Vishnu was the God of this area. Features of Mullai Landscape:

Tinai or Landscape: Mullai, the rustic or forest zone (named after white jasmine flower (*Jasmimum auriculatum*).

Time: Evening.

Season: Winter and early rainy season.

Flora: Indian laburnum, iron wood tree.

Fauna: Cow, bull, sheep, goat and deer.

Avifauna: Sparrow and wild fowl.

Resolution: Rustic villages and hamlets.

Survival Pattern: Animal husbandry and small level farming.

People: Pastoralists, cowherds & shepherds (*Ayar* and *Itaiyar*).

Deity: Vishnu.

Conduct Code (Akam): Patient waiting on the part of wife for the return of her husband from a journey (*iruttal*).

Conduct Code (Puram): Invasion (*Vanji*).

Marutam

Marutam was the riverine zone. Farmers existed in this zone. Indra was the God of this area. Features of Marutam Landscape:

Tinai or Landscape: Marutam, riverine or agricultural zone (named after a flower of the mystle tree (*Terminalia arjuna*).

Time: Last hours of night and dawn.

Season: All the six seasons, winter, autumn, early dew, late dew, early spring and late spring.

Flora: Mango trees.

Fauna: Buffalo, fresh water fish.

Avifauna: Heron.

Resolution: Village (*ur*).

Survival Pattern: Agriculture and allied behaviors.

People: Ploughmen, agriculturalists, villager (*Ulavar* and *Urar*).

Deity: Indra, God of rains.

Conduct Code (akam): Lover's quarrel due to hero's infidelity (*Utal*).

Conduct Code (puram): Besieging the enemy's fort (*Ulinai*).

Neytal

The Neytal was the coastal zone. The people who existed here were recognized as Paratavars. Varuana was the God of this area. Fishing and salt mining were the main occupations. Features of Neytal Landscape:

Tinai or Landscape: Neytal, coastal zone (named after the flower which grows in the back waters (*Nympheae violacea*).

Time: Afternoon.

Season: All the six seasons.

Flora: *Punnai.*

Fauna: Crocodile, shark.

Avifauna: Seagull.

Resolution: Coastal cities (*pattinam*).

Survival Pattern: Fishing and salt collection.

People: Fisher folk (Valaiyar, paratavar & minavar).

Deity: Varuna, the God of Sea.

Conduct Code (Akam): Bemoaning the lover's absence (*Irnakal*).

Conduct Code (Puram): Battle (*tumpai*).

Palai

Palai was the arid, semi arid zone. As such there is no desert land in ancient Tamil country, the landscapes of Kurinji and Mullai, Throughout the arid climate or in the time of rain failure, became parched and resulted in the formation of Palai land. Korravai was the goddess of this area. Features of Palai Landscape:

Tinai or Landscape: Palai, arid zone (named after the flower of the desert area (*Wrightia tinctoria*).

Time: Mid day.

Season: Late spring or summer.

Flora: Cactus and other thorny shrubs.

Fauna: Elephant, tiger, wolf.

Avifauna: Eagle.

Resolution: Small settlements on the highway.

Survival Pattern: Highway robbery, plundering and cattle lifting.

People: Warriors, robbers, and hunters (Maravar, Eyinar, Vetar, Kalvar).

Deity: Korravai, the Goddess of victory.

Conduct Code (Akam): Separation of lovers (*Pirital*).

Conduct Code (Puram): Victory (*Vakai*).

Akam and Puram Embedded in the Concept of the Areas

A unique characteristic of Sangam literature is the special lay accorded to general men and women. Mainly of the works deal with day-to-day behaviors of general people, who were immortalized in these poems? The literature covers all the characteristics of human life under two categories - *akam* and *puram*. *Akam* designates the inner life of the people, which encompasses the love feelings of men and women. *Puram,* on the other hand, deals with the outer life of the people, with the emphasis on war, victory, and human values. There are three main components in the *akam* concept, namely, the *mutalporul*, *karuporul* and *uriporul*. The *mutalporul* or the primary element denotes legroom and time of action. The *karuporul* or the principal element designates the natural elements belonging to a scrupulous landscape (deity, food, flora, fauna and economic behaviors). The *uriporul* or the human elements, denotes human emotions and feelings that are appropriate to the characteristics of *mudal* and *karu*. There are five corresponding *tinais* for *akam* situations (See Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Akam Conduct Code for the Five Tinais

There are also two additional situations in *akam* poetry, namely the *Porunta tinai* or mismatched love and *kaikillai* or unrequited love (See Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Puram Codes for the Five Tinais

The two additional *tinais* of *puram* concept, namely, the *Kanchi* and *Padantinai* deal with human values and ethics in life.

Polity

The political formations of the Sangam age were in a preliminary stage. There was no major empire, but only three big kingdoms ruled through *Ventars* (crowned kings), and several chieftains (*Velirs*), who controlled small territories. The Cheras and Cholas and Pandyas were the *Muventars* or three major kings, who controlled big territories and ruled independently. The *Muventars* performed Vedic sacrifices (e.g. *Rajasuya*) to legitimise their kingship. There are references to these monarchs in the Asokan inscriptions as Chodas, Padas and Keralaputos. The Asokan inscriptions also mention ‗Satiyaputos' who are recognized with the rulers of Tagadur area (Dharmapuri area in western Tamil Nadu). The *ventars* and the chieftains regularly fought in the middle of themselves for supremacy. While a few of chieftains were self-governing, others were aligned with one of the *Muventars.*

The history of Sangam Cheras is gleaned from *Patirrupattu*, a job of eight anthologies. The Pugalur Tamil Brahmi inscription of early centuries of the Christian period also refers to the genealogy of the Chera rulers. The Cheras ruled in excess of mainly part of Kerala and western Tamil Nadu from Vanchi and Karur. Vanji is recognized with contemporary Karur close to Tiruchirapalli. Some scholars identify it with Kodungallore close to Thrissur in Kerala. Muziris close to the mouth of Periyar was the well-known port of the Cheras. Senguttuvan was the prominent ruler of this dynasty and he was a modern of Gajabahu of Sri Lanka. Bow and arrow was the emblem of the

Cheras. The Cholas ruled in excess of the Kaveri delta. Their capital was situated at Uraiyur. They also had another capital at Puhar (Kaveripattinam), which also acted as a port municipality. Karikala was the well-known king of this dynasty, who is said to have destroyed all his enemies at a very young age and also credited with the structure of a dam or bund crossways the river Kaveri. There were other rulers such as Nedunkilli. Tiger was their emblem.

The Pandyas are measured to be the earliest rulers of the Sangam Age. There are several references to Pandyas in literary sources such as the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Arthasastra* and the accounts of Megasthanes. They ruled in excess of the southern Tamil country. Just as to legends, they patronised the poets of Sangam Age. Their capital was at Madurai. Korkai was their port municipality. Neducheliyan was the well-known ruler of this dynasty, who is said to have defeated the Aryan rulers. Fish was their emblem. There were numerous chieftains like Ori, Kari, Pari, Atiyaman, Nalliyakotan, and Ay, ruling in excess of small regions. There were frequent battles in the middle of the chieftains to manage territories and to collect booty. The composed booty was redistributed through the chief in the middle of the followers (warriors, bards and others). Some of the chieftains were powerful and received tributes from other smaller chieftains (*Purananuru* 97). The chieftains also fought with the *Ventars,* e.g. Pari of Parambu hills.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE, NOTIONS OF UNTOUCHABILITY, CHANGING PATTERNS IN VARNA AND JATI

Inter Personal Relationships: Gender in Family Life

A secure seems at the Buddhist and Jain literature provides some glimpses of inter-personal relationships and gender connection in conjugal life. There lived conjugal love and affection flanked by husband and wife. Sometimes, though, the wife's devotion to her husband arises out of duty rather than love. Even, a woman is valued through her husband more than through her other relatives. In *Sigalovada Sutta*, it is said that husband should

treat his wife with respect, courtesy and faithfulness. In turn, she should be hospitable and chaste, skilled and diligent at job and should safeguard the property of her husband. In another lay Buddha addressing young women in relation to the to go to their husband's home says:

A wife rises earlier than her husband and is the last one to retire; she willingly helps her husband, carries out his wishes and speaks with him affably.

She honours, reveres and compliments all whom her husband reveres, such as his parents, *samanas*, and *Brahmanas*.

She manages the household and those who live in it.

She is deft and nimble in the crafts of her husband's household and she knows how to get the job done and how to do it herself.

She safeguards her husband's property. Only such a wife, the Buddha adds, can be born a *Deva* after death.

In another instance, Buddha advises *Sujata*, the unruly daughter in law of *Anathpindika* who comes from a rich family. He says there are seven kinds of wives, some approved and others not so. The first is _the slayer' (*vadhaka*) who is pitiless, corrupt and neglect the husband at night, and passes her time with others. The second kind is _the robber' (*Chorisama*), who takes his money and longs to impoverish him. The third is _mistress-like wife' (*ayyasama*) who is lazy, indolent, expensive to uphold, who loves gossip and talks with strident voice. She lessens her husband's zeal and industry. These three are harsh and distrustful, and live in the hell after their deaths. But, the fourth kind is _the mother-like wife' (*matusama*), who has sympathy for her husband, cares for him as she would for an only son, and safeguards her husband's property. The fifth kind is _the sister-like' (*bhaginisama*), who compliments her husband as she would an elder. The sixth kind is _the companion-like' who is full of joy on seeing her husband, presently as one meeting a friend after a extensive time. The last kind is _the slave-like wife' (*dasisama*), who does not fear to take beating from her husband and is calm, patient, and obedient. These wives are virtuous and will go to heaven after

death. Interestingly, Sujata after listening to Buddha's deliberation chooses to be a _slave-like wife'. Now let us turn to the Hindu texts to see what they have to say in relation to the personal connection flanked by married couples. In *Abhijnanasakuntalam*, the admonition addressed to the king through the sage *Kanva " s* disciple, we have echoes of rules in *Smritis* deprecating extensive residence of the wife with her paternal relatives and admitting the husband's complete power in excess of her. *Kanva " s* own summary of the duties of a wife, addressed to *Sakuntala* on the eve of her departure for her husband's lay, is based on the rules laid in earlier *Smritis* and *Kamasutra*. In the character *Dhuta*, wife of the hero in the *Mrichchakatika* we have a typical instance of the good wife described in Smritis. The belief in the extraordinary powers of the devoted wife (*pativrata*), which is expressed in the *Mahabharata* and other works, is reflected in a story of the *Dasa-Kumar-Charita*. The attitude of high-born ladies is illustrated in another story of the similar job, where a woman, repudiated through her husband, declares it to be a livelihood death for women of high birth to he hated through their husbands, for the husband alone is the deity of such women. Still another story shows how the qualities of economic housekeeping and absolute devotion to the husband were highly prized in the middle of wives. Following is a account of an ideal wife based on several *Smritis* and *Kamasutra*. *Vatsyayana* draws a picture of the good wife and may be taken as to be a faithful reflection of real life. The picture exhibits those qualities of service and self-restraint as well as sound household management, which have remained the hallmark of Hindu, wives down to the present day. The wife is supposed to devote herself to her husband as however to a deity. She should personally seem after the comforts of her husband. She shares her husband's fasts and vows, not brooking into refusal. She attends festivities, social gatherings, sacrifices, and religious processions, only with his permission. She engages sports approved through him. She avoids company of disreputable women, shows him no signs of displeasure, and does not loiter in relation to the at the doorstep, or in solitary spaces for a extensive time. She is not puffed up with prosperity, and she does not provide charity to anyone without informing her husband. She honours her husband's friends, as is their due,

with gifts of garlands, unguents, and toilet. She serves her father-in-law and mother-in-law and abides through their commands. When in their attendance, she creates no replies, speaks few but sweet languages, and does not laugh aloud. She engages servants in their proper job and honours them on festive occasions. When her husband is gone abroad she lives a life of ascetic restraint: she provides up wearing all ornaments excepting the marks of her married state: she engages in religious rites and fasts: she acts as bidden through her superiors: she does not go out to visit her dealings except for on occasions of calamities or festivities: when she visits them, she does so only for a short while and in the company of her husband's people. When her husband returns house, she goes forth immediately to meet him in her sober dress, and then she worships the gods and creates gifts. Separately from attending to her husband and his parents, dealings, as well as his friends, the wife has complete and comprehensive charge of the household. She keeps the household absolutely clean, adorns it with festoons of flowers, and polishes the floor totally smooth. She seems after the worship of the gods at the household shrine and the offering of *bali* oblations three times a day. In the garden attached to the home she plants beds of several vegetables, herbs, plants, and trees. She keeps a store of several provisions in the home. She knows how to spin and weave, how to seem after agriculture, cattle-breeding, and draught animals, how to take care of her husband's domestic pets and so forth. She frames an annual budget and creates her expenses accordingly. She keeps daily accounts and creates up the total at the end of the day. Throughout her husband's absence she exerts herself in order that his affairs may not suffer. She increases the income and diminishes the expenditure to the best of her power. In case the woman has a co-wife she seems upon the later as a younger sister when she is older in age and as a mother when she herself is younger. Again, just as to *Katyayana* and *Veda-Vyasa*, the wife is to be associated with the husband in the performance of his religious acts, but all acts done through her to secure her spiritual benefit without his consent are useless. On the other hand, husband necessity upholds his wife. Some of the texts even prescribe penance for a husband for deserting a faultless wife.

Interestingly, we spot a striking parallel in Buddhist and Hindu sources on the interpersonal connection in a conjugal life. The woman was mostly responsible for the household management and subservient to her husband. Unlike the Vedic era, women no longer enjoy equality with their husbands. They are also marginalised in other spheres of public life. The vital framework of the social structure therefore can be inferred to be patriarchal; however there are unusual instances of royal women acting as sovereigns. In Orissa, many queens of *Bhaumaka* dynasty occupied the throne in the absence of male heirs. Hence, it is hard to generalise for the whole subcontinent.

Marriage: Facets of Social Reproduction

In the Rig Vedic times, the mainly ancient of the Vedic traditions, the woman enjoyed an exalted location and she was on perfect equality with her husband. The wedding hymn in Rig Veda narrates the marriage of *Surya*, the Sun-maiden with *Soma*. The hymn metaphorically describes the bride and the groom, with all rituals, formulas and sayings. The marriage becomes a visible reality when the parents provide the bribe the farewell blessings. At least eight dissimilar shapes of marriages were recognized. There was a separate sanction for the remarriage of widow. Men of one caste married widows of another caste and marriage of close to-blood was objected for third and fourth generation. But as we move into later *Smriti* era, we discover more and more restrictions to be incorporated and the organization becomes more rigid and static.

The ascendancy of rival faiths such as Buddhism and Jainism resulted in strong brahmanical reaction. As Buddhism and Jainism looked more reformists, the Brahmanic movement of counter-reform also gained strength. This Brahmanic reaction to the reformist alternative religious philosophy was successful through integrating the foreigners who entered the Indian civilization from north and northwest. The orthodox brahmanical civilization strategically conceded to these powerful ruling classes the status of Kshatriyas. In the meanwhile, the resurgence of deal and industry especially Throughout Gupta rule raised the average of livelihood of several social

groups and urbanization took lay in all parts of the country. More and more groups were allowed to hold better social positions in the structural matrix of Brahmanic social order. The social groups who gained new social positions now enviously guarded them through following the social customs rigidly. The rules of marriage and social interaction became more restrictive and stringent. Therefore, on the whole, Throughout this era albeit the philosophical challenge from Buddhism and Jainism, the social rules did not depart much from their earlier practice.

Like Smritis, Vatsyayana contemplates marriage as being normally arranged through the parents or other guardians of both the parties. There are only four shapes of marriages recognized in this era out of original eight. The four kinds of marriages recognized were: *Brahma, Prajapataya, Arsha,* and *Daiva*. The parents and relatives, in usual circumstance, would search for a match. Occasionally there was a ceremony for selection of the bride. The parents or guardians of the bride usually took the advantage of occasions of festivities and social gatherings to illustrate the bride to the groom's selection party. Therefore, both bride and groom were not involved in the selection procedure; it is parents or elders in the family who took the decision.

Though, *Vatsyayana* mentions in special circumstances, a young man can on his own win the girl of his choice through courtship or even through trickery and violence. He however discusses *Gandharva, Paisacha* and *Rakshasa* shapes of marriage in these special circumstances, yet they are not favoured. The literature in Gupta era contains repeated references to *Gandharva* marriages flanked by the leading characters, but, these are concerned in common with ancient kings, or heroes, or with fictitious character of princes and nobles. The popular attitude on this point is well expressed through *Kamandaki* to the love-lorn heroin of *Malatimadhava*. She says that usually father as well as destiny have power in excess of the disposal of maidens; the contrary examples of *Sakuntala* marrying *Dushyanta, Urvashi* marrying *Pururavas* and *Vasavadatta* marrying *Udayana* involve rashness and so do not deserve to be followed. In historical instance, princess Rajyasri of Thaneswar, her father, king Prabhakaravardhan, arranged her marriage. The mother meekly acquiesced the choice with the observation that _the father is the judge in the bestowal of the daughter'. Hence, the patriarch or elder male

members of the family mostly took the decision of the marriage. The opinion of the mother in such matter played a marginal role. Any role of the bride and groom in such a context looks distant-fetched.

As every social group consciously guarded their social positions, the instances of marriage flanked by dissimilar groups reduced considerably. The *Sastras* now made rules where marriages in the similar caste were preferred. *Vastyayana* in his *Kamasutra* declares that a man uniting himself in love just as to canonical rites with a virgin of the similar Varna obtains the blessings of progeny, fame, and public approval. The contrary practice of creation love to girls belonging to higher Varnas as well as to married women is forbidden. The intermarriages flanked by dissimilar Varnas were hedged approximately with even greater restriction in the civilization of *Vatsyayana*'s time than those contemplated through Smritis. Just as to Vatsyayana, not only is marriage in the *pratiloma* order absolutely forbidden, but also marriage in the *anuloma* is put on the similar low stage as union with harlots.

The effect of stringent marriage rules and the prescribed punishment and social ostracism was shed upon the age of the marriage. To exercise the absolute manage in excess of the marriage, the rising patriarchy in the civilization adopted rules that favored early marriages. To stay the purity of the social groups and thereby preserving the social status of the group, now women became the symbol of social prestige. Many texts of this era therefore put forth rules to uphold the social purity through stringently regulating marriage options. However, there was some legroom provided for the boy for any aberrant behaviour, the manage in excess of girls was absolute. Some texts made it compulsory to marry the girl before puberty. Just as to *Vishnu Purana* the age of the bridegroom should be three times that of the bride, but just as to *Angiras* the variation in age should be considerably less. Hence, however there is no agreement through dissimilar authors on the age of marriage of girls, but it can safely be said that the marriageable age of the girl had considerable gone down in this era in comparison to the earlier *Smriti* era.

The ceremony of marriage was as ever. The stepping round the fire, offering of granules as sacrifice, utterance of some promises through the bride and bridegroom through method of canonical hymns were essential rites. The parents usually took several precautions for the happiness of the daughters.

Before selecting a appropriate bridegroom, they matched the *gana*, i.e., classes of both agree or not. All men belonged to three *ganas* viz., *deva-gana* (divine class), *nara gana* (human class) and *rakshasa gana* (demonical class). A married pair of like *ganas* has the best constancy. *Deva* and *nara ganas* create middle combinations; *deva* and *rakshasa* inferior; *nara* and *rakshasa* are opposed or inimical. A boy or girl's *gana* is determined through the *rasi* (sign of the zodiac) and *nakshatra* (constellation) under which she or he is born. The *Smriti* law of pre-Gupta era requires the widow as a rule to live a life of strict celibacy and self-restraint; however *Brihaspati* recommends, as an alternative, that she should burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. Literary references illustrate that the custom of sati was extolled through some authors, but strongly condemned through others in the Gupta era. But a wide spread prevalence of this practice in the Gupta Age is disproved through the complete silence of the observant Chinese travelers on this point and frequent references to widows in the Smritis and other literature. On the whole, we may infer, on common grounds that widows in the Gupta Age, as in the earlier times, usually live the chaste and austere life prescribed through the Smritis. But the remarriage of widows, and of other women, however slowly coming into disfavor, was not absolutely forbidden. Therefore, on the whole, the social and domestic life in this era sustained from the earlier era with the following restrictions:

No intermarriage, inter-dining and exogamy.

Ancient eight shapes of marriage were falling into disuse. Only the first four were recommended and supported viz., *Brahma, Daiva, Arsha*, and the *Prajapatya*.

Early marriage of girls was now insisted upon.

Remarriage of widows was still in use, however regarded with disfavor since Manu.

Of the 12 types of sons, only two were recognized, viz., *aurasa* (legitimate) and *dattaka* (adopted).

Now, looking at the Buddhist sources one does not notice any extra ordinary variation from the Hindu sources on these matters. One discovers

several shapes of marriages and unions mentioned in the Buddhist texts. There are ten shapes of unions mentioned in one lay. These are:

When woman is bought with money (dhanakkhita).

When woman stays of her own accord with a man (Chandavasini).

When a man provides her money of union (bhogavasini).

When a man provides her clothes (patavasini).

When an ablution of water is performed (odapattakani).

When she removes her head wear (obhatacambata).

When she is also a female slave (dasi nama).

When she is also a servant (kammakari).

When she is temporarily with a man (muhuttika).

When she is captured in a raid (dhajahata).

This list of unions throws adequate light on prevailing social situation within which these relationships took lay. But, the mainly acceptable form of social union of both sexes was in the form of marriage, which is referred in several texts as *avahavivaha*. *Avaha* literally means the leading of the bride and *vivaha* leading her absent through bridegroom's family. In this form of marriage, the families of both parties were mostly strange to each other. The marriage was arranged through an intermediary. It is the status and location in the civilization of the families on both sides, which are of the importance. Presumably, the families' necessity be equal. Though, when the marriage is being arranged, the rites and practice held the bride's family to be superior. The individual opinion of the girl and the youth like the Hindu practice is absent however compatibility is suggested through imputation of identical qualities of both parties.

One also discovers reference to marriage practices in non-Buddhists in Buddhist literature. *Vinaya Pitaka* mentions five kinds of *brahmanas* in relation to marriage. The first kind of *Brahman* is *brahmana brahma-sama*, celibate like God. Second kind *is brahmana devasama* and the third *brahmana mariyada*, those who follow traditions. The second and third kinds necessity marry only *brahmana* women and with a ritual in which water is poured on woman. The fourth kind, those who break traditions*brahamana*

sabbhinnamariyada; and the fifth is the *brahmana* outcaste or *brahma chandala*. The fourth and fifth kinds of *brahmana* marry both *brahmana* and other woman. The ceremony in the last two kinds is through pouring of water as well as through buying and selling. All kinds of *brahmanas* irrespective of their behaviour are described as pure in lineage and also versed in the Vedas. It is obvious that only the first three kinds of *brahmanas* carry some approval. The last two are disapproved of but do not lose their caste affiliation.

A comparison of both Hindu and Buddhist practice therefore suggest secure resemblance. Both the civilizations held patriarchal attitude to arrange marriage, where the opinion of the parties to the marriage held no or marginal importance. The compatibility in Hindu organization was ensured through astrological and caste backdrop. To the contrary, though, in Buddhist practice, the economic backdrop and status of the family ensured compatibility flanked by husband and wife. Hence, in both the civilizations marriage led the base for a patriarchal family. The interpersonal relationships within the marital bond favoured patriarchal ideals.

Changing Social Pattern: Varna and Jati

Our information on the *Varna* concept comes mainly from the *Dharmasastras*, and account of it in those sources is not always corroborated, and occasionally even contradicted through other sources. The concept of *varna* is seen to be closely associated with the concept of *dharma*, understood in sense of universal law. *Dharmasastras* state that the civilization was made up of four orders, and later a fifth order was added. The first four were the *Brahman*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaisya* and *Sudra*. The fifth order was later recognized with untouchables. This schema of social structure is traced from the *purushasukta*, the tenth *mandala* of Rig Veda. This tenth *mandala* is whispered to be a later addition. The reference to *Kshatriya*, *Vaisya* and *Sudra* as a social category is only establish in this last *mandala* and is conspicuously absent in other parts of Rig-Veda.

In the later era, Manu gives a list of *Varnas* and occupations associated with them. However other Hindu sources recognize a hierarchical social composition of the modern civilization, yet there is no enough proof to suggest

they resembled the *varna* organization described through Manu. Had the *varna* organization functioned as a superimposed hierarchical layer of social groups, the distinction flanked by the four main groups and other permutation and combinations would have remained very clear and separate. What is curious though that while the identity of the *brahmana* and the untouchable is usually clear, references to the intermediate groups often appear to be of a rather confused, if not contradictory type? In big number of instances provided in the non-*Dharmasastra* sources one discovers a contrary situation. Buddhism is viewed as a organization, which was more sympathetic to oppressed groups and it provided an economic, political, and social solution to the caste oppression. In Buddhist literature no one is ever described as belonging to *brahmana varna, kshatriya varna, vaisya* or *sudra varna*. It looks to have remained a theoretical concept without any parallel in actual practice. On the other hand, the conditions *jati* and *kula* appear in concrete situations quite regularly. What really looks to matter the Buddhists were the *kula* and *jati* divisions.

The *vinaya pitaka* states that there are two *jatis*: the low *jati (hina jati)* and the excellent *jati (ukkatta jati)*. Buddha also accepts this bipartite division, but at many instances refuted the relation of *jati* in the matter of spiritual attainment. In doing so, Buddha however recognises the importance of *jati* and *gotra* in social interaction, but rules out their extrapolation to the spiritual field. In *purana kassapa*, a separate Buddhist text, six social divisions are conceptualized based on job, deal, caste and sect affiliation. They are:

Kanhabi jati: Black *jatis* mostly comprising of those who follow a bloody deal, i.e., mutton butchers, pork butchers, fowlers, hunters, fishermen, robbers etc.

Nilabhi jati: Blue *jatis* comprising of Bhikshus.

Lohitabhi jati: Red *jatis* which comprises Jainas.

Halladdabhi jati: Yellow *jati*, which comprises white robbed householders or gahapatis.

Sukkabhi jati: White *jati* comprising of *Ajivikas* and their followers.

The scheme not only gives this broad structure of the civilization in conditions of dissimilar colour groups, it further resolute low *jati* group into a hierarchical scheme of occupational groups. This textual resolution of the low *jatis* into occupational groups starting with *pukusuka* should be taken to indicate an order of lowness. This in overall character looks as a forerunner to Manu's scheme. The Buddhists whispered that good behaviour and wisdom being rewarded with rebirth in the high *kulas* of *Kshatriya* and *Brahmanas* and *Gahapatis*. The opposite features on the other hand would result in rebirth in the low *kulas* of *Chandala, nesadas, vennas* and *pukkusas*.

Rhys Davids drawing conclusion from the recruitment practice and principle of Buddhism proves that the *jati* was not a determining criterion in Buddhist *Sangha*. But, in practice the egalitarian principle of Buddhism could not power beyond life in *Sangha*. Other part of the civilization and the social interaction though still followed the discriminatory practice of the caste organization. Rhys Davids whispered that —had Buddha's view own the day, the development of social grades and distinctions would have urbanized differently and the caste organization would never have been built up . Oldenberg, on the other hand, has pointed out that despite the information that Buddhist theory acknowledged the equal rights of all persons to be received into the *Sangha*, the actual composition of the *Sangha* suggests that it was through no means in the keeping with the theory of equality and that a marked leaning to aristocracy looks to have lingered in ancient Buddhism. Similarly, Fick states that the development of caste was in no method broken or even retarded through Buddhism. Charles Eliot in his book *Hinduism and Budhism* also suggest that while Buddha attacked both the ritual and philosophy of the *brahmans*, so that after his time the sacrificial organization never regained its earlier prestige, he was less effective as a social reformer. Buddhism did oppose the Brahministic ritualism, but did not preach against the caste organization as whole. E. Senart in his book _Caste in India " also writes that the disagreement flanked by the Buddhists and Brahmans was primarily a thrash about for power, and that there was nothing in the Buddhists stand which aimed at changing the whole caste organization.

Some of the historical proof in the Gupta Age points to departures from the earlier Smriti law on *varna* and *jati*. An inscription of 5th century AD

refs to two *kshatriya* merchants livelihood in a municipality in the upper-Ganga basin, while another inscription of the similar century mentions of a body of weavers from Gujarat as having slowly adopted several other occupations in their new house in Malwa. This social dynamism is proved through a number of authentic instances of *brahmanas* and *Kshatriyas* adopting the occupations of the classes below them, and of *Vaisyas* and *Sudras* following those of the classes above them. This social dynamism needs to be understood in the economic and political dynamism of this era. The economic expansion was integrally related to the social integration procedure. The village economy grew from survival manufacture stage to produce social surplus to support deal and commerce. The imperial polity integrated vast areas into a single political element allowing dissimilar people, skills and possessions to interact. The land grant to *kshatriyas* expanded the agricultural practice to nook and corner of the country. The spread of Brahman groups stretched brahmanical nuclei to foster systematic acculturation in such areas to the Sanskritic mould. The social groups enjoying dissimilar grades of social status were integrated into the economy and local polity. The emergence of small kingdoms at the end of Gupta era therefore created several groups to claim *Kshatriya* status. The economic opportunities lured some *brahmanas* to take up deal. New technology and craft behaviors provided new opportunities to *Vaisyas* and *sudras*. These opportunities of economic interaction created new rules of social regulations. The rules of inter-marriage became more rigid. However, some examples of intermarriages flanked by *varnas* (both *anuloma* and *pratiloma*) can be inferred from the literary sources, yet they look to be confined to the social and economic elites. On the whole, the hierarchical model of *varna* organization could not be rigidly enforced in practice, since it would require a static civilization for proper functioning.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Discuss the nature of the second urbanization as it was taking place in India.

Examine the emergence of guilds in this period. What was their structure and organisation?

Comment on the location of the Chaityas and the Viharas.

Can we speculate on any relationship between the Chaityas and the tribal world?

Discuss the nature of the sources for the early historic period for Sangam age.

What was the importance of cattle raids in the early Tamil society?

Discuss the changing nature of Marriage in the context of Varna and jati.

Explain the various forms of marriage in the specificity of Jati contexts.

CHAPTER 4
Early Medieval Societies
STRUCTURE

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

Explain the transition to early medieval societies.

Understand the problem of urban decline.

Explain the proliferation and consolidation of castes and jatis.

Understand the religion in society

TRANSITION TO EARLY MEDIEVAL SOCIETIES

Perspectives

Let us first locate the early medieval in the context of the debate on several historiographical models. The use of the term ‗early medieval‘ is not so recent, but the context in which it has been used, as a replacement to Mills periodisation, is fairly recent. We need to understand the traditional periodisation as well as the departures from it in order to understand the category empirically.

There is a strange convergence in so distant as the AMP (Asiatic Mode of Manufacture) and the nationalist historiographical model of Indian Civilization are concerned. Both advocate a strong unchanging civilization. The AMP though rejects the subsistence of several stages of polities, and argues for the absolute power of the ‗Oriental Despot‘ lording it in excess of the unchanging world of the unstratified

village civilizations. The AMP is the least seminal and the mainly controversial concept in the Indian historiography. It has approach to be regarded as the outcome of rather poor knowledge that Marx possessed in relation to the sub-continent. The rejection of the Asiatic Mode of Manufacture and Oriental Despotism comes from the very centre of Marxist Scholarship in India, starting with of course Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi. Recently it has surfaced again on the grounds of being a sound theory in its own right, but should be given a decent burial it deserves so distant as the historiography of the sub-continent is concerned. The nationalist historiography as is well recognized embraces the periodisation offered through Mill rather uncritically. We need to once again understand this periodisation and its uncritical acceptance through the nationalist school. This is so as the similar is still being taught in the schools and in the universities after 50 years of India's freedom. The second battle of Tarain therefore becomes a defining moment for one era to end another glorious/dark one to begin, depending what colors you wear. Mill's periodisation divided the sub-continents history in three phases of Hindu, the Muslim and the Contemporary (British) eras. The communalist overtones of such a periodisation projects two types of golden ages depending on whose face of the fence one chooses to be. Separately from the obvious communal overtones of such a periodisation, it was also not based on any solid frame or conditions of reference, such as a social formation, or a mode of manufacture or a longe duree of the Annales. The needs of _nationalist historiography _were specific, to cater to the necessities of the National Movement. Here it looks that the ground had already been conceded through the scholarship to provide grist to the two nation theory propounded through the League and confirmed through the elections held in 1937. The vital tenets of this school advocated a strong civilization, highly bureaucratized, and strongly administered. Such an inference is drawn from the widely scattered epigraphic proof in the context of _early medieval India', and later for the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire. Troubles of continuous growth and the decline of early and late medieval civilizations are often measured as an effect of mere conquests or as a result of dynastic history. They are not seen in their structural conditions.

The more recent formulations on the civilization formation though agree that the pre-modern civilization in India was highly bureaucratized. There is though a wide range of disagreement in excess of the degree of fragmentation or segmentation on one hand and the temporally or spatially fluctuating unitary tendencies on the other hand. In this context recent debate has focused on the issue of the degree to which the pre contemporary civilization in India was centralized, spatially and temporally. Germane to this debate are two formulations that directly impinge on the

issue of spatial and temporal fragmentation. The first one is of course the model of Indian Feudalism and the second one is that of Burton Stein's Segmentary State and Civilization. Daniel Thorner mourned that ‗there is no single article on the lay of feudalism in the historical development of India'. Ironically exactly in the similar year that Thorner could not detect a single job devoted to feudalism in India, Kosambi published two articles on feudalism, and later that year the well-known Introduction. came out. Subsequently R.S. Sharma began to publish articles on the origin and development of feudalism in India. Later these were enlarged and complemented through new studies and Indian Feudalism appeared in 1965.

Feudalism as a theoretical construct remnants the mainly controversial construct in the debate on periodisation in Indian history. This debate also directly impinges on the issues such as the nature of the civilization in early medieval context and the procedure of social formation in the early medieval India. Let us briefly understand what happens at the stage of civilization and polity when the feudal structures emerge on the ruins of early historic phase in India. It has been argued that decentralization and hierarchy characterize the new civilization structure. This is suggested through the attendance of a wide range of semi autonomous rulers such as the Samantas, mahasamantas, mahamandalesvara and so on. Further, the emergence of the landed intermediaries is measured the hallmark of Indian feudal social formation. This of course is connected with the disintegration and decentralization of civilization power and with important changes in the agrarian structures and dealings of productions. The emergence of this landed gentry/intermediary is causally lined with what is now recognized as the land grant economy. All this is presupposed on the premise that the pre-feudal structure was a centralized beaurocratic imperial structure. That structure collapsed. The collapse of that structure led to the emergence of Indian Feudalism in the early medieval phase of Indian history. It is supposed that this earlier structure was characterized through highly monetized economy, extensive aloofness deal and tightly held bureaucracy where the payments were in cash and there were no intermediaries flanked by the king and the peasant. This pattern changed with the collapse of the Mauryan Empire. It then resulted in a organization where the urban monetary economy gave method to ruralization and villages becoming ‗self-enough'. This also ushered in an ‗Urban Decay', a hallmark of the feudal procedure. In the peasantry this resulted in something secure to serfdom, characterized through immobility, forced labour and exorbitantly high rates of revenue. Taken jointly, these three points enumerate the feudal model that explains the civilization formation as well as the nature of civilization in early medieval India.

The internal weakness of this model has been pointed out through several and one need not get into that debate now. The Euro centric nature of _feudal civilization', the presupposition of a strong unitary imperial organization before the 4th century AD and a pan Indian generalization mainly given on the foundation of epigraphy alone (as we do not have any horizontal excavation for the historical era in India) are some of the criticisms that have been offered. Nevertheless, Indian Feudalism remnants one of the mainly cogently worked out theoretical paradigm in relation to the civilization formation procedure in India, and hence warrants our attention. If we leave aside the AMP and the theory of the nationalist historians, then Stein's segmentary state and civilization, beside with _feudalism' will have to be regarded a major conceptual contribution to the modern debate on early medieval state and civilization in India. Stein in his _Interim Reflections' reaches for a theoretical merger flanked by three parallel strands of segmentary state and civilization integrated polity and processual model of integration. Stein visualizes a meeting point for all the three as necessary step to arrive at the alternative framework to understand civilization formation in India. This procedure of integration implied a transformation of _pre-civilization polities into civilization polities and therefore the integration of local polities into structures that transcended the bounds of local politics. This integrative procedure was accompanied through a series of other initiatives, extension of agrarian civilization through peasantization of tribal groups, improvements in the trading networks, expansion of the Caste civilization and the emergence of spatial extensions of the ruling lineages through the procedures of what Kulke calls Kshatriyaization or Rajputizaton. These events affected the pre-modern civilization in two important ways. The dynastic nuclear region came under bureaucratic manage of the central lineage/dynasty. Secondly the politically controlled region expanded through a procedure of integration into its hinterland. In this the Samanta, the Rajas and the maha mandaleshvaras played a pivotal role, one that was played later on through the Yadava Bhosale's of Singhnapur of Maharashtra. This formulation of looking at the civilization formation in an evolutionary procedure is a departure from both the Feudalism model as well as that of the segmentary civilization.

Early Medieval Civilization

In this context, the question that really requires some reflection is: what is it that creates the 7th and the 8th and the 9th centuries dissimilar than say the 1st and the 2nd centuries. What are the underlying procedures that operate in the 8th and the 9th and the 10th centuries? How dissimilar these procedure were, or did the procedure result in a

dissimilar outcome than say in the 1st or the 2nd centuries or in the 17th or the 18th centuries. We need to seem at such differences in conditions of civilization and polity before arriving at any tentative propositions concerning early medieval phase in Indian history. We need to understand the early historical a shade more to understand the procedure a shade better. The early historical phase in the Indian history can be characterized as going through two dominant traits: the shift towards state formation, and therefore the related development of resource mobilization and manage in excess of the tools of resource mobilization. The shapes of manage could be direct or indirect, through civilization organs or other more intricate networks. We can broadly understand the early historic phase through looking at the underlying form as outlined below. This will help us understand the nature of _early medieval' a shade better. At the stage of polity the territorial kingdoms crystallized into a state organization. This organization was characterized through extensive aloofness deal, urbanization and the subsistence of village societies. The social order of the Varna had taken roots and we already have the upper crust appropriating the surplus and the others doing the servile duties. It is against this backdrop that we need to understand the nature of early medieval organization.

The answer to this vexed issue depends on what perspective one chooses to argue from to outline the variation. B. D. Chattopadhya, who in recent years has worked out this problem from the perspective of integration and stability of a procedure unleashed in the _early historic period' argues that we necessity see this transition to medieval period in conditions of the _level of sure fundamental movements within the local and local stages and not in conditions of a crisis of a pre-existent, pan-Indian social order'. He therefore cuts the Gordian knot as it were and refrains from defining the nature of early medieval formation in conditions of its economy or polity at the pan Indian stage. Though he identifies three elements that evolve in the procedure of history from the _early historic phases'. These are, viz. The expansion of a civilization, the peasantization of tribes or in other languages a journey from _tribe to caste' and the cult appropriation and integration. He therefore rejects the single pre determinate account of a cultural pattern and opens other possibilities that could job at multicultural explanations at the pan Indian stage. It at once recognizes the information that in the _early medieval contexts' local identities were shaped more sharply and that the procedure of civilization formation was taken to its logical conclusion in dissimilar areas and at dissimilar stages.

Let us understand the broad contours of that civilization or rather civilizations that lived in several state systems in conditions of differences from the early historic ones. The point of departure though does not lie in the feudalism or the segmentary

civilization either. It lies in the method periodisation is understood and operated in Indian history.

Periodisation
The issue of periodisation is really easy at one stage. What constitutes the ‗ancient‗, the ‗medieval‗ and the ‗contemporary‗ in Indian History? The answers to these vexed questions have varied from the moment James Mill defined Indian History in mainly communal conditions. Without getting entangled in the earlier debates on the Mills periodisation, and the equally communal response through the Nationalist historians, let us understand the vital premise in relation to the periodisation. We periodize because it helps us understand the epoch, a century, an period, and a time segment better. So the question really is in relation to the categories deployed to differentiate those scrupulous eras, centuries or epochs. Mill deployed his categories in a manner that answered to him the issues that he was trying to understand, the past in conditions of its use to help the imperial Britain rule better. We need to understand it on our conditions, a past in conditions of its complexity to help us understand the present a shade better. Once such understanding exists then the categories of periodising Indian history or any history for that matter become that much more refined. In the context of the ‗early medieval‗ then, what we need to really seem at is the underlying form which differs from the one that lived in say ‗early historic‗, or say in ‗medieval‗. It is this variation that will sharply bring out the need to periodise. If it doesn‗t then there is for us not logical need to periodise. So what is that underlying form that we are trying to grapple with?
It is at this point that the debate in relation to the Indian Periodisation really hots up. The underlying form has been variously defined as feudal, not feudal, semi feudal, colonial, capitalist, and so on. So the whole time segment for the pre feudal (early historic) is intended to usher in the feudal and the interim era is the preparation for that. The similar goes for those who do not accept the feudal as underlying form. Here the effort is to usher in a non-feudal formation from the ‗early historic‗. The problem so really is ‗early historic‗ from which the ‗early medieval ‗has to be derived, in feudal or non-feudal conditions. Often the romantic reality is taken for a classical one and this easy mistake results in greater errors. For instance the nature of the civilization or a civilization is seen as the defining category, while the procedure that results in such a formation is ignored. Therefore we get feudalism, or an integrated polity, or a segmentary civilization or a patrimonial bureaucratic structure,

depending on what is current in fashion. Instead we need to seem at both; the procedure as well as the resultant outcome of that procedure at any given points in time to arrive at any characterization of a polity or a civilization.

Seen in this light, we need to understand the points of departures when the procedures initiated in the _early historic phase' started consolidating approximately a civilization and polity, several civilizations and polities. Underlying this consolidation were three entities, shaping up of areas, emergence of cults and its relationships with the polity and the proliferation of states, as a result of a state formation procedure. To what extent these were feudal in character, or consisted of free peasantry would depend on the nature of proof from that scrupulous area. Let us take one polity, the Yadavas of Devagiri, to understand the procedure.

Polity and Civilization

The Yadava kingdom is a typical instance of an early medieval organization in operation where the procedure of consolidation of polity, growth of a _folk/tribal' cult into a fully sanskritised deity and the development of a civilization takes lay simultaneously from the 8th to the 12th – 13th centuries. Let us first understand the cult and its procedure of transformation. The epicenter of the cult of Viththal is situated in the community of Pandharpur, at the heart of the Yadava kingdom. The municipality of Pandharpur is situated on the right bank of river Bhima, on 17° North and 75° 23°-east longitude. The earliest reference to Pandharpur is from a Rastrakuta grant dated to the 6th century AD. The operative parts of the grant state that Pandarangapalli beside with Anewari, Cala, Kandaka and Duddapalli were granted to a learned brahmana, Jayadviththa. This grant also refers to the scribe, one Pandaradrisena, or the lord of the Pandara hill. The Rastrakuta king Amoghavarsa provides this grant in the 9th century AD. The after that reference to Pandharpur is slightly indirect, viz. in that the grant refers to a small temple a _lahan madu' being erected through the Mahajanas, Dandanayaka and others, Throughout the reign of Bhillama. This inscription is dated to 1189 AD. As suggested, approach back to this inscription in another context. The after that inscription is motivating from the perspective of the development of the resolution. It states that Mallisetti gave at Paundarikaksetra, on the Bhimarthi a village. The palli is now being referred to as the Ksetra.

Pandharpur is first referred to as a palli in the sixth century AD. This term denotes a small resolution. This status of the resolution remnants unchanged from the 6th century AD to the 12th century AD. This status drastically changes in the after that

one hundred years, flanked by 1189AD- to 1237 AD. The resolution is now a mahagrama. The nature of the resolution undergoes further change in the after that 50- 75 years. In the _Cauryasi' grant this mahagrama has been referred to as a _pura' Finally, a 14th century grant also refers to Pandharpur as a pura, an urban centre. In this context, the development of the categories such as from grama to the pura needs to be understood. These are essentially two dissimilar categories denoting a variation in the nature of the resolution. Inherent in the category is the notion of _legroom'. Pandharpur therefore graduates from a mere palli to a grama and then to a Ksetra and finally into a pura an urban resolution, through the 12th and the 13th centuries of the Christian period. It is significant to record the epigraphic proof in relation to the Viththal as a deity before we get into the interplay of traditions. This is significant as the epigraphy can then suggest a temporal and spatial context within which we can then understand the play of traditions and the role of the state in this drama.

We can divide the whole epigraphic context pertaining to the cult of Viththal into four separate phases. In the first phase (516 AD to 1188AD) we get references to Pandharpur but we do not get any conclusive proof concerning the subsistence of Viththal as a deity at Pandharpur. There is one controversial reference to the _Lord of the Hill', but the reference to the context eludes us. In this phase, Pandharpur is referred to as a palli, or a resolution. All that can be concluded from this oblique reference to the lord is that some type of a worship centre might have lived on the hill at Pandarangapalli. This phase comes to an end in the 12th century AD. In the 12th century AD, towards the very end of the reign of Bhillama V, an inscription invokes Viththal as a deity and refers to the small temple/shrine that has been erected. This is the first concrete reference to the deity at Pandharpur. One Vithtaldevanayaka is also referred to in the inscription, suggesting that through then name of the deity had become wide spread in the civilization at big.

The signs of first change in the nature of resolution happen in the after that phase. The Hoysala inscription of 1237AD refers to the grant for the anga-ranga-bhoga and a grant to the Siva temple too. It also refers to the palli as a mahagrama. The change in the nature of the resolution is connected to the fortunes of the deity, which are also changing. In the last phase of its journey from the palli, the centre now refers to the Pura and the small temple undergoes a extra ordinary change. The grand Yadava temple sponsored through the Yadava dominated domains now stands in full glory before the world. This development takes lay flanked by 1273-1277AD. To sum up, in the first phase we do not discover any trace of Viththala in its deified form at Pandharpur. The construction of the temple turns out to be the mainly crucial event in the history of the resolution as well as the deity. Within a span of 84 years of the

construction of the small temple, there ensues a virtual renovation and expansion of the similar. The palli of the sixth century AD is now a pura. This growth is compressed in less than one hundred years. Intimately linked with all these growths are the Devagiri and the Hoysala Yadavas. It is clear that they discover a general strand in one of the traditions at the cult centre and therefore are able to extend a patronage to it. It is also motivating to note that the reference to Viththal as a deity is only in the 12_{th} century AD. The phenomenal growth of the resolution is compressed in mere one hundred years. Is it due to the extraordinary interest shown through the state in the existing traditions at the resolution? What is the significance of this procedure in conditions of the Yadavaisation in the Deccan in the early medieval context? Here we necessity now turn to the deity to understand the similar from another perspective, that of a state and custom. This will enable us to understand the interplay of traditions at the cult centre that make a cult at Pandharpur through the end of the 13_{th} century AD.

We need to understand the nature of the Yadava intervention to understand the birth and the development of this cult. The polity intervenes decisively at Pandharpur only in the late 13_{th} century. It has been noted earlier that the Yadava feudatories erected a small temple at Pandharpur in the 12the century AD. This small temple was expanded/renovated/reworked in the late 13_{th} century. This initiative came from the political structure. A call was given to rally possessions. At the beginning, the call was not heeded to and very small resource mobilization looks to have taken lay. Then the *Karnadhipa* of the Yadava kingdom made donation to the cult centre. This was followed through a spate of donations at the cult centre. Finally the Yadava King Ramcandradeva Yadava capped the donations at the temple through his own, and he himself took upon the role as the Pandhari Phad Pramukh, or the head of the congregation at Pandharpur.

In a manner, the Yadavas are responsible for the subsistence of the deity and the cult centre at Pandharpur. The Yadavas held sway in excess of mainly of the Deccan flanked by the 9_{th} to the 13_{th} century of the Christian period. Just as to the epigraphic records, we suggest that this extensive territory was divided through the state management into a number of administrative elements. Some of these administrative elements are Seuna desa, Kuntala Desa Karhataka desa and Man desa. In one of the records, four more divisions are suggested besides the Amra desa. These divisions are Chahanda desa, Keja desa, Ausa and Udgir desa. It is motivating to note that four out of these five desa are situated in the Mominabad taluka of the Bid District. We do not discover any important number of land grants within the semi-arid zone. In information, they appear to have approach to a halt in the 8_{th} century with the

grants of Wing and Vir. Flanked by the 8th and the 13th century A.D. we do not discover a single major land grant in the semi-arid zone. There are though two minor and one major sacred complexes, at Pulunj, Velapur and Pandharpur. Pandharpur occupies an significant niche in the political and religious landscape of the semi-arid zone.

We so need to contextualize the semi-arid zone against the frame of reference presented above. It is clear that it was _marginal' territory, insofar as agricultural action is concerned. We also do not approach crossways major land grants given through the early medieval state in this era. Yet the procedure of assimilation was accepted out through the temple networks, and it does not appear to be a _marginal' territory any more, as the extent of the possessions mobilized becomes clear. It was very much at the centre of action. So, it was significant for the Yadavas to hold this territory. It could be suggested that perhaps one method of integrating the newly conquered regions was to extend patronage to local temple networks. In that sense, cults or temples had assimilative qualities in early medieval contexts. Such assimilation becomes necessary in a situation where there is a need to integrate diverse segments within a single policy.

The policy of extending patronage was a reciprocal measure through which the ruling lineages acquired legitimacy from such centres of worship. The procedure of integration implied a transformation of _pre-state polities into state polities and therefore the integration of local polities into structures that transcended the bounds of local politics. This integrative procedure was accompanied through a series of other initiatives, extension of agrarian civilization through peasantization of tribal groups, improvements in the trading networks, expansion of the caste civilization and the emergence of spatial extensions of the ruling lineages through the procedures of what Kulke calls Kshatriyaization or Rajputizaton. These events affected the pre-contemporary state in two important ways. The dynastic nuclear region came under beaucratic manage of the central lineage/dynasty. Secondly the politically controlled region expanded through a procedure of integration into its hinterland. In this the Samanta, the Rajas and the maha mandaleshvaras played a pivotal role, one that was played later on through the Yadava Bhosale's of Singhnapur in Maharashtra. In the earlier effort they succeeded, but through the time of Shivaji, the cult centre was no longer powerful enough to play that type of a role. The retreat of a material context that supported that type of a custom had begun in the 17th century.

But the state had not totally given up its role of harnessing an existing custom. This is clear through the later rulers who emulated the Yadavas and Shivaji. It appears that even in the 18th and 19th centuries A.D.; such a policy was followed

through Peshwas and later on through the British. The Peshwas made liberal donations to sub local centres of Ganapati. The British too undertook to renew such grants to religious Centres. H.D. Robertson, the collector of Pune district, accounted to the Deccan Commissioner that on the auspicious day of Padava he ordered the commencement of public worship on the old footing in Parbati and other pagodas dependent on the municipality.

— …I was desirous to create some deductions from this amount and had determined to fix the annual allowance of Rs. 20,000 but when I saw the operations of the deductions in detail I was influenced for the sake few thousand rupees, I would engender, or rather not eradicate any lurking wish for Bajirao's re-accession to the Musnad. I so, ordered everything accepted on as before…

THE PROBLEM OF URBAN DECLINE: AGRARIAN EXPANSION, LAND GRANTS AND GROWTH OF INTERMEDIARIES

Urban Decay

The first Indian Marxist historian to have referred to the growth of feudalism in India was B.N.Datta. D.D.Kosambi subsequently urbanized the thought and posited two stages in the development of feudal social formation in early medieval India. Though, it was only with the detailed and richly documented theory of _Indian Feudalism' through R.S.Sharma that the thought not only gained popularity but also attracted staunch detractors. In the procedure, the early medieval Indian historiography has tended to be divided in the middle of those who support this theory and those who do not. Opposition and criticism notwithstanding, the feudal framework has approach to control the revise of approximately every aspect of early medieval India.

Central to the first formulations of the transition to feudal mode of manufacture was the decline of external deal, demonetization, and the consequent relapse to a self-sufficient economy. Critics pointed out the theoretical inadequacy of the schema that explained critical stages of change approximately exclusively in conditions of external factors. Following on that the model for Urban Decay as a

symptom of the then existing social formation that was feudalism has been reworked considerably. Let us briefly list out the empirical details of the argument.

The new state structure post-Mauryan era, that consolidates itself approximately the 4th 5th centuries AD is characterized through decentralization, and hierarchy, as suggested through the attendance of the *samanta*, *mahasamanta* and other *rajapurusa*.

The emergence of the land grant economy and the coterminous rise of the landed intermediaries beside with it is measured as the hallmark of Indian feudalism. This is directly connected to the erosion of the direct power of the king in excess of his subjects. This also assumes a change in the structure of the agrarian relationships. This class of landed intermediaries is assumed to be absent in the imperium of the Mauryas.

The third aspect of urban decay is supposed to get reflected in the nature of monetization. Recent proof designates that the actual coinage drops sharply in the post-Gupta era. This some have argued is a true indicator of decline in deal and therefore a consequent decline in the urbanism as a phenomenon.

Indian Feudalism

Daniel Thorner mourned that ‗there is no single article on the lay of feudalism in the historical development of India' Ironically exactly in the similar year that Thorner could not detect a single job devoted to feudalism in India, Kosambi published two articles on feudalism, and later that year the well-known Introduction.. came out. Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi suggested a two fold feudal formation for the post early historic phase. What he described as ‗feudalism from above and feudalism from below' has never been understood adequately. Subsequently R.S. Sharma began to publish articles on the origin and development of feudalism in India. Later these were enlarged and complemented through new studies and Indian Feudalism appeared in the sixties. Feudalism as a theoretical construct remnants the mainly controversial construct in the debate on periodisation in Indian history. What is at stake in the debate approximately the feudal question is not so much the use of the term, ‗feudalism' per se as the differing perceptions of the substance of political and property dealings. This often leads to a lot of confusion. This debate also directly

impinges on the issues such as the nature of the State in early medieval context and the procedure of state formation in the early medieval India. Let us briefly understand what happens at the stage of civilization and polity when the feudal structures emerge on the ruins of Early Historic State in India. Decentralization and hierarchy characterize the new state structure. This is suggested through the attendance of a wide range of semi autonomous rulers such as the Samantas, mahasamantas, mahamandalesvara and so on.

Further, the emergence of the landed intermediaries is measured the hallmark of Indian feudal social formation. This of course is connected with the disintegration and decentralization of state power and with important changes in the agrarian structures and dealings of productions. The emergence of this landed gentry/intermediary is causally lined with what is now recognized as the land grant economy. The third reflection relates to the change in the nature of economy where the urban monetary economy provides method to ruralization and villages becoming _self-enough'. This also ushers in an _Urban Decay', a marker of the feudal procedure. In the peasantry this results in something secure to serfdom, characterized through immobility, forced labour and exorbitantly high rates of revenue. Taken jointly, these three points enumerate the feudal model that explains the state formation as well as the nature of state in early medieval India. Therefore, the descriptions of Kali age in the epics and the Puranic literature served as the pointer of a _deep social crisis' that gripped the Indian civilization in late third and early fourth centuries. The mainly important element of this crisis was the phenomenon of varnasamkara, literally, an intermixture of the varnas. In a organization where the vaisyas and the sudras were occupied in manufacture and paid taxes, argues Sharma, _varnasamkara would also imply the refusal of the peasants and traders, described vaisyas, to pay taxes and would therefore put in jeopardy the very fabric of civilization and polity' Therefore, a new mechanism of surplus extraction had to be deployed: steadily the state started assigning land revenue directly to priests, military chiefs, officers and the others. The advent of the decadent Kali age is seen as symptomatic of fissures in the varna-based social order. The wealth-producing lower orders did not perform their assigned functions and refused to pay taxes to the rulers. Consequently, the rulers granted land for services on a big level. This indeed was also the time when strong coercive events are suggested, turning the king and his officers into oppressors. A important suggestion has been made that the vaishya dynasty of the Guptas perhaps appeared in the early fourth century as a reaction against oppressive rulers. Eventually, though, the Guptas were validated and legitimized through Brahmins who saw them as the protectors of the varna order prescribed in the

Dharmasastras. The Kali Age is the era when the pace of transition from the classical varna model to the customized one of feudal kind was accelerated, insofar as the rajashasanas undermined peasant manage in excess of land and transformed the peasant into a tenant of the landlord. Not presently that, big landed estates, which rested on the use of the peasants, were fortified through the property laws of early medieval time.

The stage of monetization has been an significant link in the chain of arguments in relation to the emergence of the feudal order in early medieval India. Beginning with the thrust on ―paucity‖ of metal money and its links with the relative decline in deal and urbanization flanked by circa A.D. 600 and 1200, the construct of Indian Feudalism has negotiated some alternative paradigms that have questioned the aforesaid early formulations. John S. Deyell sought to demolish the paradigm of Indian Feudalism through quantifying coin data to debunk the notion of ―paucity‖. Andre Wink, on the other hand, is influenced in relation to the relative absence of an indigenous coinage custom. But he locates the pivot and driving force of early medieval economy and deal in the ―world embracing swap route with a unified monetary constituent,‖ for which no empirical proof was adduced.

Grossly unequal rights in the matter of sharing of land and agricultural produce marked the early medieval socio-economic formation. Embedded in this exploitative organization were the seeds of popular protests. Many instances of violent conflicts flanked by landlords, who were Brahmins, and the peasants in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu flanked by the 11th and the 13th centuries are on record. There are a few instances of tribal peasants rising in revolt against the landed powers. In Bengal, the protracted revolt of the Kaivartas, who were absorbed into brahmanical civilization as a low mixed caste, was in some measure a spontaneous expression against the oppression of the Palas and their landed beneficiaries, leading to the supplanting of Pala rule for a brief era.

That the feudal ethos marked through inequality and hierarchy conditioned the modern Indian mind is reflected in the domains of civilization and divinities as well. Tantras, beside with the modern and perhaps equally pervasive current of Bhakti, provided means to uplift the lower orders through allowing them to worship the several deities, for which Vedic shapes of initiation or mantras were establish to be inadequate and irrelevant. Are the proponents of the Vedic civilization as the ‗Hindu‘ civilization listening? Both Tantrism and Bhakti, though, became ideological constructs to consolidate the feudal legroom. The orientation towards servility, hierarchy, destiny and favour seeking looks to be so strong that the egalitarian ethos associated with peasants and the tribal people do not create their attendance really

felt. The existing social formation was fed on and nurtured through the dominant thoughts of the feudal ruling class. The feudal ideologues also used language to promote social distancing. They worked out dissimilar manners of addressing superior lords.

The Feudalism Debate
The first major offensive against the feudal paradigm was undertaken in 1979 when Harbans Mukhia sought to set up that a ―free peasantry‖ lived in the relevant era. Harbans Mukhia argued that the European notions of feudalism heavily influenced the model recognized through votaries of ‗Indian Feudalism'. Reconsidering class in the pre-capitalist context, Sharma focused on the unequal sharing of surplus. Coming down heavily on Mukhia, he says: ―To attribute such structural phenomena as the absence of serfdom or the longevity of peasant autonomy to the carrying capability of the soil is to ignore the potentialities of social dynamics.‖ As one critic pointed out, this framework assigned the state ‗the role of a prime mover in the whole gamut of socio-political change, including even the curious decision to preside in excess of its own demise, through unleashing the procedures of political fragmentation and parcellization of sovereignty'. It is possible to argue that the prime mover is not state in this scheme of analysis but the said social unrest and the consequent politicofiscal crisis to which the state responded. A greater problem, though, is to decide on a uniform chronology for the alleged transition to feudalism.
In the context of the above it would be significant for us to understand the nature of the state formation in the early historic era. The whole model of ‗Indian Feudalism' pre-supposes a sure structure of the early historic state and its linkages with the emergence of feudalism. Indian Feudalism was a separate phase in the post early historic phase of Indian history is not a foregone conclusion. Let us understand the context of the debate before we move on to the issue of urban decay and its linkages with this debate. While the earlier interpretation of Asoka and his social policy remnants mainly the similar, the understanding of the nature of the Mauryan State has changed considerably. The model of a highly centralized empire with complete manage in excess of uniform structure in a vast territory provides method to systems of uneven development, coordinated through the centre aimed at the manage of the possessions at the dissimilar parts, of course of varied nature. This is an very significant revision, not only for the understanding of Mauryan India but also in explaining what came later. For instance, one does not have to seem for similarities in

the middle of the Sungas, the Sakas, the Satavahanas and the Kalingas, whom an earlier historiography had taken as so several —successors of the Mauryas. The relatively uncomplicated picture of Mauryan India in an earlier fashion of historical writing, with only one shade on the map, provides method to a intricate situation with a metropolis, core regions and peripheries. When the core regions graduate, the metropolis loses its relevance. That explains the diffuse nature of the politics in the post- Mauryan era as something more than a relapse into anarchy and darkness. This politics is explained within the context of the extensive deal that India had with the western and eastern worlds. The political procedures in the Northwest, the Gangetic heartland, Western Deccan, the Mahanadi valley and the Deep South are taken up for a meaningful treatment within this framework The new insights concerning megaliths and the Roman deal are presently two cases in point.

The Asiatic Mode of Manufacture and the jingoistic theory of the nationalist historians form the other two streams concerning the nature of social formation. At this point we only need to consider another formulae that of Stein's Segementary State, which beside with _Feudalism' will have to be regarded a major conceptual contribution to the modern debate on the nature of social formation in India in the early medieval context. Stein in his _Interim Reflections' reaches for a theoretical merger flanked by three parallel strands of Segementary State, Integrated Polity and Processual model of Integration. Stein visualizes a meeting point for all the three as necessary step to arrive at the alternative framework to understand state formation in India. Stein formally introduced his concept of _The Segementary State in South Indian History' in the late seventies. Stein's own conditions clarify his own location. —In a segmentary state sovereignty is dual. It consists of actual political sovereignty or manage, and what Southhall conditions —ritual hegemony or ritual sovereignty . These correspond in the Indian usage to Ksatra and rajadharma respectively. In the segmentary state there may be numerous centres of which one has primacy as a source of ritual sovereignty, but all exercise actual political manage in excess of a part or segment of the political organization encompassed through the state. The dedicated administrative staff what in some unitary states would be described the bureaucracy is not an exclusive characteristic of the primary centre, but is establish operating at and within the segments of which the state consists. Subordinate stages or zones of the segmentary state may be distinguished and the organization of these is pyramidal. That is the connection flanked by the centre and the peripheral elements of any single segment is the similar –in reduced form-as the connection flanked by the prime centre an all peripheral focuses of power… In the Indian context this principle

is expressed in the conditions small kingdoms and small kings to describe a local ruler whose kingly power is that of any great king but more limited in scope.

Stein had applied his segmentary state concept to the Chola State through the eighties he had applied to the Vijaynagar too. Stein's segmentary state as a model is measured as an _immensely powerful deconstructive tool' against the conventional theories. It is the mainly significant contribution to the South Indian historiography since K.A.N. Sastri's job on the Cholas. Yet it is conceded that the segmentary state cannot explain sure characteristics of state formation in South India.

Criticisms of this model approach from within the anthropological use of the term and its adoption through Stein to its outright rejection through both the Feudalism school and the votaries of integrated polity. Integrated polity seems at the issue of state formation as a procedure to be understood and explained rather than theorized. We need to understand the issue of integrated polity as well before we move on to the urban decay and urbanization issue. This is significant as the nature of social formulation plays a major role in the procedure of _urban decay'. A feudal social formation may not result in urbanization but would surely be an indicative of an urban decay. It is so significant to internalize the context of the social formation in the early medieval India. Let us now round this off with a seem at the other face of the hill as it were. So distant the state formation has been measured from the perspective of fragmentation and segmentation of political power we can also seem at the similar procedure as an integrative, processual and centralization procedure. The procedure of integration implied a transformation of _pre-state polities into state polities and therefore the integration of local polities into structures that transcended the bounds of local politics. This integrative procedure was accompanied through a series of other initiatives, extension of agrarian civilization through peasantization of tribal groups, improvements in the trading networks, expansion of the caste civilization and the emergence of spatial extensions of the ruling lineages through the procedures of what Kulke calls Kshatriyaization or Rajputizaton. These events affected the pre-contemporary state in two important ways. The dynastic nuclear region came under bureacratic manage of the central lineage/dynasty. Secondly the politicaly controlled region expanded through a procedure of integration into its hinterland. In this the Samanta, the Rajas and the maha mandaleshvaras played a pivotal role, one that was played later on through the Yadava Bhosale's of Singhnapur of Maharashtra.

The religious organizations played a major role in this procedure of state formation. Of course the power of religion on the polity was well recognized to the earlier generations of historians, but it was only after the feudalism and segmentary

state organization model that this was properly internalized through the historians. Segmentary state in information argues for localized segmentary structure of the state and its ritual sovereignty. In the second millennium AD there is a clear shift of the royal patronage form _rural brahmana villages to the urban temple complexes and temple municipalities. This was to derive in the middle of other things a greater legitimacy for the rule and to exercise the ritual sovereignty. This formulation is a departure from both the Feudalism model as well as that of the segmentary state. The point of departure though does not lie in the feudalism or the segmentary state either. It lies in the method periodisation is understood and operated in Indian history.

The Alternatives
Instead of contextualizing the land grant economy and the issue of urbanization in the context of presently decay, it might be useful to examine them as a procedure that had its antecedents in the transformation of the polity. What then are these procedures and can we very specifically arrive at any pan Indian generalization in the context of urban decay is the real issue. It had been once argued that the breakdown of the once centralized, bureaucratic and wedded in singular polity that was the Mauryan imperial organization resulted in the fragmentation of the polity and ushered in the feudal social formation. In this formation the class of intermediaries appeared that stood flanked by the supreme political power and the peasant. The monarchy as it were presided in excess of its own demise. It is now being realized that the Mauryan imperial organization was not a unitary centralized administrative structure. The imperial organization of the Mauryan encompassed several a political formations within its holds, the tribal chiefdoms the local chiefs, the local rulers and even in some cases superior kingdoms. The Mauryan organization was an amalgamation of all and not a merger of the similar. The decline of the Mauryan dynasty in information unleashed these forces that were already rising up in the vast territories which shaped the imperial systems of the Mauryas. Therefore the Satavahanas emerge in the Deccan and the Kalinga assert themselves. Therefore there looks to be small possibility of an arrested growth.
Let us consider another significant aspect of the issue in the context of the nature of the social formation. It is now being recognized that the early medieval era is marked through what is characterized as the third wave of urbanization in the subcontinent. The proof for this is mainly epigraphically and literary, nevertheless is convincing. The third phase of urbanization does not point towards an _urban decay'.

It actually points towards maturing of systems and forces that were unleashed after the imperial organization of Mauryas transformed into local and local polities. This phase is more prominent in the peninsular India. This raises yet another issue. On the foundation of the availability of proof that is mainly from Indo-gangetic basin, it may not be prudent to arrive at pan Indian formulations, especially with regard to the social formation.

We also need to consider the issue of pastoralism and what would that entail in the context of feudalism and the land grant economy. If we consider the Deccan as a case in point, then in the big regions of the Deccan, we do not approach crossways any major land grants being given in excess of a era of time. We do though approach crossways grants to the temples, as well as references and evidences that point to a mainly a pastoralist dominated economy. A case of the Yadavas in the Deccan would be a good illustrative instance. Therefore the revenue divisions of the region were also unsettled till the 14th century A.D. What type of a land grant economy would exist in a rustic dominated region? Would the generalization of a feudal social formation remain valid. In one motivating argument a big number of sites in the Deccan have been explored, and exhumed belonging to western Maharashtra, Vidarbha and Marathawada. Mate, in an incisive revise demonstrates a very strange characteristic as resulting from the archaeological perspective. —All the sites that have been explored and exhumed reveal a important gap in job. Several of the sites go back to the chalcolithic phase assigned to the 15th-14th centuries BC and have debris coming down to the 18th century AD – but with a wide gap of seven to eight centuries flanked by the 5th to the 13th centuries AD . It is in this era that the well-known dynasties of the Deccan have flourished the Calukyas, the Rastrakuta and the Yadavas of Devagiri. What has the absence of the archaeological record meant in conditions of the subsistence of pastoralism and its impact on the nature of the social formation in the Deccan? Therefore the question of the urban decay in the context of the early medieval India cannot be answered in a simplistic formulation.

PROLIFERATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF CASTES AND JATIS
The Context
Early medieval social environments evolved in excess of the centuries in the context of two extensive-term economic trends: sedentary farmers increased the

productivity of land with dedicated labour and technology, and mobile groups extended transportation and communication through land and sea from South Asia to Central Asia, China, and the Mediterranean. Already through the seventh century, we can see that extensive arteries of human mobility crossways Eurasia were linked to local veins in South Asia and to local capillaries running through expanding regions of agricultural manufacture. Mainly new dynasties that sprang up in the first millennium urbanized in spaces where extensive deal routes crossed fertile valleys and deltas. For instance in Kashmir they bounded Srinagar; and in Nepal, the Kathmandu Valley. In Punjab, they dotted the foothills. They multiplied beside the rivers Ganga, Narmada, Tapti, Sabarmati, Mahanadi, Krishna, Godavari, Pennar, Kaveri, Vaigai, and Tambraparni. In the peninsula, they thrived mainly of all where rivers met the sea. In the flatlands of northern Sri Lanka, they expanded approximately irrigation reservoirs that received water running down from mountains in the centre of the island. In this vast region as the agrarian civilization spread beside the river basin the uplands were still dominated through the pastoralists, and others.

New types of civilization came into being as medieval agrarian domains clashed with landscapes inhabited through nomads, hunters, and forest dwellers. Kings, Brahmans, and local landed elites led the drive to extend and protect the moral power of *dharma*. For kings, peace and prosperity in their domains were definite signs of righteousness, as in Rama's kingdom in the *Ramayana*. Protecting *dharma* enabled royal families and local elites to form ranks of honour and spiritual merit that also disciplined the labour force, coordinated economic behaviors, and secured rights in excess of landed property. Medieval texts on *dharma* do not insist that a king be a Kshatriya, and in much of the subcontinent, medieval caste (*jati*) ranks urbanized without the attendance of all four *varna*s. Medieval texts, *sastra*s, rather prescribe that the king's sacred duty — *rajadharma* — is to protect of local custom. Kings need to provide grants of farmland to temples and Brahmans to express dynastic support for *dharma*, but they also had to protect local rights to land. Kings, Brahmans, and local landed elites had to job jointly to realize *dharma*. The spread of *jati* ranking as a characteristic of social life looks to have been propelled through ritual alliances in the middle of upwardly mobile groups.

New dynastic realms were spaces where the structure of ranking systems made good sense. Dynastic lineage leaders and Brahmans were critical actors in creating these systems of social variation, status, rank, and power. New civilizations came to contain new social groups and organizations shaped approximately models of behaviour, identity, aesthetics, and patronage codified in Sanskrit texts as Brahmans who sanctified social rank interpreted these in the vicinity. Rising families hired

Brahman genealogists and court poets, patronised Brahman and temples, endowed feeding spaces for mendicants and pilgrimages, staged festivals, fed saints, and variously joined in behaviors that brought gods, priests, kings, and farmers into communion. People moved up in civilization through supporting and emulating Brahmans.

All this occurred as farmers expanded their manage in excess of land and labour and as populations of peasants, nomads, pastoralists, hunters, and forest tribes were slowly finding new social identities. In excess of several generations, people became high caste landowners, kings, protectors of *dharma*, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, Superior Sudras, Inferior Sudras, untouchables, and aliens beyond the pale. Dominant agrarian castes came into being in dissimilar areas:

Jats,

Rajputs,

Kunbis,

Vellalas,

Velamas,

Reddys,

Kapus,

Nayars, and several others.

In this extensive procedure, ancient identities were lost. In ancient times, the Hoysala kings' ancestors were Melapas, hill chiefs in the Soseyur forests. Udaiyar and Yadava dynasties descended from herders. Tevar kings descended from Marava and Kallar hunters. Gurjaras and Rajputs had once been rustic nomads. Spaces, too, acquired new identities, as they became recognized through the names of dynasties and of the local groups in manage. Land became ethnically marked through traditions of group manage. Dominant castes recognized with dynastic territories that became their homelands. The only people who could be equally ―at house in all the lands of *dharma* were Brahmans.

A small but important set of inscriptions records opposition to Brahman settlements, to their collection of taxes, and to their claims on local possessions like pastures. The power of Hindu kingship spread slowly — often violently — into the vast spaces that lay outside its reach in early medieval

centuries. In several instances, land grants appear to spot frontiers of royal power, and here resistance might be expected. Even where local civilization did accept the ritual and social status of Brahmans, fierce competitive struggles might flare up in excess of land grants. In the ninth century, local conflicts of this type accompanied new Brahman settlements on the Tamil coast. In the Rashtrakuta realm, inscriptions warn that violence and curses will be heaped upon opponents of Brahman land grants, and texts proclaim that people who murder Brahmans will be punished harshly, which implies that such murders did happen. Farming societies expanded agriculture in medieval domains through pushing rustic nomads and forest cultivators absent; but at the similar time, herders, hunters, nomads, and other peoples also entered expanding agrarian civilizations, becoming labourers, farmers, craft producers, animal breeders and keepers, trans-porters, dairy producers, soldiers, traders, warriors, sorcerers, and kings. Agricultural territories incorporated more diverse populations, not only dissimilar types of farmers — including peasants, landlords, and landless worker — but also non-farming groups who were essential for farming: artisans, cattle herders, hunters, transporters, traders, collectors of forest produce, well-diggers, priests, engineers, architects, healers, astrologers, and warriors. Without them, economies could not expand; their incorporation was an significant social project. In this context, warriors expanded their power. Several factors promoted the rise of warrior power and one was certainly the rising number of people with dedicated military skills livelihood in agrarian civilizations. Warriors with itinerant roots often became military specialists, mainly prominently, in Rajasthan and nearby areas, where warrior dynasties appeared from the Gurjara Pratihara clans that conquered mainly of the Ganga basin after the eighth century.

The Framework for Consolidation
We therefore discover an whole range of political and social relationships being forged crossways the subcontinent in the early medieval state. Here in then lies the problem. We need to locate the proliferation of jatis

either within the context of a ‗feudalism' debate, which would then rule out the third urbanization, or we need to perceive the early medievalism as a logical development of the procedures that were unleashed in the early historical phase. Feudalism as a theoretical construct remnants the mainly controversial construct in the debate on periodisation in Indian history. Decentralization and hierarchy characterize the new state structure. This is suggested through the attendance of a wide range of semi autonomous rulers such as the Samantas, mahasamantas, mahamandalesvara and so on.

Further, the emergence of the landed intermediaries is measured the hallmark of Indian feudal social formation. This of course is connected with the disintegration and decentralization of state power and with important changes in the agrarian structures and dealings of productions. The emergence of this landed gentry/intermediary is causally lined with what is now recognized as the land grant economy. The third reflection relates to the change in the nature of economy where the urban monetary economy provides method to ruralization and villages becoming self-enough. This also ushers in an ‗Urban Decay', a hallmark of the feudal procedure. In the peasantry this results in something secure to serfdom, characterized through immobility, forced labour and exorbitantly high rates of revenue. Taken jointly, these three points enumerate the feudal model that explains the state formation as well as the nature of state in early medieval India. Another framework that has been suggested concerning the consolidation pertains to the so-described segementary state organization advocated through Stein. Stein formally introduced his concept of ‗The Segementary State in South Indian History' in the late seventies.

Stein's own conditions clarify his own location. ―In a segementary state sovereignty is dual. It consists of actual political sovereignty or manage, and what Southhall conditions ―ritual hegemony or ritual sovereignty . These correspond in the Indian usage to Ksatra and rajadharma respectively. In the segementary state there may be numerous centres of which one has primacy as a source of ritual sovereignty, but all exercise actual political manage in excess of a part or segment of the political organization encompassed through the state. The dedicated administrative staff what in some unitary states would be described the bureaucracy is not an exclusive characteristic of the primary

centre, but is establish operating at and within the segments of which the state consists. Subordinate stages or zones of the segementary state may be distinguished and the organization of these is pyramidal. That is the connection flanked by the centre and the peripheral elements of any single segment is the similar –in reduced form-as the connection flanked by the prime centre an all peripheral focuses of power… In the Indian context this principle is expressed in the conditions small kingdoms and small kings to describe a local ruler whose kingly power is that of any great king but more limited in scope.

Stein had applied his segementary state concept to the Chola State through the eighties he had applied to the Vijaynagar too. Stein's segementary state as a model is measured as an _immensely powerful deconstructive tool' against the conventional theories. It is the mainly significant contribution to the South Indian historiography since K.A.N. Sastri's job on the Cholas. Yet it is conceded that the segementary state cannot explain sure characteristics of state formation in South India. Criticisms of this model approach from within the anthropological use of the term and its adoption through Stein to its outright rejection through both the Feudalism school and the votaries of integrated polity. Integrated polity seems at the issue of state formation as a procedure to be understood and explained rather than theorized. We can also seem at the similar procedure as an integrative, Processual and centralization procedure. This could be the third alternative framework to locate the issue of consolidation of jatis within the superior polity.

The procedure of integration implied a transformation of _pre-state polities into state polities and therefore the integration of local polities into structures that transcended the bounds of local politics. This integrative procedure was accompanied through a series of other initiatives, extension of agrarian civilization through peasantization of tribal groups, improvements in the trading networks, expansion of the Caste civilization and the emergence of spatial extensions of the ruling lineages through the procedures of what Kulke calls Kshatriyaization or Rajputizaton. These events affected the pre-contemporary state in two important ways. The dynastic nuclear region came under beaucratic manage of the central lineage/dynasty. Secondly the politically controlled region expanded through a procedure of integration into

its hinterland. In this the Samanta, the Rajas and the maha mandaleshvaras played a pivotal role, one that was played later on through the Yadava Bhosale's of Singhnapur of Maharashtra.

The religious organizations played a major role in this procedure of state formation. Of course the power of religion on the polity was well recognized to the earlier generations of historians, but it was only after the feudalism and segementary state organization model that this was properly internalized through the historians. Segementary state in information argues for localized segementary structure of the state and its ritual sovereignty. In the second millennium AD there is a clear shift of the royal patronage form _rural brahmana villages to the urban temple complexes and temple municipalities. This was to derive in the middle of other things a greater legitimacy for the rule and to exercise the ritual sovereignty.

This formulation of looking at the state formation in an evolutionary procedure is a departure from both the Feudalism model as well as that of the segementary state. The point of departure though does not lie in the feudalism or the segementary state either. It lies in the method periodisation is understood and operated in Indian history. Strange however it may look, these are not so contradictory positions as they may look. The development of the procedures unleashed could have taken a feudal form and content and it is also possible that they could have gone the other method. We do not have to subscribe to the view that there was a pan Indian mode of manufacture crossways the sub-continent in the early medieval stage of sub-continent's past. What might have lived would be a mesh of relationships at varying states of being. Mainly medieval dynasties combined elements of imperialism, localism, and localism. Several expanded like empires. All shaped areas of competition and overlapping sovereignty.

Early dynasties thrived on local support from core constituencies. The organization of political systems differed in the middle of areas and changed in excess of time, but documents indicate common patterns. Mainly records depict transactions in the middle of people with titles in dynastic ranks and indicate that sovereignty appeared from these transactions rather than being dictated through legal or constitutional rules. Sovereignty consisted of honour and deference expressed in public interactions through people whose action

inscriptions record. Inscriptional transactions were mostly gifts, contracts, and commitments that individuals occupied to express respect and support for people they recognized publicly thereby as being superiors or subordinates. This intricate economic web of relationships was understood in the form of what is now recognized as the _land grant economy'. We need to locate the issue of the consolidation of the jatis in this land grant economy, constricting if the feudalism argument is the analytical tool or expanding if we go through the theory of third urbanization.

The Issue of Proliferation
Caste — jati — defined elements and idioms of family alliance and ranking within varna ideologies, but patriarchy also transcended caste and escaped the rule of dharma. Warrior kings linked disparate, distant territories to one another, and the rule of dharma could organize only parts of these expansive territories. In the sixth century, groups outside the ranks of caste civilization comprised the bulk of the population and however dharma did subsequently expanded its reach through several means, people outside caste civilization — whether beneath the lowest of the low or outside the pale altogether — remained numerous. However excluded from temples and other rituals in respectable gentry's societies, low castes and non-castes existed in agricultural territory. Because the power of caste civilization expanded downward from the top ranks and outward from centres of ritual and conquest, groups at the lowest ranks and on the margins of dominant caste manage comprised a moving borderland flanked by caste civilization and its surroundings. Outsiders in and approximately localities of high caste manage were critically significant for the vitality of every agrarian locality, and several did enter into the rituals of dharma in several ways, but several also remained outsiders. Such people sustained to arrive in every agrarian territory with new waves of migration and conquest colonization throughout the first and second millennium. Idioms and practices of patriarchal alliance allowed for the loose inclusion of countless within transactional territories shaped through systems of market swap and political ranking. Lineage and clan leaders in the middle

of tribal groups, merchant patriarchs from distant spaces, traveling artisan headmen, itinerant chiefs, and military commanders from virtually any backdrop could form alliances with in the vicinity dominant caste patriarchs based not on their caste ritual rank but rather on the mutual recognition of their respective patriarchal powers. Heads of households and heads of state could negotiate as patriarchs because they could rely on one another to command the labour and allegiance, assets and loyalty, of their kinfolk.

In the early medieval we approach crossways a phenomenon where the existing caste groups/varnas do get broken down in into numerous castes and jatis. In the brahmana this procedure is manifest where several a brahmana castes were named after the kind of ritual they performed. Here the growth of the land grant economy paved method for a superior fragmentation of the caste. In the land charters the brahmana are recognized through their gotras, male ancestors name, through the branch of learning and finally through the original house. If we seem at the Maithili brahmana then their original houses or sub caste groups shot up to 1000. We can locate alike examples of other brahmana sub caste groups in the similar vein. The emergence of the Rajput identity provides us some thought of the new form the issue of proliferation took. The local societies/tribes such as the Bhils, Candelas and Palas and others gained the respectable Kshatriya lineage through the brahmana genealogists. This also paved method for the Bactrian Greeks, Sakas and the Parthians to be absorbed in this procedure of proliferation. This was an open ended procedure as we do discover later the Hunas and the Gurjaras joining the ranks beside with Caulukyas, Parmaras, Cahamanas and Tomaras.

This procedure of proliferation was not limited to the upper castes alone. We do discover a major proliferation occurring in the other caste groups. A fifth century job mentions more than hundred caste groups. Works in the eighth century state that thousands of mixed caste came into subsistence due to a diversity of causes. The causes could be conquest, spread of deal, expansion of agriculture and related action etc. We do get references to the amalgamation of Sabaras, Bhillas and Pulinda in the medieval inscriptions of central India. This amalgamation was not always peaceful. There are references to violent conflicts occurring flanked by the Abhiras and the others throughout the Deccan from the ninth to the thirteenth century. These conflicts

were as much for political power as for a higher status in the new set up. Therefore all the Abhira groups did not get absorbed in the high caste groups. Within the Abhiras too there were the lower sub caste groups and middle caste groups. Therefore the situation of disagreement was as much within as outside the caste groupings. In information we do approach crossways a phenomenon where the local tribal groups negotiated their status to gain legroom in the superior fold. This procedure of negotiation was sometimes violent and at other times through deal and swap networks. Even in the procedure of amalgamation the *jatidharma* was left untouched and was strictly respected.

We also discover another important procedure that further advanced the procedure of proliferation of jatis. This was the procedure where the crafts were transformed into caste groups. The guilds and the trader groups, the srenis themselves acquired caste status and became closed groups. The head of a guild is often referred to as the *jetthaka* or *pamukkha* in early Buddhist literature. Often he is referred to after the job followed through the guild of which he was the head, e.g., _head of garland makers' (*malakara jetthaka*), _head of carpenters' guild' (*vaddhaki jetthaka*), etc. Apparently the Guild Head exercised considerable power in excess of the members of his Guild. *Setthis* were merchant-cum-bankers and often headed merchant guilds. The guild head could punish a guilty member even to the extent of excommunication. It appears that normally headship of a guild went to the eldest son. Succession is mentioned only after the death of the head and not in his lifetime, which would suggest that the head remained in office life-extensive. The proof of two Damodarpur Copper-plate inscriptions of the 5th century AD shows that one Bhupala held the office of *nagarasreshthi* for well nigh half a century, supports this. We can also locate the emergence of local crafts into castes groups as mixed castes such as the napita, tambulika, citrakara, svarnakara, malakara, modaka, and several others. These obviously were several crafts where the people involved in those crafts appeared as new jatis in the mixed caste group. We do get references to crafts villages such as the Kumbharapadraka that belonged to the potters.

Beside with the crafts the religious affiliation too played a role in the proliferation of jatis. The emergence of several sects had secure affinity with the jatis they appeared from and the gods they worshipped. This procedure

was connected to the state formation as well. Each brahmanical sect was connected as it were to a head who demanded allegiance to him. The Lingayats and the Virashaivas are an very good instance of this phenomenon. It is indeed ironical that those who sought to remove the caste organization themselves were absorbed in the similar. Therefore the caste groups consolidated, either in a feudal mode or in an integrated emerging polity crossways the length and breadth of the sub-continent. This consolidation was not limited to the higher caste groups alone but as a phenomenon was experienced crossways the whole social spectrum.

RELIGION IN SOCIETIES
Geographies of Religion
Buddhism and Islam became mainly prominent beside routes of deal and migration that ran from one end of Asia to the other. In the sixth century, Buddhists received mainly of the patronage accessible in Afghanistan, the upper Indus basin, and Himalayan areas from Kashmir to Nepal. They then moved eastward crossways Central Asia and recognized themselves firmly in Tibet, China, and Japan. After the eighth century, the eastward and southern migrations through Arabs and Turks from West and Central Asia forced a shift in the pattern of religious patronage towards Islam. Nevertheless Buddhist monks had a permanent base in Sri Lanka, and from the eighth century onward, they receive state patronage in Burma. This pattern changed as the Islam advanced through deal and the earlier religious patronage now shifted in favour of Islam as Buddhism receded in backdrop. In information this type of a scenario can be visualised else where as well. For instance in Bengal in the east Vijayasena (1095- 1158) defeated the Palas, pushed Sena armies west crossways Bengal and northern Bihar, patronized Vishnu worship, and paved method for a patronage of Vaishnavism in the Sena domains. The last Sena raja, Laksmanasena, patronized the mainly well-known Bengali Vaishnava poet, Jayadeva, who wrote the widely influential devotional poem, *Gitagovinda.* The Sena ruler's patronage to vaishanvism came to an end in the 13th century as the political patronage shifted again. This shift was towards

Islam in the eastern areas of Bengal, where the Senas had earlier uprooted Buddhists; while Vaishnavism received support from merchants, landowners, and local rulers in the western areas. Like multiple sovereignties in medieval domains, multi-religious cultures urbanized where patronage sustained diverse religious organizations. Popular rituals and local sentiments often merged and overlapped, crossing the rows of religious custom, particularly in the spiritual domain of devotional cults that revolved approximately charismatic individuals. The Kathmandu Valley was a Buddhist stronghold ruled through Hindu kings. Powerful medieval kings in Tibet accessed the Himalayan passes to the north as major arteries of civilization, commerce, and politics reached China. This brought more and more Buddhists and their patrons in the valley. Kingdoms approximately Kathmandu became a melting pot for Hindus from the south and Buddhists from the north, and like dynasties in Bengal, they made multi-cultural patronage a extensive-standing religious custom. In the western plains — in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Malwa, and Bundelkhand — medieval dynasties of Kalacuris, Caulukyas, Paramaras, and Candelas also patronized Jains, who were prominent in the middle of merchants. One Caulukyas king is said to have become Jain. Local and Jain cultural characteristics blended into one another. Jain temple worship and Hindu-Jain marriage became general.

In the peninsula, medieval worshippers of Shiva and Vishnu displaced Buddhism and Jainism from the cultural prominence they enjoyed in early medieval times, especially in Madurai and Kanchipuram. Pockets of Jainism remained, though, and all beside the peninsular coast, mainly prominently in Kerala, kings patronized diverse merchant societies that were essential characteristics of life beside the Indian Ocean coast, including Jains, Zoroastrians, Muslims, Christians, and Jews. Arab Muslim settlements received patronage from non-Muslim rulers all beside the peninsular coast, as they did crossways the Palk Straights in Sri Lanka.

Integration as a Procedure

Inside medieval cultural environments, trends in popular religion indicate the rising power of religious feelings of a distinctly non-Brahman type that first achieved prominence in temple worship farthest from the original house of classical Brahman orthodoxy. In the distant south, from the eighth century onward, Shiva and Vishnu worship in old *Dakshinapatha* spread as a reaction to the orthodox brahmanical religion. This was manifested in the new custom of devotional (*bhakti*) worship that valued emotion above knowledge, discipline, and ritual; through composing vernacular verse in Tamil, not Sanskrit; through promoting women saints and mass participation in deity worship; through giving devotees a direct relation to god self-governing of Brahmanical mediation; through creation low caste status respectable in the eyes of god; and through creating pilgrimage spaces rooted in local traditions. *Bhakti* poets produced a new approach of emotive, popular cultural politics. Devotionalism made divine frenzy and passion for god a high virtue, and through the tenth century, these energies had been turned against religious competitors. Many texts indicate massacres of Buddhists and Jains. Under Chola kings, worshippers of Siva (Shaivites) prospered at the expense of Vishnu worshippers (Vaishnava), triggering conflicts in the middle of sectarian forces.

Bhakti devotionalism and sectarian competition challenged the brahmanical elite proponents of traditional orthodox religion as it attracted more patronage from ruling dynasties. To cultivate a popular following, several rulers in the south supported Vaishnava (Alvar) and Saivities (Nayanar) *bhakti* poets. The mainly celebrated Hindu intellectual of the early medieval age, Shankaracharya (788-820), made his name Throughout his short life through developing a Sanskrit high-civilization rendition of Tamil devotional poetry, through reconciling Saivism and Vaishnavism through a non-dualist *advaita* philosophy that drew on the Upanishads and incorporated elements from Buddhism, and through traveling from Kerala to Kashmir and back again to set up monastic centres. Shankara helped to absorb and normalize popular devotionalism in elite Brahman high civilization. A powerful local sect of Virashaivism attracted royal patronage and several

adherents from merchant societies and became locally dominant in northern Karnataka, where Lingayats remain predominant today. Similarly in the Deccan the worship of Viththala at Pandharpur can be ascribed to a rise of a new polity and its support to a new cult that later legitimized the rule of the new elite. A case revise of the procedure unfolding at the cult centre at Pandharpur in the early medieval times will illustrate this point better. The epicenter of the cult of Viththal is situated in the community of Pandharpur, in the heart of the Yadava kingdom. The municipality of Pandharpur is situated on the right bank of river Bhima, on 17o North and 75o 23- east longitude.

The earliest reference to Pandharpur is from a Rastrakuta grant dated to the 6_{th} century AD. The operative part of the grant states that the Pandarangapalli beside with Anewari, Cala, Kandaka and Duddapalli were granted to a learned brahmana, Jayadviththa. This grant also refers to the scribe, one Pandaradrisena, the lord of the hill Pandara. This grant is ratified through a confirmatory grant through Rastrakuta king Amoghavarsa in the 9_{th} century AD. The after that reference to Pandharpur is slightly indirect, viz. in that the grant refers to a small temple ‗Lahan madu' being erected through the Mahajanas, Dandanayaka and others, Throughout the area of Bhillama this inscription is dated to 1189 AD. As suggested, approach back to this inscription in another context. In the early 13_{th} century, the Hoysala king made some donations to the Lord Viththal at Pandharpur. The after that inscription is motivating from the perspective of the development of the resolution that had remained a Palli. It states that Mallisetti gave at Paundarikaksetra, on the Bhimarthi a village. The palli is now being referred to as the Ksetra. In the later half of the 13_{th} century some inscriptions refers to the palli as pura. Pandharpur is first referred to as a palli in the sixth century AD. This term denotes a small resolution. This status of the resolution remnants unchanged from the 6_{th} century AD to the 12_{th} century AD. This status drastically changes in the after that one hundred years, flanked by 1189AD- to 1237. The resolution now is a mahagrama. The nature of the resolution undergoes further change in the after that 50-75 years. In the ‗Cauryasi' grant this mahagrama has been referred to as a ‗pura'. Finally, a 14_{th} century grant also refers to Pandharpur as a pura, an urban centre. It is also motivating to note that the reference to Viththal as a deity is only in the 12_{th} century AD. The phenomenal

growth of the resolution is compressed in mere one hundred years. This is due to the extraordinary interest shown through the state in the existing traditions at the resolution. Here we necessity now turn to the deity to understand the interplay of traditions on the deity there that makes a cult at Pandharpur through the end of the 13th century AD.

It is significant to record the epigraphic proof in relation to the Viththal as a deity before we get into the interplay of custom. This is significant as the epigraphy can then suggest a temporal and spatial context within which we can then understand the play of traditions and the role of the state in this drama. We can divide the whole epigraphic context pertaining to the cult of Viththal into four separate phases. In the first phase (516 AD to 1188AD) we get references to Pandharpur but we do not get any conclusive proof concerning the subsistence of Viththal as a deity at Pandharpur. There is one controversial reference to the _Lord of the Hill', but the reference to the context eludes us. In this phase, Pandharpur is referred to as a palli, or a resolution. All that can be concluded from this oblique reference to the lord is that some type of a worship centre might have lived on the hill at Pandarangapalli. This phase comes to an end in the 12th century AD. In the 12th century AD, towards the very end of the reign of Bhillama V, an inscription invokes Viththal as a deity and refers to the small temple/shrine that has been erected. This is the first concrete reference to the deity at Pandharpur. One Vithtaldevanayaka is also referred to in the inscription, suggesting that through then name of the deity had become wide spread in the civilization at big.

In the after that phase the sings of first change in the nature of resolution happen. The Hoysala inscription of 1237AD refers to the grant for the anga-ranga-bhoga and a grant to the Siva temple too. It also refers to the palli as a mahagrama. The change in the nature of the resolution is connected to the fortunes of the deity, which are also changing. In the last phase of its journey from the palli, the centre now refers to the Pura and the small temple undergoes a extra ordinary change. The grand Yadava temple sponsored through the Yadava dominated domains now stands in full glory before the world. This development takes lay flanked by 1273-1277AD. To sum up, in the first phase we do not discover any trace of Viththala in its deified form at

Pandharpur. The construction of the temple turns out to be the mainly crucial event in the history of the resolution as well as the deity. Within a span of 84 years of the construction of the small temple, there ensues a virtual renovation and expansion of the similar. The palli of the sixth century is now a pura. This growth is compressed in less than one hundred years. Intimately linked with all these development are the Yadavas, the Devagiri and the Hoysalas. It is clear that they discover a general strand in one of the traditions at the cult centre and therefore are able to extend a patronage to it. In a manner, the Yadavas are responsible for the subsistence of the deity and the cult centre at Pandharpur.

Popular devotionalism attracted thousands of passionate believers to temples and pilgrimage sites. This made public patronage increasingly intricate and fraught, because sects could give decisive military and financial support for dynastic contenders. Multiple and layered sovereignties sustained in the middle of the gods, nonetheless, in the recognized medieval manner. Therefore the rise of the sects and the consolidation of the new polities went hand in hand. The Jagannath cult at Puri is an illustrative instance of this phenomenon and this was repeated else where as polities appeared integrating the local traditions and ascending to the local stages. Popular movements made such support contentious. Rulers had to balance support for their core religious constituency with support for others, which brought condemnation from allies. Devotees of Vishnu and Siva could be equally unforgiving.

Temple and its Role
Action that dramatized emerging social identities appear in temple inscriptions. Rituals performed through Brahmans by Sanskrit liturgies brought cosmic spiritual powers down to earth to sanctify a caste social order. Temples were sites for enacting social rank in the middle of worshippers who protected *dharma* and financed rituals; and the rituals brought a diversity of local, local, and imperial gods jointly. medieval civilizations witnessed several types of rituals, through all types of spiritualists and officiates, from all types of social backgrounds, in all manner of sites, which brought rain, secured

crops, drove absent disease and delivered healthy babies and bolstered dynasties. Temples to these great sovereign gods rose on the land as towering sacred landmarks and monuments to political power.

The temple as a ritual and architectural intricate appeared in its glory in the later Gupta era. Its elaboration and spread from the sixth to the fourteenth century give a legacy for us to revise from Mahaballipuram to Khajuraho. The absorption of local deities, rituals, symbols, and spiritualism into Puranic literature and related myth, folklore, and artistic representation constituted the dominant worship through enhancing the cultural potency of local deities, their devotees, and their patrons. Local cults were woven into Puranic traditions and temple rituals as local societies came under royal power. The greatness of the gods enhanced the glamour of royal patrons. We do approach crossways a number of inscriptions referring to temples and the grants given there beside with the rituals performed. In several a cases we discover the local deity be accorded a higher status in the religious pantheon and the advent of Bhakti paved a dissimilar kind of integration that was more open.

Social identities appeared approximately temples as people and gods existed jointly. Gifts through kings, landed elites, merchants and others to Brahmans and temples increased the spiritual stature of the donor. Inscriptions are contracts and advertisements. The more popular a temple became — the more praised in song and more attractive for pilgrims — the greater became the value of its patronage and the number of people whose identity attached to it. Rising *bhakti* devotionalism enhanced the virtue, volume, and commercial value of pilgrimage, as it increased temple donations and investments. Donations became increasingly popular as a means and marker of social mobility as temples became commercial centres, landowners, employers, and manufacturing centres. Rising participation in temple rituals made them more effective sites for social ranking, as temple honours were distributed just as to rank and all worshippers were positioned in ranked proximity to the deity. Rulers came first. Rich donors came in the order of the value of their temple endowments. Popular *bhakti* movements made sovereign gods ever more central in everyday social life, even for the poorest people who did all the hardest manual labour who were prohibited from ever setting foot in the temple, whose exclusion marked them as the people of the lowest social rank.

Some powerful *bhakti* saints came from the lowest of the low, whose devotion was so strong that gods came out of temples to return their love.

People who joined temple civilization gave gifts to gods and Brahmans that increased the status of donors, executors of the grant, and through extension, and all their kin. In excess of time, kinship circles shaped approximately lineages and clans that fed gods and Brahmans, and these kin groups shaped high-status, non-Brahman elite *jati*s, elevated above others in ritual and civilization. Brahmans reaped major benefits. In some instances, thousands of Brahmins were granted rights to hitherto uncultivated land. In the open spaces of Rashtrakuta power, one inscription records a gift of 8,000 events of land to 1,000 Brahmans, and 4,000 events to a single Brahman. In each specific context, an inscription of this type appears to spot an effort through a non-Brahman power block to enhance its status and that of its local allies. In other cases, Brahmins were appointed as the local representatives of the state authorities in what are described as *agrahara* villages where Brahmins presided in excess of small peasants, who in Bihar were mostly landless sharecroppers or bonded labourers. These *agrahara* villages were typically small villages and satellites of better villages that incorporated members of many castes and better land-holders. In Bihar, such *agrahara* villages proliferated and it is quite likely that in such *agrahara* oppressive social dealings and some of the mainly egregious patterns of caste-centered discrimination and use may have urbanized.

But these growths took time to spread elsewhere in India, first spreading to Bengal and eastern UP, and very slowly elsewhere in India. Though, this pattern was not necessarily replicated in identical form throughout India and some parts of India virtually escaped this trend. In *agrahara* villages in other parts of India, Brahmins did take on the role of local officers and tax collectors, but the status of the small peasantry was not always as miserable as in Bihar. The degree of use and oppression appears to be related to the extent of alienation from land-ownership. In religions that paid tremendous stress on ―revealed truth‖ (such as Christianity or Islam) there have always been strong tendencies towards dogmatic rigidity. But even at the peak of their power, India's Brahmins were never quite able to impose any comparable sort of rigid uniformity in the practice of Hinduism on a

national level. In some localities, the lower castes did without the Brahmins entirely while elsewhere, especially in the South, or in Central India and Orissa - Brahmins often felt obliged to provide due deference to dissenting and heterodox cults, and incorporated their belief systems into mainstream Hinduism. The subsistence of these numerous cults was partly an expression of the thrash about for social equality and freedom from use, but for some, it was also a means for accessing greater social privileges. The Brahmins of Tamil Nadu (beside with the rulers) attempted to manage these social tensions through co-option, philosophical accommodation and synthesis.

In Andhra, folk religions played a powerful role in mediating Brahmanical powers, and a vibrant instance of the deep penetration of folk powers in popular religion is to be seen in the sculpted array of folkloric panels in the temple of Srisailam (sponsored through the Vijayanagar rulers in the 14th-15th C.). In neighbouring Karnataka, the Bhakti ideal and Jain powers put their stamp on prevailing religious practices. Religion in India therefore urbanized in a much more organic fashion than is commonly realized, and it was never totally divorced from popular inputs. Both male and female deities drew followers, and while goddesses were sometimes displayed in demonic warrior roles, gods were sometimes displayed with feminine qualities. In the Yogini temples, all the deities were women and although today, there are only a handful of surviving Yogini temples, (mostly in Orissa and Madhya Pradesh) it is not unlikely that several more may have been in subsistence.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Discuss the different view points surrounding the debate on early medieval society.

Why should the early medieval society be seen as a distinct phase in the development of Indian history?

Discuss the pros and cons of the existence of Feudalism in Indian society.

What is the relationship between the concept of feudalism and urban decay.

Analyze the context in which we can debate the issue of consolidation of the jatis and castes.

CHAPTER 5
Medieval Community
STRUCTURE

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

Understand the village community in a subtler manner, it is essential to know: *What is a village?*

Understand the specific features of the rural society.

VILLAGE COMMUNITY

What is a Village Community?

Question arises what a village community denotes and how did it function? The issue came to the fore as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century in the British circles. The Committee of the Home of Commons on East India Affairs discussed the issue as early as 1810. British Indian officers Charles Metcalfe, James Mill, Elphinstone, and Sir Henry Maine deliberated upon the concept of the village community. Charles Metcalfe described them _small republics', _approximately self-governing of any foreign dealings', _unchangeable'; while James Mill designated them as _corporations'; Elphinstone argued that Throughout the medieval era it _acted as deterrent against the imposition of the Mahometan law upon the Indian life'. Sir Henry Maine described it as _an organised self-acting group of families exercising a general proprietorship in excess of a definite tract of

land'. He argued that in India in the villages where a scrupulous clan dominated then rule of the head of the clan (village headman) prevailed; while, where the village consisted of heterogeneous population (of dissimilar caste and creed) then instead of the dominance of _one' the village *panchayat* acted as dominant body. Therefore he looked at the phenomenon of the attendance of the village community not _universal' but depending on the nature of the constitution of a scrupulous village.

Arthur Phillips (*Land Tenures of Lower Bengal*, Calcutta, 1876) argued that the village community was present in ancient India; it declined under the centralised administrative organization of the Muslim rule. The growth of the *zamindari* organization also contributed to its decline throughout the medieval era. However the official machinery of the village headmen, *patwaris*, *and chaudhuries* sustained, they enjoyed their location at state's pleasure only, and the state preserved the right to remove them. B.R. Grover argues that rather _the kind of village societies based on land tenures establish in the nineteenth century was more traceable in the areas which had remained in complete suppression as a part of the Sultanate or Mughal rule than in such areas where the Sultanate or Mughal patterns of regular agrarian management did not penetrate...In information, the concept of village societies was governed through local and tribal practices undergoing changes from time to time rather than through _Hindu' or _Muslim' patterns of government.' Though, there appears to be no uniform pattern of the attendance of village community. It varied in form and substance from area to area; even the pattern of the attendance of dissimilar classes and functionaries varied from area to area. Grover argues that _the concept of village community depended upon the nature of prevalent land tenure and the connection flanked by the agricultural and non-agricultural population residing in a village...(it) necessity be studied in relation to the local tribal and clannish settlements as well as the *zamindari* rights and jurisdictions of the dominant clans'.

Regional sources throw ample light on the working of the village societies. Sources like *Arhsattas* (revenue records pertaining to state income and expenditure), *jamabandi* (revenue assessment records), *jama kharcha* (income and expenditure), *chitthis* (letters written/issued through and to several revenue officials and the state), *sanads* (issued through the *diwan*, the

department kept miscellaneous information pertaining to emoluments, privileges,etc.), *dastur al amal* (schedule of revenue rates) preserved at the State Archives of Rajasthan, Bikaner in Rajasthani/Persian throw ample light on the nature of village community Throughout the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. For Punjab, we have *khalsa darbar* records (mainly contains revenue records of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's reign from 1811-1849) and *patwari* records (village accounts maintained through the village *patwari* (village accountant), Marathi records preserved in Pune Archives like *thalzada* (a record of land rights/ land holdings maintained through the village accountant) and *Taleband* (actual receipts and expenditures of the village revenue) also throw much light on the socio-economic life of rural Maharashtra Throughout the medieval era. Village organization of Goa can also be studied with the help of voluminous Marathi records pertaining to village societies, preserved in the Archives of Goa. Similarly State Archives of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu also contain valuable records concerning village societies.

The village community was a strong pillar of the rural society. Wherever institutional or social organization in a village was involving the village population in some form of cooperation or dependence, village community did exist. It dealt with the troubles like law and order, revenue payments and related matters of the villages. As early as first or second century A.D. the Buddhist text *Milindpanho* clearly speaks of what constituted the village community and obviously women, slave girls/ slave men, hired labour, servants, ordinary villagers, sick people etc. did not count in the list. It therefore clearly states how the village community mainly constituted the upper strata of the village society. The reference creates it clear that the villages were socially stratified, and the matters of the village were decided only through the *upper strata* who alongwith the village headman were entitled to levy forced labour. Throughout the medieval era mainly peasants, village servants and labourers did form part of the village community. Though, it appears that *paikasht* (outside cultivators) *muzarian* (tenants; occupancy cultivators) hardly _played any role in the management of the affairs of the village community', as rightly pointed out through Grover. Though, Grover argues that there appears to have occurred some shift in their

location, as the *muzarian* appears to have enjoyed _transferable rights of mortgagee and sale of their holdings'.

S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has given a vivid account of village assemblies of South India. R.C. Majumdar, Burton Stein, Nobura Karashima and Y. Subbarayalu have discussed in great details the working of the Brahmanical assemblies of the *Brahmadeya* (revenue free grants given to the Brahmans) villages. In these villages Brahmins shaped a communal self-governing body described *sabha*. These villages were mostly recognized Throughout the Pallava and Chola times. The non-*Brahmadeya* villages appear to be of earlier era and numerically their strength was much more than the *Brahmadeya* villages. *Ur* was the assembly in non-*Brahmadeya* villages. The autonomous bodies like *sabha*, *Ur*, and *nattar* declined and later disappeared in the Vijaynagar era giving method to *nayaks* or self-governing chieftains. If we see the working of Brahman village assemblies of the Chola era, we get to know in relation to the organization of election and representation of individual families, their qualification for membership and the subsistence of several committees performing separate functions.

Panch or Panch-Muqaddam
The Vrindavan documents beginning from 16th century onwards throw a great deal of light on the nature of functioning of the village community throughout the medieval era. The documents are bilingual, i.e. Persian and Braj languages. They mainly deal with the sale of village lands. In its Persian version village oligarchs (*panch*) are referred to as *muqaddam* while in the Braj version they are addressed as *panch* and they claim to act in concert *(sab panchan milikare)*. This suggests that the *panch* and *muqaddam* were used as synonym. *Panch* shaped a communal body, recognized as *panchayat*. Their traditional number appears to be *five* (Hindi *paanch*) but the number could be less and at times more. In Vrindaban documents their number varied from *four* to as several as *thirteen*. Baden Powell states that the Indian village community was an extension of the joint family. But Irfan Habib argues that no two *panch* appear

to be descendents of the similar father or grand father, which is very secure to the Chola regulations of Brahman villages that no single family should be in excess of-represented in the *sabha*. He rather emphasizes that ‚hereditary succession had much to do with one's obtaining the status of *panch*'. Even conversion, it looks, did not deter right of a person to hold the location of a *panch*. Bari Khan is mentioned in the Aritha documents (contemporary Radhakund, a village close to Mathura-Vrindavan) of 1640-42 as *panch* suggests that he sustained to be a *panch* even after converting to Islam. Irfan Habib's revise on Vrindavan documents confirms that ‚at any one time only one member of the family acted as *panch* representative'. Vrindavan document of 1594 clearly mentions that out of thirteen *panch* three were Muslims. Though, it appears that rights to perquisites (*biswa muqaddami*) was shared equally in the middle of all heirs and not enjoyed *solely* through the eldest member as *panch*.

Separately from hereditary succession, other factors like-caste, community, money, power etc. also played their role in the selection of the *panch*. Writing in 1966, Grover rejects the attendance of ‚village community' Throughout the Mughal era. He argues that, ‚It is hard to trace the concept of the ‚*Panchayat*' organization or a ‚Council of the Village Elders'' forming an integral part of the village community Throughout the Mughal age'...The *zamindari* and the *muqaddami* families as well as other *riaya* would often meet in the village *chaupal* and talk about matters relating to the interests of the agricultural community. The *chaupal* would as well serve as the venue for the caste groups for discussion and enforcement of the caste regulations. It is in this sense that the village community may be said to have lived Throughout the Mughal age'. Therefore for Grover ‚caste' was the chief binding factor and for him the working of the village societies was more in the sense of caste *Panchayat*. He clearly denies that it had any role in ‚matters relating to agricultural life, revenue management, and social behaviour'.

Functions and Powers

Grover argues that there was no ‗communal land' or the ‗general financial pool' belonging to the village community troughout the medieval era. He suggests that ‗the village waste lands, the pasture lands and the adjoining jungles... (were) all owned through the state', however ‗village had a right to the usage of pasture land, wood from the jungle and piscary from ponds' in lieu of ‗nominal cesses (*abwab*) to the *zamindari* and *muqaddami* families'. Just as to him *malba* (general village finance for meeting out official's exactions from the village) always remained an illegal cess Throughout the Mughal era; while *kharch-i deh* (incidental expenditure of the village) ‗never implied a general pool of the village *riaya* in a village community'. Citing the *Farman* of Bahadur Shah I (1710) he argues that it clearly ‗declares the charges on the grass and fodder from the pasture lands and jungles as illegal and forbids the *muqaddams* from further collection. Even in the ‗nineteenth century, in major portions of North India, the waste and the jungle lands were mostly at the disposal of the *zamindar* and the rights of user enjoyed through village community were very limited'.

Though, Irfan Habib on the foundation of the analysis of Vrindavan documents argues that village community definitely enjoyed rights in excess of wastelands and there was attendance of general financial pool. Vrindavan documents reflect the nature and extent of power which *panch* or *panchayat* used to exercise in excess of the general village lands. He argues that *Panchayat* possessed manage in excess of village land (*zamin-i mauza*). It could be pond, wasteland, or cultivated/cultivable land. Aritha documents confirm that they could sell or lease out the village wasteland or else could grant permission to cultivate it. One of the deeds of the Vrindavan documents shows that the *panch* in 1594 had given 4 *biswas* of wasteland of the village close to Vrindavan to a *bairagi* (recluse) to construct some structure. Here one has to bear in mind that the village community did not enjoy rights to sell land cultivated through individual peasants. But in case some outsider (*pai kasht*) wanted to cultivate the land in a sure village then the permission of the village community appeared to be mandatory. *Thalzada* records from Maharashtra also illustrate that a dancer, Shyama Naikin, received a grant of 60 *bighas* of

land for her services to the Sidheshwar temple of Indapur and the *dargah* of Pirchad Khan.

The significant question is how the money received out of the sale proceeds of the village land used to be distributed? Mughal records did speak in relation to the sure extent. It appears that the *Panch* involved in the sale of the wastelands of the village did receive their ‗share', but big sum out of the proceeds used to go to ‗general financial pool' of the village. Aurangzeb's *Farman* to Rasikdas clearly mentions *bachh* (rate paid through the *bhaiyachara* community) villages into the general pool and *behri mal* (revenue paid through the community towards the general pool). S.P. Gupta mentions one such instance when even the *panchayati* land was taxed. He argues that it designates the attendance of ‗some sort of communal ownership of land in the village'.

It is motivating to see the expenditure pattern of this ‗general financial pool'. The largest amount therefore received was spent to pay off the revenue demand to the state. Remuneration and perquisites of several officials were also paid out of this finance. Expenses of the village (*kharch-i deh*) were also met out of this finance. These expenditures were in the form of paying allowances and fees to the *patwari, qanungo,* and *chaudhury*. Even the general village loans were paid out of this finance. *Panch* could also lend money out of the general village pool in the case of the availability of surplus. In manufacture enterprises like procuring seeds, digging up channels, etc. money was also spent through the village community out of the general village pool. All these transactions were mannered through village community (*panchayat/panch*). General villagers had no managed in excess of these behaviors. The village oligarchs (designated *kalantaran, mutaghalliban, and muqaddams*) were never held through the Mughal officials in high esteem. Akbar's (1556-1605) *diwan* Todar Mal calls them, ‗bastards and headstrong' who ‗do not pay their own share (of the revenue demand of the village) transferring it to the *reza-riaya*' (ordinary peasants). B.L. Bhadani's revise on western Rajasthan also suggests the attendance of some sort of general pool. From village Sewadi, *pargana* Jalor records we get references of ‗job for the village', ‗remuneration in wheat (to be given) to the village servants', ‗just as to number of persons'. The remuneration paid to the village community for

onward payment to the village servants suggests attendance of general village finance. It also speaks of collection of dues from the peasants for the similar.

In the medieval Deccan also village headmen or village assembly posessed the right to dispose off or were privileged to take possession in excess of the wastelands (*gatkul jamin* – land of extinct families) or *pad jamin* (land left waste on explanation of noncultivation for a extensive era). The Marathi records mention possession of such lands through the village headmen as *miras* lands; while it also speaks of disposal of wastelands through them as *miras* as well as *inam*. Therefore in medieval Deccan village headmen possessed the right to ‗appropriate‘ wastelands, but in such case he had to pay heavy land-tax on it as per *miras*-rates. On explanation of this, comments Fukuzawa, ‗the headmen of several villages would desist from taking in excess of wastelands which would then remain unappropriated‘.

In the Deccan usually disposal of wastelands appears to have been done through the village assembly (*majalsi samakul pandhar*). The sale of wastelands as *miras* lands did not necessarily involve ‗payment‘ of the ‗money‘ to the village assembly. Out of the three documents analysed through Fukuzawa only in one case grantee paid Rs. 100 to the village assembly. In such case the grantee happened to be an outsider. This suggests that in case of the transfer/sale of lands as *miras* lands within the village the person did not need to indulge in any cash transactions to the village assembly. But in case of outside cultivator he had to pay a ‗price for the land‘. This appears in contrast to the modern north India where a share out of the sale proceeds used to go to the village headmen and rest used to go to the ‗general financial pool‘. Similarly, there appears to be a contrast in the involvement of people in the two areas. In north India, in the sales of the village lands village *panch/ muqaddams* were involved, while Marathi documents pertaining to medieval Deccan reveal that throughout the sale of village wasteland altogether 34 persons were present. Here, separately from the village assembly (*majalis samakul pandhar*) others present were – an agent (*kamavisdar*), *inamdar* (held *inam* lands in the village), three headmen (*patils*), seven peasants, one carpenter (*sutar*), one gardener (*mali*), one blacksmith (*lohar*), one guest-bard (*bhat-mehaman*), two astrologer-accountant (*joshikulkarni*), one assistant headman (*chaugula*), one barber (*nhavi*), one untouchable (*mahar*), one keeper

of the temple (*gurav*), as well as the *deshpande* (accountant) of the area, and thirteen other persons from the neighbouring villages and hamlets. Village assembly, to meet out the general expences of the village (paying land-tax, etc.), could sell off land as *inam* land in excess of which the grantee did not need to pay any tax, instead the taxes due on that land were to be shared through the village as a whole. Fukuzawa concludes that if the lands were _disposed of as *miras* lands, it was the grantee (new *mirasdar*) who had to bear a heavy land-tax, whereas if disposed of as *inam* lands, the villagers as a group were obliged to pay the landtax on behalf of the grantee (new *inamdar*), if the *inam* was of a fairly big level. In view of this situation, wastelands of several villages appear to have been left _waste' without being disposed of.'

We do get references of sale of village lands in South India as well through the *mahasabhyar* (members of the *maha-sabha*). Noboru Karashima refers to sale of number of such deeds. One of the inscriptions from Rajaraja Chola III dated 1241 AD where members of *maha-sabha* of Ukkal _sold eastern hamlet (*pidagai*)... through means of a village sale (*ur-vilai-piramanam*) for 180 *madais'*. It incorporated wet land, garden, residential region, home, trees, well, water, irrigation, road, passage, tank, bund, etc. The assembly granted _right of sale, mortgage, resale, inheritance and donation of this village (hamlet)'. This confirms the attendance of right to sell off village land through the village community in South India. However it appears that it did not necessarily contain wastelands only. Village servants and artisans shaped an significant component of the village community. Here as suggested, furnish only a brief explanation of their attendance. Vrindavan documents also refer to land transfers. But how the village artisans and servants were maintained is not mentioned in these documents. However we do get references to leather workers holding scrupulous plots, conditions and circumstances of their holdings are not recognized.

A 1776 statement from Baroch (Gujarat) throws important light on the issue of maintenance of the artisans, —a sure portion of land of each village (just as to the custom) should be tax free for the maintenance of those artisans and labourers whose services were absolutely necessary for the village . Concerning the *Jajmani* organization, R.S. Sharma argues that throughout the era of second ubran decay (7-9th centuries), the jobless artisans of the urban

regions migrated to rural regions to seek their livelihood and from this, in the course of time, appeared the *jajmani* organization. Thomas' *Memoirs* on Sind also reveal alike information for 1847 Sind, where one gets to know the carpenter getting his fee for the annual repair of the Persian wheels, and the potter for the supply of the earthen vessels. James Mill, Hegel, Karl Marx, and Baden-Powell have described the attachment of the village servants and artisans to the village community. But W.H. Wiser concludes that the customary attachments tied the village servants and artisans not to the whole village but to groups of client families, their *jajmans,* within it. Louis Dumont feels that this is an extension of the connection flanked by the priest and his clients. H. Fukazawa on the foundation of 18th century Maharashtra documents writes that the servants and artisans were claiming their hereditary land allotment *(watan/miras)* from the village as a whole. These servants were described *balutedars* and were getting their share of agricultural produce recognized as *baluta.*

Village artisans and servants in Deccan and Gujarat and elsewhere too, whose services, like removal of litter, washerman, barber, carpenter, blacksmith and so on, were essential for the functioning of the village as an economic and social element. They were getting tax free lands for their maintenance. On special occasions, the families of village servants received small allowances in cash and type from the village community. All kinds of artisans and servants were having their importance. A leather worker/ tanner were as significant and necessary as a priest in the village. Midwife services, which were provided through the low caste women, were essential for every family-low and high. Barber similarly was necessary not only for cutting hair but also for conducting socio-religious ceremonies. This phenomenon was common throughout India even in the nineteenth century, and Baden Powell discovers it in all types of villages. The socio-economic ties of village artisans with the *zamindars* and the cultivating community sustained from generation to generation.

RURAL SOCIETY: NORTH INDIA

Social Formation in the Plains

Northern plains with high degree of soil fertility and alluvial deposits were recognized for high productivity, rigorous farming, and highly commercialized agriculture. Therefore northern plains represented comparatively ‗urbanized' social formations. State manage was also perhaps greater in the plains than the hills and the forests. The area was mainly governed through uniform regulations throughout the medieval era. Let us explore the prominent social groups at rural stage. The creamy layer consisted of the *zamindars (bhomia* in Rajasthan), petty government officials (*muqaddam* and *chaudhuri*), rich peasants, local merchants, and moneylenders. The village also contained sizable population of the ordinary peasants, self-governing artisans, and the village menials (labourers).

Rural Elites

Through thirteenth century the *rais, rana,* and *rauts* of the pre-Sultanate aristocracy appear to symbolize ‗better' chiefs in the rural hierarchy. Through late thirteenth century we also hear the attendance of the *chaudhuris* (headman of 100 villages), *khots*, and *muqaddams* (village headmen). Barani (*c.* 1358) comments that they were all Hindus and ‗ride good horses, wear fine clothes, shoot arrows from Persian bows, fight with each other and go out for hunt, and in a good measure, chew betel leaves'. Mid-fourteenth century also saw the emergence of the *zamindar* class which for approximately six hundred years occupied the centre stage in rural aristocracy. The rural elite other than their caste/clan base maintained a strong military force, including the *garhis* (fortresses). The recognition of their power can well be judged the method they were referred to in the Rajasthani documents as *riyayatis* and assessed at concessional rates in spite of state's unwillingness. We get frequent references in the Mughal *Farman* for not converting the *raiyat kashta* (peasant holdings) into the *khwud kashta* (self-cultivated) holdings. They enjoyed superior rights in comparison to general peasants. They were organised mainly on the foundation of caste and clan ties. Their territories were often contiguous to the

territories of other clan members. Since the *zamindari* rights became salable in the Mughal era, it led to the caste/clan monopoly becoming vulnerable.

At this point it will be motivating to trace the procedure of assimilation of the pre- Sultanate aristocracy and the growth and emergence of the *zamindar* class in the rural society. Irfan Habib discovers the origin and growth of this class of the *zamindars* in the emergence of the Rajputs as caste/class, a phenomenon presently preceding the beginning of the medieval era. The Rajputs usually trace their origin from the *rajputras* (Prakrit *raut*; before sixteenth century we do not discover the usage of the word Rajput in Persian texts; *raut* was in general usage in the Persian texts). Irfan Habib argues that the *rajaputras* are mentioned in the Bakhshali manuscript (*circa* 200-500 AD; a mathematical job written on birch bark; so described because it was establish in the summer of 1881 close to the village Bakhshali (or Bakhshalai) of the Yusufzai subdivision of the Peshawar district (now in Pakistan) as ‗men who receive daily pay from the king'. There is also a reference in *Chachnama* (9th century) of ‗a cavalry of five thousand ‗sons of kings' (*ibna-al muluk*). Irfan Habib comments that, ‗in all likelihood the *rajaputras* (the *ibna-al muluk*), being horsemen of status, rode saddled horses'. He analyses that, ‗one can conjecture that a number of the class of elite cavalry troopers began to coalesce into a superior caste...' *Lekhapaddhati* (a collection of documents from Gujarat, 9-13 c.) mentions that ‗a *rajputra* could apply to a *ranaka*' and it illustrates them acquiring key positions in the power structure. Jaunpur inscription of 1217 associate them with land. Just as to Irfan Habib the after that stage in the development begins with the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate. *Ranas* and *rautas* are mentioned in Minhaj-us Siraj's explanation of 1259. Barani (*c.* 1358) also refers to them as ‗chiefs (*ranas*) and military captains (*rautas*) in the context of the era prior to Alauddin Khalji's reign (1296-1316). Though, from Alauddin Khalji's era onwards the languages in general usage were *chaudhuris*, *khots* and *muqaddams*. ‗The *ranaka* and *rauts* when subjugated remained fairly autonomous, being obliged mainly to pay tribute...Such a situation changed when the sultan's (Alauddin's) management began to aim at a superior tax collection, and the tributary chiefs came to be pressed into the location of intermediaries, responsible for tax collection. The rural magnate, who replaces

ranaka or *rana...*, is then the *chaudhury...*As for the *raut* we discover him replaced through the *khot...*' The 1353 proclamation of Firuz has combined *muqaddams* (mainly Hindus), *mafrozis* (state appointees to manage land), and *maliks* (revenue free grantees) (mainly Muslims), under one single title *zamindars*. Irfan Habib argues that, _One may think of *mafrozis* as the state's nominees in lay of *ranas* or *chaudhuri* and of *maliks* as those who, holding tax-free lands (like the *khots*), could join the ranks of the local dominant elements'. Therefore, since then, *the zamindars tended to form a comprehensive category embracing all types of superior right holders.*

In the Mughal era *zamindars* often belonged to dominant castes. The nature and pattern of their rights and perquisites varied as per the rights of a scrupulous clan/ caste. Mughal *zamindars* possessed forts and maintained armed retainers. Abul Fazl records that the total strength of the *zamindars*' retainers was 384,558 cavalry and 427,057 infantry and 1863 elephants, 4260 canon pieces and 4500 boats. Similarly, *bhomias* in Rajasthan maintained *garhis* (forts). We do get number of *chitthis* in Rajasthan that are full of complaints against the oppression and terror of the *bhomias*. They even did not spare the local traders and regularly looted and harassed them. At times it was hard for the state to collect revenue from such turbulent *zamindars* (therefore described *zortalab*) and *bhomias*. Several a time *raiyat* also supported the *zamindars* on explanation of the caste/clan ties. They were able to enlist the support of peasants at time of crisis/disagreement against the state or *jagirdar*/*mansabdar*. Irfan Habib comments that _Aurangzeb's official historians employ the word *zamindarana* in the sense of disloyal or trecherous conduct. The attitude reflects the suspicions of the Mughal ruling class towards chiefs and lesser *zamindars* who, because of their armed power, always posed a challenge to it. There was also here, perhaps, a cultural divides as well: contempt of the urban-based elite for the rural magnates'. Irfan Habib contends that, _in such accession to *zamindari* status there usually followed a procedure of _Rajputization'...Had, perhaps, contemporary circumstances not intervened, a number of Jat *zamindaris* would have entered the Rajput caste'. The spread of *ijara* (revenue farming) organization in Rajasthan Throughout the late seventeenth century led to the rise of a new class of territorial magnates – the *thikanadars*.

Peasants and Agricultural Labourers

Peasants were not a homogeneous group. The rich peasants often shaped part of the rural elite. They were commonly termed as *khwud kashta, kalantaran,* or *paltis* (resident cultivators, in Maharashtra they were recognized as *thani*; while in eastern Rajasthan they were described *gharuhala* and in western Rajasthan the privileged class of *muqati* and *prasati* shaped this category) and *halmir* in Persian documents. They possessed their own granary, well, home, and plow. They used to get their land cultivated with the help of hired labour in addition to their family labour. After that to the elite were the ordinary peasants (*raiyat, reza riaya, and karsas*) in the rural hierarchy. They shaped majority in the village. The *pai/pahi kasht* (in western Rajasthan they were recognized as *osari, bahrla gaon ka*; outside cultivators), and the *muzarian* (share croppers) were after that in the hierarchy. There appears to have lived considerable economic differentiation. This economic differentiation, just as to Irfan Habib, got _reinforced and consolidated through the caste organization'.

Pahis (their counterpart in the Deccan was *upari*) were not the resident cultivator but they were peasants cultivating the lands in villages other than their own. Usually they were the migrants from the neighbouring villages/*parganas* to the villages either deserted or where cultivable land was accessible. They were usually assessed at concessional rates (1/3 of the produce). The village *patel* (village headmen) normally played a significant role in bringing these new *asamis* (*pahis*). State encouraged the *pahis* to settle in new villages. In such cases ploughs, oxen, manure, and money were provided through the state. There appears to be a tendency on the part of higher castes to opt for *pahi* (outside cultivators) farming and get the assessment done at concessional rates. There is also some proof to suggest that there was a tendency on their part to convert the *pahi* land into *khwud kashta* holdings. Though, they did not possess the right to sell their holdings or assign them on *ijara* (revenue farming).

The differential rate of revenue was assessed on the foundation of caste. *Raiyat/karsas* were assessed at the highest rate. Therefore the burden of

taxation was almost certainly highest upon the peasants in medieval era. A late seventeenth century *dastur-ul amal* of *pargana* Jhak in eastern Rajasthan clearly illustrates that the *raiyats* had to pay at the rate of 50 per cent of the produce, while *patels, patwaris, mahajans*, and *pahis* paid 40 per cent; the Rajputs were to pay 25-33 per cent; while the *chaudhuris* and *qanungoes* were charged even less (25 per cent). *Khwud kashta* peasants were also exempted from paying their cesses like home and marriage taxes. Though, they were not exempted from paying *gaon kharch* (*malba*; village expenses). These small peasants were constantly under debt for meeting the expenses for purchasing seed, plough, oxen, etc. Mughal state acknowledged (Aurangzeb in one of his *Farman*) that the peasants existed in debt for survival. The *pahis* had the permission to build their own establishments (*chhaparbandi*) and they possessed their own ploughs. These *pahis* were instrumental in the growth and expansion of farming. Since the land was accessible in abundance these *pahis* could assume the proprietorship (*malik*). Therefore the *khwud kasht* (self cultivated) and *pahi kasht* were infact not mutually exclusive categories; instead the division flanked by the two was not very rigid. Though, throughout the nineteenth century as a result of introduction of proprietorship laws the location of the *pahis* got reduced to tenant sat- will.

The *muzarian* were the tenants who used to cultivate the land of superior castes/ landholders. They also served as state sponsored tenants. In that case they were asked to cultivate surplus lands or abandoned lands. In the village there were also share-croppers. They were referred to in Rajasthani documents as *sanjhedars*. Rajasthani documents illustrate that these share-croppers were assessed at differential rates. One who belonged to superior castes was normally assessed at concessional rates; while the peasants had to pay the land tax at normal rates. In western Rajasthan we approach crossways another category of peasants described *basi*. Colonel James Tod mentions that they were neither *gola* (slave) nor free. Bhadani on the foundation of *Jalor Vigat* identifies these *basi* peasants as those peasants who _would move wholesale with their master to new settlements'. They were not necessarily cultivating the land of the village where they would reside instead they could cultivate more than one village's land. While there was attendance of exclusive *basi* villages, there were sure villages, which were both *basi* and

raiyati. The caste composition of the *basi* and *raiyati* villages shows that no *basi* or *raiyati* cultivator belonged to the menial caste. Gujars were entered as *basi* but not as *raiyati* in western Rajasthan. Rajputs shaped the highest group in the middle of the *basi* cultivators. This shows that almost certainly all major agricultural castes were part of *basi* cultivating castes while menial castes remained outside the fold.

Usually speaking peasants were hard pressed. Even however they were proprietors, their location was approximately like semi-serfs for they were not allowed to abandon the land. In case of their flight officials were asked to bring them back through the use of force. Peasants often took money from moneylenders to pay land revenue, and for seeds, oxen, etc. as well as for maintaining their life. On explanation of high interest rates these loans amounted to as high as five times the principal amount in some cases. The farming of superior landholders mainly depended upon agricultural labourers (*majurs, halis*). These landless labourers/‗menial castes' shaped in relation to the one sixth to one fifth of the village population. The ‗menial castes' were prohibited to take on agriculture therefore provided a vast battery of ‗reserve' labour force. They were compelled to perform *begar* (forced labour) through the superior castes. The agricultural labourers/menials were so crucial in the rural society, comments Irfan Habib that they shaped ‗pillar of Indian peasant agriculture'. He also suggests the attendance of ‗pauperized peasants often turned into wage-labourers'. But such peasant labourers were limited. Another significant aspect of medieval rural society was complete absence of agricultural slaves; however the slavery was rampant in the urban regions.

Stratification in the Rural Society
The account clearly points out that the medieval rural society was highly stratified. This stratification was the result of several factors a) Resource base – availability of seeds, oxen, agricultural implements, Persian wheel, wells for irrigation, etc.; and b) Caste also intensified the stratification – the higher castes were assessed at lower rates and lower castes had to pay revenue at much higher rate; c) nature and pattern of crops produced further intensified the gulf – those who could produce cash crops would be better

placed than those cultivating food crops. The differentiation further deepens on the foundation of those who reaped one crop a year and those rising more than 4-5 crops. Referring to the *khasra-jamabandi* documents (AD 1776) of *pargana* Chatsu (eastern Rajasthan) S.P. Gupta highlights that out of the 36 cultivators 16 cultivated one crop only, the after that 11 cultivated 2-4 crops; while 9 cultivated more than 5 crops. Out of these nine cultivators two were *patels* (village headmen). The *khasra* documents (AD 1791) of *qasba* Soabdaspur, *pargana* Sawai Jaipur also illustrate the similar trend where 6-9 crops were produced through 6 *patels*. Irfan Habib argues that the peasants cultivating more crops _usually cultivated superior regions of land'.

Irfan Habib states that the claims on individual property _gave rise to condition of social hierarchy' in the medieval era. He adds that, _the retrogressive nature of the land tax was also likely to assist the procedure of differentiation...' While commercialization on the one hand resulted in intensification of social stratification, on the other hand it led to augment in cash flow and therefore added prosperity. Just as to Satish Chandra monetisation, cash nexus and natural calamities _accentuated the procedure of social segmentation'. But Chetan Singh thinks that it definitely benefited the prosperity of the _small peasants' in the Punjab area. For him _social stratification was greater in the more urbanized area… Such change was more noticeable at the stage of intermediary *zamindars*'. As a result of commercialization of agriculture at Bayana, chief centre of indigo manufacture, several rich merchants involved themselves in its manufacture therefore turned into farmers.

Social Formation in the Tribal Areas
The tribes were mainly semi-itinerant in nature and of rustic diversity. Throughout our era the itinerant character of the tribes was limited. Munhta Nainsi in his *Marwar-ra-pargana-ri-Vigat* mentions the Mina tribal of western Rajasthan as cultivators, while Mers were entered as revenue payers and agriculturists. In the Punjab area tribes like the Bhattis and the Jats were more or less settled in a scrupulous area. Rustic/tribal civilizations mainly

recognized the ‚communal' claim in excess of land and its use. So they were comparatively more egalitarian. But as they adopted settled agriculture hierarchy crept in. Yusufzai clan of the Afghans in Swat valley became land owning peasants but their counterpart Faqirs, who were shepherds and labourers, were to stay outside the tribe and were not allowed to be part of the tribal assembly (*jirga*). Other clan members were not to be taxed but Faqirs were to pay taxes. But such stratification was otherwise not apparent in the middle of other Afghan tribes.

Peasantisation of the Tribal Society
The dominant form of sustenance in the middle of the tribal societies was pastoralism. Nonetheless tribes' response to situations was dissimilar as per their ecological nearby and situations. There was subtle movement of the tribals towards sedentarisation. This procedure of sedentarisation of the pastoralists sustained unabated throughout the medieval era. Chetan Singh believes that the commercialization of agriculture and the augment in the extent of farming were the two crucial factors behind this transformation. The assimilation of tribes into rural social categories could be discerned through dissimilar terminology used for them through contemporary historians and modern chroniclers. They described them *zamindars*, peasants, chiefs, etc.

In the case of Jat tribe this procedure is clearly apparent. As they moved northwards they abandoned pastoralism and opted sedentary agriculture. Yuan Chwang (AD 647) mentions them as cattle herders. Similarly, in the *Chachnama* (Arabic 9th century; and Persian translation *c.*1216 AD) they were referred to as pastoralists, soldiers and the boatmen. Alberuni (*c.* 1030 AD) records them as ‚cattle-owners and low Sudra people'. Irfan Habib argues that their northward migration in southern Punjab from Sindh towards Multan occurred sometime approximately 11th century. Babur mentions Jats and Gujars residing in the hills of Nil-Ab and Bhera. Through sixteenth century they appeared as settled agriculturalists and prominent *zamindars* in the area. Through sixteenth century they became widespread in the Punjab area. There occurred a great transformation of the Jats from pastoralists to ‚vigorous peasants' throughout the four centuries following

eleventh century. In the seventeenth century *Dabistan-i Mazahib* records them as ‚lowest caste of the Vaishyas'. Irfan Habib observes that the Jat migration is accompanied through sudden appearance of Persian wheel in the area of Lahore, Dipalpur, and Sirhind. Therefore he suggests that ‚the Persian wheel lay behind at least part of the Jatt's conversion to agriculture and their expanding settlements'. Chetan Singh argues that Persian wheel was not ‚fundamental necessity to the extension of farming' and ‚Persian wheel was not entirely co-extensive with the region which had a predominantly Jatt peasantry'. Chetan Singh further argues that the Jats' transformation into sedentarisation was influenced through ‚the regions in which they resided or chose to migrate'; climate and ‚topography facilitated even encouraged such a procedure of sedentarisation'. Chetan Singh underlines the information that the similar tribe existing in two separate regions not necessarily reflecting the similar ‚socio-economic parallel'. Though, even once they sedentarised their preference to stay animal husbandry sustained to remain a significant socio-economic characteristic of their social organization. Throughout Humayun's era in *pargana* Patti Haibatpur Afghans were recorded as *zamindars* later in Akbar's era they got replaced through the Jat *zamindars*. Jats therefore moved up in the existing social hierarchy. Chetan accepts that this change was prompted more as a result of the ‚socio-economic growths' rather than political interference'. Though, we do get instances of creation of *zamindaris* as a result of state action. While sedantarisation of one part of the Jats took lay quite early; another part livelihood in unfriendly terrain sustained with pastoralism. The procedure of the transition of the Jats from rustic to settled agriculturalists was through no means complete in the seventeenth century.

The tribes like Ghakkars and Khokkars experienced the similar procedure of assimilation in Punjab. This encroachment often met with resistance. Through 19th century the Khokkars' attendance in the middle of Jats and Rajputs points to their assimilation. Babur mentions Jat villages with Ghakkar chiefs. Ghakkar chiefs were incorporated into the mainstram through the Mughals who granted those *mansabs*. Gujjars were also assimilated through the similar procedure. Akbar recognized a separate city Gujarat for them. Alike was the case of the Bhattis bordering Rajasthan. They sustained as

pastoralists even in the nineteenth century. While they were mentioned as rebels of Lakhi Jangal through Jahangir they were the noted *zamindars* in the Bet Jalandhar Doab and Bari Doab areas of the Punjab.

The tribal civilizations that got assimilated into agricultural society appear to have subsumed their tribal identity with some sort of _caste' in the existing rural caste based multilayered hierarchical society. The social location of these tribals so assimilated into the rural society was often fragile. However in sure cases, like Ghakkars in the northwest, who dominated in excess of the sedentary agriculturists, in common there appears to be subordination of the tribals to the settled agriculturists, particularly as seasonal labourers or else employed as soldiers. Niccolao Manucci (1656-1712) refers to employment of Bhattis of Lakhi Jangal in the military service of the *faujdar*. With rising commercialization there was more demand for labour force. This requirement was fulfilled to a sure extent, at least in the peripheral regions bounded through hills and mountains, through the tribal population. D.D. Kosambi in his *An Introduction to the Revise of Indian History* argues that tribal _elements being fused into a common society' once tribes got assimilated into the broader social structure. Their status in the hierarchical *Varna* categories mainly depended on the profession they pursued. Agricultural societies, generally speaking, joined the peasant caste of that area. Though, the hunting-gathering tribal groups usually shaped the lowest ranks, outside the four fold *varnas*. Irfan Habib believes that the tribals shaped a substantial part of rural _menial proletariat'.

Swap

Tribals were usually represented as notorious highway robbers involved in loot and plunder through the modern historians. Bhattis were particularly mentioned through the modern historian Bal Krishan Brahman (early years of Aurangzeb's reign) and traveller Niccolao Manucci (1656-1712) as plunderers and raiders in the area of Lakhi Jungle. Approximately Attock area Khattars were involved in robbery and sedition. Plunder was their means of livelihood. The hard terrain provided them easy route to escape. Just as to Chetan Singh (1991) the chief cause behind these constant raids and

plunder were their ‗non-rustic necessities' (foodgrains, cloth, etc.). The procedure of assimilation, to a sure extent, depends upon the pace of the economic growth. The greater the economic growth faster would be the assimilation. Throughout the medieval era, since state's interest was in expanding farming to maximize the revenue returns, it often resulted in clashes flanked by the two. The state often tried to expand at the cost of the forest/tribal areas. Likewise, the tribals/pastoralists were in constant requirement for agricultural and craft products, particularly cloth. Therefore there had to be a constant link flanked by the pastoralists and the sedentary agriculturists. This reliance and swap flanked by the two sustained unbroken. In sure strategically situated regions this interaction resulted in the involvement of the tribals in deal and they functioned as crucial link in the trading network. Lohani Afghans were the recognized tribal traders in the Ghazni (Ghazna) area. Their migration to India was a result of their movement in the territory to procure goods from India for deal. They served as the mediators and crucial links in the overseas deal. Alexander Burnes argues that their seasonal migration suggests links ‗either coincidentally or intentionally' with the trading societies. Some smaller tribal group's necessity is operating in this trading network, however at comparatively modest stage, what B. R. Grover refers to in case of Gujjars of Punjab, who used to swap merchandise in small quantity throughout their seasonal movements.

The Juns and Khattias of Punjab were the suppliers of butter to the cities. Supply of refined butter from *sarkar* Hissar Firuza to the imperial kitchen necessity has been supplied through the rustic societies of the area. Bhadani (1999) has calculated the total amount of *ghi* extracted in the form of tax amounted to 21775 *sers* in *pargana* Phalodi in western Rajasthan for the year 1667-68. He mentions that a *Qanungo Bahi* records that total amount of *ghi* transported for sale in 1662 amounted to almost 650 maunds from *khalisa* villages (villages whose revenues were reserved for imperial treasury). *Majith* or *madder* was brought for sale in the market was actually procured from the Abor and Miri tribals of Assam. Gumlac was also obtained from hills of Assam and Himachal. Honey and wax were also mainly the forest produce. Timber was the regular thing of supply via riverine route from the hills. Lahore boat-structure industry survived on timber obtained from the mountain

areas of Punjab. Similarly, musk that was mainly produced in Kashmir and Assam, Tavernier (1640-67) reports that he bought musk worth 26000 rupees at Patna. This suggests hectic swap of forest/hill produce throughout the medieval era. Mirza Haider Doughlat (1546) in his *Tarikh-i Rashidi* informs us in relation to the involvement of Tibbetan nomads in deal with India. They used to carry sheep loads at times as much as 10000 and used to return back with rice, clothes, sweets, granules, etc. Interestingly, these transactions used to take lay in the hills it.

Caste in the Rural Society

_Caste' was at the _core' of the rural social structure. No aspect of rural society could well be explained without understanding caste equations. Irfan Habib comments that _the caste organization remained a significant pillar of the organization of class use in medieval India'. Babur establish it somewhat astonishing that, _in our countries the people who are nomads of the steppes are distinguished through names of dissimilar tribes; but here (in Hindustan) people settled in the country and villages are distinguished through names of tribes'. Usually speaking, Indian villages consisted of one caste only.

However, instances of attendance of more than one caste in a single village are not absent at the similar time. Munhta Nainsi also refers *basi* (settlers) peasants brought from outside through the local potentates. These settlers were from several caste groups. Caste was the major component in establishing hierarchy in the rural society, particularly in the multi-caste villages. Athat Ali proposes that in the medieval era, _The caste defined who could be a peasant; it created hereditary menial labourers to sustain peasant agriculture; and it provided for the village artisans and servants to serve the material and social needs of the peasant'. In the rural set up superior castes enjoyed the privileged location. Higher castes peasants, on the foundation of superiority of their castes, were assessed at concessional rates as compared to the *raiyat* (ordinary peasants). The *khasra* papers (AD 1808) of *mauza* Piplod, *pargana* Jaipur clearly point out that the superior castes were assessed at much concessional rates. While an ordinary cultivator was taxed at Rs. 2 per *bigha*,

mahajans and Brahman and new *asami* paid at the rate of Rs. 1.50 per *bigha*; while *chaudhuris* and Rajputs were charged only Rs. 1.25 per *bigha*. (S.P. Gupta) Even the resource base of the superior castes was distinctly superior to the *raiyats* and the menial castes. The documents from eastern Rajasthan clearly suggest that the land holdings held through the superior castes were much superior to the *raiyats*. The superior castes were even able to produce cash crops in big amount as compared to *raiyat* and menial castes. If we examine caste-wise sharing pattern of Persian wheel owned through individual peasants in *pargana* Jalor in western Rajasthan, it confirms that big amount of resource base was concentrated in the hands of the superior castes throughout the medieval era. The table given below clearly points out that the rural possessions (Persian wheels) were approximately wholly monopolized through the superior castes (Rajputs, Brahmans, and Patels).

Table 5.1 Caste-wise Break-up of Persian-wheels in Jalot (Western Rajasthan)

Table 5.2 Caste-wise Break-up of Cattle in Pargana Mauzabad (Eastern Rajasthan).

Ain (*c*.1595) records the *zamindars* through castes. Since these *zamindars* maintained fortresses and armed retainers, Irfan Habib comments that there appears ‗undoubted connection flanked by caste and power'. Munhta Nainsi in his 17th century compilation on Rajasthan, *Marwar-ra-pargana-ri-vigat* has also recorded the inhabitants of each village through their peasant castes. But we do discover other villages in the similar *parganas,* i.e. Merta, where both Jats and Rajputs were livelihood face through face. Higher castes, such as Brahmans, Rajputs, Banias, Charans, etc., usually did not job in the meadows. They used to get their lands cultivated through wage labourers or through the organization of *begar* through the menial caste labour. Denzil Ibbetson while writing in relation to the Rajput peasants of Haryana comments that, ―He cultivates badly, for his women are more or less strictly secluded and never job in the meadows, while he considers it degrading to actually follow the plough, and will always employ hired ploughmen if he can perhaps afford it ‖. Therefore caste was one of the main factors of rural differentiation.

Social Mobility

Sociologists and historians debate in excess of the mobility aspect of caste. Max Weber is highly critical of the caste being the main hindrance in the mobility of professions in India. Though, high degree of commercialization in the rural regions appears to be one of the major factors instrumental in social mobility and change. Referring to the Punjab area Chetan Singh (1991) argues that ‚the encroachment of the market created possibilities of greater social mobility in a rural community where custom permitted only a marginal change in the social status.'

Irfan Habib mentions a *zamindari* sale in *pargana* Sandila in which a non-Muslim carpenter sold his *milkiyat* of a village to two non-Muslims of Kalawar (distiller) caste. Mulla Daud (1379) refers to one Brahman leading a *tanda* (caravan of bullocks) from Puri in Orissa to Govar in eastern U.P. The professional class of *mahajans* was not necessarily the ‚preserve' of the Banias. Dilbagh Singh's revise on eastern Rajasthan suggests the attendance of Brahman moneylenders who not only used to lend money but also provided surety (*malzamini*). A Brahman family of Merta who held *sasna* (revenue free grants) as *katha* narrators to the village temple they occupied in all sorts of money-lending. They charged from the peasants for lending money for sowing purposes a interest as high as 36 per cent. Nainsi records Bhojags, who were a priestly class, as *mahajans*. Similarly, S.P. Gupta mentions that in eastern Rajasthan some wage labourers (*majurs*), when they obtained bullocks of their own, got the allotment of land in their favour as peasants.

Transformation of tribals from nomads and pastoralists into sedentary agriculturists and their interaction with settled civilizations led to cultural transformation of these tribes. In this regard mobility of the Jats is worth mentioning. The Jats, a rustic tribe of 8th century Sind assumed the status of peasants/*zamindars* through sixteenth century. In spite of initial resistance, the tribals were brought into the fold of traditional Hindu social structure. The tribals of Jharkhand/Chhotanagpur and also the Mongoloid Tharus got subsumed into the Kshatriya fold and described themselves as Raj Gonds, Raj Bhars, Chyavanavasi Cheros (claimed descent from *rishi* Chyavana), etc. Cheros started worshipping Hindu and Buddhist images beside with the

worship of their traditional deity. Buchanan mentions them eating and mixing freely with the Rajputs and wearing sacred thread. In Ranchi and Chhotanagpur area attendance of vast network of temples also suggests the similar procedure of assimilation of the Bhumij and other tribals into the Hindu social structure. The construction of fabricated genealogies to assume Kshatriya status clearly points out the upward movement of the tribals in the area. Popularisation of legends emphasizing the association of ‗Hindu' gods like Shiva and Parvati; and Pandavas and Hanuman helped greatly in the acculturisation of tribals. Irfan Habib remarks that this procedure of mobility in the caste based society was often accompanied through a procedure of ‗sanskritisation'. Though, where ‗sanskritisation' failed, argues Habib, ‗monotheistic movements condemned the ideology of the caste organization'. Approximately all great *bhakti* saints hailed from lower castes.

Rural Artisans and the Village Servants
Karl Marx calls it the subsistence of ‗an unalterable division of labour' wherein the rural artisans and menials served the village as a whole in lieu of customary payments in type or in the form of land assignments. Max Weber conditions this caste-based labour as *demiurgic* labour. But W.H. Wiser in his *The Hindu Jajmani Organization* argues that in the *jajmani* ties services were provided through the village servants to individual families. Louis Dumont, on the foundation of this, concluded that there lived ‗ritualistic connection flanked by the upper caste families (the Brahmans – the pure) and the menials (artisans and labourers – barber, etc. – the impure). But such connection only lived in case of family priests. In contrast, it appears that the services rendered through the village artisans were provided for the whole village and not to individual families. Documents from western Rajasthan even illustrate that the services of priests to temples and that of *charan* were also for the whole village and not for individual families. Hira, a *charan* of village Kaleti, *pargana* Jalor surrendered his share once he decided not to render service to the village. We hear as early as 1000 AD (from the *Lekhapaddhati* documents of Gujarat), in relation to the attendance of *panch karuka* viz. carpenters,

ironsmiths, potters, barbers and washermen who received granules from the peasants in lieu of their services. This hereditary foundation of village servants was mainly instrumental in creating the ‚self-enough' villages. It also hampered the ‚mobility' aspect of the artisan classes to a ‚sure' extent. There appears hardly any change in the social status of the menial castes. Their subjugation through the superior caste peasants sustained unabated. Irfan Habib argues that ‚the vital row of division...flanked by peasants and the landless...was set socially through the caste organization which through compulsion prevented the ‚menial' castes from tilling the soil on their own'. They served as ‚reserve workforce'. The *jajmani* ties were the mainly crucial aspect of village artisans' connection with other members of the village community. The village artisans were of two kinds, self-governing and the ones tied with the whole village community. The latter rendered compulsory customary service in lieu of which they received customary share from the agricultural produce. Rural artisans under ‚*jajmani*' ties were paid from the general village finance for rendering service to the whole village.

The loose category of village artisans referred to in the medieval texts were potter (*kumhar*), leather worker (*bhanbhi, dejgar*), barber (*nai*), ironsmith (*lohar*), carpenter (*sulhar*), washerman (*dhobi*), rope maker (*sargara*), tailor (*darzi*), sweeper, goldsmith (*sonar*), sharpener (*siqligar*), cobbler (*mochi*), leather worker (*dhedh*), bearer of burden (*mawal*), cotton carder (*pinjara*). Tailor (*darzi*), sharpener (*siqligar*), and cotton carder (*pinjara*) are not establishing in the list of *balutedar* in the Deccan. In western Rajasthan we approach crossways conditions like *khut*, *mahtar* (counterpart of *vadilpana* in the Deccan) indicating the head/chief of a scrupulous profession/artisan class. We also get references of *pawan Jat* or *pauni Jat* (professional castes) carrying the suffix/prefix of *thirty six* indicating the traditional number of artisans like the twelve (*bara*) *balutas* of Maharashtra. The prefix *pawan* (*pawana*) is motivating. It means payment-getting castes. Nainsi elaborates that *pauni* were service class who rendered service to several parts of the rural society. The Brahman priests, *charan* (bard), *qazi* (Muslim jurist), *bangiya* (*muezzin*, prayer caller), Joshi (astrologer), and *bhat* (genealogist) possessed claim in excess of peasants' produce but did not form part of *pauni jat*. Attendance of *khut* and *mahtar* also emphasises the

attendance of hierarchy within the similar group of rural servants. It is also important that state used to charge (almost certainly one time) a fixed amount from artisans for establishing themselves in a scrupulous village. Almost certainly it was extracted through the state for granting permission/privilege to monopolies a scrupulous service through a scrupulous family in the concerned village. Once these rural servants abandon the village, on their re-entry they had to pay once again to the state re-entry fee. Interestingly, the *khut* and *mahtar* were assessed at much lower rate than other peasant castes. In information, in common, as compared to other peasant castes rural servants (*sonar, darzi, and lohar*) were assessed at concessional rates.

Brahmans and *charans* served village as a whole and they were also employed through individual families. Though, Bhadani argues that in western Rajasthan the term *jajman* was used with reference to *charan* and Brahmans in the sphere of individual/specific ruling families and refers to patron-client dealings. These village servants could be paid either in cash (described *surkhi* in western Rajasthan; *khalek* in Shekhawati area; *hakpalla* in Amber; and *agwar* in Benaras area) or in type (could be in the form of plough or Persian wheel) or in the form of land (described *pasaita* in western Rajasthan; given at concessional rates or its revenue free assignment). In addition they also received miscellaneous supplementary collections. B.L. Bhadani has calculated the remuneration to the village servants in western Rajasthan in *pargana* Jalor ranging from 0.12 to 2.00 per cent. In Jodhpur *pargana* the practice of granting land to village servants was prevalent in approximately every village.

Table 5.3 Sukhri and Rekh, Jalor (1663).

Table 5.4 Pasaita Ploughs, Jodhpur (c. 1660)

Pasaita lands were granted both through the state and the *pattayats* (*pattas* were revenue assignments and its holders were recognized as *pattayats*). Rural servants enjoyed *pasaita* as well as received remuneration in

cash and type. It appears that rural servants' location was hereditary and permanent. In *pargana* Jalor a village footman (*payak*) named Pura received back his rights on his return. Throughout the intervening era customary remunerations were enjoyed through another person for rendering services. This presents contrast with Deccan situations. In the Deccan in case of abandonment one had to loose the customary right. Similarly, it was measured an offense in case someone abandoned the service right. In *pargana* Jalor Hiro, a cotton carder, was fined Rs. 41 (a substantial sum) through the state on his return for abandoning the service right.

Mainly the pattern in the north and the Deccan was quite alike as for the nature and pattern of rural servants' rights and perquisites are concerned. The lower castes worked as agricultural labourers without controlling land. *Jalor Vigat* refers to Nais as forced labourers of the Rathors in Jalor. Similarly, Dhedhs were asked to weed out grass from the meadows of the *bhumias*. But artisans like Mali, Mina, Raibari, Kharol, Ghanchi/Teli (oil-presser), Sulhan (carpenter), and Kumhar (potter) were occupied in farming.

Trading Groups

Pedlars and merchants were a general characteristic of the rural society. Merchants were a significant link in the disposal of agricultural produce for revenue payment. They were also significant for sure other procedures of revenue collection like cartage, sale of grain, etc. Since the state preferred to collect the revenue in cash peasant were eager to sell off the granules immediately after the harvest to create revenue payment. Even when the revenue was composed in type the state was in hurry to dispose off granules. The need to sell agricultural products at the earliest made the role of rural merchants very important in the whole operation. Throughout our era we hear for the first time the attendance of specialised grain merchants (*karwanis, banjaras*). *Multani* merchants (Hindu merchants) also appeared prominent throughout this era. There appears to be hierarchy in the middle of the grain dealers. *Sahs* were usually purchaser of ‗revenue grain' and they appear to have operated within the locality and were usually not involved in cross-

pargana trading. They also acted as moneylenders. Barani mentions that they became enormously rich through advancing loans to the Turkish nobles. *Banjaras* were itinerant merchant class; but anyone involved in transporting grain and other goods in bulk was described a *banjara*.

Mahajans (grain dealers and moneylenders) and *bohras* (moneylenders) also occupied a significant location in the rural society. Tavernier (1640-1667) comments that, ‗In India a village necessity be very small indeed if it has not a money changer, described a shroff'. *Mahajan* usually hailed from the caste of Banias. But the word implies anyone involved in moneylending and deal. They provided the crucial link with the superior commercial world. They also acted as broker flanked by the state and the peasant. The peasants mainly depended upon this class to meet their financial necessities for agricultural as well as non-agricultural purposes (particularly in times of natural calamity), at times even the *jagirdars* and *zamindars* had to depend on them for their monetary needs. In eastern Rajasthan they were legally entitled for *biyaj-ghiwai* (interest) and it was binding on the *bohras* to advance agricultural loans. These *bohras* used to lend money to the state and the state in turn used to advance loans to the peasants. The *bohras* preferred this mode for it provided better security to their money.

These loans were not necessarily in cash, it could be in the form of bullocks, seed, plough, manure, etc. These loans were often detrimental and resulted in loss of peasant land to *mahajans*. Dilbagh Singh gives an instance of how in 1763 in *qasba* Chatsu out of 350 *ryot* (peasants) lands 175 were either purchased or bought through the *mahajans* of the village at the time of scarcity. At times these *mahajans* themselves got involved in agricultural operations through hired labour. The rate of interest charged through the *mahajan* was very high (10-25 per cent in eastern Rajasthan and upto 36 per cent in western Rajasthan). Often it resulted either in the form of the flight of the peasantry or else in the sale of land. Dilbagh Singh reports one such case of Khiwa Jat of village Choru, *pargana* Fagi in eastern Rajasthan who was unable to pay the loan of the *mahajan* and committed suicide. The land was finally sold to recover the loan after his death. Peasants' inability to pay interest beside with principal often led to the loss of land holdings. The moneylenders often appropriated superior rights in land through this method.

Rural elites, *zamindars*, were often under debt of the *mahajans*. In times of scarcity or famine they even advanced loans to the state. *Mahajans* appeared to be very powerful and influential in the rural society on explanation of their loan giving capability. In one of the instance in eastern Rajasthan village community gave him precedence in excess of the *patel* (the village headman). State also provided protection to this class. Jaswant Singh (d. 1678) once ordered his officials to ensure speedy recovery of *mahajans*' loans from the peasants.

RURAL SOCIETY: PENINSULAR INDIA
Structure of the Rural Society
The rural society had a stratified and intricate structure. The social dealings based on caste comprised of dealings flanked by brahmanas, non-brahamans, and other menial castes. Usually the landed classes belonged to the upper castes. Though, there were many landed classes (like Kunbis) who did not have a high caste status but were powerful in the village. The peasants belonged to the lower castes and the rural labourers, who were landless, belonged to the menial castes. Such castes are described _dominant castes', a concept evolved through the well-known anthropologist, M.N. Srinivas. Just as to him, —A caste is dominant when it is numerically the strongest in the village or local region, and economically and politically exercises a preponderant power. It need not be the highest caste in conditions of traditional and conventional ranking….therefore any caste can be dominant, one does not see this in case of untouchables.   However this revise is based on modern anthropological field analysis of the Okkaligas, a _dominant peasant caste' in Rampura village of Karnataka, it has relevance for the medieval era too. Caste groups like Reddis, Kammas were not ritually high caste, but wielded power on the foundation of superior land rights and the power to collect taxes on behalf of the state. Hence, in this manner, they were the dominant castes. Caste dealings stratified the rural society on ritual foundation. Even within the peasants, there were numerous castes and sub-castes. High peasant castes like the Velalas and Thakurs rarely tilled the land

themselves and hired wage labourers and sharecroppers. Within the similar peasant caste also there was differentiation. One of the mainly important ways in which caste influenced the rural society was apparent in the resolution patterns. There were separate settlements of brahmanas, non-brahmanas, and menial castes. In South India, such segregated settlements can be seen till day. Although these dealings were governed through norms and values of the rural society, the state also played a important role in shaping these dealings. For instance, in the relation flanked by the landholders and the tenant, the state evolved an intricate revenue extracting mechanism that altered and influenced the agrarian dealings. Other significant rural classes who were poor artisans, service castes and other occupational groups mainly designated as *bara-balutas* in the Deccan and *ayas* in South India. They belonged to the lower end of the rural hierarchy. Despite kinship dealings within the caste that contributed to caste solidarities, one should not assume that castes were self-enough elements. They were economically or otherwise also interdependent. It was not always that the traditional structure of caste had stranglehold in excess of the rural society. The economic dealings often freed itself from the caste organization. The *jajmani* organization also recognized as *balutedari* in Maharashtra and *ayas* in Karnataka involved a network of economic connection and reciprocity flanked by several castes in a hierarchical manner, flanked by the landlords and occupational specialists breaking the myth of caste as self-enough elements within the village. Political and economic changes further influenced the caste equations within the rural society, when one group replaced another as the powerful landed elites. For instance, in a village described Ukkal situated in the lower Kaveri valley of the Tamil area, the brahmanas were wealthy landholders controlling the agricultural manufacture till twelfth century? Though, through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they were selling their lands. The immediate reason was the heavy taxation imposed through the Vijayanagar rulers. But the decline of this wealthy *brahmadeya* _should be viewed in the context of agrarian change, particularly differentiation in agrarian society throughout this era.' The non-brahmanas bought the land in Ukkal, thereby emerging as new local magnates of the village towards the end of Chola rule. Socio-religious movements with their respective ideologies based primarily on *bhakti* undermined the caste

status and threw open several avenues for social mobility within the rural society and influenced the changes within the caste structure.

The Rural Society and the Superior World

The rural society had always been a part of the wider economy. Several landlords existed outside the village. The *moqasadars* and *jagirdars* had administrative functions within the village, but existed in municipalities and cities. Since revenue was usually composed in cash, the agricultural surplus was sold outside the village in the markets. In information, markets provided legroom for not only economic, but social interactions flanked by several individuals of dissimilar villages. Occupational castes within the villages provided service to the village, but other occupational castes came from outside on occasions like fairs, festivals, marriages, and temple worship and rendered services. While kinship ties strengthened the caste groups within the village, they also cut crossways the village boundaries fostering social dealings flanked by villagers, linking members of every caste to people in other villages. In north India, marriages took lay outside the village. This is described exogamy, through which ‗extensive' ties were created. But in south India, marriages took lay within the similar village or nearby villages, with sure close to relatives, like cross cousins (father's sister's daughter or son) and cross niece (sister's daughter). This is described endogamy and the ties were ‗rigorous', operating within a limited social legroom.

Since the state measured village as a revenue element and assigned administrative duties primarily, of collecting taxes to several officers and village elites, hence a political network was constantly evolving linking the individual members of the rural society to people occupying several administrative positions within and outside the village. The role of the village community was also seen to be significant in this respect. A village at times had a ritual legroom like a temple or a Sufi shrine that not only attracted people of that village but also attracted devotees from other villages too. In such a general religious arena, the caste distinctions of the rural society were often blurred. Therefore the rural society of a village was not in accessible and

self-enough. The outside world of municipalities and politics influenced the rural life in several ways. In information, it is hard to separate the internal behaviors of the village from the external. The rural society becomes the context for meeting and interaction flanked by several superior political, economic, and social forces.

Rural Society: Deccan
The term used for village in medieval Deccan was *ganva, mauje,* or *deh*. A better village that incorporated a market lay was described *kasbe*. The cultivable region comprising of black soil was recognized as *kali*. *Kali* was divided into blocks described *thal* (derived from Sanskrit word, *sthal*) or land and each *thal* were named after its original proprietor. *Thal* consisted of meadows described *shet* or *set* (Sanskrit is *kshetra*) or *zamin*. The inhabited region described *pandhari* comprised of white soil that was unfit for farming. The *pandhari* was divided into home-sites, *gharthana,* or *gharthikana*, each of which was owned through the *patil* (village headman) and his family, other village officers, peasants and village servants and artisans. When a family left the village and migrated, its land was described *gatkul* (*gat* means gone and *kul* means a lineage or a family) and the home location and the home left behind was described *gatkul gharthana* and *gatkulvada* respectively. Approximately the cultivable region was the meadows (*kuran*). It was meant for general village use and was described people's meadow (*lokacha kuran*).

Composition of the Rural Society
The rural society of Deccan consisted of primarily five groups:

The big landholders who held administrative positions in the village. They were primarily the *deshmukhs* and *deshpandes*.

Village officers such as the headman or *patil* and *muqaddam*, accountant or *kulkarni* and so on.

Proprietary peasants described *mirasdars* or *thalkari* or *thalvaik*.

Temporary peasants described *uparis*.

Village servants and artisans collectively described *balutedars*.

The *patil* usually belonged to the peasant caste of Kunbis that later came to be assimilated into the Maratha caste. The accountant was usually a *brahmana* and the *balutedars* were usually menials or untouchables. The upper strata of the rural society therefore comprised of the *deshmukhs*, *deshpandes*, *patils* and *kulkarni* collectively forming the *zamindar* class and were so the rural aristocracy. With big income from the land tenures they maintained big forts and a private army. There was a class of outsiders who served the village residents, but had no status within the rural society. In course of time they became an integral part of the village.

One of the significant phenomenons that shaped the rural society in Deccan was the resolution of new villages through bringing land under farming. Many Marathi chronicles provide us an explanation of how several lands were settled into villages and the groups involved in this procedure, who ultimately occupied the village. The resolution of a village described Murud in the Konkan region refers to the first settlers being the Chitpavan *brahmanas* who were granted lands through the king. The documents of Murud describe the members of the rural society. They were rural officers with social and religious duties. *Yavanas* i.e. the Muslims were provided with land on the outskirts of the village where they could build their homes and mosque. Another category of Muslims described the *Navayats* came from the West Coast and settled in the village. Occupational groups like the *sonar* (goldsmith), *gavada* (fisherman), *kumbhar* (potter), *parit* (washerman) and many others were mentioned in the Murud chronicle. Another instance is of the Pune area which was a part of Shahji's (Shivaji's father) *jagir*. The area became desolate due to the famines of 1630-31 and invasions of the Adil Shahis of Bijapur. Just as to the Marathi chronicle, the manager of the *jagir* requested the Mavalas, i.e. a hilly tribe to kill the wild animals and robbers, cut down the forest, and settles these regions for farming. In return for their service, they would be suitably rewarded. The chronicle states that the manager gave them a legal document ensuring their permanent resolution.

In Eastern Deccan, in the area of the Kakatiyas of Warangal (AD 1000-1326) in Andhra Pradesh, the expansion of the agrarian base and transformation of the rural society involved construction of new temples. Such constructions required endowments of land to the temple for the maintenance of the priests, several temple servants, and necessities for the worship of the deity. Numerous donations of land, especially the uncultivated forests, were made through the local chiefs, merchants, and the members of the royal family. For instance, Mailamba, the sister of the Kakatiya ruler Ganapati was responsible for founding three villages. These lands were cleared of forest, irrigation tanks were built on them, and farming was initiated. Many tribes who inhabited these forests became peasants and incorporated into the lower rung of the rural society. The *brahamana* functionaries of the temple as well the *brahamana* landholding class remained at the upper end of the hierarchy. The chieftains and their local lineage groups also shaped a substantial part of the rural elite. Therefore, the construction of the temples, donation of land and structure of irrigation tanks resulted in an augment in the rural population. The temple served as the _social and political integrator'. It employed the peasants, artisans, and pastoralist on the temple lands and for several temple behaviors and incorporated these dissimilar societies of the rural society within a single framework of religion.

Land and Social Hierarchy in the Rural Society
Land and landed rights were the foundation on which the several parts in the rural society enjoyed privileges and acquired a sure status. It also defined the dealings flanked by the dissimilar parts in the village and recognized a rural hierarchy and stratification. There were six types of landed tenures and rights associated with them.

   Tenure: Originally an Arabic word, *mirasi* meant _patirmony' or hereditary property'. So, a *mirasdar* held proprietary rights on his *miras* lands. Usually *mirasdars* and their kin groups were the original settlers of the village. Even the state could not infringe upon the *mirasi* rights. In case of infringement of these rights through the village headman, the state would intervene on behalf of the *mirasdars* to stop

such violations. If the *miras* holders left the village and returned after a extensive gap, they and their descendants could reclaim the land through paying the due compensation to the government. Their names were not removed from the village records because just as to the custom, land belonged to those who reclaimed it first and brought it under farming. The *mirasdar* peasants belonged to the Kunbi caste and were permanent residents of the village. They regularly paid land revenue to the state. However it was not a frequent practice, they could sell their own land. This can be seen from sixteenth century onwards. In the eighteenth century, the village headmen could appropriate the wasteland of their villages as *miras* land and the village assembly could dispose off the wastelands as *miras* lands through sale or gift to the willing peasants. The *mirasdars* were influential members of the village community and participated in the deliberations of the ―village *panchayats* and *gotsabhas* with their symbol _plough' being affixed on all the *mahajars* (decisions) for attestation ‖. They were mostly the rural rich. For instance, the Reddis of Eastern Deccan existed in stone homes and their women wore gold and silver jewellery and the Maratha peasants of the Western Deccan even had one or two slaves in the eighteenth century.

Upari Tenure: Peasants in this case were the temporary residents of the village. They usually migrated from their native villages under duress, like famines, destruction due to wars and other calamities. Several of them were tenants on the *mirasi* and *inam* lands. Therefore, *upari* tenure was a temporary one and its holder was a tenant-at-will. They also held land on lease. *Upari* peasants could become *mirasdars* on payment of a regular fee, *nazrana*, to the state. In the seventeenth century, the number of *upari* peasants was small. Though, in the eighteenth century their population increased. This was because of the conscious policy of agrarian expansion under the Peshwas in Maharashtra. For expanding farming, peasants were needed. So, many *upari* peasants were mobilized from other villages. Incentives in the form of privileges and concessions were promised provided they

brought land under farming. They were allowed to build their homes on the border of the village and were exempted from home-tax and forced labour. Consequently, numerous peasant groups migrated to the Maratha area in the eighteenth century.

State Lands: State lands were described *sarkarchi Sheri*, *sherichen shet*, *khalisa jamin*. These were scattered all in excess of in several villages in the Deccan. State lands were granted in *inam* or allowed for home-sites or were cultivated.

Inam Land Tenure: *Inam* is an Arabic word and means a _gift'. This was not service tenure but a reward for the services rendered to the village, like religious duties, administrative duties, and works of social welfare. An *inam* was created through an agreement described the *inam patra* or *karar* flanked by the state and the individuals. *Inam* lands were held on hereditary foundation through an individual or a scrupulous institution. Village officials like *deshmukh*, *deshpande*, *patil*, *kulkarni*, village watchmen, village astrologer and many others held *inam* lands. There were also the *inams* like the *dudhabhat* (milk and rice) and *sadi-choli* (*saree* and bodice) which were given through a king or a chieftain to their daughters for their maintenance. *Vritti* (a Sanskrit word, meaning, _means of survival or livelihood) was kind of religious *inam* for the office of a priest. In Eastern Deccan, particularly, the Andhra area, land donated to the deity of the temple was described *devaravritti*, or the god's *vritti*. Not only the brahmanas, but also some warriors possessed the *vrittis*. Warriors used this term in connection to the land in excess of which they had proprietary rights and could alienate, i.e. *nija-vritti*.

Watan Tenure: Village officers, viz., the *deshmukhs*, *deshpandes*, *patils*, *kulkarni* and one of the *balutedars*, the *Mahar* community, held big *miras* and *inam* lands and were entitled to sure rights and privileges described *haklavajma*. They also received a sure amount of produce from the peasants and services of the village artisans. All these privileges beside with their respective administrative positions (except for almost certainly in the case of the Mahars) were described the

watan. The holder of a *watan* was described the *watandar*. *Watan* meant a patrimony which was not only hereditary but also saleable and transferable. *Watandars* of *pargana*, like the *deshmukhs* and *deshpandes* were superior to the *watandars* of the village, the *patils,* and *kulkaranis*. The *watan* was valued, for it was not only a lucrative source of income, but also a symbol of social prestige. Despite acquiring political power and location in the state hierarchy, the Marathas were always keen to retain their original village *watan* which compared to the political power was permanent in nature. Many holders of temporary land tenures like *saranjam*, *jagir*, *mokasa* were always anxious to get these tenures converted to *watan* or *inam* that could remain with their family in perpetuity.

Mokasa, Jagir Saranjam Tenures: These were essentially military tenures. However they were in principle temporary, in course of time, they became hereditary. Civil functions were often attached to these tenures. These military tenures were general in the seventeenth century in the Sultanate of the Adil Shahis of Bijapur in the north Karnataka area. They were powerful members of the Adil Shahi management and held offices of the *vazir, amir,* and *diwan*. In case, the *mokasadars* failed in performing their duties, they were transferred or replaced or sometimes their *mokasas* were confiscated. Like the *watandars* and the *mirasdars*, they also participated in the village councils. Just as to A.R.Kulkarani, ―The *mokasadars* sometimes created sub-tenure to favour their dealings or assistants. For instance, Shahaji who was a *mokasadar* of Pune, Supe, and Shirval *parganas* under the Adil Shahis granted a *pot-mokasa* of 36 villages of his Pune *pargana* to his son Shivaji.   Just as to Satish Chandra, the *mokasa* was apropriatary right in land, whether rent free or at low quit rent or on revenue farming conditions on circumstances of service.

The *jagir* tenure was comparatively for a longer era than the *mokasa* tenure. The *sarjam* tenure was purely a military one. Its holders were entitled to a share in the village management and land revenue. Just as to A.R.

Kulkarani, the practice of granting military tenure was discontinued through Shivaji, for he feared that the *mokasadars* would become powerful at the rural stage especially if they united with the parts of the rural aristocracy.. Besides they also oppressed the peasantry. Satish Chandra does not agree and points out that Shivaji sustained with this practice. Though, the *mokasa* increased Throughout the Peshwa era, with the aim of encouraging the Maratha *sardars* (chieftains) like the Holkars, Shindes, and Pawars and so on to join the military service.

In the Kakatiya kingdom of Eastern Deccan, several landed elements especially the powerful chieftains of the Andhra rural society were incorporated into the Kakatiya political network. These chiefs already possessed hereditary rights in excess of their own plots of land and had a fixed share in the agricultural produce of the village. In lieu of their services to the Kakatiya state, they were granted additional land that was assessed at concessional rates. Such tenure was described *vritti*. These *vritti* lands were cultivated through tenant cultivators. In the post Kaktiya era, such a tenure was described *jivitamu*. Further, in order to incorporate the chiefs and warriors in to the political framework, the Kakatiya state created a new kind of tenurial rights in excess of territories described *nayankaramu*. However better recognized in connection with the Vijayanagar Empire, the *nayankaramu* was a Kakatiya innovation. These were primarily revenue assignments delegated in excess of many villages. The rights of the holders are hard to determine. They were also obiliged to uphold troops for the State.

Therefore, the rural society in Deccan was not a homogeneous element. Agrarian hierarchy and stratification can be seen in the caste structures as well as in the several classes whose status was based on the land and landed rights. The upper parts always attempted to use the peasant groups and were often successful. Tensions were inbuilt within the rural society. The rise of the Marathas can be traced to the tensions primarily within the rural society. The thrash about for manage in excess of land brought the better, middle and smaller *watandars*, *mirasis* and *uparis* in disagreement with each other. Shivaji united these dissimilar parts of the rural society providing a base for a strong movement. Many peasant groups like the Kunbis, Kolis, and some tribes supported Shivaji in lure of loot and a high social status. The Marathas

themselves belonged to the Kunbi caste. Just as to Grant Duff, the Maratha Kunbis were military families who claimed a Rajput-Kshatriya status. One aspect of this movement was the united front of the Marathas and the Kunbis. Through joining Shivaji, low caste peasant groups could acquire political power and rise up the social level. So, the rural society was never stagnant and had avenues for social mobility.

Though, there was a scope for co-operative interaction. For instance, in Western Deccan area, the village documents record the attestation of the villagers in landed transactions. In Eastern Deccan, the inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries refer to village groups described *ashtadash-praja* creation endowments of land to the temples. Literally meaning eighteen people; *ashtadash-praja* also implied eighteen castes that represented the whole village. Brahmanas, land controllers (*bhumi-prabhu*) and peasants (*kampu*) are mentioned separately as creation donations. Almost certainly they did not belong to the group of eighteen castes. Just as to Cynthia Talbot, —It is possible that the *ashtadash-praja* was an officially recognised local body with separate responsibilities in reference to the Kakatiya state, for instance in the sphere of revenue. Since this body of the ‗village collectives‘ was gifting lands to the temples, it also implies that they were a significant part of the temple society and the Kakatiya state.

Neither was the village a secure-knit, self-enough elements. Interactions with the neighbouring and distant villages took lay. Land was sold to the outsiders. There was inter-village mobility. Incase an outsider bought a land in the village, he need not live there and could visit his land in the village periodically. Similarly, however the village artisans served the village; they were not compelled to remain within the similar village. Often they sold their rights to the members of their own caste and migrated elsewhere. They also worked in nearby markets, villages, and urban centers to supplement their income.

The interaction of the village with urban classes also took lay. Merchants invested in the land and made donations to the temples. For instance, a fourteenth century inscription in Chittapur, Metpalli taluk of Andhra area records an endowment of land to the temple for construction of a tank. The donor was one Bairi Setti, a merchant trader, who had actually

purchased the field from the village brahmanas. Bairi Setti did not look to have economically benefited. Though, he was a recipient of religious merit which appeared to be significant to him. Talbot and Stein call this, —rural development entrepreneurship‖ as it resulted in agrarian expansion and personal gain for the entrepreneur themselves. The State also interacted with the members of the rural society. Numerous peasants were recruited as soldiers. As stated before, there were state lands in the villages, the state invited cultivators, and incorporated the powerful landed aristocracy within the political management.

The Village Council

The village council was described *panchayat* at the village stage and *gotsabha* or *majlis* at the *pargana* stage. The *panchayat* not only settled disputes within the village, it was also a representative body of the village community set up through the community itself to manage its affairs. There were *jatigota*, *Dharma Sabha* and *Kula-Sabha* to deal with the matters of a scrupulous caste, religion or a group of families. The rules of the caste were quite strict. A document dated 1693 identifies rules concerning the readmission of a converted person to his original caste. The individual was to be readmitted only after consultation with the other caste members. The Poona Shimpi (tailor) community admitted one person. This was disapproved through the Shimpis of the Saswad area on the ground that they were not consulted and that the Poona Shimpis could not alone decide on an issue affecting the whole Shimpi community.

The numbers of the members of the village council was not fixed. At the village stage, the panchayat comprised of all *watandars, mirasdars,* and *balutedars*. At the *pargana* stage, the *pargana* and village hereditary officers, state officials and the leaders of the village community concerned with a scrupulous dispute were invited. The king did not interfere with the decisions of the village council, unless he received a complaint.

The Village Servants: Deccan

The village servants were primarily artisans and shaped a significant part of the rural society in Deccan. They were described *balutedars* and their income, which was a share in the agricultural produce, was recognized as *balutas*. They were the counterparts of the *Kamins* of North India. Though, compared to the *kamins*, their status was better off in the Deccan rural society. Many village documents, for instance, the *talebands* (village budgets), *thalzadas* (roll of land holdings), *jamabandis* (village rent roll), *watanpatras* (*watan* grants), *gaonkharcha* (village expenses) and so on record the participation of the *balutedars* in the decision creation procedure of the village, especially where the disputes were concerned.

Composition

The term *Bara* (twelve) was usually prefixed to the *balutas*. Based on their income, which was their respective share in the village produce, the twelve *balutas* were grouped into three rows described *kaas* or *oal*:

Thorali Kaas, i.e., major rows. In this category there were *sutar* (carpenter), *lohar* (blacksmith), *Mahar* and *Mang*.

Madhali kaas, i.e., the middle row. This category comprised of the *kumbhar* (potter), *chambhar* (cobbler), *parit* (washerman) and *Nhavi* (barber).

Dhakti kaas, i.e., the last row and this category incorporated *bhat* (bard), *mulana* (servant of the mosque and the Muslim community in the village), *gurav* (temple priests), and *koli* (water carrier).

Scholars differ in their opinion concerning the occupations incorporated in this list. Though, ten occupations were often regularly incorporated. They were, carpenter, blacksmith, potter, leatherworker, rope maker, barber, washerman, astrologer, Hindu shrine keeper and *Mahar*. In addition goldsmith, bard, masjid-keeper and bearer of burdens were also incorporated. Sometimes, village officials were also incorporated in the class of *balutedars*. Though, the number twelve is a traditional one and varied from

village to village. The composition and the groupings within the *kaas* also had local variations. For instance, in Indapur *pargana*, a village-cum city in Pune district of Maharashtra, there were fourteen *balutedars*, instead of the traditional twelve. *Chambhar* conventionally in the *thorali kaas*, i.e. the first row was in this case in the *madhali kaas*, i.e. the second row. Mang in Indapur occupied the *madhali kaas*, instead of the customary *thorali kaas*. In the *dhakti kaas*, i.e., the third row, *bhat* did not figure at all, instead, *sonar* (goldsmith), *joshi* (the village astrologer) and *ramoshi* (the village guard) were incorporated.

Balutas as a rule belonged to dissimilar occupational castes which were of lower status. Though, there were some exceptions. The astrologer, bard, and the accountant were brahmanas in Maharashtra. Similarly, the job of a scrupulous *baluta* caste was not the monopoly of that caste. For instance, the carpenter of a carpenter caste in some villages was occupied to do the jobs of a blacksmith and vice-versa. There was another class of village servants described the *alutedars*, who did not enjoy the similar status as the *balutedars*. Just as to Grant Duff, the number of *alutedars* was also twelve and they were also recognized as *naru*. Just as to Fukuzawa, the Marathi documents of the pre-British era do not refer to the term *aluta* and it appears that unlike the *balutas*, the *alutas* were establish in some villages occasionally and not in all villages. They were certainly not as indispensable as the *balutas* for the rural society. Perhaps, the term *aluta* was shaped ‚alliteratively' with the *baluta*. Sometimes, goldsmith, bard, and bearer of burdens, traditionally a part of the twelve *balutedar*, were mentioned in the twelve *aluta* category.

Services and Remuneration of the Balutedars
Several records illustrate that the *balutas* were never employed through separate families. Rather they were servants of the village as a whole. The documents have phrases like, *ganvachi sonarki*, i.e. ‚goldsmith of the village'; *dehayachen kamkaj* or *ganvachi chakri*, both meaning, ‚job for the village'. While serving the village as a ‚territorial group', the *baluta* also served sometimes individual villagers belonging to the village irrespective of their family affiliation.

There were two types of *balutas*, *watandar* or *mirasi balutas* and *upari balutas*. The nature of service of the *watandar baluta* was hereditarily fixed. Usually they enjoyed monopoly in excess of their respective occupations. But the services of the *upari baluta* was not so. They were employed on a temporary foundation either to support the existing *balutas* or provisionally job, in case, a *watan baluta* migrated or left the village. *Upari* means a ‗newcomer', ‗stranger' or ‗extra'. Sometimes the similar family performed both carpentry and blacksmithery. In such a case, there was a clear distinction flanked by one who rendered sure service as his *watan* (patrimony) and another, who did the similar but as *upari*. So, not all *baluta* servants held hereditary monopoly (*watandar*) in excess of the services they rendered. Since *watandari balutas* were highly remunerative, there were often multiple claimants in excess of the similar *watandari*. The documents record numerous disputes in excess of a single occupational *watan* amongst the claimants.

A *watan baluta* could be sold, divided, or transferred through its holder. Sale of *watan* amongst the similar professional caste was general. If there were only one family of a serving caste in a village, it would be treated as the servants of the whole village. But when there were many families of the similar occupational caste, they served dissimilar village families. In such cases they were not treated as the servants of the families and were measured as the servant of the village. This was because the division of the occupational *watan* did not mean the creation of new *watans*. Rather it meant multiple shares in a *watan*. So, there was one *baluta watan* for every job in the village. The division was not of the ‗service sphere'. It was the division of the emoluments such as the home sites, *inam* land, cash, or type. For instance two families of carpenters were expected to divide the home or the home location, *inam* land and other perquisites meant for the carpentry *watan*. Therefore, the total amount of emoluments always remained the similar, despite divisions within the *watan*. In effect, the burden of the village as a whole, especially of the peasants did not augment. Although the villagers and the village as a whole was not financially affected through the sale, transfer or division of the *watan*, their ‗consent' or ‗permission' was required for such transactions. The documents refer to phrases like, *gotache sakshi* (confirmation through local

assembly) and *gotache mahajar* (the certificate of the local assembly) for such dealings to be effective.

Fukuzawa mentions three types of remuneration for the *balutas*. One was the main remuneration which could be given in cash or type, described *baluta* remuneration. Both the *watan balutas* and the *upari balutas* were entitled to this type of remuneration as extensive as they offered specific services to the village. Though, if they were absent from the village for a extensive time, they were not entitled to the *baluta*-remuneration. The second method of paying the *balutas* was small additional remunerations in cash or type described *hakk* (rights), *lavajima* (perquisites) or *manpan* (privileges). This was given through the village as a whole, which incorporated not only the peasants, but also village officers, merchants, and village servants. The payment was made in the form of offerings to the village shrine. There were variations from village to village concerning the amount and the type of perquisites paid to each servant. Due to the lack of data, it is not clear whether there was any disparity in the payment of the perquisites to the *watan* holding *baluta* and the *upari baluta* of the similar village. The third kind of remuneration was revenue free *inam* lands. Since the *inam* land was hereditary, so only the *watan* holding *baluta* servant was entitled to it.

There were three dissimilar manners of payment, which corresponded to three dissimilar methods of land revenue collection through the state. So, the peasants as a whole paid this type of *baluta* remuneration while paying the land revenue. In the first method, the peasants brought the produce to a sure lay in the village. Under the supervision of the headmen a sure amount of the produce was paid to the *balutas* and then a fixed proportion of the rest was composed as land revenue. In the second method, the peasant was not required to bring the produce to a specific lay. Rather, fixed amount was composed from him for the payment of the *balutas* and the land revenue. The third method was to pay a sure amount of money to the *balutas* through peasants. Often the share of the individual *baluta* was decided on the foundation of the negotiations flanked by the peasant and artisan at the time of harvest.

Status of the Balutedars

As pointed out earlier, the status of the *balutedar* in the rural society of Deccan was higher in comparison to his counterpart in North India. Despite belonging to low castes, a big number of them participated in the decision creation procedure of the village. For instance, documents from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century refer to the *balutedars* attending the *gotsabha* and endorsing the decisions through their professional symbols; the potter's symbol being the wheel, barber's was mirror, carpenter's symbol was chisel, shoe-maker's was thread and picker, goldsmith's symbol was hammer and so on. Sometimes only the concerned balutedar was invited to the council. In a boundary dispute of a village in Pune *pargana* in 1681 AD, six *mahars* were invited to a council as their profession incorporated the measuring and fixing of the village boundary. The council was attended through the *kazis*, *deshmukhs*, *havaldars,* and *patils* of eighteen villages- all of whom were rural elites and belonged to upper castes.

Despite their low caste status, the village servants had an significant lay in the rural society. This can be seen in the examples of the *mahar*, *mang* and the *mulana* community. The importance of the *mahars* is apparent in the type of remuneration they received. They were paid in type and also held *inam* lands. The *mahars* were entitled to carry all dead bodies of animals in their respective villages, but had to remove the skin of the dead animals and return them to the owners. Grant Duff sums up the duties and status of the *mahars*. Just as to him, the *mahar* ―acts as scout, as guide, regularly as watchman he cleans travellers' horses, and is obiliged, if required to carry the travellers' baggage; he is a principal guardian of the village boundaries, and in Maharashtra, the *Mahars* are a active, useful and intelligent race of people. In information, the *mahars* were measured as *watandars* in the Maratha country and their *watan* sustained even Throughout the British era through special legislation. The leader of the *mahar* community was recognized as the *mehtar mahar* and he was entitled to one-ninth of the total *mahar watan*.

Mang is the corruption of the Sanskrit word, *matang*, meaning the mainly powerful person. *Matang* Rishi of Varanasi was supposed to be born in the *mang* family. The legends say that they were initially rulers of Kishkinda

state situated on the banks of the river Tungabhadra and the brahmanical power reduced them to poverty and they became itinerant tribes. The job of the *mangs* was to create leather ropes and leather bags. They also performed the duties of the village watchmen. Similarly, the *mulana* was establish in approximately all the villages even if there were no Muslims. Grant Duff writes, ―the *moolang*….is the *Moolla* or Mahomedan priest…The *moolana* had charge of the mosques and peers' spaces,-performs the ceremony of Mahomedan marriages but is often establish when there is no Mahomedan family but his own and is chiefly recognized to the Maharatta population as the person who kills their sheep and goats when offered as sacrifices at temples or in their meadows to propitiate the deities….

We also discover that the traditional division of the balutedars into *thorali kaas*, *adhali kaas,* and *dhakti kaas* was irrespective of the earnings of the *balutedars*. The earnings of the goldsmith may be more than that of a carpenter or a *mahar*, but in the hierarchy of the services to the village community, the goldsmith would always be lower than the *mahar* or the carpenter. The goldsmith usually belonged to the *dhakti kaas*, i.e. third row and the carpenter and *mahar* usually belonged to the *thorali kaas*, i.e. the first row.

Other Village Servants
In addition to *balutedars* or *alutedars* there were a few other village servants in the rural society of Deccan. Two mainly general were the priests and the forced labourers.

Priests
Referred to as the *upadhyaya* or the *gramaupadhyaya* in the documents, the village priest served specific families through officiating in several family rituals. The service of priesthood was hereditary. So, the principle which marked out their service sphere was not the village as a whole, but sure families with specific caste status. Usually the priests were *brahmanas*. Some of the *brahmana* priests served the brahmana families,

while some served the families with specific caste status of _peasant and other caste', collectively described clean *shudras*. Though, the for the non-brahamana low caste families, there were non-brahmana priests. It is not clear whether their hereditary service sphere was confined to sure castes or to sure families belonging to such castes. Families of *mirasdars* (land holding peasants) and watan *balutedars* could employ a priest on permanent foundation. The *uparis* (temporary peasants) and *upari balutas* could not do so even if they spent considerable number of years in the village. They could employ priests only on ad hoc foundation. Just as to Fukuzawa, since they served specific families, they were in _direct clientele connection' with these families and hence represented the _prototype of the so-called *jajmani* organization.'

Vethbega (Forced Labour)
This term is a compound of the Sankrit word *vishti* and the Persian word *begar* and means forced labour. This was prevalent in the rural society of Deccan and no payment was made in lieu of services rendered. Only free food was provided while the labour was being rendered. Also some cash or food grain was given, but not as wages at the market rate. Big level construction of forts in the Maratha country due to increased military operations required constant construction, maintenance, and repair. So, the villagers had to give compulsory service to the state. Other services also constituted *vethbegari*, viz., porterage, fodder cutting, miscellaneous jobs at the government offices, and stables and watchmanship. Regular forced labour was extracted from the artisan and the menial castes, especially in the eighteenth century. The movement of the laborer in this case was restricted. The use of the skilled and unskilled labour as a forced one often led to the desertion of villages. The local officials appealed often to the State to discontinue *vethbegari* as it adversely affected the farming and other behaviors in the villages. A levy described *begarpatti* looks to be a charge composed through the State to meet the expenses of the forced labour.

Rural Servants: Debates

There has been a variation of opinion amongst officers, thinkers, and scholars in relation to the nature of the service rendered through the rural servants in the village. Just as to Karl Marx, ―this dozen of individuals maintained at the expense of the village community‖, served the village as a whole and were so, the ‗servants of the village'. Just as to him, this contributed to the self-sufficiency of the village and was ‗the key to the secret of the unchangeableness of Asiatic civilizations.' Baden- Powell also felt that these resident craftsmen and menials were ‗not paid through the job, but are employed through the village on a fixed remuneration….'

Max Weber in his Common Economic History stated that the nature of the rural services was ‗demiurgic mode of employment.' This meant that the rural servants were ‗not paid for their job in detail but stood at the service of the community in return for a share in the land or in the harvest….They are essentially village serfs, getting a share in the products or money payments.' A.R. Kulkarni feels that the rural artisans cannot be regarded as ‗village serfs' for they were co-sharers in the village produce as a part of their right (*haqq*) and were actively participating in the village councils especially in the arbitrations of disputes.

In 1925, W.H. Wiser, an American Christian missionary, on the foundation of his research of a north Indian village Karimpur, concluded that the village artisans served the individual families who were the respective clients of the artisans. The artisans were remunerated through these families and not through the village community. These client families were described ‗*jajman*' and the rights involved in such an economic interaction of services was described the *jajmani haqq*. So, ‗this organization of interrelatedness in service within the Hindu community is described the *Hindu Jajmani organization*.' Wiser further added that these relationships were hereditarily fixed flanked by the *jajaman* (patron) and his servants and the latter could transfer their rights to their respective caste members. The theory of *jajmani* organization influenced the sociologists for many decades. Though, Fukuzawa does not agree with this theory. Just as to him, Wiser did not seem at village as a territorial group with social relationships. The *jajmani* organization evolved

Throughout the British rule, when village organization was disturbed as a result of which ‗village servants were transformed into family-servants'. The *jajmani* organization was applicable only for the family priests and not for the twelve *balutedars* or *alutedars*. Fukuzawa agrees with Weber on the ‗*demiurgic* mode of employment' and feels that since the *jajmani* organization evolved Throughout the British rule, the sociological analysis of the *jajmani* organization as continuing from immemorial times lacks a historical perspective. A.R. Kulkarni feels that the *baluta* organization cannot be classified as *demiurgic* or *jajmani*. The only term that explains the organization is *grambhrutak* or *gramasevak* traditionally used in the literature. This implied that the *balutas* were essentially the servants of the village as a whole.

Rural Society: South India
Presently the Tamil area comprises of Tamil Nadu, southern part of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. The rural society in the medieval era comprised of the corporate organizations of the *brahmandeya*, i.e. brahmana dominated village, *Ur*, i.e. a non-brahmana villages, temples, and guilds. An interaction flanked by these organizations shaped the foundation of the rural life. They also became the mechanisms through which several political groups strengthened their economic base and extended manage in several localities of the Tamil area. Hence, the *brahmadeyas*, *urs*, temples, and guilds – all organizations of the rural society – were the foundation of state formation in the medieval era.
Big territories in the Tamil macro-area were described *mandalams*. Three of these *mandalams* corresponded to three major kingdoms of the Tamil macro-area, viz., Pallavas with their capital Kanchipuram in Tondaimandalam, Cholas with their capital Tanjavur in Cholamandalam and Pandyas with their capital Madurai in Pandiamandalam. Both Tondaimandalam and Cholamandalam were in the northern part of the Tamil area with Kaveri river valley as its core. The Pandiamandalam comprised the southern part of the Tamil area, drained through river Vaigai and Tamraparani. Each of these river

valleys were the focus of thick rural settlements especially before the thirteenth century. Flanked by Tondaimandalam and Cholamandalam was the area described Naduvil Nadu that was drained through Pennar and Vellar rivers. The western boundary of the plain is marked through the plateau and the ranges of Eastern Ghats, parts of which lie in the upper reaches of Kaveri. This region was described Kongu Nadu or *mandalam* of the Tamil macro-area. The epigraphs and literary sources mention three kinds of agricultural land, viz., and wet, arid and mixed. Each of them had their respective social milieu. The development of irrigation technology in the shapes of tanks and canals transformed these areas into paddy rising rural settlements that were ordered just as to the Brahmanical ideology and approximately deity worship in the temples.

Rural Society and Organizations: Seventh to the Twelfth Century AD
From the seventh to the thirteenth century the areas of the Tamil macro-areas were integrated and organized through institutional means of the *brahmadeyas* and the temple. Situated in the rural surroundings they had an impact in the rural society. The expansion and integration of several peasant settlements in the river valleys and the transformation of the tribal population into settled peasant societies provided a base for the emergence of new state systems. Beginning with the Pallavas of Kanci in the northern part, the Pandyas of Madurai in the south and the Cheras in the southwest, the political procedures culminated with the Cholas in the Kaveri valley through the ninth century AD. The consolidation of these states depended on the integration of several local and supra-local organizations, mainly the *nadus*, *brahmadeyas,* and the temples.

As a _peasant micro-area' and an eco-kind, the *nadu* had already appeared before the seventh century. From seventh century onwards, these *nadus* increased in number, on behalf of a procedure of agrarian expansion based on the irrigation projects sponsored through the Pandyas and Pallavas in the wet and arid regions. Often such an expansion took lay at the expense of the erstwhile tribal population, who eventually were sedentized as peasants. Palar-Cheyyar valley in the north and Vaigai-Tambraparani in the south

exhibited such agrarian growths. Therefore, *nadu* as a territory was a grouping of *vellanvagai* villages, i.e. the agrarian settlements. The *nattar* was the spokesman of the *nadu* locality, primarily of the *vellanvagai* villages. These villages incorporated environment sites, cremation ground, irrigation channels, cultivated region, and pasture lands and so on. They had residential quarters of the landholders, cultivators described *ur-nattam*, residences of artisans or *kammanas* described *kammanacceri* and that of the agricultural labourers, or *paraiyas* described *paraicceri*. There was so, stratification in these villages, with landholders at the top of the rural hierarchy, artisans in the middle and agricultural labourers at the bottom. The landholders look to have enjoyed parity in an economic sense with the brahmanas where manage in excess of land was concerned. These owner-cultivators, i.e. the *kaniyudaiyar* got their lands cultivated through tenant cultivators, i.e. *ulukudi*. Both were recognized as vellalas. The assembly of the *nadu* was recognized as *Ur*, dominated through the *nattars*, the powerful landed class of the rural society.

These river valleys also witnessed a proliferation of the *brahmadeyas* and the temples that restructured and integrated the rural economy and society. The *brahmadeyas* were land grants given to the brahmanas and therefore were the centres of the landowning groups of brahmanas. The temples were the ‿nerve centres‘ of these brahmanical villages. Since the *brahmadeyas* and the temples dominated through these brahmanas were the repositories of better irrigation technology and farming methods, the land granted to them became a mechanism for the extension of agriculture into unsettled regions and extraction of the surplus from several peasant groups. The assembly of the *brahmadeyas* was described the *sabha* or the *mahasabha,* which also controlled the big irrigation systems. Such irrigation systems created favourable circumstances for thick population in these regions. Paddy farming was dependant on irrigation and was labour rigorous. There was network of dealings flanked by big and small *brahmadeyas* and *brahmadeya* and non-*brahmadeya* villages, indicating the information that the rural society was not in accessible.

The conversion of the *brahmadeyas* into *tan-kurus* or *taniyurs* from the tenth century AD led to the emergence of self-governing revenue elements (separated from the *nadus*) that had important economic and political

ramifications. *Taniyurs* acquired many villages (*pidagais* and *purams*) and craft centers. A new kind of *nadu* described the *perimalai nadu* evolved approximately *taniyurs*, comprising of velalas and cultivators. The *taniyurs* had separate socio-political features and introduced a hierarchy amongst the *brahmadeyas*.

The significance of the *brahmadeyas* and the temples stemmed from their brahmanical ideology that provided the social rationale for integrating diverse peasant and tribal groups through the institution of caste. For instance, the temples controlled through the brahmanas and situated in the *brahmadeyas* and the *vellan-vagai* provided legroom for ritual integration to the new entrants within the *varna-jati* paradigmn. The tribal divinities were made an integral part of the brahmanical temples. The hierarchical structure of the *varnasramadharma*, i.e. the caste organization was relevant in these villages, where the sharing and circulation of possessions took lay within the power structure of landed rights. Besides peasants, several categories of chiefs, artisans, and craftsmen were incorporated through ritual ranking within the temples.

Therefore, commanding an allegiance of several local groups, this institution of the *brahmadeya* generated economic behaviors of diverse nature that eventually became the foundation of urbanization. So linking peasants, local chiefs and other groups to the royalty, both *brahmadeya* and the temple were also utilized as the institutional channels of transmission and dissemination of the royal ideology in the village settlements. Naturally, then the site of the royal centres coincided with the site of the temple and *brahmadeya* centres spread in excess of numerous rural settlements. The semantics of *koyil* acquired a new dimension with the royal patronage to the temples. Earlier used for palace, it now implied the temple as well. Hence, temple and palace became interchangeable with both on behalf of the temporal and the sacred sphere, where obedience to the power, i.e. the king and the god was mandatory.

The procedure of agrarian expansion that provided the crucial resource base to the Cholas and Pandyas brought forth the wet zone regions of the Tamil sub-areas, particularly in the Kaveri and Tamraparani valleys. The villages of these wet zone regions became the centre of king's and chiefs'

power and financial claim. Through thirteenth century, five hundred and fifty *nadus* had approach into subsistence indicating big number of agricultural settlements, majority being in the Kaveri valley of Cholamandalam. The proliferation of *brahmadeyas* and temples situated in the *nadus* of these river valleys were also instrumental in extending agriculture. They implemented the royal irrigation projects and this gave them the crucial right to organize and manage the manufacture and water possessions, often with the *velala* community, i.e. the powerful non-brahamana landowners. These landowners also partook in the management of the temples beside with the brahamanas. So, created at the royal initiatives, the *brahmadeyas,* and temples were often strategically situated in the non-brahmana villages to ensure their loyalty and provided the much-needed manpower for the vast irrigation projects.

One of the direct consequences of the agrarian expansion was the escalation of commercial behaviors that led to the growth of market centres, *nagarams* and a network flanked by them that connected cities and villages, The spread of guild behaviors and trading associations, namely the Ayyayole 5000, Tamil Tisai Ayirattu Ainnurruvar, foreign merchant organization, Anjuvannam brought forth the mercantile community with its diverse groups of traders, merchants, artisans, craftsmen, and itinerant traders. Often the mercantile societies invested in agriculture, gifted to the temples, further strengthening the ties of integration, and inter dependence within the rural society and with the urban centres and the village. One such weaver community, the *kaikkolas* had important links with the temples and became an significant social group within the rural society. Through ninth century, groups of *brahmadeyas* and temples had urbanized into centres of urban growth, therefore connecting villages, rural society, urban centres and royal capital, diverse population and religion within the similar intricate. Therefore, the *nadus, brahmadeyas,* temples, and *nagarams* with their respective assemblies, viz., *Ur, sabha,* and *nagarams* connected the villages, several peasant societies, and locality chiefs to the political network of the Cholas and Pandyas.

Rural Society: Thirteenth to the Eighteenth Century

Through the end of the twelfth century, the groups of agrarian settlements both in the wet and arid zones comprised of several agricultural and artisanal castes. *Brahmanas* and *Velalas* appeared as dominant, followed through the Pallas, Pariahs and Vanniyars and many others. However hierarchically arranged within the caste structure, these groups were connected to each other with ties of economic interdependence. For instance, in the Pandya kingdom, the hilly areas with their tribal population were connected to the core region dominated through the Vellala peasant groups, due to their forest products and constant flowing streams which could be exploited for irrigation purposes. Since uncertainties were intrinsic in such an economy due to constant warfare and resource appropriation that mainly of these peasant groups were armed and had such military alliances with the tribes. In many spaces, the *kaikkolas* shaped their own-armed bands and appeared as the _merchant- warriors'.

Amidst such a diverse socio-political fabric, the temples shaped the mainly crucial as well as stable institution within the rural society. The _superordinate' character of the temple was apparent in its intricate role in strengthening the territorial sovereignty at the rural stage through negotiations and transactions that culminated into a network of alliances flanked by the several locality chiefs. Such alliances were important in the modern situation where warfare, unsteady boundaries, and shifting frontiers were general. This shared power structure manifested in the institution of gift giving to the deities in the temples. This ritual gifting generated a redistributive organization that facilitated the disbursement of possessions and political power within the rural society. The gifts to the temples in turn were recirculated in the society in the form of ritual goods, for instance the *prasadam* (food offering), stimulating economic transactions. The local chiefs also made gifts to the king or donated to the temples in the name of the king and received titles and honors that enabled them to become the members of the royal alliance network. Sometimes, these chiefs made grants to the temples situated outside their local domains and built their individual power network, connecting the two rural domains. Separately from its political ramifications, the temple further

provided the ‗ideological tools' for dissimilar parts in the South Indian rural society through bringing jointly the religion of several social groups. So, a heterogeneous religious pantheon urbanized with numerous gods and goddesses and led to the celebration of temple festivals within the village. The calendar of these festivals was often connected to the agricultural calendar of sowing and harvesting.

Through the twelfth century, inscriptions record the gradual marginalization of the *brahmadeyas,* their institutional capability to integrate was exhausted. This led to the rising importance of the temples in the society in common and the agrarian settlements in scrupulous. However the *sabhas* continue to function and the several political powers till the eighteenth century sustained to set up *brahmadeyas*. The Pandya and the Chola records of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries cite many instances of the *brahmadeyas* converted into *vellan-vagai* villages and donated as *devadanam* to the temples. Either the brahmanas migrated from the Tamil country to the northern areas or converged increasingly towards the temples, further highlighting the latter's significance. This coincided with the re-emergence of the local chiefs within the agrarian localities.

In addition, with the job of the Kaveri delta through the Hoysalas, the migration from the Karnataka area was accelerated. Hence, an altered base of power and power structure appeared. The expansion of agriculture led to an augment in landed transactions, private and temple holdings, particularly in the non-brahmana villages. This created a hierarchical structure of the landed rights with the rising prominence of the Vellalas as the dominant agricultural community *vis-à-vis* the lower agricultural groups, escalating the tensions within the agrarian community. The growth of urban centres and intensification of mercantile behaviors led to the rising importance of the *nagarams*, merchants, craftsmen, and weavers, especially the kaikkolas that altered their connection with the *nadus*. Hence*,* the rising social importance of the several non-brahmana groups, especially within the rural society led to a movement towards a higher caste status, especially the claims of the artisans and dominant peasant caste for a respectable ritual legroom within the temples. This bid for social mobility in the twelfth century culminated into a ―societal crisis‖. The conflicts that escalated this social crisis were usually

flanked by the artisans and agriculturists, sub-castes of the artisan like the *kaikkolas* and *saliyas*, hill and forest people and the dissimilar merchant groups. The existing social structure weakened and led to the crystallization of the low caste non-brahmana societies into a dual vertical division of the *Valangai* (Right hand castes) and *Idangai* (Left hand castes), within the traditional caste structure of the rural society. Though, the Vellalas and the brahmanas remained outside this dual division.

In this altered social environment within the village localities, undoubtedly temples forged links amongst chiefs, merchants and the newly emergent groups. The popular religion of the Saivas and Vaisnava community responded to this social change through providing a broad social base with ideological sanction, which would accommodate the diverse ethnic groups. Attempts were made to give them a ritual laid within the respective temples.

From thirteenth century onwards, the core riverine regions of Kaveri, Pennar, Tamraparani, and Krsna-Godavari with numerous agricultural settlements and significant trading centres became the focus for competitive resource appropriation, particularly amongst those social groups who were situated in regions of narrow resource base. One of the mainly significant political growths that influenced the social composition of the rural civilizations in South India was the establishment of the Vijayanagar Empire in the fourteenth century with its capital Hampi in Karnataka. This initiated a chain of political procedures that integrated the peninsular area south of river Krsna through bringing jointly the three cultural zones of Tamil Nadu, Andhra, and Karnataka. The mainly significant factor underlying these political procedures was the phenomenon of migration. From the end of the twelfth century, Kannada and Telugu peasant groups migrated from regions of marginal resource base to the wet riverine areas, _getting new traditions and religious symbols from the valley society and leaving their own marks on the society of rice-belt.' Changing political boundaries, ever mounting military necessities of the kingdoms, especially of the Vijayanagar Empire and the expansion of the agricultural boundary contributed to the rising migration of the Telugu warrior class to the river valleys and peripheral regions of potential development. Referred to as the *nayakas,* they impinged upon the pre-existing local power groups and their respective spheres of manage and appeared as the

major benefactors of the temples in the rural settlements. Migration also brought into prominence a new class of itinerant merchants and traders to the villages, many of whom slowly settled down and appeared as powerful landowners.

Peasant societies and agricultural specialists like Shanars (tank-diggers) shaped one of the important migratory groups that customized the pre-existing local population. New irrigation technology and shapes of manufacture were introduced that _recognized new domains for competition in excess of territorial manage.' Consequently, the migratory procedures integrated the arid upland regions and the river valleys of Kaveri and Tamraparani. Through fifteenth century, agrarian expansion not only took lie in the wet regions, but also in the arid zones through artificial irrigation technology, especially the tank and well irrigation. The corporate and individual efforts of the migrants and investment in labour and capital facilitated the implementation of the new technology particularly in the black soil area. In these arid upland zones, the agriculturists came into disagreement with the hunters and pastoralists that often led to the incorporation of the latter into the agricultural community. These changes provided the context for the emergence of a warrior peasant class, both economically and politically powerful and primarily non-brahamana and Telugu in composition. The resolution of the migratory Telugu or the Vaduga groups in the central Deccan and the Tamil wet areas often displaced the older Tamil peasants and landholders; especially brahmanas already settled there and created a new class of landed magnates with new groups of artisans and merchants. Further, some of the in the vicinity entrenched Vellala landed societies appeared as big landowners with titles like *nadudaiyan* or *nadalvan.* Mainly, the local and the migrant landed community paid regular tribute to the Telugu commanders of the Vijayanagar army and allied themselves to the local chieftains. In this context, the Reddis, Velalas, Gavundas, and Manradis further enhanced their location as the dominant peasantry and acquired armed power. Further, new network of dealings were forged flanked by the arid upland zones and the wetland agricultural community. Therefore, the whole of peninsular India witnessed a concerted warrior-peasant effort that culminated into a new local order, with the coercive power of the new warrior kings.

Each agricultural zone, arid, mixed, and wet had a separate social and material milieu. Kinship networks organized into specific caste groups were significant for striking alliances and swap networks, in excess of manage of agricultural manufacture. The Chola era *nattars,* mainly the Vellalas tied to each other through kinship transformed themselves due to changes in the land holding organization and influx of the migrants. Therefore, a multi community composition of the agriculturists appeared who related the local rural society to the political authorities. There were diverse agricultural societies and structure of sub-local agrarian domains approximately significant cities in developing agricultural zones. The medieval configurations of the *nadus* vanished, replaced through a set of sub-areas defined as hinterlands of cities beside routes of transport and communication.

Through fourteenth century, new changes took lay with the power of the *nayakas* as a military class. The old elites confined to the wet zones depended for their protection on these *nayakas*. In excess of a era, these *nayakas* became influential, as they were _protectors, patrons, and arbiters, whose power rested first on military might, and more essential in the extensive run-on their resourcefulness in their transactions with the existing dominant elites in temples and local assemblies.' The *nayakas* were more successful in bringing jointly the wet rice regions and the unsettled migrants jointly. They also encouraged commercial behaviors and often employed merchants and moneylenders in the rural management.

Against this background of migration of several social groups and the rising power of the martial societies in both wet and arid regions, the worship of the warrior goddesses became popular. This era registered a dramatic augment in the Amman shrines, which had become new cult centres for the several rural elites and peasant and artisan societies within the rural society. These cult centres were associated with the scrupulous lineage god and then with the brahmanical temples in the villages. Hence, a big pantheon was created comprising of the local warrior gods, goddesses and the brahmanical divinity of Siva and Visnu. This represented a vast cross part of the society that was connected through temple rituals in a hierarchical manner. Further, the non-brahmanical *Vellala* village priest also participated in the ritual behaviors of the big temples beside with the *brahmana* priests. In this method,

the brahmanical temples were connected through a priestly network with the village deities. The religious scenario became more intricate as the some of the migratory groups accepted their own gods and goddesses from outside the Tamil area into the new areas, and _constructed a new temple, thereby creating a cross- part of worshippers beyond the locality and developing a network of intra-local devotion and pilgrimage.' The political as well as the economic characteristics converged in the temples, which became the mechanism for generating agricultural growths and a network of linkages with the help of the powerful sectarian leaders based in these organizations. The numerous endowments made through the diverse social groups generated possessions that were supervised and invested through the temples for tank irrigation. Hence, regions of limited agricultural opportunities transformed into that of high yielding mixed agriculture of food and cash crops with a flourishing deal. Such growths sustained even in the eighteenth century.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Define village community. Examine the roles and functions of the village community during the medieval period.

What is a village? Discuss the importance of the village community as a corporate body during the medieval period.

Critically analyze the pattern of rural stratification in the medieval north India.

What role did the _caste' play in rural society during the medieval period?

Analyze briefly the position of rural artisans and village servants in the medieval period.

Analyze briefly the structure of rural society in South India during 7-12th centuries.

CHAPTER 6
Society on the Eve of Colonialism
STRUCTURE

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

Explain the clans and confederacies in Western India

Explain the urban social groups in north India.

Discuss the changing social structure in peninsular India

CLANS AND CONFEDERACIES IN WESTERN INDIA
Clan Formation as a Political Procedure

Revise of the origins of Rajput dynasties in western India in the early medieval era reveals that it necessity have been a political procedure. Here there is an agreement flanked by dissimilar scholars on the issue. Their *gotrochara* creates them kshatriyas of the lunar family (*Somavanshi*) while on the foundation of old *kavyas* some uphold that they were of solar race. The myths of origin regard them as kshatriyas created in *kaliyuga* to wipe out the *mlecchas* (foreigners). Rajasthani bards and chroniclers regard them as fire-born (*agnikula*).

Just as to the *agnikula* version of origins which comes to us from a court poet, the founder of the home of Paramaras came from the firepit of sage Vashistha on Mount Abu. The man who came out of fire performed the first act of wresting the wish-granting cow of sage Vashistha from sage Vishwamitra and restored it to former. It was sage Vashistha who gave him the name of paramara - slayer of the

enemy. The myth then goes on to posit that from him sprang a race which obtained the esteem of good kings. The Rajasthani poets and story tellers ascribed the fire origin not only to the Paramaras but also to the Pratiharas, the Chalukyas of Gujarat, and the Chahamanas.

As some scholars point out that the problem of origin ─when viewed in its totality instead of viewing it from the angle of any scrupulous dynasty would help us understand its political significance . The practice of new social groups claiming Kshatriya status became, as they argue, widespread in the early medieval era. Kshatriya status was one of the symbols that the emergent social groups sought for the legitimation of their newly acquired power. The early medieval and medieval Rajput clans on behalf of a mixed caste and constituting a fairly big part of petty chiefs holding estates achieved political eminence slowly. There was ─corresponding connection flanked by the attainment of political eminence through Pratiharas, Guhilas, Chahamans and other clans and their movement towards a respectable social status for instance acquiring a Kshatriya ─lineage . It has been pointed out that ─in this context it is significant to note that these dynasties claimed descent from ancient kshatriyas extensive after their accession to power . It has been pointed out that the Gurjara Pratiharas one of the earliest Rajput dyansties claim origins from Lakshmana, the brother of epic hero Rama, only in a 9th century inscription of king Bhoja. The entry to the Rajput fold was then possible through the acquisition of political power and this was legitimized through claiming linkages with the Kshatriya rows of the mythical past.

The sharing of political power, as some scholars point out, did not follow a uniform pattern. The procedure of emergence of the political power in western India shows that the sharing of political power could be organized through a network of lineages (*kula, vamsha*) within the framework of monarchical form of polity. B.D. Chattopadhyaya also asserts that the emergence of Rajputs may be seen in the context of existing hierarchies of political structure. The proof is from dynastic accounts of Chahmanas of Rajasthan and Parmaras of southern Rajasthan, Gujarat, and Malwa.

The formation and consolidation of lineage power as we stated did not develop in a uniform method. One of the indicators of the lineage power formation was the colonization of new regions as can be seen from expansion of the number of settlements. Colonization came in relation to the annexation of the new territories through means of organized military strength. The Chauhan kingdom of Nadol recognized as *Saptshata* is said to have been made into *Saptashasrika* through a Chauhan chief who killed chiefs at the boundaries of his kingdom and annexed their territories. Territorial expansion of the western Indian powers was accomplished on

some regions, at the expense of tribal settlements. Kakkuka of Mandor Pratiharas is credited with resettling a lay inhabited through Abhiras. Suppression of tribal population like Shabaras, Bhillas, and Pullindas in western and central India also took lay. Similarly, the Guhila kingdoms in south Rajasthan, just as to bardic custom, succeeded the earlier tribal chiefdoms of Bhils. The movement of Chauhans from Ahicchatrapura to Jangaldesa (Shakambhari) led to colonization of that _unfriendly region'. A tenth century record cites that Lakshmana, the son of Vakpato-I of Shakambhari Chahamana lineage started with a few followers and fought against the Medas who had been attacking the people approximately Naddula with their raids. This pleased the brahmana masters of the region and they appointed him the guard of the cities. Slowly, Lakshamana gathered a small band of troopers and challenged the Medas in their own territory. The Medas agreed to stay absent from the villages paying tribute to Lakshamana. He became a master of 2000 horses and extended his dominions and went on to build a grand palace at Nadol. This leads B.D. Chattopadhyaya to suggest that procedure of origin of Rajputs may be seen in conditions of transition from tribalism.

The link to brahmanas is further made through B.D. Chattopadhyaya who asserts that _when we seem at the dissimilar stages in which the genealogies were being formulated, it further appears that the majority of the new emerging royal rows, *brahmaksatra* (Brahman-Kshatriya) was a middle status, which once acquired was not though entirely given up, and explanations sustained to be given for the supposedly authentic transition from Brahman to kshatriya status. If it be accepted, on the strength of their relatively later records, that both Guhilas and Chahmanas were originally of Brahman descent although no claims to such descent have been made in their early records then the status was being projected in order to legitimize their new Kshatriya role. Chattopadhyaya argues further that, _ it may also well be that the *brahmaksatra* was a relatively open status, as can be gathered from its wide currency in India in this era, which was seized upon through the new royal families before they could formulate a claim to pure Kshatriya origin'.

B.D. Chattopadhyaya also suggests that detailed genealogies of ruling clans which came to be formulated only in the era of change from feudatory to self-governing status _can hardly be extrapolated for an assessment of actual origins. Further, the dissimilar stages in the formulation of genealogical claims therefore also reveal a political procedure, that of upward mobility from an initial feudatory location. Here examples of the Gujarat Gurjaras who in their claims and titles suggest allegiance to the Valabhi king or Guhilas of Kishkindha and those of Dhavagarva are cited as starting from an original feudatory location. The transition from feudatory to

self-governing status was _clearly through the growth of military strength.' Therefore in contrast to the origin myths which suggest a sudden and a brilliant debut of the Rajputs on the North Indian political scene, it is significant to look at them in the existing hierarchies of the existing political structure. Points out Chattopadhyaya that, _an understanding of this initial political stage is significant on more than one count. It gives us the vantage point from which to look at further procedures namely, how from their initial feudatory location the Rajput clans, in their bid for political ascendancy moved towards creating economic and social bases for their interlocking interests'.

What were the characteristics of this economic foundation of Rajput clan network? First, was the sharing of land in the middle of royal kinsmen? This was mainly associated with the spread of the clan of Chahamanas. Conditions such as *Vamsapotakabhoga* (estate to be enjoyed through the descendants of the lineage) occurring in the Rajogarh inscription of Gurjara – Pratihara Mathana of Alwar have been understood in the sense of clan patrimony. Clan exclusiveness was also denoted in the harsh inscription of AD 973 from the Jaipur region. Here we get reference of *svabhogas* (personal estates) of king Simharaja, his two brothers Vatsraja and Vigraharaja, and his two sons Chandaraja and Govindraja. The inscription also mentions another assignee, almost certainly of Guhila clan, holding a *bhoga* (estate). A *duhsadhya* (official) had his own estate too within the kingdom, but his rights were obviously limited in as much as his power to grant land depended on the approval of the king. On the other hand the others did not need such a sanction and made grants on their own. This procedure went through further development till the 12th century when under the Nadol Chahamans the assignments, termed variously as *grasa, grasabhumi,* or *bhukti* came to be held through the king, the *kumara* (the crown prince), the *rajaputras* (the sons of the king), the queens and in one case the maternal uncle of the king who obviously was not a member of the similar clan.

The second significant characteristic of Rajput economic foundation in this era is the construction of fortresses. These look to have occurred in a big number of cases throughout this time and appear to be a marked feature of Rajput territorial expansion of this era only. Inscriptions suggest their site in dissimilar parts of Rajasthan. Some of these forts were in Kamyakiyakottta in Bharatpur region, Rajayapura at Rajor in Alwar, Mandavyapura-durga at Mandor close to Jodhpur, Chitrakulamahadurga at Chitor, etc. The fortresses were not only for defence but as Chattopadhyaya notes had, as the composition of population in some of them will illustrate, wider functions. They represented the numerous foci of power of the ascendant ruling families and appear to have had secure links with landholdings in the

neighbouring regions. These forts then could have been the means to manage the rural surroundings and are so an indication of the assumption of manage and consolidation of the clan in excess of these regions. Perhaps an economic swap flanked by the forts and the rural regions also can be envisaged. This swap would then be controlled through the forts.

The consolidation of clans at the stage of social dealings can be gauged from the marriage network in the middle of the clans. Here Chattopadhyaya is drawing upon inscriptions and genealogical lists. The recording of some few marriages in the genealogical lists leads one to assume ‗with certainty that they have been recorded because of their important political implications for the family'. Chattopadhyaya in examining the marriage proof chronologically detects a change in the marriage network patterns in which not only the supposed origin of family plays an unimportant part, but there is also a development towards an understandable pattern of inter clan connection'. In an inscription of 837 AD of the Pratihara family from the Jodhpur region, the originator of the family is mentioned as having married a Bahaman and a Kshatriya wife. In a later inscription in 861 AD the Brahman wife is dropped from the explanation of ancestry. Alike genealogies suggest intermarriage flanked by the Pratihara and Bhatti clans. Similarly, Chahamana inscriptions suggest a preference towards Rashtrakutas, Ratraudhas, and Rathors for marriage network. Chattopadhyaya suggests that inter-clan connection through marriages could, at a sure point of time, be limited to two clans and ‗any consistency in the pattern may have been due to the nature of political dealings flanked by such clans or as in the case of Guhilas, it could be quite expansive'. Further ‗the network operated mostly in the middle of such clans as came to constitute the Rajput category'. The choice was essentially political, he suggests, because the proof cited here is from that of the ruling elites of early medieval Rajasthan.

Chattopadhyaya further argues that ‗inter-clan connection through marriage looks to have had wider social implications as well. It could give social legitimacy to such groups as Hunas, who had acquired enough political power in western India through this era, leading finally to their inclusion in the Rajput clan lists'. Inter-clan marriage dealings ‗may have (also) led to collaboration in wider regions of social and political action'. Here the proof of Guhila Allata is cited who was married to a Huna princess and had a Huna member in a *goshti* (assembly) in the kingdom of his son Naravahana. In another instance, Ana belonging to the family of the Hastikundi Rashtrakutas was involved in behaviors of a religious institution in the kingdom of Paramara Dharavarsha who was married into the Hastikundi family. These examples illustrate how essentially a political procedure of legitimization through which the

Rajputs began, turned towards a social procedure which however had a political dimension, still designates a dissimilar stage in the procedure of emergence of the Rajputs.

Proliferation of Clans

Asopa has cited a Chitor inscription of AD 1301 which mentions three generations of *rajaputras.* This just as to Chattopadhyaya suggests ‚that through the secure of 13th century the term *rajaputra* conveyed not merely a political status but an element of heredity as well'. That there was proliferation of the Rajputs in the early medieval era is indicated through a diversity of sources, points out Chattopadhyaya. He cites Hemachandra's *Trisastisalakapuru-sacarita* which refers to *rajaputrakah* or numerous persons of *rajputra* descent. A Mount Abu inscription of late 11th century tells us of all the *rajaputras* of the illustrious Rajaputra clan. The term *rajaputra* then came to cover a wide range, ‚from the actual son of a king' to the lowest landholder'. *Kumarpalcharita* and *Rajtarangini* suggest that the number of clans recognised as Rajputs had become substantial in number. These texts suggest, just as to Chattopadhyaya, not a definite number of clans but the *thought* of descent as marking out the *rajaputras* from the other. The feudatory terminologies of *Samanta* and *Maha-Samanta* are used less and less from the 12th century onward. The mainly general conditions used later on were *rajaputra, rautta, rauta, rajakula* or r*avala, ranaka,* etc. To these official titles are added the titles s*amanta* or *mahamandalesvara „*indicating the ranks that the *rajaputras* and such others may have attained in the administrative arrangement'. The inscriptions also suggest that the term *rajaputra* or *rauta* were not confined to a few clans as is apparent from expressions like *rauta* of the shri lineage. These indicate, says Chattopadhyaya, ‚a measure of the flexibility of the organization in which new groups could be accommodated through virtue of their political initiative and power'.

This proliferation is accompanied through two separate phenomena in this era as Chattopadhyaya points out. The first was undermining of the political status of the early Kshatriya groups ‚who were taking to less potent occupations'. This is indicated through inscriptions which illustrate that kshatriyas were taking to professions of artisans and merchants. The preferred term for the ruling stratum now was mostly Rajput and not ‚kshatriya'. The second phenomenon was the rising ‚inter-clan collaboration' flanked by dissimilar Rajput clans. The proof of this comes from their participation in several military exploits. Here Chattopadhyaya examines evidences from the memorial stones of this era. These stones indicate a wide diversity of social

groups who came to participate in these behaviors. Here the memorials to violent deaths relate mostly to such groups as ‚came to be recognised as Rajputs'. The names of clans establish in these stones contain Pratihara, Chahamana, Guhila, Parmara, Solanki, Rathor, Chandela, Bodana, Mohila, Devara, Doda, Dahiya, Bhichi, Dharkata, etc. The stones also indicate titles such as *rajaputra, rana, rauta,* etc. to indicate the political and social status of those commemorated. Argues Chattopadyaya ‚the method these memorial stones were fashioned and the contexts several of them symbolize in early medieval Rajasthan relate mainly to the new Kshatriya groups which jointly made up the political order of Rajasthan'.

Clan Formation: Patron-Client Framework
Norman Ziegler writing of the Mughal times establishes the movement from kinship and descent dealings to service and swap networks amongst the Rajputs. What follows is an account of the expansion of Rajput social structure based mainly on Ziegler. As suggested, tie this up with accounts of Rochard Fox later on. Ziegler points out that through the medieval era there were two primary elements of reference and identification for the Rajput. These were his brotherhood (*bhaibandh*) and his dealings through marriage (*saga*). Broadly speaking the brotherhood was a patrilineal element of descent represented through clan (*vamsha/kul*), which incorporated all those related through ties of male blood to a general ancestor (*vadero*). The clan was it spread in excess of dissimilar territories within Rajasthan and it was not the classical corporate group that enjoyed joint manages in excess of a specific territory. The corporate groups on the ground were the *khamp* or the *nak.* These consisted of members from three to five or six generations and incorporated all members related through secure ties of male blood, their wives, sons, and unmarried daughters.
The brotherhood was territorially connected to lands obtained through division of shares in the middle of brothers (*bhai-vant*). This territory was referred through the brotherhood as its birth-lay or homeland (*vatan/janm-bhoomi*). The birthplace was both the centre of brotherhood's origin and expansion, and the land from which it was felt to derive its sustenance and strength. Ziegler points out the ‚two entities brotherhood and land were felt to be inseparably connected and mutually supportive.' B.D. Chattopadhyaya points to, in the earlier era, a new land element which appears to have consisted of six villages and multiples thereof. The use of this land element was through no means limited to Rajasthan even so incidence of its use in this era appears to have been higher in western India than elsewhere. Then ‚the

earliest references to elements of 84 villages look to be accessible in Saurashtra which was held through Gurjara-Pratiharas towards the secure of 8th century and its spread to Rajasthan was perhaps planned to facilitate the sharing of land and political manage in the middle of the ruling elites. Through the later part of the 14th century the _chaurasia holders of 84 villages had become a well recognized class of chiefs'. Chattopadhyaya further points out _the chaurasia arrangement was not always strictly adhered to in the territorial organization of Rajputs but it did give a —theoretical frame to that organization in which the hierarchy of elements and linkages flanked by clan members and elements could be worked out fairly well'.

Ziegler points out that the other primary element of reference and identification for the Rajput was his *saga*, those to whom he gave daughters and/or from whom he received wives in marriage. This connection was of scrupulous importance for at the similar time, _the act of marriage was seen to unite a woman with her husband's brotherhood, and it was also seen to make an alliance.' Though the brotherhood of father of the woman sustained to refer to her as _sister' and in the classical Levi Strauss conception of kinship there is proof of strong affection flanked by _a mother's brother (*mama*) and her son. Ziegler further points out _the importance of *bhaibandh* and *saga* as primary or primodial elements of reference and identification persisted Throughout the Mughal era because of their centrality in defining who the Rajput was. They were also elements of natural affinity which described forth immediate settlements of reciprocity, support, and assistance, and in this sense organized the vital loyalties of mainly Rajputs. They did not necessarily command all his allegiances, though, for the intricate of loyalties within territories which scrupulous brotherhoods dominated display complexities generated through structural characteristics of these groups themselves .

From the explanation of Ziegler the institution of kinship remained dominant in this era. This is apparent just as to him in the Rathor brotherhood of western Marvar. Within their unilineal descent and the principal of equality in the middle of brothers with right of access to land prevailed. Internal differences in the middle of brothers concerning positions of rank and power also remained minimal. Though, these Rathor brotherhoods were relatively self-governing of Mughal or Rajput rulers. Elsewhere as Ziegler points out, _brotherhoods were more highly stratified and their membership internally differentiated on the foundation of wealth and access to positions of power and power'. Ziegler points out the organisation of these brotherhoods were _also greatly influenced through two additional organizations, namely rulership and clientship. These organizations were closely interrelated and in contrast to the relatively undifferentiated corporate brotherhood were not defined in

conditions of kinship and associated territory but in conditions of hierarchical ties and general allegiance in the middle of residential groups and individuals to a superior – the local ruler (*thakur*). It was these ties and allegiances which both defined a local kingdom of Rajput ruler and determined the extent of his territory. They also shaped the primary foundation of solidarity within that kingdom'.

Ziegler uses the concept of patron-client to describe the connection flanked by dissimilar clans and individuals and clans. Now the concept of patron-client has been often used in Indian history. Studies such as that of David Hardiman illustrate that the concept may capture a local reality very well but we need to use it with some caution. Meta generalizations like the _great Indian faction' should not be used for instance. We should then cautiously accept Ziegler's contention that _outside the immediate family of the ruler, clientship was the prime determinant of both accesses to land and to positions of power .

Ziegler further points out the value of the concept in saying _clients as a body incorporated not only Rajputs of the similar clan and Brotherhood as that of the ruler, but also other Rajputs from dissimilar clans and brotherhoods'. He points out that the, _texts usually refer to them as *Cakar* which carries the common meaning of _servant' but in Marvari usage designates a _military-retainer', one who held rights in excess of villages on the condition of provision of arms to a superior or who was incorporated as a member of his patron's personal household'. Moreover _hierarchical ties of patronage and clientship extended throughout all stages of Rajput civilization.'

Clientship was a significant institution in Rajasthan because it superceded kinship as a foundation of organisation. In addition, it not only regulated access to land and to positions of power but also made accessible to a local ruler, upon whom clients depended for favours and rewards, a coercive force which he could in turn employ to support to strengthen the local hierarchy itself'. Ziegler notes here that, _while the institution of internship and clientship lived in Rajasthan prior to the Mughal era, they urbanized greatly throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at the expense of kinship as a foundation of organisation'. The development of these organizations he attributes to the Mughal policy of indirect rule. This assumed the right to appoint successors to positions of rulership in Rajasthan and in turn _supported them with arms and possessions in the form of *jagirs* of ancestral land (*vatan-jagirs*) inside Rajasthan and other lands outside'. It is with these possessions that allowed local rulers to consolidate their own regions of power and centralise their management. Therefore it is in this era (early 17th century) based on these growths that we see the _first true Rajput states in the sense that there was a defined and institutionalized locus of power from which regulations emanated with appropriate

sanction and enforcement'. It is also in this era that the Mughal rulers granted local rulers with more extensive power in excess of the primary source of honors and rewards in the local hierarchical organization to access to land. It is therefore Ziegler argues that, _as local rulers gained wider manage in excess of lands which representatives of their own class had traditionally dominated, they sought to change relationships on these lands from those based on kinship and customary access through birthright, into connection based on service and swap.' This met with resistance as is apparent from local *khyat* records. This resistance _usually took the form of demanding the foundation upon which a ruler claimed dominance in excess of a region or high right to precedence at all and often ended in armed conflicts.' This disagreement then flanked by descent based ties and emerging *cakar* (patron-client) ties then symbolizes the change taking lay in the Rajput confederacy and _evoked sentiments of the brotherhood and values of equality and rights to inheritance of and dominance in excess of land through birth'. Ziegler argues, _these sentiments and values form an undercurrent Throughout the Mughal era which resurfaced periodically, and it is significant to note that differing interpretations of rights to scrupulous lands play a role not only in the vicinity, but also in connection with Rajput adherence to the Mughal throne.'

Bureaucratization
Another aspect of changing Rajput relationships to land in this era is the rising bureaucratization of these relationships as administrative procedures became more refined. In Marvar a beginning was made with issuing of written title deeds (*pato/ pata*) to villages. Ziegler notes, _already through the early Mughal era, the possession of such deeds had acquired a legitimacy which superceded prior claims to land on descent or based on verbal grant'. The *pato* was a deed modeled on Mughal prototypes for granting of *jagirs* and was a _movable grant based on prebendal tenure   . It not only granted access to villages but also incorporated a valuation (*rekh*) of these villages for the _determination of troopers and animals the thakur was to supply for military service.' A tax on succession (*nazrana*) was also imposed on *thakurs* based upon a percentage of the total valuation (*rekh*) of their villages.
Ziegler points out, _through the time of Maharaja Jasvant singh (1638-78) deeds were issued not only to heads of families but also to junior members and individual Rajputs who were regularly transferred from one village to another like the Mughal *mansabdar*. From genealogical proof, it also appears that while in the early years local rulers confined grants to scrupulous local regions where individual

brotherhoods were concentrated, later on they moved their *Cakars* in relation to the increasingly wider regions, effecting through this mechanism the break up of local lineage territories.' It also appears through this time that *cakars,* clan brothers or not, all performed service as candidates for receipt of *patas* before they actually gained access to lands. It is significant to note as Ziegler tells us that spatial expansion of Rajputs also occurred in this era through ties of marriage. Individual Rajputs it looks also gained access to lands in the procedure of alliances shaped in marriage ties. These ties as explained through him through the institution of gifts in *sala-katari* created alliances which _acted to make a sentiment of corporate territoriality which crosses cut that of the brotherhood, but was in several compliments alike to it. Inherent in both were expected rights of access to and use of land'. The two phenomenon of service and swap networks and the marriage alliances need to be distinguished but as Chattopadhyaya had pointed out for earlier era were instrumental in placing Rajputs within the wider arena of social dealings.

Ideology

The co-subsistence of descent kinship based networks, marriage networks and service and swap networks often led to inconsistent interpretation of norms and conduct of the Rajputs placed within these networks. Ziegler tells us that in the seventeenth century the traditional Rajput literature put forth the appropriate norms of conduct in conditions of common rules. These rules were as it were the Rajput *dharma* which was felt _to be an inborn, moral code for conduct which each individual inherited through birth beside with an innate potential to fulfill it'. With inconsistencies in the expectations after the move to service and swap networks one of the cardinal principles of refraining from *gotrakadamb* i.e. refraining for killing of members of one's own *gotra (*clan sub-group) came into crisis. The question was, which was supreme, protecting members of the *gotra* or protecting the master to whom one was a *cakar*. Ziegler notes a shift in the ideology of honour here when he examines cases in the Mughal time which increasingly stress the demerit of *gotrakadamb*. This shift was facilitated through the very method in which the Rajputs viewed their origins Ziegler point out. Just as to the myth the *rajputs* came up in times when traditional hierarchical order had collapsed. It was only with great effort and the opportunities provided through the Rajput rulers and the Mughals that they had rebuilt themselves. In moving towards this new civilization where they were actually coming to their own through blessings of several kul devtas and deities of their rulers and later on Mughals that the Rajputs had reestablished themselves. In

such a situation then this *procedure* of rebuilding was given primacy and a traditional concept like *gotrakadamb* was demerited.

Developmental Cycle Framework of Richard Fox: An Addendum
It may be useful to bring in Richard Fox here. The picture of Rajput clan formation which we are getting from Ziegler is that of a unilinear movement from descent to service and swap networks. Based on local records of Rajasthan it presents one type of picture. However Fox is talking of Rajput lineages in U.P. and in a dissimilar time era (19th century) he provides us the scenario in a broader perspective. Broadly speaking he conceives the development of Rajput lineages in developmental stages.

That is, he considers, the interaction of closed brotherhoods, with the raja or the state as dissimilar stages in the development of the lineage. These stages may be measured a part of the developmental cycle as it were with the possibility of lineages returning to earlier stages depending on the context or the situation. This basically means we may see the movement of lineages from descent to service networks as going back to descent as well. He calls this _traditional circularity'. As Fox he puts it _the developmental cycle of Rajput lineages has four interrelated factors. Some of these concern the ecological and demographic dispositions of the lineage. Others concern its relationships with the central authorities'. These factors he identifies as firstly the extent of land accessible for territorial expansion. He explains _territorial expansion consisted of either of bringing waste or under populated lands under farming or physical conquest of populous cultivated areas. Virgin tracts lived in the *terai* area. Waste lands arose due to famine, epidemics, or wars when cultivators left their land or were decimated. Outright conquest depended mainly on the population and procedure of the lineage. Territorial boundary circumstances greatly influenced the internal organisation of Rajput lineages and were an indication of their connection with the central power. In common, territorial frontiers lived only when the state was weak because anarchic era created waste-lands and the state when powerful could militarily restrict or manage lineage expansion'. In Rajasthan such vast tracts were already accessible as the boundary for expansion as B. D. Chattopadhyaya points out.

The second factor was the _population, cohesiveness, and military success of the lineage'. Fox points out, _a big population usually aided military procedure in the initial stages of the lineage's development or when the central power was weak. Though, a big population often caused the kin body to be less cohesive and corporate.

Since kin cooperation was necessary for military success, population and cohesion were balanced or else the lineage fissioned. The cohesiveness which underlay the military folk of a kin group was sometimes based on kinship etiquette and genealogical appeal. Later cohesion was the result of the internal stratification of the lineage which gave the raja and elite a predominant power. Similarly, military cooperation at first emerges mainly from kinship discipline; later on it is due to feudalization' of military service owed to the lineage elite.

The third factor is _the nature and power of the lineage elite. This factor is closely tied to the stage of stratification within the lineage. Sometimes internal rank and economic differentiation within a lineage was small. When this occurred, the minimal lineage of the hereditary or elected lineage leader was no more elevated than other minimal lineages of the kin brotherhood. The lineage leadership merely represented the interests of the lineage as a whole, and its bargaining skill with central power depended on the military threat of the whole kin body. At other times, stratification within the lineage was great and the lineage raja and his secure kinsmen shaped a power group which often seized the proprietorship and other prerogatives of their kinsmen. In such lineages internal hostility ran high the disenfranchised lineage members rebelled and palace revolts occurred in the lineage elite. Whether or not a raja proved powerful, depended in some measure on his charismatic definition of his office. But, more significant, it depended on the favourable occurrence of the factors of population, military success, territorial expansion and the organisation of the state'.

The fourth factor in the developmental cycle is the _nature and power of the state'. Fox points out _when the power of the state at the local stage was weak, the state had small power to manage local events or counter a strong lineage. When strong, the state might decide to subsidize newcomers to reduce a turbulent lineage and its elite to cultivators or the state could undertake military punishment of dissident lineages. The kin segmentation or military success of a lineage was often greatly influenced through the actions of central power. If the state was powerful, it could restrict the expansion of a lineage even however waste lands or natural boundary lived. A strong state hindered the internal stratification of the lineage'. Now these four factors influenced, as Fox points out, the traditional circularity of the lineages in a major method. It may happen that some lineages may stay on at one stage or undergo a situation in which two or more stages may confluence. At any rate, we get a picture of clan formation of Rajputs which is more dynamic and takes into explanation a wider range of factors. His explanation however restricted to the 19th century gives us with critical element of diversity in the state and lineage interaction. While Ziegler is content with a patron-client connection Fox is able to take into

explanation factors such as population, ecology, and the fluctuating nature of state power to posit a rich theory of clan development amongst the Rajputs. Ziegler though is richer in his use of local records.

URBAN SOCIAL GROUPS IN NORTH INDIA
Elites in the Urban Setting
Medieval era is significant for this is the era when many new social groups appeared on explanation of the entry of the Turks and the Mughals on the scene and the ranks of the ruling elite (nobles) swelled phenomenally. Qasbas and cities were filled with petty government officials. Since the new ruling elites (nobles) were mainly urban based and they evolved _national cultural ethos, which became the average of high civilization and social intercourse...' Musical concert, poetical recitations, and religious festivals became the life-breath of the municipality civilization. _The municipality and the court also acted as a school of manners'. Though, issues were not settled or else the elites were not divided on the foundation of religion. Even Throughout the war of succession in the middle of Shahjahan's sons the ruling elite was not divided on religious rows. Delhi appeared as the chief centre of liberal literary custom.
Here our concern is not to highlight the political role played through the nobility but to examine their role and location in the modern civilization as a prominent group.

Iqtadars, Mansabdars and Jagirdars
Iqtadar and *mansabdar* were two major categories of the ruling estates that evolved Throughout the Sultanate and Mughal era respectively. A detailed explanation of the growth of the *iqta* and *mansab* systems and the power and positions of the *iqtadar* and *mansabdars* are already dealt in our course MHI-04. Here our purpose to incorporate them as a separate social category is to acquaint you with the dominant location *iqtadars* and *mansabdars* enjoyed as significant social groups throughout the medieval era. Turkish rulers paid their nobility in the form of *iqtas* (revenue assignments) and its holders came to be recognized as *iqtadar, wali,* or *muqti.* These assignees were alloted a specified territory (*iqta*) and they were supposed to collect the revenue and sent the *fawazil* (surplus) to the state. *Iqtadars*

were supposed to uphold law and order in the territory and extract land revenue. Usually, the provincial management was headed through these *muqtis* and *walis*. *Iqtas* did not imply right in excess of land, nor were they hereditary. *Iqtas* were transferable as well. Though, Firuz made *iqtas* hereditary and permanent. The Mughal ruling elite can be grouped into one single category of *mansabdars*. All Mughal nobles, were the *mansabdars*. The term *mansab* itself denotes a lay or location. All Mughal nobles at their entry were alloted a *mansab* (rank). *Mansab* determined the status of nobles in the Mughal hierarchy. Though, *mansabdars* were not a ‗homogeneous‘ category. Under Babur we do not approach crossways this category, instead the term *wajhdar* was used. It received its proper form Throughout Akbar‘s area. *Mansab* is dual in nature – *zat* and *sawar*. While *zat* determined personal pay and his status in the hierarchy, *sawar* solely indicated the number of horses and horsemen to be maintained through the *mansabdar*. Granting *mansabs* was the prerogative of the emperor. Lineage and performance were two major criterions for promotion. The mainly favored category belonged to the sons and secure kinsmen of those already in the imperial service. This group was recognized as *khanzads*.

Mainly these *mansabdars* were paid in the form of *jagir*, therefore holder of the *jagirs* were recognized as *jagirdars* and *tuyuldars* under the Mughals. The nobles were assigned a territory to collect a portion of the produce (revenue; *mal-iwajib*) in lieu of their salaries in specified regions. One should stay in mind that these *jagirs* were neither hereditary nor permanent. They were regularly transferred and *jagirdars* enjoyed no proprietary right in excess of the land so assigned to him. *Jagirdars* used to appoint their own mediators *(gumashta, amils)* to collect revenue. Though, imperial officials used to stay strict vigilance in excess of the behaviors of these *jagirdars*. The *diwan* of the *suba* were to stay secure watch to prevent oppression of the peasants at the hands of the *jagirdars*. Though, often these *jagirdars* oppressed the peasants. Bernier (1656-68) mentions that on explanation of the oppression of the *jagirdars* peasants often fled to the territories of the Rajas.

Social and Racial Composition of the Elites
K. M. Ashraf divides the nobility into two mjaor categories a) *ulema – ahl-iqalam* (intelligentia; mainly constituted the religious classes), and b) *umarah – ahl-itegh* (soldiers). Here as suggested, primarily focus on the second group. Ashraf argues that the nobility hardly lived without the ‗personality of the sovereign‘ for the nobles totally owed their location to the sovereign – the Sultan. Mohammad Habib

has defined the organisation of early Indo - Turkish nobility in conditions of ‚joint family organisation' since almost all recruit were of the Turkish origin; however a few were Khaljis (Bakhtiyar Khalji) and Tajiks (foreigners). Mainly early Turkish nobles were slaves, who later achieved the distinction of *amirs*, *maliks*, *khans* depending upon the meritorious services performed through them. Khaljis opened the door for all irrespective of race, birth or creed therefore breaking the monopoly of Turks in the nobility. This phenomenon is mainly viewed as ‚Khalji revolution' through the historians. Tughluq discouraged favouring any scrupulous racial group. Instead they encouraged all – foreigners, Hindus, Mongols, Khorasanis and the Arabs. Therefore it was not ‚racial' composition but ‚loyalty to sultan' which became the crucial determining factor to gain power. Though, if ‚racialism' was the hallmark of early Turkish nobility ‚hereditary' succession became the chief characteristic of Tughluq nobility, particularly from Firuz Tughluq's reign onwards. In the Mughal nobility also a big number of nobles were of foreign origin. Just as to *Ain-iAkbari* under Akbar 70 per cent of the nobles were foreigners. Though, Athar Ali points out that after Akbar there was a declining trend of nobles of foreign origin.

Turks
Early Turks (Ilbarites) were mainly slaves, even the mainly favoured Shamsi Maliks, the *turkan-i chihilgani* (‚Group of Forty'; nobles of Iltutmish), were slaves. There were Tajiks (free born) as well. These Turks measured themselves belonging to ‚high-birth' as against the Indian Muslims. Their reason was championed through Barani who looked down upon the ‚low-born' (*jawahir-i lutrah* i.e. Indian Muslims) and resisted giving them high positions. Barani praises Balban for appointing only people of ‚noble birth' in the state service. Barani lamented when Alauddin Khalji appointed Malik-ut Tujjar (chief of the merchants) to the post of chief *qazi* (*Quzzat-i Mumalik*) and Muhammad Tughluq entrusted charge of *diwan-i wizarat* to Pira Mali (gardener). Under the Mughals Turanis was Turkish speaking Central Asians. Babur himself boasts of possessing Turkish descent from his father's face. Throughout the initial reigns of Babur and Humayun Turks were dominant social group in the middle of the Muslim elite, controlling the highest offices. Though, following Mirza's rebellion (1581) the location of Turkish nobles drastically declined. Turanis, Throughout the Mughal era, usually hailed from Badakhshan and were regarded ‚uncultured' compared to their Irani counterparts.

Iranis

Iranis, also described Khorasanis and Iraqis, were first introduced in the Sultanate nobility through Muhammad Tughluq. He described them „*aizza* (the dear ones). They were appointed as *sadah amirs* in the Deccan who later recognized their self-governing kingdom. In the Mughal nobility Irani element was introduced through Humayun, particularly after his return from Persia. On his return, out of fifty seven nobles twenty seven were Turanis while twenty one were Iranis. Iranis received special favour from Jahangir's reign onwards and enjoyed prominence throughout the Mughal era..

Afghans

At the beginning of Medieval era Afghan tribals are accounted to have existed on the frontiers of north-west area. They got converted to Islam Throughout the reign of Sultan Mahmud (998-1030) and through 12th century their conversion to Islam was approximately completed. Minhaj-us Siraj (1259) records them as _ferocious' and _rustic'. Amir Khusrau (13-14 centuries) also speaks of them as _uncultured'. Through mid-thirteenth century they are accounted to have entered in the service of the Sultanate as soldiers. Balban entrusted them the charge of his newly recognized *thanas* (police posts) approximately Delhi. Through 14th century they appeared to have assumed the location in the nobility. Under Muhammad Tughluq they specially attained prominence. In the fifteenth century Malik Khurram Nuhani (Afghan) was the first Afghan who succeeded in carving out a self-governing kingdom at Jalor (Rajasthan). Afghans rose to prominence especially Throughout Saiyyad (1414-51), Lodi (1451-1526) and Sur (1540-55) periods. Though, they faced a great jolt to their location Throughout the Mughal era. They were particularly distrusted through the Mughals. They did improve their location under Jahangir (1606-1627) when Khan-i Jahan Lodi appeared prominent. But soon they receded into the backdrop after Khan-i Jahan Lodi's rebellion. They could only recover Throughout the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign (1656-1707) as a result of influx of Afghan nobility from Bijapur kingdom.

Indian Muslims/Shaikhzadas

Indian Muslims, Throughout the Mughal era were recognized as *Shaikhzadas*. They appeared into prominence from Nasiruddin Mahmud's reign (1246-1266) onwards when Imaduddin Raihan was raised to the highest location. But he had to face stiff resistance from Balban, a Turkish noble of the select _Shamsi' group. Kambohs were originally Hindus of Punjab and mainly belonged to the

peasant society. In Multan area they embraced Islam under the power of *suhrawardi* saint Shaikh Bahauddin Zakaria. Through 15ᵗʰ century they appeared as prominent *ulama* (scholars) and *mashaikhs* (*sufi* saints). Shaikh Samauddin Kambo even achieved the status of a patron saint of the Lodi dynasty (1451-1526). Shaikh Samauddin Kambo's son-in-law Shaikh Jamali assumed the status of poet in the court of Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517). Imad-ul-Mulk Kambo headed the department of *amir-i ariz* under Sher Shah (1540-45).

Under the Mughals Saiyyids of Baraha appeared prominent. Though, Saiyyids of Baraha had to face the wrath of Aurangzeb since they supported Dara Shukoh Throughout the war of succession. Towards the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign Kashmiris appeared prominent. Inayatullah Kashmiri was one of the favourite noble of Aurangzeb.

Hindu Elites

Under Alauddin Khalji Hindu nobles received special patronage. Rai Ram Deo of Deogir was one of the prominent nobles of his reign. He received the title of Rai Rayan. Malik Naik was made *muqta* of Samana and Sunam. Hindus also received patronage under Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-51). Ratan, a great scholar of mathematics received the title of *Azim-us Sindh* and Muhammad Tughluq appointed him governor (*wali*) of Sind.

Marathas

Marathas appeared as prominent group Throughout the seventeenth century. They played a significant role in Deccan affairs. Marathas were enrolled in the Mughal nobility from Shahjahan's reign (1627-1656) onwards but they became a sizable group Throughout Aurangzeb's reign.

Rajputs

Rajputs were in the middle of the mainly prominent social group under the Mughals. They maintained cordial dealings with the ruling class, particularly from the reign of Akbar. They sustained to enjoy prominent location throughout the seventeenth century. Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Jaswant Singh were the two mainly prominent Rajput nobles under Aurangzeb.

Other Groups

Alauddin introduced Mongols into his nobility. Muhammad Tughluq also enrolled Mongol commanders of 10,000 (*amiran-ituman*), commanders of 1,000 (*amiran-ihazara*) into his nobility in big numbers. Abysinians also left their spot throughout the reign of Sultan Razia (1236-1240). Jamaluddin Yaqut – the well-known Abysinian, was raised to the prominent post of *amir-i akhur* (master of the royal horses) throughout the reign of Razia (1236-1240).

Jains

Jains attained high location Throughout the Sultanate era. Alauddin Khalji appointed Pheru Jain, a gemmologist, as superintendent of royal mint. Jains appeared prominent in the Nagaur area (western Rajasthan). They maintained secure contacts with the Muslim elite. Like Muslim elite they also constructed schools for children to instruct them in the traditional sciences. Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) granted a land-grant to a Jain saint Janbuji.

Power and Location of the New Ruling Elite

The new ruling elite enjoyed immense wealth, power, and status in the civilization on explanation of being closer to power. A. Jan Qaisar (1965) has calculated the amout of wealth concentrated in the hands of the higher category *mansabdars* (rank-holders). Throughout Shahajahan's reign concentration of possessions in the hands of the *mansab*holders of 500 and above were 61.5 of the total *jama* (estimated-revenue); while *mansab*-holders of 2500 and above enjoyed 37.6 per cent of the total *jama*. Separately from their salaries these nobles regularly tried their fortunes in overseas deal. Tavernier (1640-67) mentions that, _on arrival for embarkation at Surat, you discover plenty of money. It is the principal deal of the nobles of India to lay their money on vessels on speculation for Harmuz, Bassora, and Mocha, and even for Bantam, Achin and Phillipenes'. Aurangzeb's noble Mir Jumla was so rich that he even used to advance money to the English factors. His ships used to ply flanked by Arakan, Southern India and Persia. Shaista Khan was another significant noble involved in the internal deal Throughout Aurangzeb's reign.

Besides deal, these nobles also maintained vast *karkhanas*. As early as Firuz Shah's reign (1351-1386) we discover the kings'; princes'; and nobles' interests in establishing the *karkhanas*. Bakhtawar Khan (Aurangzeb's era) recognized number of *karkhanas* in several cities. Even Princess Jahan Ara Begum (Shahjahan's daughter) maintained her own *karkhana*.

These elites were equally involved in the public welfare behaviors and charitable works. Our accounts are full of descriptions of *havelis, sarais* (resting spaces), mosques, tombs (*rauza*), gardens, tanks, etc. built through the nobles. Fakhruddin, the well-known *kotwal* of Delhi Sultanate was recognized for his charity. He patronized orphanages and even used to pay dowry money to the poor to facilitate the marriages of their daughters. A. Jan Qaisar argues that there appears to be a linkage flanked by the ‗social values' and the structure behaviors of the Mughal ruling elite. He highlights that social prestige and desire to be remembered through the posterity appear to be the major factors behind such big level structure behaviors of the Mughal nobles. Murtaza Khan, Shaikh Farid Bhakkari (Akbar's era), Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan, (Akbar- Jahangir's era) were great builders. They were also involved in establishing new townships (*puras*) and markets (*katras*). Contemporary Faridabad close to Delhi is attributed to be Shaikh Farid Bukhari's contribution. Mir Muhammad Baqir Azam Khan Throughout his tenure as *faujdar* (commandant, incharge of law and order in excess of a group of *parganas*) of Mathura constructed a community (*pura*) close to the municipality. In the vicinity of Agra, Throughout Jahangir's reign, two townships were constructed through his nobles – Itimad Khan Khwaja Sara built Itimadpur and Miyan Rup Khawas, founded Rupbas. Similarly, Maharaja Jai Singh of Amber constructed Jaisinghpura and Jaswant Singh of Marwar (d. 1678) Jaswantpura in the outskirts of Shahjahanabad, Delhi.

New Social Groups

The hallmark of the era was the emergence of new social groups. With the establishment of the Turkish and Mughal power Throughout the medieval era big number of groups/individuals accepted Islam. There were forcible conversions as well as some were motivated through political patronage; while some were also perhaps guided through material gains. Some got converted willingly, mainly as a result of *sufi* power and interactions. This procedure of acculturisation resulted in the formation and emergence of new social groups. The significant question is, as S.C. Misra puts it, ‗In societal, cultural and personal lens, to what extent was the spot of the new faith imprinted upon the neo-converts – in other languages, what was the degree of ‗Islamization'? S.C. Misra argues that there appeared, ‗two social systems'. ‗The upper classes were though nearer to the sources of Islamic civilization, as defined through the law-givers and their modern interpreters. The faith of the lower was a graft on the popular shapes of the abandoned faith'.

Some social groups accepted Islam on explanation of their clan affinity. Once their clan chief got converted the whole clan followed the suit. Qaim Khanis were one such social group who accepted Islam through this procedure. They were the Chauhan Rajputs of Danera. Throughout Sultan Firuz Tughluq's reign (1351-1388) under the power of Firuz's noble Saiyyid Nasir, Karam Chand, their chief accepted Islam and christened Qaim Khan. Therefore the whole clan came to be recognized as Qaim Khanis. Interestingly, those who followed Muslim lifestyle came to be recognized as Muslim Qaim Khanis and those who sustained with their traditional customs and practices were recognized as Hindu Qaim Khanis. Qaim Khanis sustained to take in marriage the daughters of non-Qaim Khani Hindu Rajputs. Rao Jodha of Jodhpur (1438-1489) gave his daughter to Shams Khan Qaim Khani. But it appears that ordinary Qaim Khanis establish it hard to marry in the middle of non-Qaim Khani Hindu Rajputs. Initially they tried to have matrimonial ties with high class Muslims – Pathans, Saiyyids – but their response was not positive. So, with the passage of time this group of Muslim Qaim Khanis urbanized into more _homogeneous and secure caste civilization'. Another such significant group was those of the Mewatis/Meos. They were originally Meenas/ Meds who accepted Islam. For extensive they sustained to marry within their own _clan'.

Though, the story of individually getting absorbed within the civilization after accepting Islam appears to be somewhat dissimilar than those where whole _clan' adopted new religion. Inayat and Sunita Zaidi have highlighted an motivating case of the emergence of a new social group as those of the Sipahis as a result of such conversions in Rajasthan-Gujarat. They appear to be Rajputs of dissimilar clans. Zaidis argue that, _to get absorbed in the caste-based civilization, these Rajputs of dissimilar *gotras* coalesced to form a caste which they named after their profession, that is, *sipahi*. They served the state as retainers and enjoyed the rights of the landed gentry. This procedure also gave them a homogeneous character, and, to strengthen it further they remained endogamous'. There also appeared another group of Qasbati Sipahis in Gujarat. But on explanation of their separate geographical site and environment these Qasbati Sipahis who were more exposed to commercial world, in their Islamic traits appears to be stronger than their Rajasthani counterparts and they appear to be more heterogeneous and exogamous in character.

Alike group, of the converted Muslims from Rajput clans which appeared Throughout this era was those of the Nayaks (separate from the Nayak rulers of Medieval South India). These Nayaks were incharge of the keys of the *pols* (gates) of the Jodhpur fort. These Nayaks belonged to dissimilar clan groups – Rathor, Chauhan, Sisodia and Joya – of the Rajputs. To uphold their higher status in the

social hierarchy they sustained to marry within their own social group. Equally significant are the Deswali Muslims who were Rajput converts, but them mainly followed Hindu customs and rituals except for marriage customs (they performed *nikah*) and death rituals (they bury their dead). On explanation of the geopolitical situations the Deswali Muslims of eastern and western Rajasthan on explanation of their proximity to Agra and Delhi, converted to Islam more. The Hindu Deswalis while did not mind eating at their Muslim counterpart's home in western Rajasthan; in eastern Rajasthan Hindu Deswalis did not dine jointly. Even the eastern Deswali Muslims usually adopted Muslim method of life.

Professional Classes

Emergence of Middle Class

This class usually constituted not only the merchants but also the professionals (medical practitioners, craftsmen, etc.) who worked self-governing of the state manages. Throughout the medieval era in India we do not discover contemporary professionals like lawyer, educationists and journalists instead people in the profession of medicine, learning, literature, art, music and lower bureaucracy primarily shaped the middle class. Historians have debated in excess of the subsistence of middle class Throughout the medieval era. The issue came to be debated with Bernier's (1656-68) often quoted statement that under the Mughals there lived _no middle class'. Karl Marx, and Max Weber also reject the thought of the attendance of proto-capitalists or middle class Throughout the medieval era in India. Moreland argues that, _The educated middle class was very small, and the physician or artists or literary men could hope to obtain an adequate income only through attaching himself to the imperial court or to the principal governors'.

In 1944 C. W. Smith's article – _The Middle Class in the Mughal Empire' (*Islamic Civilization*) brought the issue to the fore. He recognised the attendance of numerous groups of merchants, bankers and professionals. Iqtidar Alam Khan in his revise on the middle classes highlights the attendance of _middle class' Throughout the Mughal era. Other than the merchants and bankers he comprises in his list the physicians, architects, teachers, scholars, poets, painters, musicians, master craftsmen, members of lower bureaucracy.

Professional Classes

Medieval era saw the emergence of new classes of professionals – medical practitioners, artists, petty bureaucrats, etc. Kayasthas appeared into prominence

Throughout the early medieval era. Through medieval era they approximately dominated the scene as skilled scribes and revenue record keepers. They were employed through the Mughal state in big numbers. Khatris appeared prominent mainly in Punjab-Delhi area Throughout the 14th century. They were recorded as experts in accountancy and arithmetic and mainly employed in the revenue department. Malik Shah Khatri, Jivan Khatri, and Rai Das Khatri were the trusted nobles of Muzaffar Shah, founder of the Gujarat kingdom in the 14th century. Under Saiyid ruler Khizr Khan (1414-1421) and his successor Sultan Mubarak Shah Khatris enjoyed high positions. Babur was astonished to see that the revenue department was approximately wholly dominated through the ‗Hindus'. Through seventeenth century Khatris were the mainly noticeable merchant group that appeared Throughout this era in the Punjab area. They were also recorded as petty government officials. This era also saw the emergence of medical practitioners employed in several capacities through the state. *Masalik-ul Absar* mentions twenty hospitals in Delhi.

Shihabuddin Ahmad Abbas refers to number of court physicians to 1200. *Hakims* also received *mansabs* (rank) and therefore shaped part of the Mughal bureaucracy. *Hakim* Mamina Shirazi got the *mansab* of 1000 *zat* and an annual allowance of 20000 rupees through Jahangir. Similarly, Hakim Daud who was earlier court physician of Abbas Safavi, King of Persia, Shahjahan bestowed upon him the *mansab* of 1500/200 and rupees 20000 in cash. Later he rose to a *mansab* of 4000. Hakim-ul Mulk was another physician of Shahjahan with a *mansab* of 2000. However *tabibs* and *jarrahs* were not bound through any obligation to stick to the similar employer, often they joined Mughal nobles' services in big numbers. Ali Nadeem Rezavi's calculations suggest the wide range of salaries were given to this class. He has tabulated that the salaries varied from Rs. 3600 per annum to Rs. 100,000 per annum. Iqtidar Alam Khan points out that physicians and *jarrrahs* also earned their livelihood through treating people. Pir Hassu Teli clearly mentions the availability of their services at the markets of Lahore.

Through the seventeenth century the class of astrologers and astronomers became so general that Niccolao Manucci (1651-1712) mentions the attendance of this class in each nobles'/elites' household. He adds ‗bazar swarmed with these folk'. Iqtidar Alam Khan (1976) highlights the ‗exceptional' prosperity of the accountants, clerks and other petty bureaucrats linked with revenue management. Qutoing *Tazkira Pir Hassu Teli* (1644-47) he mentions that Khwaja Udai Singh, a petty official, constructed a well attached to a *dargah* at Lahore at the cost of Rs. 3000.

Trading Groups

Merchants and pedlars was a general sight in the medieval era. As early as 1304-5, when Cambay was finally annexed to the Sultanate, we discover that Cambay appeared as centre of behaviors of immigrant Muslim merchants. They possessed beautiful fortress like mansions and constructed beautiful mosques. Ibn Battuta's explanation clearly points out the power and prestige enjoyed through this class Throughout Muhammad Tughluq's era (1325-51). He mentions that even Sultan entrusted the management of Cambay in the hands of leading merchant, Malik-ut Tujjar Pirwiz of Gazrun (Iran), succeeded through another merchant Malik-ut Tujjar Tajuddin al-Kawlami. These merchants even recognized charitable organizations. Khwaja Ishaq set-up a *khanqah* (hospice) at Cambay where travellers were served free food and destitutes received alms.

There appears to have lived hierarchy in the middle of the merchants. In western Rajasthan *fadiyas* were retailers; below them were *bichhayats* (itinerant) of the localities. Similarly, *bypari* used to operate crossways *parganas* and were usually not local merchants but outsiders; while *mahajans* were local merchants. There were separate merchants (*baldiyas* or *banjaras*) who specialize in grain deal. Evidences from western Rajasthan suggest that *sah* merchants dealt in grain deal and maintained direct links with the peasants. Barani also mentions in relation to the *sahs* of Delhi who used to lend money to the nobles. *Sahukars* dealt in wholesale transactions and ensured continuous supply of grain to the urban markets. They maintained *kothas* and *bhakharis* at the urban markets for storage of commodities. Even the state viewed them differently and separate taxes were imposed on them. While *bichhayats had to pay both mapa* (sales tax) *and biswa* (a tax), *Mahajans* had to pay *dan* (transit dues). Even when these *bichhayats* brought goods from within the locality they were charged ¼ *ser* per maund, while goods brought from outside had to pay both *dan* and *biswa*. *Banias* possessed *kothis* in the urban regions and described *kothiwals* in western Rajasthan.

Urban Artisans

The establishment of the Islamic Sultanate through the Turks and the Mughals brought distant reaching changes in the existing social structure, particularly as a result of separate needs of the new ruling class which created demand for new products resulting in the introduction of new technologies and services. Mohammad Habib has viewed the radical changes in the urban civilization as _urban revolution'.

He emphasises that the Turkish conquest liberated the city-based artisans. There appears to be no restriction for mobility. This is very much apparent in the Punjabi saying, ‗Last year I was a weaver, this year I am a Sheikh, after that year if prices rise I shall be a Saiyyad.' Sultan Mahmud Begara raised one Bailu (a local carpenter who constructed for him a beautiful garden based on Khorasani technique) to the status of a grandee and rewarded him with *khilat-i khas* (special robe of honour). Throughout this era many new cities appeared. New municipalities attracted skilled workers and artisans. When in 1506 Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) made Agra his capital, ironsmiths from Rapri and stone cutters from Nagaur also settled down there. *Sarrafs* got attracted to the municipality through trading prospects. Therefore procedure of urbanisation helped in the expansion of artisans and trading castes. Chetan Singh's revise for Punjab shows that mainly the arisans in Punjab were Muslims – 92 percent of the Julahas were Muslims; *kamangar* (bow-makers) were mainly Muslims; similarly, *raj, kalal, rangrej,* and *teli* were also Muslims.

Mulla Daud in his *Chandayan* (1379) refers to *panchawan* (fifth *varna*) – the outcastes. He also mentions the attendance of *pauni-praja* (low castes, service and artisan groups) in big numbers in the municipality. A comparison of *Chandayan*'s *paunipraja* with *Ardhakathanak* ‟ *s* (mid-seventeenth century) thirty six *paunis* presents an motivating contrast. One clearly discovers swelling up of the ranks of this class. There is no mention of *Rangbaz* (*Rangsaz*; dyer), Dhunia (cotton-carder), Lakhera (lacworkers), Chitera (painter), Kundigar (presser of cloth), Raj (construction worker; brick-layer) Sisgar (glass-worker) Thathera (metal-worker), Sakligar (sharpener of knives), Kagadi (paper-maker), Hwaigar (fire-works-maker), Bindhera (hole-makers in pearls and diamonds for strings), Kalal (wine-distiller), Silawat (stone-cutters), gilkars (workers in lime). It clearly designates the emergence of new social groups mainly as a result of new technologies. These new castes were recognized on the foundation of professions – Julaha, Chimpa, Pinjara, Chungar, Baghaban, Chobdar, Saqqa, Qalaigars, gilkars, etc. Spinning-wheel revolutionised whole textile industry and one discovers that several addition of new social groups emanated from the textile workers. The caste of Khammar (distillers) rose into prominence. Throughout Muhammad Tughluq's reign Azizuddin Khammar enjoyed higher status in the middle of his nobles. With the introduction of distillation on a wide level, Kalals appeared prominent. Barani calls them *khumars* (wine-makers) and *araqis* (distillers). Some of its members appear to have accepted Islam. Throughout Muhammad Tughluq's reign Aziz Khumar, revenue collector of Amroha belonged to this caste. Zafar Khan, founder of the Sultanate of Gujarat and his brother Shams Khan Dandani, were sons

of Saharan, a Kalal. These Kalals appeared to be quite a rich society. A 1436 inscription records that Bhola Maharaj Khumar got a step-well constructed in Jahtra for the benefit of the people. In Malwa they are accounted as traders in utensils. It appears that there appeared new shapes of industries, specialization and division of labour Throughout the medieval era. We do not get references of carding or ginning as separate action prior to Turkish era. With the introduction of cotton gin and cotton carder's bow Throughout the Turkish era we discover the emergence of a new class of Dhunia that later assumed the status of a caste. Art of dyeing almost certainly assumes specialised form Throughout this era.

With the specialization in sugarcane manufacture, on the foundation of the kind of sugarcane produced dissimilar castes were recognized. In eastern India the caste occupied in jaggery creation from sugarcane was that of Modakas and those who prepared jaggery from date palms was described Siuli. With the introduction of paper through the Turks Throughout the thirteenth century not only a separate profession of paper-creation appeared, there also appeared a separate caste Kagazi Throughout this era. Teli were very much present prior to the Turkish conquest, but in Punjab they were mostly Muslims. This suggests that the profession was opted through Muslims in big number. With the introduction of separating zinc (*jasta*) from ore sometime in the fifteenth century, appeared a class of tinsmiths (Qalaigars). Zinc was used through them to protect copper vessels from caustic acid reaction. There appears to be a separate hierarchy in the middle of the artisan class. Location of *ustad* was definitely superior and respectable in the civilization. Artisans appear to have enjoyed respectability considering the information that Abul Fazl in his classification put merchants and artisans after warriors and above the intellectual and religious classes.

Even caste and clan affiliations played a role in social interactions. Hindus were mainly divided on the foundation of castes such kinds of caste groupings were usually absent in the middle of the Muslims. Though, we do get references of Muslim *biradaris* (brotherhoods) in the fifteenth century on the rows of Hindu _caste' organization. The Afghans were also divided into *biradaris*.

Slaves/Slavery

Irfan Habib draws a parallel flanked by the introduction of new crafts and the growth of slavery/slave market in India as a result of diffusion of new technologies Throughout the medieval era. He argues that, _the need for establishing new crafts led to a premium on slave-labour that could be used whatever method the master wished;

in the short term, at least, the big level immigration of artisans from Islamic lands was accompanied through extensive forcible enslavement inside the country and the formation of a big slave market at Delhi'.

Under Islamic law slave was property of the master. Slaves were employed for every type of job from domestic to the rank of high officials. Even they succeeded in assuming the status of a king. Early Turkish Sultans, from Qutbuddin Aibak to Balban, all were slaves. Therefore, Throughout the medieval era slaves appeared as competent statesmen. Malik Kafur, architect of Alauddin's southern campaigns was a slave. Therefore slavery was no hindrance assuming the highest office Throughout the medieval era. Slaves even took active part in the wars of succession siding with one or the other group. Female slaves were employed for singing, dancing, and beautiful one's even served as concubines in the elite establishments. These slaves were treated like a family members. Skilled slaves were employed as artisans in the *karkhanas*. In the establishment of Firuz Shah Tughluq there were 1,80,000 slaves out of which 12,000 were employed as artisans. Irfan Habib argues that in course of time when these slaves got manumitted (became free) _they almost certainly created, beside with artisans, the core of several Muslim artisan and labouring societies'. Throughout Sultanate era an ordinary slave girl could be obtained at 8-15 *tankas* to as high as 20000 *tankas* depending upon their qualities and beauty. One could get slave boy at as low a price as 4 *dirham*.

Mithila documents (north Bihar) refer to sale/purchase of slave girls (*Gaurivavatika- patras*); sale of slaves (*bahi-khatas*); emancipation of slaves (*ajatpatras*) Throughout the seventeenth century. The significant aspect of these documents is that they designates that the slaves were the property of their masters and could be bought and sold like a commodity. Though, these deeds refer more to domestic slavery than the slaves who were employed as artisans and those who occupied high ranks in the Turkish nobility. Asit Kumar Sen argues that _the slavery was a drag on Mediaeval Civilization. The Slaves in Mediaeval India no doubt received usually better treatment at the hands of their master's than the slaves of Afro origin in the Ninteenth century. But economically slavery was a source of cheap supply of labour, politically it helped the aristocracy, morally it proved unjustifiable'.

Women in Medieval Civilization

In the traditional law-books women were treated inferior to men. Almost certainly the concept of equality flanked by men and women were alien to medieval

era. Writings and views of *bhakti* poets provide us some information on the status of women Throughout this era. Mulla Daud in his *Chandayan* (1379) advocated against giving much freedom to women and argued in favour of keeping them under manage. In Kabir's perception also women were ‗subordinate' to men. Kabir applauded women as *pativrata* (devoted to husband only). We hardly get any radical voice of Jaisi in his *Padmavat* in favour of modern women. Jaisi appears to be in agreement with the view that ‗land and women can only be kept under manage through strength'. In Jaisi's ideal *sati* symbolises total devotion of a wife for her husband. Jaisi appears even in total agreement with popular prejudices that they were usually *matiheen* (fool) and men who usually took their advice were presumed to be foolish. But in Mira there appears a dichotomy. She herself is viewed through the civilization as violator of social norms taking a bold step through leaving Rana's home; nonetheless she hardly questioned the traditional role of women in modern civilization. Surdas' depiction of women as freedom loving and rejecting traditional matrimonial bondage suggests him somewhat supporter of ‗freedom' of women folk. But here we have to stay in mind that Surdas was depicting Ahir civilization whose women were already co-sharer in the procedure of manufacture. In contrast, Tulsi Das, on behalf of the elite ‗urban' women feels that *maryada* (modesty) should not be transgressed. For him women were an ‗article' and should be looked down upon: ‗A drum, a villager/rustic, a shudra, and an animal, and a women deserve chastisement'.

Islam bestowed upon Muslim women comparatively greater rights. In Central Asia, in Timurid and Mongol custom alike women were taken in high esteem. Mongol queens usually shared the seats in the court and freely ate and drank. But through the 12- 13th centuries when Islam made inroads in a big method in India the laws of the new ruling elite (Muslims) were in no method drastically dissimilar. In the Muslim law as well women were measured intellectually inferior to men. Though, *sufi* attitude towards women was somewhat radical. *Sufi* saints did accept women as *murids* (disciples) and measured them worthy of religious guidance. Shaikh Nasiruddin Chirag Delhi, successor of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia even desired that his leftovers should be distributed in the middle of his four disciples; out of them one was a woman. Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia even fixed the allowance for the destitute and needy widows. Shaikh Farid Ganj-i Shakar (d. 1269) was so much impressed through the religious piety of his daughter Bibi Sharifa that he used to say,'Had it been permitted to provide *Khilafatnama* (grant of power through a *sufi* master to his disciple to enrol his *murids* in the *silsilah* of the Shaikh and his *sajjada* to a woman, I would have given them to Bibi Sharifa...If other women had been like her, women would have taken precedence in excess of men'.

Early marriage and dowry was a general characteristic of medieval civilization. The main female character Chanda in Mulla Daud's *Chandayan* got married at the age of four. Akbar tried to restrict the age at 16 for boys and 14 for girls. Dowry was more general in the middle of the higher castes/rich and the elite. Polygamy also appears to be general and accepted norm in the civilization. The hero of Chandayan, Lorik, had two wives, Maina and Chanda. While divorce was permitted through Muslim law and also prevalent in the middle of the lower caste Hindus, in the middle of higher castes, rich and the elite it was not approved of. The practice of *purdah*, however already lived in India from extensive time, its rules became more and more stringent in the middle of the elites. Widows' location was somewhat precarious. Though, Savitri Chandra Shobha feels that perhaps _poor treatment of the widows was confined to brahmana household'. Some women were also highly educated. Main character of Usman's *Chitravali* appears to be a good painter. She possessed an art studio of her own. We do hear of some women *hakims* Throughout the Mughal era. Umdat-un Nisa and Satti Kunwar were well-known *hakims.* Elite women wielded great power in the political arena. The well-recognized names in this regard were Sultan Razia, Akbar's mother Maham Anga, Jahangir's wife Nurjahan and Shahjahan's daughter Jahanara Begum. Jahandar Shah's well-known concubine Lal Kunwar and her associate Zohra's power in excess of Jahandar Shah are well recognized. Farrukhsiyar also appointed Kokiji as his minister. Compared to their elite counterpart (both rural and urban) peasant women appear to have enjoyed greater freedom Throughout the medieval era. Surdas' account of the Ahir women of Braj joining freely in the *raslila* is suggestive of the freedom enjoyed through them. Savitri Chandra Shobha argues that _this freedom was based on their active and approximately predominant role in the economic life of the society'. Surdas presents a graphic account of the involvement of these *gopis* (milkmaids) of Braj in the behaviors of milking the cows and selling the milk and the milk products in the streets. The mainly cruel and wicked custom prevailent in all parts of India Throughout the medieval era was *sati*. Foreign travellers' accounts were full of such horrendous tales of burning of women on their husband's pyre. However instances of *sati* in the middle of the lower strata were not uncommon, it was more rampant in the middle of the higher strata. Teixeira records in 1611 that on the death of Nayak of Madura his 400 wives set themselves ablaze. Alberuni (11th century; for north India), Frier Odoric (*c.* 1321-22), Careri (for Rajasthan) state that usually women of age and having son/children were exempted from self-immolation. But on the contrary, Pelsaert (*c.* 1626) informs us that even women have a year old

baby and another having three months old baby sacrificed her life. Even women of ten or twelve years were not spared. It appears that women were provided with intoxicants to dull her senses. At times they were tied with the logs so that she may not escape. She was set ablaze amidst lots of noise and drum beating which drowned her cries. In this act the role played through the Brahmans was utterly ignoble. Bernier has addressed them as merciless. Sushil Chaudhuri argues that there was some material gains involved in it. For all the jewellery worn through the *sati* customarily belonged to the Brahmans. Though, Ibn Battuta informs us that she also possessed the right to provide them in charity. Abul Fazl refers to four dissimilar shapes of *sati* performed: a) those performed out of sheer love for her husband; b) fear of reprimand; c) bound through custom and custom; and d) through force. The root reason behind the prevalence of *sati* appears to be the miserable condition of widow and absence of widow-remarriage in the medieval civilization, particularly in the middle of the elites and upper castes. Practice of *sati* was looked down upon both through the Turkish and the Mughal rulers alike. Muhammad Tughluq was the first Turkish Sultan who raised his voice against the evil custom and ordered to take license or permission to perform *sati*. Humayun also issued such orders prohibiting the performance of *sati* on women who crossed child bearing age. But the order was soon cancelled. Akbar took conscious efforts to stop the prevalence of such evil practice through issuing order that ‗women should not be forced to perform *sati* against her will. However his successors Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb sustained his policy, the practice sustained to prevail Throughout the medieval era.

Religious Classes

Ulema constituted the intellectual elite group, termed through K. M. Ashraf as *ahl-iqalam*. They enjoyed state patronage and privileges. In turn state needed their support for legitimization of their power and actions. However *ulema* never participated directly in political affairs, they did lend their support to one or the other, in the tussel for the ‗crown‗. Ahmad Khan Sarang Khani, governor of Jaunpur under Sikandar Lodi was the disciple of Shaikh Husain Nagauri. Shaikh Ghiyasuddin Khalji also, on his visit to Mandu offered him treasure. Shaikh Husain Nagauri‗s several disciples were weavers and dyers who achieved the stature of *dervashes*. They received revenue grants in big numbers recognized as *madad-imaash* or *suyurghal*.

At the centre, the ulema functioned as the religious benchmark of the political empire – separately from acting as judges, *alims* were sometimes appointed as

principals of *madrasas* such as Minhajuddin Siraj, the author of the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, who was appointed to head the Nasiriyya Madrasa in Delhi. Through these formal and informal channels, the primary aim of the *ulema* was to spread the religious Word, and uphold the Islamic religion-moral order as distant as was possible. This was often a contentious issue since the Sultan's ultimate objective was never the glorification of Islam but the success of the political life of the Sultanate. Given the information that the majority of the subject population was no- Muslim, the sultan was keener to act in a politically tactful method rather than solely uphold the banner of religion.

This brought the interests of the *ulema* and the sultan in direct conflict on frequent occasions, and the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq is particularly important in this regard. Muhammad bin Tughluq had appointed a number of non-Muslims in royal service since they were meritorious, and *alims*. Ziauddin Barani strongly condemned it in his writings. Fakhr-iMudabbir's *Adabu " l Harb Wa Shujaa " t* written in the honour of Sultan Iltutmish also lays emphasis on the noble birth of state officials. Muhammad Tughluq's policies illustrate that the upholding of religious ideals was not always the priority of the Sultan. Moreover, the interests of the Sultan and the *ulema* and the learned hardly coincided.

Sufis enjoyed considerable power Throughout the medieval era. Ibn Battuta informs us that at Cambay Shaikh Ali Haidary Qalandar enjoyed great respect in the middle of general masses, even foreign merchants paid visit to him. *Sufi khanqahs* (hospice) also helped in social mobility. On explanation of their association with prominent *sufis* their *murids* (disciples) also assumed importance and status. One of the disciple of Shaikh Hamiduddin Nagauri was a sweeper who later turned a devout *sufi*. Throughout medieval era there urbanized a custom of imperial visits to *sufi* shrines. This suggests rulers' acknowlegement of religious and spiritual power of the *sufi* saints. Babur after his success in the battle of Panipat in 1526 paid visit to the *sufi* shrines of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki. Such visits became the regular characteristic of the Mughal era. Abul Fazl remarks that Akbar paid visits to the shrines to _strengthen his heart through the powers of holy recluses'. Ebba Koch emphasises that, _The imperial Mughal ritual of pilgrimages to Chishti *dargahs* reflected the specific connection flanked by *sufis* and kings as exponents of worldly and spiritual power which was already an substance of continuous reflection and discussion Throughout the Delhi Sultanate'. Akbar constructed *dargah* of Shaikh Salim Chishti as part of his Sikri, the new capital of Agra. Even Akbar used to regularly visit the *dargah* of Shaikha Muinuddin Chishti, the revered saint at Ajmer.

CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN PENINSULAR INDIA

Political Elites

The new warrior class, subsequently recognized as the *nayakas,* appeared as the patron of temples and *mathas* that promoted several religious systems Throughout the medieval era. The *nayakas* were also involved in the management of the temples. Although the *nayakas* are primarily associated with the Vijayanagar Empire, the beginning of this social group as important political elite is first noted in the Kakatiya kingdom of eastern Deccan. In the Kakatiya kingdom several landed elements especially the powerful chieftains of the Andhra rural civilization were incorporated into the political network. They were of non-noble ranks and their incorporation was at the expense of the older, recognized princes and chiefs of noble lineage. These chiefs already possessed hereditary rights in excess of their own plots of land and had a fixed share in the agricultural produce of the village. In lieu of their services to the Kakatiya state, they were granted additional land that was assessed at *concessional* rates. They had the power to remit taxes within their localities and held military titles like *angaraksha*, *lenka* and *nayakas*. Such tenure was described *vritti*. Further, in order to incorporate the chiefs and warriors in to the political framework, the Kakatiya state created a new kind of teneurial right in excess of territories described *nayankaramu*.

Changing political boundaries, ever mounting military necessities of the kingdoms, especially of the Vijayanagar Empire and the expansion of the agricultural boundary contributed to the rising migration of the Telugu warrior class to the river valleys and peripheral regions of potential development. Referred to as the *nayakas,* they impinged upon the pre-existing local power groups and their respective spheres of manage and appeared as the major benefactors of the temples and *mathas*. These *nayakas* were also described *amaranayaka*. Just as to Fernao Nuniz and Domigo Paes, the two Potuguese travellers who visited the Vijayanagar Empire Throughout the sixteenth century in the reign of Krishnadeavraya refer to the *nayakas* as the mediators of the Vijayanagar rulers, the *rayas*. The *nayakas* composed taxes from the territories on the *raya* " *s* behalf and rendered military service. They had a sure number of troops under their manage and possessed revenue rights in excess of land and territory described *amaram*. They also had the obligations of giving gifts to the temples, repairing and structure tanks and reclaiming land for agriculture. Later on

these nayakas became powerful and recognized self-governing states Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

Just as to Noboru Karashima, the *nayakas* were big military commanders who were granted land through the king in the fifteenth century and functioned somewhat ‗like the feudal lords of medieval Europe and Japan.' He says that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the legitimacy of the *nayaka* ‟ *s* territorial rule was initially derived from the power given through the king. The *nayakas* Throughout this era were significant officials like governors, *mahamandaleshvara*, generals, *dandanayakas*, revenue officers, *adhikari* and officers. It is only in the sixteenth century just as to Karashima that, they displayed more feudal features. They had clear cut territories described *nayakkattanam*. ―This feudal connection was seen not only flanked by the kings and the *nayakas*, but also amongst the *nayakas* themselves, flanked by superiors and inferiors, which is also well reflected in the references to the merit given through the under lord for the benefit of the lord. At the bottom stage, this feudal hierarchy embraced the big landholders in the village. So there was a hierarchical network of lordvassal dealings which reached down the landlords and the occupant cultivators of the village.

Many historians like D.C.Sircar do not agree with the view that the *nayakas* and the *nayankara* organization represented a feudal structure, for ‗fealty', ‗homage' and ‗subinfeudation' associated with feudalism looks to discover small proof here. An analysis of the *nayaka* rule shows that under them, there was political and economic stability and there was an expansion of manufacture and deal. They encouraged artisans and merchants and gave them protection as shown through the tax remission given to the *kanmalas*, and *talarikkam* composed from the weekly fair. The political elites in the Deccan comprised of several parts of nobility and the *iqtadars*. In the Bahamani court, one of the influential factions within the nobility was the Afaqis. The term means universal that is those who do not have any roots. The Afaqis were so foreigners. The Afaqis migrated from Iran, Transoxiana and Iraq and became influential in the Bahamani court from the fifteenth century onwards. This created resentment amongst the older nobility described the Dakhanis. The Sultans of the Bahamani kingdoms and the subsequent Deccan Sultanates often tried to support one group of nobility against another, so that neither group became strong enough to overwhelm the Sultan. These recurring factional fights imparted an unstable character to the polity and often led to the decline of that scrupulous state.

After establishing his sovereignty in the Deccan, Hasan Bahaman Shah appointed all his allies who had helped him to drive out the Tughlaqs and set up the Bahamani kingdom with administrative posts. They were given revenue assignments

recognized as the *iqtas*. The institution of *iqta* resembled the *iqtadari* organization of the Delhi Sultanate. The *iqta* holders had to uphold the troops and equipments and these were to be proportionate to the size of the *iqtas*. The *iqtas* given to several power groups through the Bahamani and the Deccani Sultanates were transferable assignments. The *iqtas* in the Deccan were centered approximately the cities and forts and attracted deal and commerce as they provided security for the movement of the traders, cash and goods. There are evidences to illustrate that the Bahamani *iqtadars* often gave *iqtas* from their own assignments to the local *zamindars* that represented the powerful indigenous class of hereditary landholders. This has been seen as a procedure of sub-infeudation since it was not the central government that granted *iqtas* to the local *zamindars*, but one of its own *iqtadars*. So, the *iqtas* became a mechanism through which the Bahamani state controlled the villages through absorbing the rural elites as a part of the political frame job.

Landed Elites

Watandars

In the Deccan area, one of the powerful agrarian classes was that of the *watandars*. The holder of a *watan* was described the *watandar*. *Watan* meant a patrimony which was not only hereditary but also saleable and transferable. *Watandars* of *pargana*, like the *deshmukhs* and *deshpandes* were superior to the *watandars* of the village, the *patils* and *kulkaranis*. The *watan* was valued, for it was not only a lucrative source of income, but a symbol of social prestige. Despite acquiring political power and location in the state hierarchy, the Marathas were always keen to retain their original village *watan* which compared to the political power was permanent in nature. Many holders of temporary land tenures like *saranjam, jagir, mokasa* were always anxious to get these tenures converted to *watan* or *inam* that could remain with their family in perpetuity. Village officers, viz., the *deshmukhs, deshpandes, patils, kulkarani* and one of the *balutedars*, that is the village servants the *Mahar* societies held big landed holdings and were entitled to sure rights and privileges described *haklavajma.* All these privileges beside with their respective administrative positions were described the *watan*.

Landed Elites in the Tamil Area

In the Tamil area there were agrarian elites of diverse social backdrop whose status in the agrarian hierarchy as well as in the political structure of the several states

kept on changing. The river valleys from the sixth century onwards, witnessed a proliferation of the *brahmadeyas* and the temples at the royal initiative that recognized the potential of these two organizations for restructuring and integrating the economy and civilization. So, a class of brahmana landed elites appeared. Since they were the repositories of better irrigation technology and farming methods, the land granted to them became a mechanism for the extension of agriculture into unsettled regions and extraction of the surplus from several peasant groups. The significance of the brahmanas in the *brahmadeyas* stemmed from their Vedic-Puranic-Sastraic discourse that provided the social rationale for integrating diverse peasant and tribal groups through the institution of caste. So linking peasants, local chiefs and other groups to the royalty, both the brahmana and the *brahmadeya* also utilized as the institutional channels of transmission and dissemination of the royal ideology. The proliferation of *brahmadeyas* in the river valleys was also instrumental in extending agriculture. The brahmana landed class implemented the royal irrigation projects and this gave them the crucial right to organize and manage the manufacture and water possessions, often with the *vellala* society, i.e. the powerful non-brahamana landowners So, the brahmana landed elites often through their attendance, in the non-brahmana villages promoted the royal strategy for ensuring the loyalty of the several social groups there and provided the much-needed manpower for the vast irrigation projects.

Political and economic changes further influenced the caste equations within the rural civilization, when the brahmana landed elites in the *brahmadeyas* were replaced through many non-brahmana groups as the powerful landed elites. For instance, in a village described Ukkal situated in the lower Kaveri valley of the Tamil area, the brahmanas were wealthy landholders controlling the agricultural manufacture till twelfth century. Though, through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they were selling their lands. The immediate reason was the heavy taxation imposed through the Vijayanagar rulers. The non-brahmanas bought the land in Ukkal, thereby emerging as new landed magnates of the village towards the end of Chola rule.

Throughout the Chola era, there was an influential non-brahmana landed group described the *nattavars* or *nattars* meaning the people of the territory of the *nadus*. But inscriptions refer to only the influential representatives of the *nadus* implying that the *nattavars* were the landed elites and the representatives of the big landholders. They composed dues, imposed forced labour and have been portrayed as an exploitative class. They were actual controllers of local manufacture, having under them small landholders, cultivators and perhaps artisans and merchants. *Nattavars*

controlled funds for worship in the temples and conducting repair works. Their power was rooted deeply in the locality. The Chola era *nattavars* were mainly the *Vellalas* tied to each other through kinship network. Some of the in the vicinity entrenched *Vellala* landed societies appeared as big landowners with titles like *nadudaiyan* or *nadalvan*. Some of them also had titles like *arayan*, used through the big landholders in the later Chola era. The *nattavars* incorporated the Pillais, Mudalis, Reddis, and Vanniyas. In the Vijayanagar era their status underwent transformation due to changes in the land holding organization and influx of the migrants. One of the *nattavar* groups, the Vanniyas from fourteenth century onwards joined the Vijayanagar army. They had appropriated the *kaniyatchi* rights or proprietary rights of many villages and became the local leaders. The exploitative attitude of the *nattavars* is ascertained through the inscriptional proof when the *Valangai-Idangai* groups that are the left-hand and right-hand castes comprising of producers and merchants revolted in 1429 against the landholders and the Vanniyas. Thereafter, the power of the *nattavars* were considerably reduced and with the consolidation of the *nayaka* regime through sixteenth century the *nattavars* were marginalized, however some of them sustained to function as the local link flanked by the state and the villagers.

Nattavars often collaborated with the *nayakas* in creation grants to the temples Though, their status had declined for the taxes which they composed like *nattuviniyogam, nattu-kanikkai, nattayam* were no longer seen in the epigraphs of the sixteenth century illustrating a decline in their status. Besides, Throughout the Vijayanagar era, the importance of *nadu* as a territorial element for local manufacture had decreased. Almost certainly, this was because of a new deal centre *pettai* or the reorganization of the local manufacture organization after the establishments of the *nayakkattams*. The term *nattavars* was used but the actual element of local management shifted from the *nadus* to the region described *parru*. Consequently in several localities the *nattavars* " original character as the corporate element of landholders in a locality necessity have been lost. Therefore, a multi society composition of the agricultural elite appeared who related the local civilization to the political authorities. These diverse agricultural societies contributed to the structure of sub local agrarian domains approximately significant cities in developing agricultural zones. The medieval configurations of the *nadus* vanished, replaced through a set of sub areas defined as hinterlands of cities beside routes of transport and communication.

Palaiyakkarars

Amongst the rural landed elites were also the warrior peasant societies Throughout the sixteenth century. In the arid upland zones, the agriculturists came into disagreement with the hunters and pastoralists that often led to the incorporation of the latter into the agricultural society. These changes provided the context for the emergence of a warrior peasant class, both economically and politically powerful and primarily non-brahamana and Telugu in composition. They are described so because in the sixteenth century they were made incharge of military camps described the *palaiyams*. Later these camps evolved into ‗small kingdoms' ranging from three villages to approximately 2,000 square miles. They were almost certainly the descendants of the local chieftains, *araiyars*. Nicholas Dirks refers to them as the ‗small kings'. The *palaiyakarars* comprised mainly of the Telugus, Kannadigas, Kaladi, Kallars, Vokkaligas, Maravas, Vadugas and so on. The warrior chiefs reclaimed vast stretches of land and urbanized them into cities. They used to impose heavy taxes on the peasants, artisans and merchants that often led to rural tensions. The rise of these poligars displaced the older Tamil peasants and landholders; especially the *brahmanas* already settled there and created a new class of landed magnates.

With the decline of the Vijayanagar Empire in the seventeenth century and the *nayakas* in the early eighteenth centuries, these *palaiyakarars* with their small political systems gained importance. Caste and territorial loyalties were significant for them as on the foundation of kinship networks they consolidated their respective status. The *nayakas* especially of Madurai attempted to bring the poligars into the fold of the ruling elite.

Valangai-Idangai (Right Hand and Left Hand Castes)

The expansion of agriculture led to an augment in landed transactions, private and temple holdings, particularly in the non-brahmana villages. This created a hierarchical structure of the landed rights with the rising prominence of the Vellalas as the dominant agricultural society *vis-à-vis* the lower agricultural groups. The agrarian hierarchy escalated the tensions within the agrarian society. Simultaneously, the growth of urban centers and intensification of mercantile behaviors led to the rising importance of the *nagarams*, merchants, craftsmen and weavers, especially the *kaikkolas*. Hence, the rising social importance of the several non-brahmana groups

led to a movement towards a higher caste status, especially the claims of the artisans to a twice-born caste status with a respectable ritual legroom in the temples. This bid for social mobility in the twelfth century culminated into a ―societal crisis‖. The conflicts that escalated this social crisis were usually flanked by the artisans and agriculturists, sub-castes of the artisans like the *kaikkolas* and *saliyas*, hill and forest people and the dissimilar merchant groups. The existing social structure weakened and led to the crystallization of the non-brahmana societies into a dual vertical division of the *Valangai* and *Idangai* within the traditional structure of the caste civilization. Though, the Vellalas and the brahmanas remained outside this dual division. Further social tension manifested in 1429, when the *Valangai* and *Idangai* groups revolted against the brahmanas and the Vellalas.

Traders and Artisans

One of the direct consequences of the agrarian expansion was the escalation of commercial behaviors in the ninth century that led to the growth of market centers, *nagarams* and a network flanked by them that connected cities and villages, to the *managaram*, usually a royal centre and a port. Due to commercial behaviors of overland and inland deal, new deal routes and urban centres came up linking the remote and newly conquered areas with the nuclear regions and the coast. The spread of guild behaviors and trading associations, namely the Ayyayole 5000, Tamil Tisai Ayirattu Ainnurruvar, foreign merchant organization, Anjuvannam brought forth the mercantile society with its diverse groups of traders, merchants, artisans, craftsmen, and itinerant traders. One such prominent trading society that became prominent in the ninth century was the *nagarattar*, whose members applied the *chetti* suffix. Often the mercantile societies invested in agriculture, gifted to the temples, further strengthening the ties of integration, and inter dependence. One such weaver society, the *kaikkolas* had important links with the temples and became an significant social group that the religious traditions attempted to incorporate in order to project a liberal outlook. In many spaces, the *kaikkolas* shaped their own-armed bands and appeared as the _merchant- warriors‘.

Through ninth century, groups of *brahmadeyas* and temples had urbanized into centers of urban growth, therefore connecting villages, urban centers and royal capital, diverse population and religion within the similar intricate. The multi -temple intricate of Kancipuram and Tanjavur appeared as significant politico-urban centers. The economic outreach of the temple at Tanjavur sheltered the whole of Cola

kingdom and even northern part of Sri Lanka. The emergence of dissimilar mercantile classes and weavers due to migration has been discussed at the beginning of this element.

From the eighth and ninth century onwards, due to trading interaction with the Arab merchants, numerous cities beside the Coromandel coast urbanized. Pulicat, Karaikal, Nagore, Nagapattinam were some of the well recognized trading settlements beside the coast. Since mainly of these port cities had trading dealings with the Arabian Peninsula and the Indian Ocean, they cam _to be recognized as centres of formal Islam in South India. Through thirteenth century a important number of Tamil speaking Muslims could be recognized. Muslim traders were involved in the deal of gem stones, pearls, cotton goods and mainly significant horses that were supplied to the Pandyas, Cholas and the Vijayanagar states. These traders had well urbanized international links in south-east and West Asia. The maritime trading cities came to be dominated through the Sunni trading families recognized as the *maraikkayars*. They were primarily ship owners. Another group of Sunni Muslims who were based in these cities were the Labbais. They were pearl divers, fishermen, weavers and artisans through profession. Migartion in the seventeenth century to the Tamil trading cities brought a group of Dakhani speaking Muslims, the Navaiyats. The Navaiyats were elite Shafai Muslims who were in Mughal service in the Deccan Throughout seventeenth century. The Mughal job of Deccan resulted in the migration of the Pathan warriors, Pathan merchants and artisans to South India, several of whom settled in the maritime cities of the Coromandel coast.

Religious Groups

There were many religious groups Throughout the medieval era who were attached to the temples, *mathas*, *khanqahs* and *dargahs*. A big number of them had a popular social base and some of them were exclusive in their following. Amongst the religious groups two were important, the *Sufis* and the *matha* and sectarian leaders attached to the temples.

Some *Sufis* appeared as orthodox groups whose aim was to purify Islam of its folk elements. There were some *Sufis*, who were significant writers. They wrote numerous mystic and popular literatures, which became an significant vehicle of integrating the non-elites, especially the non-Muslims. Another type of *Sufis* was those who accepted land grants from the state and appeared as the landed elites or *inamdars*. These landed *Sufis* were described the *pirzadas*, literally meaning born to a

saint. For these *Sufis*, the court politics, royal attitudes and patronage were significant. Such conservatism and preference for court patronage produced a reaction from some of the *Sufis*. These *Sufis* were recognized as *dervishes* and ranged from spiritual heretics to non-conformists. They were hostile to the *pirzada inamdars* as they establish them to be too compromising. The *dervishes* rejected Islamic orthodoxy and its urban materialistic orientation and withdrew partially or totally from the ‗structural dealings‘ of the world. At no point of time were the *Sufis* involved in conversion. *Sufis* were not Muslim ‗missionaries‘ as they made no conscious effort to gain non-Muslim followers. Mainly of the devotees who regularly visited the *dargahs* and their shrines came usually from a marginalized social backdrop and slowly came under the power of Islam.

Beside with the temples, the institution of the *mathas* assumed further importance in this era. As a powerful institution within the superior structure of the temple, the *mathas* were either a competitive element *vis-à-vis* the temple authorities or participated beside with them in several transactions. The religious leaders or the *acharyas* and the *mathadhipatis* were the vital link flanked by the local population and the new class of rulers, thereby enabling the establishment of political power in excess of the newly conquered regions. The gifts were made to the deities and the sectarian leaders or the *acharyas* and the head of the *mathas* were the instruments through which the gift was made. In return, they were the recipients of privileges from the ruling class and also gained greater manage in excess of temple organization and management. Therefore, these sectarian leaders recognized religious, political and economic manage in excess of the civilization and legitimized themselves as central figures of the society. A *guru* commanded a big group of followers, thereby linking the dissimilar groups in the civilization into the mainstream of the society. The *guru* initiated the disciple into the society and was instrumental in the dissemination of the theology. The *acharyapurushas* as well as the *mathas* had their respective retinue of servants, organization of recruitment and organization comparable to any political organization. The power of the *jiyars* and *acharyas* was so pervasive that they were even deified and worshipped.

Sufism in Deccan

Sufism refers to several mystical tendencies within Islam. The main thought of *Sufism* is to develop religious experience in direct communion with god, based on the spirit of *Quranic* piety. The *Sufis* while accepting the *Shariat* did not confine their

religious practise to formal adherence. In order to have religious experience with god; the *Sufis* advocated the importance of traversing the *Sufi* path, *tariqa*, under the guidance of a spiritual person recognized as *shaikh*, *pir* or *murshid*. The *shaikh* himself should have successfully traversed the *Sufi* path and recognized direct connection with god. The disciple was described *murid* who had to pass through series of stages, *maqamat* and changing psychological circumstances, *hal* to attain concentration, *zikr* and consequently attain communion with god.

There urbanized a number of orders within *Sufism* described *silsilahs*, in and outside India with their separate features. The centre of the *Sufi* behaviors was the *khanqahs* or hospices, where the *pir* imparted spiritual training to his *murids*. The popularity of the *khanqahs* depended upon the reputation of its *pir*. Some of the well recognized *silsilahs* in the medieval era were the Suhrawardi, Chishti, Qadri, and Shattaris. Out of these, except for Suhrawardi *silsilahs*, the rest flourished in north Indian as well as the Deccan area. The *Sufis* organized impassioned musical recital, *sama* to induce a mystical state of ecstasy. Though, there were differences of opinion amongst the *Sufi* orders in excess of the shapes of *sama*. With the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in the beginning of the thirteenth century, several *Sufi* orders migrated from Central Asia, where they were originally based. The attack of the Mongols in Baghdad that subsequently ruined the municipality and the execution of the Abbasid caliphate through the Mongols in 1258 AD, created a situation of insecurity and persecution. Under these circumstances, the *Sufis* beside with other refugees migrated to India. They recognized many *khanqahs* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in several parts of India, including Deccan. Although an offshoot of Iranian and Central Asian philosophy and practice *Sufis*m, as it urbanized in India, was influenced through environment of the sub-continent. The several *silsilahs* were situated in dissimilar socio-economic and political context and responded to that context in their own method. Hence, each *silsilah* had its individual phases of growth, stagnation and revival.

Three Stages of Sufis Order
Scholars have recognized three stages in the *Sufi* institutional orders:

The khanqah Stage: This stage was a era of *Sufi* mysticism, from ninth to the twelfth century, when contemplation and introspection on matters of religion produced prolific mystical literature. The *Sufis* led a easy and often an austere life. The *Sufi* orders were undifferentiated,

where the relation flanked by the master and disciple was not formal and neither did the master in any method claim to be the mediator flanked by god and the student.

The Tariqa Stage: From the thirteenth century onwards, the *Sufi* orders underwent important transformations. The mystical techniques that were the means to achieve communion with god were systematized through specific spiritual exercises. There were spiritual lineages or *silsilahs* which were a separate school of thought and had respective founders. A person had to take a vow of spiritual allegiance, *baiat* from the *pir*, who usually represented a scrupulous spiritual lineage and was the head of the *khanqah*. The spiritual lineages went right up to Prophet himself. This vow of allegiance (*baiat*) accepted with it many rituals, like bestowing the *khilafat-nama* (a written certificate), *khirqa* (a patched frock) and other objects of spiritual succession. Therefore, initiation involved the consecration of the initiate in a formal ceremony. A hierarchy appeared with the formalization of the teacher-disciple connection. Veneration and worship of *pir* became significant. *Pir* was now the mediator flanked by god and man and became a saint, or *wali*, literally meaning a friend of god. Therefore, the *Sufi* orders slowly transformed from spiritual school to saint-centered cults in which the spiritual power or *barkat* of the individual *pir* was important. As the organization got consolidated the succession was based on family ties, where the descendants of the pir's family became the successor. In India, they were described *pirzadas*, i.e. born of a *pir*.

The Taifa Stage: This stage can be discerned from fifteenth century onwards. *Barakat* or spiritual power that qualified a saint was transmitted to his grave, which now structurally became a tomb. This tomb, recognized as the *dargah*, appeared as the centre of pilgrimage attraction. So, *Sufi*sm now appeared as a devotional movement, the substance of devotion being the saint. It no longer remained a mystical movement. The cult of saint had greater attraction for a general man

who would discover it hard to grasp the abstract thoughts of mysticism and spirituality.

Though, this classification has sure limitations. It does not help to understand the dealings of the *Sufis* with the *ulemas*, court and the non-Muslim population. Some *Sufis* belonged to more than one order; others belonged to the similar order but interacted in a contradictory method with the civilization.

The Historical Backdrop and the Development of Sufism in the Deccan (Fourteenth to Seventeenth Century AD)

In 1327 AD, the Tughulq ruler of Delhi Sultanate, Sultan Mohammad bin Tughlaq, ordered the transfer of capital from Delhi to Daultabad which was situated in the Deccan. This transfer also involved the shifting of bases of the residents of Delhi. One such group who were ordered to migrate was the *Sufis*. Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib (d.1340), of the Chishti *silsilah* was one such well recognized *Sufi* who migrated to Daultabad and subsequently made it his centre of behaviors and introduced the Chishti order there. Another well recognized saint who migrated was Gesudaraz. Gesudaraz at that time was a child. Though, after sometime he returned to Delhi only to leave it after many years for Deccan, when Delhi was invaded through Timur in 1398. Both the saints belonged to the Chishti *silsilah*.

Of all the *silsilahs* the Chishti *silsilah* was mainly popular in the north as well as in the Deccan, especially Throughout the era of the Bahamini Sultanate (1347-1489AD). The Chishti *silsilah* originated in Herat and was introduced in India through Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti who migrated to India and finally settled in Ajmer in 1206. He had a big number of Muslim and non-Muslim followers. His successor was Bakhtiyar Kaki in Delhi, Shaikh Hamiduddin Nagauri in Nagaur in Rajasthan. Bakhtiyar Kaki had many well recognized descendants. His immediate descendant was Khwaja Fariduddin Masud, also recognized as Ganjshakar or Baba Farid. He ultimately settled in Ajodhan in Punjab. Baba Farid's disciple was Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya (1236-1325) who made Delhi the mainly well-known centre of the Chishti

order. Later his successors spread the Chishti order to several parts of the country including Deccan. Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib was Nizanuddin Auliya's successor. Some Chishti saints like Nasiruddin Chiragh-i-Delhi, were also popular in Delhi Throughout Mohammad bin Tughlaq's era. Though, since he never appointed a successor, the Chishti *silsilah* after his death did not have any commanding figure. Gesudaraz was one of his disciples. With the decline of Delhi Sultanate, the *Sufis* dispersed to stable provincial kingdoms and recognized their *khanqahs* there. One such region which attracted the *Sufis* was the area of the Deccan plateau. The migration of the *Sufis* to the area of Deccan, particularly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries should be seen against the backdrop of the establishment of the Bahamani kingdom and the subsequent five Sultanates in the Deccan, viz., the Adil Shahis (AD 1490-1686) of Bijapur, Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar (1496), Barid Shahis of Bidar (1504), Imad Shahis of Berar (1510) and the Qutub Shahis of Golkanda (1543). Hasan Bahman Shah who was the founder of the Bahamani kingdom was one of the governors of the Tughlaq provinces in the Deccan. He asserted his independence against the Tughluqs, drove them out and recognized a new political state. The several Telugu chieftains of eastern and southern Deccan who had fought against the Tughlaqs, some of them successfully, assisted Hasan Bahman Shah in founding the Bahmani state in Western Deccan. Since Bahman Shah was in service of the Tughlaqs, this gave him political power and legitimacy to generate support amongst the Telugu chieftains, and so, the Bahamini could be measured as the Tughlaq successor state in Deccan.

Throughout the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the plateau had appeared as a stable political, social and cultural centre. The development of the Dakhani civilization imparted a separate identity to the area. The municipalities like Gulbarga, Bidar and Bijapur were the centre of political and cultural behaviors. This attracted a big number of *Sufis*, who primarily had an urban orientation. For instance, as already stated, Gesudaraz, the Chishti saint migrated from Delhi to Gulbarga. A number of Qadri *Sufis* migrated from Arabia to Bidar. Many *Sufis* came from Safawi Iran. Though, the Adil Shahi dynasty, despite being well recognized through sixteenth century failed to draw any *Sufis*, for it was dominated through Shias, who were antagonistic

to *Sufis*. The Qadri *Sufis* were affiliated to the Sunni sect and the Shattari *Sufis* were antagonistic to the Shias. It is only in the reign of Sultan Ibrahim II (1580-1627) that *Sufis* entered Bijapur. The causes were mainly two. First, the disturbances in Gujarat and Bidar in late sixteenth century drove some *Sufis* towards Bijapur. Second, there was a important transformation in the state religion from *isna-ashari* Shi'ism to Sunnism. This meant that the political power shifted from foreign Iranis to native Deccanis. Besides, the Sultan himself adopted a broad outlook, encouraging both Muslim and non-Muslim traditions. Hence numerous *Sufis*, especially of the Qadri and the Shattari *silsilah*s were attracted to Bijapur. Mainly of these *Sufis* were first generation immigrants from spaces outside Deccan, mainly from the Arab world. So, the court politics, royal attitudes and patronage were significant for the *Sufis*. Many tombs were built Throughout the Adil Shahi era indicating a transition from *tariqa* to *taifa Sufis*m in Bijapur.

In connection with this, the attitude of the Chishtis is significant as there was a shift from earlier indifference towards politics to interest in it and finally distancing from the state and its mundane affairs. Throughout the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries in the era of the Bahamanis, the Chishtis urbanized secure dealings with the Sultan, accepted court patronage and were significant in politics. This was a departure from their earlier attitude in Delhi where they often declined court patronage. The Bahmani kings realizing the spiritual potential of these *Sufis* and their secure network with the civilization and popular social base gave them land grants and built magnificent *Sufi* shrines. The mainly prominent of these Chishtis was Muhammad Banda Nawaz Gesudaraz (1321-1422). Sultan Feroz Shah Bahamani (1397-1422) granted him four villages. After his death, his descendants sustained to receive land grants from the Bahamani Sultans and they eventually became the landed elites in Deccan. His tomb later urbanized in to a popular pilgrimage location. The *urs* at the *dargahs* especially of Gesudaraz had become a major festival through the seventeenth century attended through the ruling and non-ruling classes. Gesudaraz brought in relation to the changes in the Chishti philosophy especially those characteristics that were not in favour with the *ulemas*. He was an orthodox *Sufi* and declared the supremacy of the *shariat* in excess of all *Sufi* stages.

The changing trends in politics and shifting royal patronage finally led to the decline of the Chishti order in the Bahanani kingdom. The change of Bahamani capital from Gulbarga to Bidar in 1422 and the pro-foreigner and anti-Deccan attitudes of the Bahamanis at Bidar encouraged the immigration of the foreign *Sufis*, who were now being patronized at the expense of the Chishtis as the latter were measured to be too _Indian.' Thereafter, from the end of the fifteenth century, the Chishtis again thrived in Deccan till seventeenth century. They distanced themselves from the court politics of the Adil Shahi kingdom as can be seen in the site of their new centre, the Shahpur Hillock, which was outside Bijapur, the capital of the Adil Shahis. The Chishtis reverted to their original attitude. They maintained aloofness from the court and the *ulemas* and drew inspiration from the local powers, hence resembling the earliest Chishti saints of Delhi. It is for this cause that the Chishti *silsilah* unlike the other *Sufis silsilahs* were not affected through the sectarian disagreement flanked by the Shias and Sunnis in the Adil Shahi politics because they no longer depended upon the court patronage and were not interested in political affairs. The Shahpur Hillock had a single *khanqah* where many *Sufis* congregated, unlike the Shattari and Qadri *Sufis*, who had many hospices in the municipality patronized through the state.

Through eighteenth century, with the decline of the Adil Shahis, natural calamities and epidemics and the Maratha invasions in Bijapur reduced the municipality to ruins and the urban civilization approximately disappeared. This was a setback for the *Sufis* and *Sufis*m, which primarily had an urban orientation. Hardly any *khanqah* remained in Bijapur as functioning element. The landed elites amongst the *Sufis* recognized as the *pirzadas* were forced to migrate to Hyderabad and Arcot for state patronage, without which they could not survive. Though, the Chishtis sustained to be in the Shahpur Hillock outside Bijapur and appeared as a important and popular *Sufi* order.

The Political Role of the Sufis
It was widely recognized in the medieval politics that because of their special spiritual powers, *barakat*, their direct communication with god, and their popular social base, the *Sufis* had the power to grant moral legitimacy to

a state and create them a legitimate part of the Indo-Islamic world. This political role of the *Sufis* in granting legitimacy to the state was based upon the following growths:

For the Sunni Muslims, the spiritual leadership formally rested with the Caliph and informally with the *Sufis*. Though, with the downfall of the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad in 1298 AD due to the Mongol invasions, the *Sufis* were now measured virtually the spiritual leaders, who had the capability to authenticate the political leadership of the Sultan and his sovereignty, i.e. *hukumat* in excess of his domains.

The *wilayat* or the spiritual territory of a *Sufi shaikh* theoretically had no territorial limitations. Hence, it followed that the *Sufis* could bestow moral legitimacy to any state anywhere in the world.

If a *Sufi shaikh* authenticated a state, then the character of that state transformed from *Dar-al-Harb*, i.e. the Abode of War to *Dar-al-Islam*, i.e. the Abode of Peace, implying that the state could no longer be attacked through any Islamic polity and the rebellion, which often became the foundation of the base of the state could now be justified.

The importance of the characteristics were particularly crucial for a newly recognized state like the Bahamani, whose founder, Hasan Bahman Shah rebelled against the Tughluqs and accquired power in 1347 AD. Further this legitimacy provided an ideological support to Bahman Shah for expanding and consolidating his political and social network. In association with this, the prophecy of the *Sufi shaikh* in predicting the political future of an individual especially the Sultan was taken virtually to be an appointment. It was understood that the *shaikh* was conveying the divine will, since he was already in direct communion with god to _lease out the political sovereignty.' This is illustrated in the recorded sayings, i.e. *tazkira* of Nizam-al- Din Auliya, the Chishti saint in fourteenth century Delhi. Having presently met with Sultan Mohammad bin Tughluq at his *khanqah*, and while Hasan Shah Bahamani, then in the service of the Tughlaqs was waiting outside, Nizam al-Din Auliya is supposed to have remarked, _One Sultan has presently left my door; another is waiting there.'

When Hasan Bahman Shah revolted in 1347 and became the ruler, Nizam al-Din's prophecy was used as an ideological mechanism for declaring the rebellion and the base of the state a legitimate one that could be accepted through the superior civilization. Hasan Bahman Shah recognised this and patronized several Chishtis in the Bahamani kingdom and made lavish endowments to the shrine of Burhan al-Din Gharib, the disciple of Nizam al- Din who had migrated to Deccan. The shrine was situated in Khuldabad in north Deccan. Such gifts to the shrine implied that Sultan was also acknowledging Burhan al-Din Gharib's as his own *pir* or master, Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi, especially when Delhi was still under the manage of the Tughlaqs. Such an acknowledgement was to highlight Nizamuddin Auliya's prediction in relation to the Hasan Shah becoming a Sultan that became the foundation of the ruler's power.

Hence the Chishti *shaikhs* played crucial role in the state formations in Deccan. There were many causes for the importance of the Chishtis in polity and civilization in medieval India, especially the medieval Deccan. Unlike the other *Sufi* saints whose tombs were situated outside India, in Central and West Asia, those of the Chishti saints were situated within the sub-continent. This was significant for the *khanqahs*, tombs and shrines were the focus of pilgrimage and *Sufi* behaviors. This gave the Chishtis the double advantage of having an Indian as well as Islamic character. Such a broad based outlook of the Chishti *silsilah* was useful for the Deccani states to set up their legitimacy *vis-a-vis* the political partners and the local population of the Deccani civilization, amongst whom the Chishtis were already popular.

Another factor that affirmed the spiritual power of the *Sufis* in the political sphere was their tendency to be highly mobile. Wherever the Delhi Sultanate extended itself, and appointed imperial governors in the distant flung regions, the *Sufi* shaikhs, especially the Chishtis accompanied them and recognized their *khanqahs* in these regions. These imperial governors were the future rulers as it happened in the case of Hasan Bahman Shah. Under these circumstances, Chishti *shaikhs* who had already urbanized a wide social base, ―indigenized and legitimized new, satellite Indo-Muslim polities. Separately from the state, the civilization also recognized the *Sufis*'s political potential. The popular perception was reflected in Abd al-Malik Isami's *Futuh-i-Salatin*.

Just as to Islamic the well being of the sultan and the prosperity of his domain was dependant on the blessings and auspicious attendance of the *Sufi shaikhs*. He illustrated this through giving the instance of Nizam al-Din Auliya, on whose death in 1325, Delhi was reduced to a municipality of chaos. Further, Daultabad in the Deccan plateau prospered when Burhan al Din Gharib migrated there. His successor was Shaikh Zain al-Din Shirazi, who was the modern of Hasan Shah Bahmani. Though, despite the dealings of mutual dependence flanked by the Sultan and the *Sufis* saints, there conflicts and contradictions too, often made this connection tense. The very spiritual power on the foundation of which the predictions were made and legitimacy was bestowed became a source of disagreement flanked by *shaikhs* and the Sultans. For instance, Feroz Shah Bahamani (1397-1422) and Gesudaraz had numerous differences. The mainly significant issue that soured the relation flanked by the two was that of succession. The Sultan wanted his son Hasan Khan to be anointed as the successor through the *shaikh* and the *shaikh* clearly favoured the Sultan's younger brother, Ahmad. Thereupon the Sultan shifted his patronage to the tomb and shrine of a Muslim holy man in the vicinity recognized as Khalifat al Rahman. The Sultan also favoured Baba Kamal Mujarrad, whose tomb faced the sultan's tomb in Gulbarga. Consequently, Gesudaraz was marginalized.

Social Role of the Sufis

Sufis as Disseminators: The *Sufis* disseminated their teachings to the poor illiterate non-Muslim and Muslim population, like the cotton carders, barbers, smith, potter and so on through a range of literature. This literature comprised of folk songs which contained analogies from everyday life of the people. Written mainly in the seventeenth and eighteenth century through Bijapuri *Sufis* belonging to the Chishti order, these songs have been preserved in the oral custom of Dakhani speaking villagers throughout the Deccan plateau and symbolize the features of folk Islam. These songs were not composed in Persian, but in Dakhani, the local language or the vernacular of medieval Deccan. Through these songs, effort was to disseminate not the intricate

mysticism, but easy tenets of Islam and *Sufis*m, devotion to god, Prophet Muhammad, respect for one's *pir* or spiritual guide. The songs were particularly aimed at the womenfolk, who would sing these songs while occupied in several household chores.

There were dissimilar categories of folk songs related to dissimilar kinds of household job and dissimilar characteristics of woman's life. For instance, *chakki-nama*, associated with grinding food granules at the grindstone, *charkha nama*, associated with the spinning of thread at the wheel or *charkha, lun-nama*, associated with lullaby, *shadi nama* or wedding songs, *suhagan nama* or married woman's songs and *suhaila* or eulogistic songs. These songs were meant to appeal to the women and had relevance to their lives, for instance marriage, pining for the lover, mother and child connection and so on. It was expected that while women would perform their household chores, they would sing these songs and practise *zikr* or the *Sufi* spiritual exercise of concentration and contemplation.
The *Sufis* who composed these songs were the immediate spiritual descendants of the great mystical *Sufis* of Bijapur who mostly wrote in Persian and articulated the mystic teachings of their master in a easy manner in these songs. Many themes from the pre-existing folk songs preserved in the oral traditions in Marathi and Kannada were also adapted. The Marathi village songs of this kind had also a devotional purpose, focus being the deity of Vithoba in Pandharpur. So, this literature bridged the gap flanked by the mystical characteristics of Islam with popular religion. The trend of *pir* worship and devotionalism at *pir* ″ *s* tomb that urbanized Throughout this era connected the ＿inner circle' of *pir* ″ *s* disciples with the non-elite devotees who visited the shrines and were a part of the ＿outer circle.' In this connection, the *Sufi* folk songs that expounded the tenets of Islam, the miraculous power, i.e. *karamat* of the *Sufis* and their role as the mediator flanked by god and people played a important role. Due to their popular circulation, dissimilar social groups, particularly rural women were drawn to these shrines. In this context women played a important role in dissemination of the thoughts in these songs and literature and subsequently became an significant medium of spreading Islam. The women it appears were the mainly frequent visitors to the shrines

or *dargahs* primarily because one of the *barakat* of the saint was associated with fertility. They also participated in several functions and festivals there. The *malfuzat* literatures in the seventeenth century points out that the women entered even the inner circles of *Sufi* followers and beside with the men were instructed in the religious mysticism and exercises to achieve the goal of direct communion with god. Although a big number of women came from non-Muslim backdrop, ―they perceived no great theological or social wall existing flanked by Islam and Hinduism. For them the village *dargah* shaped only one more facet of an already diffuse and eclectic religious life. Consequently, these women would convey the teachings to their children. In this method, *Sufi* thoughts through the folk literature and the cult of saints represented in the *dargahs* entered the household legroom through the woman, binding the members of the family to the *dargah* and that scrupulous *Sufis silsilah* and subsequently Islam. In this manner Islam spread to the non elite, rural folks.

Though, this should not be misunderstood as the effort on the part of the *Sufis* to convert people to Islam. *Sufis* were not Muslim ‗missionaries' as they made no conscious effort to gain non-Muslim followers who for the causes were attracted to their shrines. Mainly of the devotees who regularly visited the *dargahs* came from a marginalized social backdrop and slowly came under the power of Islam. Hence, a following was created focused on the pir, and ―the diffusion of the Islamic precepts was a through-product of this effort.   Besides, these *Sufis* were also trying to make a lay for themselves as the mediator flanked by god and people and win in excess of the spiritual allegiance of the people. So, there was never a sudden conversion to Islam at any point of time. The *Sufis* who entered Deccan in the thirteenth and fourteenth century have been portrayed in the later legends as militant champions of Islam. There is small historical proof to illustrate this. Those claiming that their ancestors were converted through some *Sufi* saint or the other are till day undergoing ‗a gradual procedure of Islamic acculturation' which is also uneven in conditions of food, dress and speech. Besides, such a claim was motivated through their desire to set up a extensive association with the *dargah* of the *Sufi* and their extensive standing in Islam. In information the *dargahs* represented a procedure of Islamic acculturation, which represented a procedure of interaction and diffusion of cultural values and traditions flanked

by the two civilizations, resulting in acquisition of new cultural features. *Sufis* were not merely pious mystics preaching Islam. They were a heterogeneous group reacting to the social environment they were situated in. Richard Eaton in his revise on the *Sufis* of Bijapur identifies *Sufis* as a class with their separate affiliations. As a social class there were four kinds of *Sufis*. They were:

    Reformist Sufis: These *Sufis* mainly belonging to the Qadri and Shattari orders flourished Throughout the reign of the Adil Shahi sultan, Ibrahim II (1580-1627). However the Sultan patronized them, but his broad religious outlook was not received favorably through these *Sufis*. They shunned the use of Dakhni language and were exclusive in their social interaction. This orthodox reaction intensified particularly Throughout the times of Ibrahim's successors. The *Sufis* of the Qadri and Shattari order took upon themselves to reform Islam in Bijapur and power the sultan. They were municipality based and had secure ties with Arabic traditions. They often collaborated with the *ulemas*. They urbanized their *khanqahs*, had respective *murids* and received *khiilafat* from some *pirs*. Their hospices were centres of *Sufi* behaviors and discourses. Their *khanqahs* were popular and after death, their tombs became significant pilgrimage centres, reflecting popular devotional attitude while in their lifetime they were antagonistic towards it.

    Literary Sufis: Some *Sufis* were significant writers who wrote numerous mystic and popular literatures. They were mostly Chishtis who existed in accessible lay on the Shahpur Hillock outside Bijapur and were not significantly affected through the changing fortunes of the Bijapur court. Their mystical writings gave a respectable status to Dakhani Urdu, which was finally marginalized with the Mughal conquest of Deccan in the seventeenth century. Their role in developing the *Sufi* folk literature which became an significant vehicle of integrating the non-elites, especially the non-Muslims has already been discussed. Their popularity also coincided with the *Sufi* faith which now heavily centered on the *dargahs*. Another type of *Sufis* was

those who accepted land grants from the state and appeared as the landed elites or *inamdars* in Bijapur. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, Bijapur state was undergoing social and political turmoil. At this juncture, the Sultan's political strategy was to placate the *ulemas* and win in excess of the *Sufis* of non-Chishti origin whose ancestors had a popular social base. So numerous land grants were made to them and the state patronage was extended so that these *Sufis* could communicate the royal ideology and legitimize it within the superior civilization. These landed *Sufis* were described the *pirzadas*, literally meaning born to a saint. Consequently, sure changes took lay within the *Sufi* organizations. The *khanqahs* were ignored in favour of *dargahs*, which now started attracting numerous devotees and their management became a lucrative source of income. Besides, the state patronized those orders that had popular *dargahs* for it gave them an access to the superior civilization which they wished to manage. Since the continuation of land grants was dependant on the state's will, so the state intervened and controlled the internal affairs of the *dargah*, especially in appointing, confirming or rejecting a successor. The *Sufis* now themselves gave less importance to the *khanqahs* and focused on the *dargahs*. The ‗cult of personality' replaced the ‗cult of order'. The concept of *pir* worship became popular and the intellectual mystical aspect of the *Sufi* philosophy receded into the backdrop. The leadership of the *khanqahs* and *dargahs* was now based on family heredity that capitalized on the personality cult and became wealthy. With these land grants, the declining Adil Shahi state ensured the political loyalty of the *Sufis*, whereby the ruler expected this class to generate allegiance for the regime, pacify recalcitrant tendencies and legitimize the state policies. Such a strategy became crucial for the stability of the Adil Shahis in the seventeenth century as Bijapur became a disturbed province due to perennial revolts of the local forces against the state. There are cases of well recognized *shaikhs* being summoned to the court and made to pray for the well being of the Sultan in the face of Maratha invasions in the Deccan. Though, the *Sufis* protected their landed interests and ignored the popular following. In information,

with the decline of the Adil Shahi state in 1686, the fortunes of these landed *Sufis* did not suffer. Aurangzeb renewed the *inam* grants and granted the new ones. In information, the landed *pirzaidas* were the first ones to accept the Mughal regime for in the subsistence of a state they saw their survival and prosperity.

Dervishes: Such conservatism and preference for court patronage in excess of taking care of the religious needs of the devotees produced a reaction from some of the *Sufis*. These *Sufis* were recognized as *dervishes* and ranged from spiritual heretics to non-conformists. They were hostile to the *pirzadas* and *inamdars* as they establish them to be too compromising. The *dervishes* rejected Islamic orthodoxy and its urban materialistic orientation. They adopted spiritual exercises to attain direct experience of god. They withdrew partially or totally from the _structural dealings' of the world. In information stressing on religion's original purity and simplicity, the Bijapur *majzubs* resembled the early *Sufis* in Iraq and Khorasan. The *majzubs* totally repudiated the modern civilization going back to the original principles of *Sufi*sm. The modern *Sufi* literature calls them *majzubs*. In information, the polarization flanked by the *pirzadas* and the *dervishes* sharpened further with the decline of the Bijapuri state. One of the popular *dervishes* was a Chishti named Amin al Din Alah whose popularity and power was feared through the *pirzadas*, especially of the Qadri *silsilah*.

SOCIO RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Development of Bhakti in Sangam Texts
The religious growths in South India in the medieval era can be traced to the trends in religion from the fourth to the sixth century. The information for this era is obtained from the texts which are mainly described the Sangam texts. These texts did not spot out any formal religious society. The descriptions of the sounds of prayers, fragrance of flowers and incense, light of the lamps and a perpetual festive ambience highlighted somewhat unstructured ways of worship. The concept of the sacred was

expressed in conditions like *katavul* and *ananku*, both almost certainly implying the divine form to be worshipped and *kantu* and *potiyil* (a pillared hall), almost certainly prototype of a temple implying a sacred legroom. The term *koyil* signified the home of a chief and not a temple, which was a later development. Though, through the end of the fourth century, a systematic development of the divine took lay with the association of religion with the *tinai* custom in the well-known grammatical treatise, the *Tolkappiyam*. The notion of *tinai* comprised of five eco-zones, each with a separate populace, survival pattern and a divine form. They were:

Mullai, a communal term for the rustic tracts, inhabited through the *maravars* (warriors) and the *itaiyar* (pastoralists) was the divine locale for *Mayon*.

Kurinji, a common term for the hilly eco-zone comprising of *vetar* and *kuravar* (the hunters) with shifting farming as the main job. The people here worshipped Murukan as the god.

Marutam was the wetland flanked by the river valleys, and a focus of agrarian behaviors through the *ulavar* (agriculturists). Ventan was the god of *marutam.*

Neytal implied the region approximately the sea, populated through *paratavars* (the fishing society). Varunan was the god of the *neytal.*

Palai on behalf of arid zones with the hunting-gathering tribes who worshipped the female divine form, Korravai.

Of all the Sangam deities, Murukan followed through Mayon have maximum textual references. Both Murukan and Mayon were associated with a specific form of worship, *veriyatu* and *kuravai* respectively, which were emotionally charged ritual dances involving the participation of all the men and women. Literally meaning the one who symbolizes youth and beauty, Murukan was worshipped in threshing grounds, forests, market spaces, trees, battle grounds and so on, indicating a strong degree of localization. Compared to Murukan, the divine form of Mayon registered elitist tendencies. Through third century, Mayon was associated with northern Krishna Cult/ Vaishnavism, however adapted to the southern milieu. For instance, the texts equated Mayon with Krishna and river Yamuna, one of the significant locales of Krishna episodes with Tolunai. Mayon was also the royal symbol of the two

ruling lineages in this era, viz., the Pandyas of Madurai in the southern part and Tondaiman of Kanchi on the northern part of the ancient Tamil area. Further, the Sangam texts referred to a sophisticated lay of worship of Mayon, which was the temple at Vehka in Kanchi.

Though, after the fifth century, new religious thoughts were expressed in the late Sangam (or post Sangam) texts, viz.; the *Cilappadikaram, Kalittokai, Paripatal* and *Tirumurukarruppatai*. These texts depicted the power of the northern epic (i.e. the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata)* and the *Puranic* thoughts on the Sangam perception of the divine. The deities localized in the *tinai* framework were transformed into universal transcendental (i.e. abstract and not localized) godheads due to this power. Murukan was fused with Skanda, the Aryan god of war. Mal/Mayon was recognized with Vishnu. Ventan and Varuna of the *marutam* and *neytal tinai* were slowly marginalized and in the subsequent era do not discover any mention. Korravai, the goddess of the *palai* was significant but the procedure of her absorption in the Shaiva pantheon as Durga, the consort of Shiva already began. The interaction flanked by the Sangam and *Puranic* elements introduced several themes from the *Puranic* myths. The several heroic deeds of Skanda now recognized with Murukan. He was now described as possessing six faces and six arms in the late Sangam texts. The combination of northern and southern themes manifested in the several incarnation (*avatara*) myths of Mayon/Krishna. Through the sixth century, Mayon with his incarnation myths was the god, cowherd hero and the lover of the *gopis* (cowherdesses) and once again appeared as the royal symbol of the Pandya and the Pallavas.

The *Paripatal* and the *Tirumurukarruppatai* articulated for the first time a new devotional milieu. The notion of a personal devotion, i.e. *bhakti* to the transcendental god appeared in the poems dedicated to Murukan and Mayon in these texts. The features of the *bhakti* as expressed in these texts were:

    The devotion to the god was expressed in Tamil, therefore providing for the first time an alternative to Sanskrit as the religious language.

This thought of devotion was not yet a personalized experience that characterized the later *bhakti*. The references in the texts were objective and impersonal, as if concerning the second person.

The thought of *bhakti* became the foundation for introducing the temple for the first time. The deity was situated in the temple symbolizing the attendance of god on this earth amongst the people to remove their sorrows. Though, the temple had not appeared as the institution of formal worship. Hence, the thoughts in relation to the temple evolved that became central to the several socio-religious movements from seventh century. The temple was now referred to as the *koyil*.

The temple situation also marked out a sacred geography for the first time. This sacred geography comprised of several spaces of worship of one god, in this case, Mayon and Murukan. This also provided a network for future religious interaction. For instance, the *Cilappadikaram* and the *Paripatal* referred to temples of Mayon worship at Vehka (Kanchi), Tirumaliruncholai (close to Madurai), Atakamatam (the Golden Hall in the Cera area), Puhar (Manivannan), Turutti (future Srirangam) and Vengadam (future Tirupati). The *Tirumurukarruppatai*, on the other hand, presented a sacred geography of the Murukan temples at Parankunram (Madurai), Tiruvavinankuti (Palani), Tiruverakam (Swamimalai), Palamutircholai (Tiruchchendur), Cenkotu and Erakam. Though, a sense of pilgrimage was only in this text in the account of these spaces through a Murukan devotee, who directed others to go to the god's shrines and obtain his grace.

So, this new religiosity of the fifth-sixth centuries adapted and integrated the Sanskritic civilization to the Tamil one. Although the Sangam texts refer to other religious traditions, viz., Jainism and Buddhism flourishing in the urban centers with the merchants as the main followers, the *Puranic*-Tamil paradigm provided the vital structural framework for the development of the societies.

Popular Devotional Movements: The Bhakti of the *Nayanars a*nd *Alvars* (Ad 600-1000)

From the seventh to ninth century, *bhakti* evolved as a personalized religious attitude that focused on intense devotion to a single god, Shiva or Vishnu. This theistic belief was expressed in the hymns of the early Shaiva and Vaishnava saints, the *Nayanaras* and *Alvars* respectively. Just as to respective society custom, *Shaivite Nayanars* also recognized as *Samayacharyas* are sixty three in number, including a woman saint Karaikkal Ammaiyar and the *Vaishnava Alvars* are twelve, including a woman saint, Andal. Collectively recognized as the *Tevaram* and the *Nalayira Divya Prabandham,* these hymnal corpuses inspired the philosophy of the Shaiva and Vaishnava religious societies in the medieval era. Many meanings are attributed to the *Tevaram.* It has been usually accepted that *tev* is from *devagrha,* i.e., home of the god and *varam* is a song addressed to a deity, hence *tevaram.* It also implies _private ritual worship' and has significance for the hymns, which were associated primarily with the temple worship. The *Nalayira Divya Prabandham* literally means _a corpus of four thousand hymns' of the *Alvars.* The thought of devotion or *bhakti* in these hymns was a product of the interaction and systematic synthesis of:

Tamil religiosity as expressed in the Sangam texts,

Easy *bhakti* and its temple environ as articulated in the *Paripatal* and the *Tirumurukarruppatai* and

The pan-Indian *Puranic* myths and the brahmanical concept of a transcendental absolute.

Therefore, within the framework of their type of *bhakti,* the *Nayanars* and *Alvars* reworked these thoughts and projected their interpretations of the universal godhead. Although the *Nayanars* and *Alvars* were contemporaries, there were differences in the ways in which they conceptualized the sacred. This imparted a separate identity to both that culminated in separate religious societies of Shaivism and Vaishnavism through eighth- ninth centuries.

Characterized through intense emotional devotion and strong desire of mystical union with the god, the hymns appeared as the first concrete expression of religious sectarianism in Tamil. In both sets of hymnal compositions, the *Nayanars* and the *Alvars* condemned each other and attempted to demonstrate through several accounts that their respective gods were superior to the other.

A systematic development of Vaishnava *bhakti* can be seen delineated in the Prabandhic corpus. Nammalvar, one of the *Alvars* (seventh century AD) urbanized the notion of *prapatti*, which is complete trust and surrender, to be urbanized in the Srivaisnava theology from twelfth century onwards. Some of the Alvars also used a diversity of images from day-to-day life and linked it to the several Vaishnava myths. For instance, Periyalvar (ninth century AD) extensively used the mother and child images connecting it to Yashoda and Krishna. The *Nayanars* conceptualized Shiva as the warrior god, fighting battles and warding absent evils. The local roots of Shiva were highlighted through associating his achievements with specific sites, in this case primarily the Kaveri valley, which was the centre of Chola power. Finally, through the seventh-eighth centuries, in the hymns of Tirujnanacampantar (a *Nayanar*), the local identity of Shiva merged with the cosmic transcendental one and institutionalized in the temple landscape and thought of a pilgrimage. Simultaneously, the context of Shaivism urbanized with the inclusion of Murukan as the son and Korravai (Durga) as the consort of Shiva.

Themes of Bhakti in the Nayanar and Alvar Hymns

The hymns elaborated upon sure thoughts, which had never evolved earlier. These thoughts became the foundation for the future religious growths of both the societies. These thoughts were:

A highly personalized religious attitude that focused on an individual's connection with the god.

The hymns projected a *strong sense of society*. It is obvious that the *Nayanars* and *Alvars* were addressing primarily a group of devotees and attempting to impress upon them through thoughts of devotion.

The image of a society was associated with the attitude of the hymnists towards the *caste hierarchy*. The hymns of these early saints reflected hostility towards the ritual dominance of the Vedic Brahmanas, i.e., the *Chaturvedins*. These *Chaturvedins,* through virtue of their high status in the caste hierarchy had monopolized the worship. The saints criticized this monopoly and strongly advocated that everybody, irrespective of their caste and economic status should have an equal access to the divine. The non- brahmanical backdrop of the hymnists generated such a dissent against the notion of power through the Brahmanas. For instance, some *Alvars* and *Nayanars* were Vellalas (primarily a peasant caste), low caste minstrels, the chieftains of the tribal clans and so on. Though, some of these saints were Brahmanas and their dissent against caste hierarchy reflected the attendance of a hierarchy amongst the Brahmanas themselves. The conversion of the local cult centers into Shaiva and Vaishnava faith was accompanied through the assimilation of the cultic priests. Since these priests derived their status from the shapes of worship that were measured inferior to the Vedic shapes, a low ritual rank was assigned to them within the Brahmana *varna*. Therefore, the Chaturvedins (Vedic *Brahmana*s) and the *Smartas* and Vadamas (those who performed Vedic sacrifices) were superior to the Adi Shaivas and the temple priests, the social categories to which the Brahmana Alvars and Nayanars belonged.

Though, it was not a total rejection of the caste organization. It is only in the hymns of Tirunavukkaracar, (popularly recognized as Appar) the Shaiva saint; one can read a direct rejection of caste. Rather an alternative to the caste hierarchy was provided in the concept of a society of *bhaktas.* In order to be a part of this society of the *bhaktas,* the mainly significant criteria were devotion to god and caste was secondary. So caste status was never given up. The hymns restated that the devotion to Shiva and Vishnu was much superior to the Vedic recitations and a Chaturvedin was inferior to a low caste devotee of Shiva or Vishnu. Further the *Nayanars* and *Alvars* stressed on

‖communion in the society. Service to the devotee, whatever his caste status may be, was measured to have more salvific benefits than direct service to god. For instance, the Vaishnava saint Madhurakavi regarded Nammalvar, another Vaishnava saint who was a Vellala through birth as his teacher and lord. In the *Tevaram,* the notion of the society of *bhaktas* was expressed in the term, *nam* (we) for the fellow devotees. The *atiyar kuttam* (the society of devotees) incorporated not only the Tamil Shaivas, but also the adherents of other Shaiva sects like the Kapalikas and Viratis who were otherwise hated.

The *notion of pilgrimage* further contributed to the sense of belonging to a society. The emergence of the local cult centres in the hymns charted out a sacred geography for the society and marked the beginning of the concept of pilgrimage, where each location was visited and sung into prominence. The hymns of the *Nayanars* referred to two hundred and seventy four Shaiva sites. All but six are situated in the Tamil area. These six are, Srisailam in Andhra, Gokarna in Karnataka and Kedara, Indranila, Gaurikunda and Kailasha in the Himalayas in north India. The Alvars mapped more than ninety odd spaces, however the traditional Vaishnava holy spaces are one hundred and eight, which was a later development. In this case, the greater majority is in the Tamil area and the rest are in Kerala, southern Andhra, Karnataka and North India, in spaces like Mathura, Badrinath, Ayodhya, Naimisharanya, Dwarka and so on. This geography also shaped a ‗circulatory area‘ of the poet saints, who may not have visited all the sites but were aware of their association with Shiva and Vishnu. This spatial sharing of shrines became the foundation for the development of a Tamil local pilgrimage network and more elaborate South Indian and Pan-Indian sectarian linkages that urbanized significantly in the Vijayanagar era (that is fourteenth century).

Nature of the Shaiva and Vaishnava Devotionalism

The dissent against caste and a broad based thought of the society that incorporated devotees from diverse backdrop has led several scholars to conclude that

the *bhakti* movement was a radical protest against the conservative social norms. Undoubtedly, the elements of protest were present, but they should not be in excess of-stressed. In order to examine the nature *of Shaiva* and *Nayanar bhakti*, it is significant to look at the socio-political context in which the poet-saints were situated and their response to that milieu.

The Historical Context
The religion of the hymnists was influenced through the modern socio-political environment. From the sixth century onwards, the expansion and integration of several peasant settlements in the river valleys and the transformation of the tribal population into settled peasant societies provided a base for the emergence of new state systems. The Pallavas of Kanchi in northern Tamil area, with their resource base in the Palar-Cheyyar valley, Pandyas of Madurai in the south with their resource base in the Vaigai-Tambraparani and Cheras in the southwest appeared as major states. Incidentally, the *Nayanars* and *Alvars* were situated in these areas. The political procedures culminated with the Cholas in the Kaveri valley through the ninth century AD. The royal dynasties made numerous land grants to the Brahmanas described *brahmadeyas* and sponsored big level construction of temples. These two organizations were looked upon as having potential for restructuring and integrating the economy and civilization.
Since the Brahmanas possessed knowledge of the agrarian calendar and better irrigation technology, the lands granted to them became a mechanism for the extension of agriculture into unsettled regions and extraction of the surplus from several peasant groups. The temples provided the ritual legroom for integrating the new social groups, especially the tribes in the caste organization. The tribal divinities became a part of the brahmanical pantheon in the temples. Naturally, then the site of the royal centers coincided with the site of the temple and *brahmadeya* centers. Kanchipuram and Madurai, the capitals of Pallavas and Pandyas respectively were bounded through wealthy *brahmadeyas* and had vast temple complexes.

The Response of the Nayanars and Alvars to the Context
   The popular social base and the royal patronage to the temples were not missed through the *Nayanars* and *Alvars*. The sacred geography, which has the several sites of worship in the hymns, corresponded with

the political centres. The saints sang in relation to the sacred centres situated in the Tondainadu, the Pallava area, Panyanadu, the Pandya area with the maximum temples situated in the Cholanadu, the Chola area, where the focus was the Kaveri deltaic area. They applied the temple theme in many ways to popularize their religion. The mode of worship described in the hymns was through singing and dancing in praise of the god, represented in the image in the temple and finally seeking union with him. The temple service also became an ideal method of life for a true *bhakta*. For the *Nayanars* and *Alvars*, the institution of temple had a special theological importance. The temple and its deity was the symbol of the immanence (*saulabhya*) of the transcendental *(paratva)* god on the earth, not in one lay but in many spaces. The poet-saints with their fellow devotees traveled (in the hymns) from one location to another, singing praises and worshipping the *arca* (deity) whose local identity fused with the transcendental Shiva or Vishnu. The multiple attendance of the god was understood as his *lila /maya,* i.e. his desire to be secure to the devotees. The temple worship further acquired complexities with the adoption of sure characteristics from the royal ritual paraphernalia. The divinity was referred to as the u*daiyar* and *perumal,* both the conditions symbolizing power and status. The iconographic descriptions of the divine shapes in the poems were full of political metaphors of chivalry and power, which highlighted the superiority of one god and subordinated the other. The medium of myths was widely used to highlight the cosmic superiority of the divine. The story of Vishnu and Brahma trying to grasp the beginning and the end of the *linga* projects the superiority of Shiva in excess of these gods. Just as to some scholars, the mode of temple service and the use of these conditions point towards the replication of the feudal connection flanked by god and the devotee which further legitimized the landlord-tenant, king-subject and lord servant relationships. But just as to R. Champakalakshmi, such a view ignores, _the intricate procedures through which resource mobilization and redistribution were achieved in early medieval Tamilakam, in which the temple enabled royal and

chiefly families to set up their political attendance and social dominance through intruding into the peasant areas recognized as the *nadus* ". Therefore, *bhakti* popularized the temple, its religion, its social hierarchy, and its shapes of worship. Through incorporating the temple theme, the saints expressed the desire for royal patronage. Though, it appears that they were not successful as no temples of the Pallava and Pandya era lived in the centers sung through the hymnists with the exception of the Parameshvara Vinnagaram at Kanchi and a couple of Shaiva temples. The prominent temples were a part of the royal organizations with the Brahmanas exercising manage in excess of them. Therefore, the rhetoric against caste often exaggerated as an outright rejection of it should be seen in connection with exclusive royal patronage to the Brahmanas. *Brahmadeyas* did not figure at all in the hymnal literature. The protest was against the brahmanical exclusivism in the performance of the temple rituals. Nevertheless, some of the hymns inspired the temple iconography of the Pallavas. For instance, the three early Alvars (Poygai, Putam and Pey) inspired the rock-cut temples in the Pallava municipalities of Kanchipuram and Mamallapuram.

Further, the hymnists themselves applied brahmanical motifs to their *bhakti*. For instance, the saints often described themselves as the _Kavuniyan' (a Tamil *Brahmana* of the Kaundiya *gotra*) or referred to themselves and their contemporaries as _well versed in four *Vedas*', as the _lord of the Vedas', _is the lord spoken of in the Vedas', _is praised through the Vedas,' and so on. Although Tamil received importance as a religious language, it was an alternative to the Sanskrit *Vedas*. The importance of the *Vedas* was never ignored; rather a Vedic status was attributed to the Tamil hymns, whereby they were looked upon as scriptures, i.e. *marai,* equal to *Vedas*. Shiva and Vishnu were supposed to be instrumental in revealing the Vedas to the whole world. Therefore, the stress was on the accessibility of Vedas that cut crossways all caste barriers rather than limiting it to the *Brahmana*s only. Therefore, the *bhakti* movement in early medieval South India on

behalf of the temple-based religion of the *Agamic-Puranic* Hinduism legitimized the social structure based on the brahmanical principles and became the channel for transmission of the royal power.

The expectation and competition for the royal patronage influenced the sectarian criticism against the rival religious societies, Jainism and Buddhism, which were popular in the Tamil area since the early centuries of the Christian period. Jainism enjoyed considerable royal patronage especially under the Pallava ruler, Mahendravarman I, a Jaina himself. Kanchipuram and Madurai were the centres of sectarian rivalry. The *bhakti* hymns referred to the stories of disagreement and persecution leading to the conversions of the rulers and consequent change in the patronage towards Shaivism and Vaishnavism. The story of Mahendravarman converting to Shaivism at the behest of Appar and several such narratives reflect tensions in excess of royal patronage, which the heterodox sects enjoyed.

Further tensions arose due to the theological incompatibility flanked by the hymnal and the heterodox religious beliefs, where the former had a materialistic orientation focused on the temple worship and the latter had an austere orientation based on the principles of self-denial. It is also likely that the aversion of the *bhakti* saints was local as the Jaina and the Buddhist monks had recently arrived from the Kannada and Telugu area to the Tamil country. Hence, it was not social protest but the harsh criticism against Jainism and Buddhism that accentuated upon society solidarity, where both the poet-saints accentuated upon separate identities.
So, the hymnal custom for the first time evolved several motifs of the society structure, viz., the philosophy, and notion of a society, sacred geography and pilgrimage that became theologically important in the later era. The constant effort to assert a separate identity vis-à-vis the brahmanical religion and heterodox sects were apparent in the protest in the hymnal literature. Though, their conformism to the political structure marked the procedure of ‗reaggregation‘ through which the societies were consolidated in the Chola era. Despite the growth of a society, neither of the religious

traditions of the *Nayanars* and *Alvars* could evolve a systematic theology and textual custom – a characteristic visible from the eleventh century onwards.

Shankaracharya and Advaita Philosophy (AD 788-820)
While the *Nayanars* and *Alvars* represented popular devotional movements with a broad socio-cultural base, there was a growth of another religious custom described the *Smartas* in the eighth century, under Shankaracharya, the well-known *advaita* philosopher. The *Smarta* custom was primarily based upon inquiry and speculation of the philosophy of the *Vedas* and *Upanishads* and was so, highly intellectual with a limited social base confined mostly to the Vedic Brahmanas. Though, the thoughts of *advaita* were influential in shaping the thoughts of post-eleventh century philosophies of Shaiva Siddhantas and Vaishnava saints like Ramanuja and Madhvacharya.
The several biographies of Shankaracharya illustrate that Shankara was a *Nambudri Brahmana* from Kaladi which is in North Travancore area of Kerela. He lost his father at an early age and became an ascetic or a *sanyasin.* Shankara travelled all in excess of India, participating and winning in numerous debates on *Vedantic* philosophy and propagated his thoughts. Just as to the biographies, he reorganized the ascetic order of the *sanyasins,* perhaps influenced through the Buddhist *Sangha* or the monastic orders and founded a number of *mathas* for the revise and propagation of his doctrines. Some of the significant *mathas* are situated in Sringeri, Dwarka, Badrinatha, Puri and Kanchipuram. Though, there is hardly any reference to the monastic orders in the epigraphic records till the fourteenth century, when, —a fresh wave of Sanskritisation took lay in South India, including Tamil Nadu, which may well be associated with the expansion of the Vijayanagar power.   Shankara wrote many works and commentaries on the *Vedanta-sutras, Bhagavad Gita* and the *Upanishads,* all in Sanskrit. His major contribution was the commentary on Badrayana's *Brahmasutra,* which was a important effort to systematize the several strands of the *Upanishadic* thoughts. He acquired numerous disciples who accepted on the *Smarta* custom. Therefore, Shankara's philosophy that was highly intellectual and religious organization was essentially ascetic. The

role he assigned to his disciples brought a class of renouncers into active connection with the superior civilization in South India for the first time.

In South India, the term *Smarta* means not only the worship of the five gods, but also following Shankara's philosophy of the *Vedanta*. Just as to Nilakantha Shastri, the *Smarta* religion evolved a religious opinion and practice that reconciled the Shaiva and Vaishnava sectarianism as seen in the hymns of the *Nayanars* and *Alvars*. The religious practice is based on the principle of *Panchayatana puja*, i.e. the worship of five shrines, viz., Shiva, Vishnu, Shakti (mother-goddess), Surya and Ganesha. This worship is done at house with the help of symbols on behalf of the deities. Some consider that Shankara introduced it and some ascribe it to Kumarila, who existed almost hundred years before Shankara.

Shankara's philosophy had its roots in *Vedanta* or *Upanishads* and represented a brahmanical/ Sanskritic alternative to Buddhism. Just as to him, both Shiva and Vishnu signified the supreme Brahman or the universal soul. He systematically urbanized the monistic tendency of the *Upanishads*, emphasizing that the unqualified Brahma is *Nirguna* Brahma. Brahma is one and eternal beyond the duality of subject and substance. Shankara in his *Advaitic* philosophy of non-dualism explained that god (*ishvara*), the individual soul (*jiva*) and the world (*jagat)* are mere illusions due to the principle of *maya*. True liberation or *moksha* can only be attained through *jnana*, i.e. knowledge. So, Shankara advocated renunciation of worldly life and adoption of ascetic mode of livelihood. He also stated that the devotion to god and the observance of the *varnashramdharma* (that is the rules of the caste organization) as described in the scriptures were significant for acquiring competency for the revise of the *Vedanta*. As has been stated earlier, the philosophy of Shankara's *advaita* influenced later *Vaishnava* and *Shaiva Siddhanta* philosophy after the eleventh century and appeared as an significant theological foundation for the respective societies.

Consolidation of the Religious Traditions: AD 1000-1300

From the tenth to the thirteenth century, the religious trends were marked through society construction and consolidation. The expression of society consciousness was apparent in two kinds of interaction:

Within the society itself where attempts were made to broaden the social base and adopt a universalistic and integrative approach;

When the society interacted with other religious traditions.

In the Tamil area, the *Nayanars* and the *Alvars* were succeeded through the *acharyas*, who were theologian philosophers and expanded and consolidated the philosophical base of their individual societies. They composed the hymns of the early saints, created an institutional framework for the *bhakti* movement and harmonized local thoughts with the Pan-Indian Sanskritic texts such as the Upanishads. Simultaneously, there were socio-religious movements in Karnataka and Andhra area, the foundation being an anti-caste ideology. These were the Virashaiva and Aradhya Shaiva movements in Karnataka and Andhra area.

The Historical Backdrop

These socio-religious movements were evolving against the backdrop of dissimilar historical procedures. With the consolidation of the Cholas in the tenth century, the centre of political behaviors shifted from Tondainadu (with Kanchipuram as the capital) to Cholanadu with the capital at Tanjavur. The Pandyas sustained to rule from Madurai and provided a formidable opposition to the Cholas. Both the Cholas and the Pandyas sustained with the Pallava organization of utilizing the *brahmadeyas,* and temples for political integration. Both the *brahmadeyas* and temples due to their overarching ideological framework of the *varna-jati* paradigm integrated several parts of the civilization. Though, it was the temple that appeared as an significant institution of integration in three ways:

The ritual of gift giving to the deities in the temples created a network of political alliances. The kings gifted to the temples that in turn were recirculated and often sold in the civilization in the form of ritual goods, for instance the *prasadam* (food offering), generating economic

transactions. The local chiefs also made gifts to the king or donated to the temples in the name of the king and received titles and honors that enabled them to become the members of the royal alliance network. Therefore, this ritual of gift giving created loyalties and alliances for political purposes and imparted political stability to the medieval South Indian states. Though, one cannot ignore the notion of religious merit, which was an significant aspect of ritual gift giving.

The temple further provided the _ideological tools' for the medieval south Indian states, bringing jointly the religion of several social groups. Already in the hymns of the *Nayanars* and *Alvars*, a context for a dialogue was created flanked by the autochthonous cults and *Puranic* religion, whereby the former was universalized within the brahmanical structural paradigm of the temple. The political dynasties realized that the *bhakti* cults of Shaivism and Vaishnavism with their broad-based ideologies would be effective in integrating the civilization and consolidate the political network. Hence, the popular socio-religious movements with elements of protest now influenced the political ideology of power and dominance. Consequently, the hymns which were full of poetic descriptions of power and strength of several shapes of Shiva and Vishnu became the source of inspiration for the construction of many canonical temples with elaborate iconography. The several cosmic and heroic symbols of the *Puranic* deities in the temple iconography were related to the image of a monarch and his absolute power. The deities acquired royal features. For the first time, political geography coincided with the sacred geography, as the Kaveri area, the core of Cholanadu, experienced hectic temple construction. Shrirangam and Chidambaram urbanized as major political as well as sacred cult centers, for Vaishnavism and Shaivism respectively.

The temples also provided the avenue for the rulers, especially the Cholas to _divinise' themselves. The Cholas constructed images of their rulers and members of the royal family and consecrated them through situating the images in the temples. Separately from this, the construction of monumental temples became a part of the royal project.

Many such imperial temples were named after the Chola rulers who sponsored them. The Brhadesvara temple at Tanjore constructed through Rajaraja the Great (AD 985-1014) in AD 1003 illustrates this trend. Symbolizing the new royal power of Rajaraja, the _political architecture' and iconography of the main deity Shiva was recognized with the Chola king and was described Rajarajeshvara. Therefore, the sacred and the temporal realm were present in the temple. Vast temple complexes with elaborate architecture, a pantheon with multiple divinities represented a continuous procedure of integration of dissimilar parts of the civilization in a hierarchical manner. At the top of the hierarchy was the royal family, followed through the ritually pure Brahmana priests performing, worship. Below them were the administrative elites, dominant agrarian and mercantile groups involved in temple management and finally at the bottom were the lower categories of agricultural worker, craftsmen and menials in the temple service.

Through the end of the eleventh century, there was a gradual marginalization of the *brahmadeyas* due to their exhaustion as an institution of integration. Consequently, the temples further appeared as significant organizations that had an impact on the religious societies. The Pandya and the Chola records of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries cite many instances of the *brahmadeyas* being converted into non-brahmana villages or being donated as *devadanam* to the temples. Either the Brahmanas migrated from the Tamil country to the northern areas or converged increasingly towards the temples, further highlighting the latter's significance. This coincided with continuing decline of the Chola management, and the re-emergence of the local chiefs.
Simultaneously, several non-brahmana social groups were becoming prominent. These were the Vellalas, merchants and artisans. There was further expansion of agriculture and agrarian settlements, which highlighted the rising prominence of the Vellalas as the dominant agricultural society vis-à-vis the lower agricultural groups, leading to tensions within the agrarian society. As powerful non-brahamana landowners, the Vellalas organized and supervised

the manufacture and water possessions. They also partook in the management of the temples beside with the brahamanas.

One of the direct consequences of the agrarian expansion was the acceleration of commercial behaviors from tenth century onwards that led to the growth of market centers, *nagarams* and a network flanked by them. Due to commercial behaviors of overland and inland deal, new deal routes and urban centres came up linking the remote and newly conquered areas with the nuclear regions and the coast. There was a spread of guild behaviors and trading associations of both the indigenous and foreign merchants. Consequently, there appeared guilds with its diverse groups of traders, merchants, artisans, craftsmen, and itinerant traders. One such prominent trading society in the ninth century was the *Nagarattar*, whose members applied the *chetti* suffix. Often the mercantile societies invested in agriculture, gifted to the temples, further strengthening the ties of integration, and inter dependence. One such weaver society, the *Kaikkolas* had important links with the temples and became an significant social group that the religious traditions attempted to incorporate in order to project a liberal outlook. Through ninth century, groups of *brahmadeyas* and temples had urbanized into centers of urban growth, therefore connecting villages, urban centers and royal capital, diverse population and religion within the similar intricate. Hence, the rising social importance of the several non-brahmana groups led to a movement towards a higher caste status, especially the claims of the artisans to a twice-born caste status with a respectable ritual legroom in the temples. In this altered social environment, undoubtedly temples forged links amongst chiefs, kings, merchants and the newly emergent groups.

Socio-Religious Movements: The Role of the Acharyas

The popular religion of the Shaivas and Vaishnava society responded to this social change through providing a broad social base with ideological sanction, which would accommodate the diverse ethnic groups, within a single society framework. In the absence of any challenge from the heterodox sect's viz., the Jainas and the Buddhists, the religious societies focused on the expansion of their resource base through competing for patronage from the

royalty and the local chieftains. The *acharyas* or the ideologues and theologians organized the thoughts of the *Nayanars* and *Alvars*. This was done primarily in three ways:

The *acharyas* evolved a textual custom that comprised of sure type of texts like the commentaries, the hagiographies and temple texts such as the *Agamas*. In all these texts, the ideology of the religious societies was articulated. A society custom evolved in these texts that provided a sense of history and cultural stability. This stability reflected an antiquated past, thoughts and beliefs, conventions and practices, which gave legitimacy to the society. The commentatorial literature while interpreting and commenting on the pre-existent texts, themselves became the subject of further commentaries and interpretations, thereby adding on to the religious exegesis. Similarly, the hagiographies and the temple texts provided a sense of stability through the biographical narratives of saints and myths of the several deities and very often provided a link flanked by the normative and the popular custom. So, these texts themselves became the focus of a communal society consciousness.

The *acharyas* consolidated the society through creating an institutional framework. This comprised of strengthening their base in the temples through gaining access to several privileges, for instance, the right to performing the rituals. Another institutional innovation was the emergence of the *mathas,* which were almost certainly an power of the Smarta custom.

The notion of pilgrimage expressed in several sites in the hymns of the Nayanars and Alvars was elaborated upon through fostering the local, local and pan-Indian network. In this method, a communal consciousness of the society was highlighted.

Socio-Religious Movements: The New Trends *Shaivism*

In this context, Shaivism presented an integrative framework comprising of the Tamil *bhakti* of the *Nayanars*, brahmanical shapes of worship and autochthonous (local) cults. Such integration was articulated in the *Shaiva Agamas* which laid down new shapes of worship, in which the emphasis was to incorporate the local cult centres into Shaiva shrines. The sacred geography as demarcated through the *Nayanars* provided the guide for the identification of these sites, with maximum concentration in the Kaveri area. Consequently, the local priests were initiated into Shaivism giving rise to a new class of temple priests described the *Shaiva* Brahmanas. These *Shaiva* Brahmanas were assigned ritually a lower rank to the *Smarta (Vadama)* Brahmanas hence creating a hierarchy in the Brahmana caste. Therefore, the temple appeared as the focus of the whole Shaiva society, where several local sects, converged. The creation of a Shaiva pantheon with Shiva as the father, Durga as the mother and Murugan as the son represented a perfect divine family. This pantheon was popularly recognized as the Somaskanda image. The folk analogy of the *linga* worship and its ‗aniconic' nature brought divergent socio-economic groups into Shaiva worship and broadened the social foundation of Shaivism.

So, Shaivism appeared as an effective ideology for the integration of the civilization and economy. For these causes Shaivism was adopted as the royal cult, which further enabled the consolidation of the Shaiva society. In addition, the iconographic shapes of Shiva as Yogi (popularly described Dakshinamurti), Nataraja, Bhiksatana and Ravananugraha (humbling of Ravana) – all symbolizing the notion of a successful *Puranic* hero, appealed the Chola ideology for establishing power in excess of the Tamil area. From the middle of the tenth to the twelfth century A.D, Shaivism appeared as a ‗state' cult under Rajaraja I (A.D 985-1045.), Rajendra I and Kulottunga II (A.D.1133-50.). The big-level construction of the Shaiva temples, especially in the royal capital of Gangaichondacholapuram and Tanjavur projected the Chola policy of promoting Shaiva *bhakti*. The collection of the Shaiva hymns and the composition of the hagiographies were a part of the royal project that contributed to the development of a Shaiva scripture (*marai*). Nambi Andar Nambi, the compiler of the *Tirumurai* (the Shaiva scripture) and Cekkilar, the composer of the Shaiva hagiography, the *Periya Puranam*, were associated with the court of Rajaraja I and Kulottunga II respectively. In information, the narratives from the hagiographies inspired some of the iconographic themes in the Chola temples. The royal patronage to the Shaiva temples expanded the liturgy through introducing the hymns of the four

Nayanars, viz., Appar, Cuntarar, Campantar and Manikkavaccakar as a part of the ritual singing in the temples. Their deification took lay in the temples approximately the similar time that is the tenth century under the royal initiatives mainly of Rajaraja I (985-1014) and Kulottunga II (1133-50).

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Vaishnava custom had already appeared with a well urbanized textual, institutional and pilgrimage custom. This threatened the Shaiva society. The Shaivas also did not miss the crucial emergence of new social non-brahmana groups. The Shaiva canon, *Tirumurai,* the Shaiva hagiographies, the *Tiruttontar Tiruvantati* and the *Periya Puranam* fixed the number of saints to sixty three belonging to a wide social spectrum, from Brahmanas to *paraiya.* Though, separately from Appar, Campantar, Cuntarar and Manikkavaccakar, whose devotional works comprised the scripture, the rest are of doubtful historicity. So, the low caste backdrop of the *Nayanars* was a deliberate projection of a popular social base. Interestingly, the compilers of the canon and composers of the hagiographies Nambi Andar Nambi and Cekkilar belonged to the upper castes- the *Brahmana*s and the Vellala ruling family respectively. Further, other popular Shaiva traditions were incorporated, on behalf of an integrative paradigm. For instance, the incorporation of Tamil *Siddha* custom through the profile of the *Siddha* saint, Tirumular who accentuated on Shiva and Murukan worship, reflected an effort in this direction.

Such an incorporative trend accommodated the non-brahmanas, especially the artisan and the weaver groups who had become economically powerful in the twelfth century and were demanding greater ritual and administrative participation in the temples. The Shaiva temple rituals and pantheon incorporated a series of popular folk elements, whose non-brahmanical adherents sustained with their allegiance to the local deities, despite belonging to the Shaiva society. Therefore, Shaivism provided an self-governing legroom for the folk cults and their expression. Though, the construction of a broad-based society in the twelfth century was a conscious effort with the help of the royal patronage that reflected the dominant/elite ideological features of the Shaivas. The legend of recovering the *Tevaram* from the dusty storeroom of the temple in Chidambaram at the royal instance further attests the elitist attitude.

The establishment of Shaiva institutional organization specially the *mathas* with their non-brahmanical leadership further widened the catchment region of the Shaiva devotees. These leaders recognized as the Mudalyars Santana mostly belonged to the Vellala lineage of the twelfth-thirteenth century. Further, the instances of the *Nayanars* establishing the *mathas* further highlighted their importance. For instance,

Tirunavukkarasu, a *Nayanar* himself founded a *matha* in Tiruppundurutti in Tanjavur district. The *mathas* gained manage in excess of the temples and its landed property after the twelfth century AD, with the decline of the *brahmadeyas*. They also invested and participated in the extensive aloofness deal, and were mostly situated in the trading and weaving centers, where they attracted the royal and mercantile patronage. Therefore, they were the custodian of the religious canon, had a big following and appeared as powerful institutional bases for the Shaiva society.

The Shaiva custom influenced many religious traditions. Virashaivas in Karnataka was one such significant custom. Shaivism also influenced the cult of Murukan, the mainly venerated god in South India. Projected as the son of Shiva, Murukan on one hand, represented the association of local, local deities with the brahmanical religion and on the other, it bridged the gap flanked by the tribal and agrarian settlements of the temple and royal court centres.

Vaishnavism
The Shrivaisnavas
The heavy royal patronage to Shaivism Throughout the Chola era, from tenth to eleventh century marginalized the development of Vaishnavism. Very often, the Shrivaishnavas became the target of royal persecution. Compared to the Shaiva temples, the construction of the Vaishnava temples was not on such a big level. None of the *Alvars*, with the exception of Tirumangai were deified in the Chola temples. Unlike the Shaivas, the Vaishnavas were not a well-urbanized organized society with a comprehensive textual custom. Attempts were made in the late ninth and early tenth centuries to evolve a text, the *Bhagavata Purana*. The text was written in Sanskrit and the *Alvar bhakti* was the main theme of the text. This _Sanskritization of the Krishna custom' adopted the popular *Puranic* approach and drew heavily from the local Tamil myths. But the text had a heavy Sanskritic base and the ideological foundation was primarily the intellectual philosophy of *advaita*. So, the effort of *Bhagavata Purana* to reconcile popular *bhakti* with brahmanical orthodoxy failed to create an impact on the local population, the Shrivaishnava philosophical organization and the Chola sovereignty.

Though, until the middle of the tenth century AD, Vaishnavism beside with Shaivism received royal patronage under Parantaka-I (AD 907-955). Vishnu temples like the one at Shrirangam (Tiruchchirapalli district in Tamil Nadu) were elaborated upon. State support was further apparent from the attendance of the Krishna and Rama temples. Some attempts were consciously made to evolve a structure for the

Vaishnava society when a part of the *Nalayira Divya Prabandham* i.e. the *Tiruvaymoli* of Nammalvar was composed and put to music in the Ranganathasvami temple at Shrirangam and Uttaramerur Throughout the era of Rajendra I in the eleventh century. Due to the lack of possessions, it was not almost certainly possible to develop the whole corpus of four thousand hymns into a full-fledged institution of ritual singing. Under these circumstances, the conscious choice of the *Tiruvaymoli* was a deliberate effort to draw the non-brahmana devotees, especially of the significant Vellala caste to which Nammalvar belonged. Hence, a channel for the dissemination of the Vaishnava thoughts of *bhakti* to the people did not develop in the similar manner as that of the Shaivas. Almost certainly unlike Shaivism Vaishnavism did not have the integrative capability that could be the foundation of the political ideology and social philosophy of egalitarianism. As a result, the social base of Shrivishnavas could not develop. Poor networks of interaction and a weak institutional structure could not evolve a society. Consequently, the ‗Shrivaishnavas' remained a scattered lot in South India. Although, the temple inscriptions refer to ‗Shrivaishnavas', but it was an honorary prefix of the Vaishnava Brahmanas and did not imply a society. Though, through twelfth century, with the decline of the Cholas and the *brahmadeyas*, rising importance of the temples, and emergence of new social groups, Shrivaishnavism took many important steps despite its heavy Sanskritic base. Already under Kulottunga I (AD 1070-1118) there was revival of royal patronage in some of the major Vaishnava centres, which started developing a considerable following. The efforts of Shrivaishnava *acharyas*, Nathamuni and Yamunacharya at creating a strong temple base strengthened the society organizations. Nathamuni introduced the *Nalayira Divya Prabandham*, i.e. the hymns of the *Alvars* as a part of the ritual singing in the temples. Yamunacharya's treatise described *Agamapramanyam* advocated the *Pancharatra Agama* in preference to the already existing *Vaikhansa Agama* for worship in the temples. This was an ideological shift from an exclusive, metaphysical approach as represented in *Vaikhansa Agama* to a more popular, ritualistic and incorporative approach as represented in *Pancharatra Agama* and elaborated the shapes of worship The *Agamas* were manuals that laid down the guidelines for construction of temples, iconography, and details in relation to the daily religious observances, magic, medicine and so on.

Though, it was under Kulottunga II, i.e. the second quarter of the twelfth century AD that the *Vishishtadvaita* philosophy of Ramanuja (AD 1100) evolved. It was the first school of thought that challenged Shankara's monistic (i.e. non-dualism) philosophy of *Advaita* and the concept of *Nirguna Brahma* and presented an

alternative model for the perception of divinity. Just as to the Shrivaishnava hagiographies, Ramanuja received his early philosophical training in Kanchipuram from an *advaita* teacher, Yadava Prakasha. Though, he differed from his teacher and urbanized the philosophy of _qualified monism (i.e. *Vishishtadviata).* Soon after he split with Yadava Prakasha and met a succession of teachers including Nathamuni and Yamunaharya who held alike theological views like Ramanuja's. Finally Ramanuja succeeded Yamunacharya as the head of the *matha* at Ranganathaswami temple at Shrirangam. He travelled to several spaces not only in South India but also in North India, where in some spaces, he introduced the Shrivaishanava custom. He is credited with conversion of the Hoysala ruler of southern Karnataka, Vishnuvardhana from Jaina faith to the Shrivaishnava one. Just as to the custom, he recognized several shrines and centres in southern Karnataka, especially the one at Yadavagiri, also recognized as Melukote. Ramanuja wrote many treatises and commentaries (*bhashya*) in Sanskrit and was also described the *bhashyakara*. The mainly well-known amongst all his works is the *Shribhashya* which was the first sectarian *bhashya* and became a model for several others that followed. Ramanuja's philosophy was based on the thought that the divine had attributes that were comprehensible to the less intellectual devotees. So, this religious philosophy on the one hand imparted the much-needed theological orientation to the society and on the other hand, it was aimed at bringing the Tamil (local/folk) with Sanskritic, where caste was secondary, thereby broadening the base of society. The concept of *Saguna Brahma*, i.e. the perception of divinity in concrete aesthetic conditions made the god more accessible.

The Shrivaishnava custom credits Ramanuja with the introduction of the nonbrahmanical classes, especially the Kaikkolas, in the temple services and institutionalizing their attendance through numerous duties allotted to them. The inscriptions of the Ranganathasvami temple at Shrirangam and Venkatesvarasvani temple at Tirupati refer many times to the Kaikkolas and their administrative duties. The *Koil Olugu,* the chronicle of the temple at Shrirangam also devotes considerable attention to the Kaikkolas and the role of Ramanuja in incorporating them in the temple services. Although epigraphical proof does not mention Ramanuja's contribution, the claims made through the powerful Kaikkola weaver society for a higher ritual status was approximately the similar time. The epigraphs point out that the Kaikkolas were a part of the expanding temple rituals and even participated in the gift-giving and administrative functions of the temple. Kaikkola *Mudalis* were significant temple officials. So, through the end of the twelfth century, the emergence

of Shrivaishnavas as an organized group is apparent from their manage in the temple organizations. In the post Ramanuja era, the development and consolidation of the textual custom contributed significantly towards the development of the society identity. First, the philosophy of *ubhaya vedanta* i.e. dual *Vedas*, introduced for the first time the notion of a scripture in Tamil. The whole corpus of four thousand hymns acquired scriptural importance. Second, with the development of the scripture was the custom of writing commentaries. The *Prabandham* and the works of Ramanuja became the subject of many commentaries. This led to the development of many interpretations, which slowly urbanized into separate philosophies themselves. Third, was the hagiographic custom that delineated a cult of saints projecting a distinction flanked by the *Alvars* and *acharya,* and the hymnal and theological custom represented through them. The composition of the *Divyasuricharitam* through Garudavahan Pandita is regarded through many scholars as the first hagiography. The hagiographic narratives also accentuated on the itinerary of the saints therefore projecting a pilgrimage network.

Madhvacharya

An significant religious custom that urbanized within Vaishanvism was that of Madhvacharya in the thirteenth century. Madhavacharya founded a sect directly based on the *Bhagavat Purana*. He was born at Kalyanapur close to Udipi in South Kanara district. Like Ramanuja, his early training was in Shankara's philosophy of *advaita.* Though, he soon urbanized differences with the *advaitic* philosophy and became a *sanyasi* and was described *Purna Prajna* (fully enlightened). In his writings he referred to himself as Ananda Tirtha. Just as to the Madhva custom, he was involved in a debate at Trivandrum with an *acharya* of Sringeri, which led to his persecution. Thereafter, he travelled to several spaces in north India, facing innumerable difficulties and finally reached the Himalayas and wrote a commentary on the *Vedanta-Sutras.* Subsequently, he returned to Udipi and built a temple of Krishna and spent the rest of his life there preaching. He wrote commentaries on the *Upanishads* and a companion volume to the *Mahabharata,* which is one of the significant scriptures of the Madhva society.

Madhva's religion was complete *bhakti* to Krishna with Radha having no lay in it. All other *avatars* (incarnations) of Vishnu are revered, Shiva is worshipped and the five gods of the *Smartas* are recognized. Madhava evolved the philosophy of *Dvaita Vedanta* (dualism) as against Shankara's *Advaita* (monism) and Ramanuja's *Vishistadvaita* (qualified monism). Just as to him five distinctions were eternal. These

were the differences flanked by (i) god and individual soul, (ii) god and matter, (iii) individual soul and matter, (iv) one individual soul and other, and finally (v) one material thing and another. World is real and not illusory. There are two types of reality, *svatantra* or self-governing reality which is god, and *partantra* or dependant reality, which are the soul and the world.

Virashaivism

The rise of the non-brahmanas also provided an impetus to the Virashaiva movement in Karnataka (also described Lingayats today). They urbanized a strong anti-caste, antibrahmanical rhetoric and subsequently appeared as a cohesive society in the Vijayanagar era. Virashaivism, literally meaning heroic Shaivism was based on intense and unconditional devotion to Shiva. This socio-religious movement was influenced through the *bhakti* of the Tamil *Nayanars*, who were also regarded as the spiritual guides of the Virashaiva teachers. Virashaivism is also measured to be _a reformist schism of the Kalamuka sect in Kartnataka.' The founder of the movement was supposed to be Basava, a minister in the court of the Kalachuri king, Bijjala of Kalyana in north Karnataka in the twelfth century (AD 1160). Bijjala and Basava were said to have had numerous differences. After the _crisis of Kalyana', the Virashaivas faced opposition. Proof concerning the persecution of the devotees is accessible in the inscriptions and literature. Though, with the establishment of Yadava manage in the Deccan, especially in northern Karnataka and the Hoysala regimes in southern Karnataka, Virashaivas received considerable royal patronage. The growth of deal in Karnataka provided the support from the merchants and the artisan's societies, especially the Banajigas. This movement was hostile to Jainism and remained so after the twelfth century and was chiefly responsible for the decline of Jainism in Karnataka.
Just as to the Virshaiva custom, the society had an ancient origin, when the five ascetics sprang up from the five heads of Shiva and founded the five mathas. They were Kedarnatha in the Himalayas, Srisailam in Kurnool district in Andhra Pradesh, Balehalli in West Mysore, Ujjaini in Bellary and Benares. Just as to Nilakantha Sastri, evidences illustrate that these ascetics are contemporaries of Basava in the twelfth century. In every Virashaiva village, there is a monastery affiliated to any one of the five ascetics.
Since they rejected mainly of the brahmanical practices and institutional organizations like the temples, they created its own priesthood, the *jangamas*. The *jangama* was the *guru* or spiritual guide and commanded veneration in the society.

He was recognized with Shiva himself. The *jangamas* were both householders and celibates and were based in the Virashaiva *mathas*. The celibate *jangamas* were of two kinds, the *Gurusthalas* who initiated the followers and performed domestic rites and the *Viraktas* who led a life of austerity. Each follower wears a lingam encased in a small container approximately his neck. It is described the *jangama linga* or the *ishtalinga* or the mobile *linga.* The Virashaivas rejected the worship of fixed big stone *lingas (Sthavara linga)* in the temples. Temple and temple structure was condemned as an action of the rich. It was a static symbol, as against the body, especially the moving body, wandering from lay to lay. Hence, it was a denunciation of the stable establishment. The saints came from diverse non-brahmanical backdrop. The Virashaiva saints were measured as *Nirguna bhaktas*, relating personally to the infinite absolute, which may bear the name of Shiva, but did not have any attributes or mythology.

The scriptures of the Virashaivas comprised of the v*achanas,* which were exclusively in Kannada. A *vachana* is a religious lyric in Kannada, literally meaning, 'saying things said'. From the tenth to the twelfth century, there were prolific *vachana* compositions of the Virashaiva saints like, Dasimayya, Basav, Allama and Mahadeviyakka. None of them were brahmanas. The saints had an antipathy towards the Sanskrtic custom and scriptures. This is reflected in the *vachanas* of Basava and other Virashaiva saints. Just as to A.K.Ramanujan, although the *vachanas* were characterized through spontaneity and rejected the formal stylized brahmanical Sanskritic *Shruti* and *Smriti* literature, but they —did not exclude Sanskrit languages or even general Sanskrit quotations; instead the *vachanakars* used Sanskrit with brilliant and intricate effects of contrast, setting it off against the native dialectical Kannada.

The Virashaivas right from the beginning had a broad social base, where the followers came from dissimilar castes and class. Their practices brought them into disagreement with other Shaiva religious traditions. Their social practice advocated the remarriage of the widows, no restrictions on menstruating women, inter-caste dining, no ritual purification for the family of the deceased and they buried their dead. The society was divided into four categories, viz., Jangamas, Shilavantas, Banajigas and Panchamashalis. However this division was not based on caste and job, it was based on spiritual superiority, whereby a *jangama* was at the top of this hierarchy. Subsequently, the Virashaivas crystallized into an endogamous society with strict boundaries. Simultaneous with the development of Virashaivism was the growth and expansion of another movement of alike beliefs. This was the Aradhya Shaiva movement in Andhra (Cuddapah and Kurnool district mainly) and Kannada area (Mysore). It was started through Mallikarjuna Pandita Aradhya, who was a modern of

Basava in the twelfth century. Aradhya is a Sanskrit word meaning adorable. The followers were mostly brahmanas. They wore the sacred thread beside with the *linga* approximately their neck. They adopted the Virashaiva shapes of worship but did not interdine with other Lingayats and intermarried with the Smartas.

So, the twelfth century represented a crucial phase in the development and construction of the religious societies and their respective consciousness. A stiff competition for acquiring the devotees set in. The theological orientation of the societies was aimed at incorporating the non-brahmanical elements thereby broadening the social base of their respective society organization. The Shaiva and the Vaishnava traditions drew legitimacy from their respective hymnal custom and projected a broad base, Amidst such an intense religious development, sectarian rivalries became general, especially in the context of competitive manage in excess of the patronage of economically and politically diverse powerful social groups. This was further reflected in the subsequent era, with the migration and the establishment of the Vijayanagara Empire in the fourteenth century.

Socio-Religious Movements: The Changing Social Base and Society Identities AD 1300-1700
The socio-economic and religious procedures of the twelfth century sustained in the thirteenth century. There was a gradual decline of the Chola power and the emergence of numerous dynasties. The Kakatiyas of Warangal in the interior Telugu country, the Hoysalas of Dvarsamudra in the Karnataka area and the Pandyas of Madurai in the Tamil country were the mainly formidable powers to reckon with. The political situation Throughout this era was characterized through shifting alliances and uncertainties. The fertile river valleys of Kaveri, Pennar, Tamraparani and Krishna-Godavari with numerous agricultural settlements and significant trading centres were a source of attraction to the Hoysala and Kakatiya kingdoms as they were situated in the rocky regions of low rainfall and so possessed a narrow resource base. Subsequently, the Kakatiyas took in excess of the region from Telangana to the rich agricultural land and ports of the Krishna-Godavari delta and the Hoyaslas occupied the western coast from the Konkan to Goa and Malabar. The Hoysalas also shifted their capital from Dvarasamudra to Kannanur close to the Kaveri delta in the Tamil area, where the Pandyas were already creation inroads. The tension flanked by the two powers manifested in their competitive patronage extended to the Vaishnava

temple of Ranganathasvami and the Shaiva temple of Jambukeshvaram, situated on either face of the Kaveri at Srirangam.

The invasions of the Delhi Sultanate under Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq in the fourteenth century disturbed the political configurations in South India, especially of the Hoysalas, Kakatiyas and Pandyas and culminated in the establishment of the Sultanate at Madurai. Through AD 1370, the Vijayanagar Empire with its capital at Hampi in northern Karnataka appeared as a consolidated ruling power. Finally, the defeat of the Madurai Sultan at the hands of Kumara Kampana of Vijayanagar pushed the frontiers to the southernmost point.

The establishment of the Vijayanagar Empire integrated the three cultural zones of Tamil Nadu, Andhra and Karnataka. Consequently, wetland agricultural settlements and arid upland zones were connected to each other. The fertile Kaveri delta attracted the dominant agricultural society of the Velamas from the arid northern zones of the Deccan plateau. The resolution of the migratory Telugu or the Vaduga groups in the central Deccan and the Tamil wet areas often displaced the older Tamil peasants and landholders, and created a new class of landed magnates. Through fifteenth century, agrarian expansion not only took lay in the wet regions, but also in the arid zones particularly in the black soil area through artificial irrigation technology. Unsettled forested regions and hilly tracts situated on the peripheries of agricultural settlements were also the focus of the farming. In these regions, the agriculturists came into disagreement with the hunters and pastoralists that often led to the incorporation of the latter into the agricultural society as lower caste groups. These hunting tribes also possessed a martial custom which became the foundation of their recruitment in the Vijayanagar armies. These changes provided the context for the emergence of a warrior peasant class, primarily non-brahamana and Telugu in composition. Some of them were the Reddis, Vellalas, Gavundas, and Manradis. The already existing dominant agricultural society of the Vellalas appeared as big landowners with titles like *nadudaiyan* or *nadalvan.* These powerful agricultural societies through incorporating and involving several peasant and non-peasant groups in the agricultural behaviors connected the local village civilizations to the political authorities. Through fourteenth century political groups, referred to as the *nayakas* on behalf of the Vijayanagar Empire in several areas of the Peninsula appeared prominently. These *nayakas* primarily belonged to the Telugu warrior class. They appeared as the major benefactors of the temples and *mathas,* especially those of the Shrivaishnava society. In excess of a era, these *nayakas* became influential in the temple management and the local assemblies. Subsequently, through seventeenth

century, self-governing *nayaka* states appeared in Tiruchchirapalli, Madurai and Tanjavur. Migration also brought into prominence a new class of itinerant merchants and traders, many of whom slowly settled down and appeared as powerful landowners. The emergent mercantile societies comprising of merchants, artisans and weavers were the followers of dissimilar religious traditions - Shaiva, Vaishnava and Islam. Though, primarily Vaishnavism was the faith of the migrant merchants and traders. Their lavish sponsorship of Shrivaishnava temples helped to spread Shrivaishnavism. The Venkateshvara temple at Tirupati and the Narayanasvami temple at Melkote appeared as important organizations due to the patronage of the *nayakas* and merchants. Therefore, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, temple and polity were inextricably connected with each other and appeared as the foundation of a new social formation.

Mechanisms of Integration: Consolidation of Society Consciousness
Amidst such politico-economic and social changes, religion appeared as a major stabilizing power. Such a scenario provided several opportunities to the religious societies to consolidate their social base. Integration of the diverse social groups, primarily the non-brahmanas, within the superior society framework became a major agenda of the society-structure programme. The attempts to reconcile and accommodate the Brahmana and the non-brahmana elements through the *acharyas* often led to debates and conflicts within the societies. Some of the mechanisms adopted for integrating the dissimilar social groups and expanding social base are given below.

The religious canvas throughout this era was not presently dominated through the religion of the Vellalas and Brahmanas. Against this background of migration of several social groups and the rising power of the martial societies in both wet and arid regions, the worship of the warrior goddesses became popular. This era registered a dramatic augment in the Amman shrines. Many of these Amman shrines were connected to the brahmanical temples of Shiva and Vishnu, which at a superior stage connected the rural civilizations to the urban settlements. The mechanism through which such integration was affected was primarily the concept of divine marriage that connected the two lineages – brahmanical and non-brahmanical. Therefore, both Shiva and Vishnu had numerous consorts Throughout this era. Hence,

a big pantheon was created comprising of the local warrior gods, goddesses and the brahmanical divinity of Shiva and Vishnu. This represented a vast cross part of the civilization that was connected through temple rituals in a hierarchical manner. Further, the non-brahmanical Vellala village priest also participated in the ritual behaviors of the big temples beside with the *Brahmana* priests. In this method, the brahmanical temples were connected through a priestly network with the village deities. The religious scenario became more intricate as some of the migratory groups accepted their own gods and goddesses and constructed new temples.

In such a situation, the role of the temple assumed importance. The temples were the mechanism for generating agricultural growths. The numerous endowments made through the diverse social groups generated possessions that were supervised and invested through the temples for tank irrigation. Beside with the temples the institution of the *mathas* assumed further importance in this era. As a powerful institution within the superior structure of the temple, the *mathas* were either a competitive element *vis-à-vis* the temple authorities or participated beside with them in several transactions. Very often, they came into disagreement with other groups in the temple in excess of the manage of possessions. The social base of a *matha* was determined through it being attached to a temple in some form or the other. Some *mathas* were associated with a single temple and hence were localized and became the controllers of the management of that temple. Throughout the Vijayanagar era, the *matha* leaders received heavy patronage. Both the temples and the *mathas* provided a legroom for the convergence of groups within the societies. The religious leaders or the *acharyas* and the *mathadhipatis* were the vital link flanked by the local population and the new class of rulers, thereby enabling the establishment of political power in excess of the newly conquered regions. From the fourteenth century onwards, a big number of non-brahmanas had significant administrative roles within the temples and the *mathas*. They also had access to the performance of some of the

rituals.. As a centre of society action and interaction, temples and *mathas* appeared as significant organizations. It is for these causes that the *rayas* made heavy endowments to both the organizations. The gifts were made to the deities and the sectarian leaders or the *acharyas* and the head of the *mathas* were the instruments through which the gift was made. In return, they were the recipients of privileges from the ruling class and also gained greater manage in excess of temple organization and management. Therefore, these sectarian leaders recognized religious, political and economic manage in excess of the civilization and legitimized themselves as central figures of the society. In this connection, the relation flanked by the gifts made through the Vijayanagar rulers and chiefs and the sectarian leaders requires a brief discussion. A two-method connection urbanized flanked by the sectarian leaders and the Vijayanagar rulers (where both needed each other). Arjun Appadorai points out an _asymmetrical' connection flanked by the rulers and the sectarian groups. While the rulers conferred honour as well as possessions in the form of gifts to the sectarian leaders, the latter only rendered honour and not material possessions. Despite such an _asymmetrical' relation, the state preferred to provide gift to the temples for two causes. First, the state was not interested in investing directly in the irrigation behaviors, for that required additional responsibility of labour and financial management. The sectarian leaders with their social power could harness the labour potential and manage them. Two, gifting to the temple and its functionaries was an act of merit that was inevitably recorded in the inscriptions. Though, the underlying motive was to gain access to the temple and be a part of the ritual set-up that incorporated other social groups, in excess of which the *rayas* and the chiefs wanted to assert their manage. So, the temple and the *mathas,* and their functionaries were instrumental in legitimizing the political power, which otherwise would have been hard. The generation of possessions at such a big stage created tensions flanked by the several sectarian groups. The manage in excess of temple store-homes became one of the major issues of competitive manage and contestation. The

leaders through the manage of the temple base accumulated power and possessions. The sectarian leaders imitated the royal paraphernalia and behaved as small kings themselves. Therefore, the temple, the king and the religious leader were connected jointly through the deity as the paradigmatic sovereign.

The concept of pilgrimage contributed significantly towards the consolidation of the several societies from fourteenth century onwards. On the one hand, pilgrimage provided an arena for group/society interaction and presented a communal consciousness. On the other hand it provided a single context for the assertion of multiple identities within the overarching society paradigm that is pilgrimage brought jointly dissimilar social groups and sectarian leaders. The pilgrimage sites were not only confined to the southern boundaries, but were present in the northern area also, thereby attributing a pan-Indian status to the religious traditions. The notion of pilgrimage was focused on the composite nature of the sacred centres and the network flanked by them. The journey to the scared shrines within a well-defined region strengthened the spatial identities. This implied not only movement and interaction of the people, but also transmission, swap and circulation of thoughts and beliefs, which influenced and enriched the society ideology. In this context, the pilgrimage sites became the meeting ground for the *acharyas*, the *mathadhipatis,* and their respective followers, where the former could symbolically assert their claims as the spiritual mediator flanked by man and god. Pilgrimages to holy spaces became general in the Vijayanagar Empire. The rayas themselves and following them the *nayakas* made frequent pilgrimages to several sacred centres. One copper plate grant mentions a list of holy sites which were both Shaiva and Vaishnava. These sites are, Chidambaram, Shrikakulam, Kalahasti, Tirupati, Kanchipuram, Shrisailam,, Harihar, Ahobilam, Shrirangam, Kumbhakonam, Gokarna, Anantashayanam, Rameshvaram and so on. A special kind of text came into being from fifteenth century onwards in the Shaiva and Vaishnava religious literature with the consolidation of institutional

network. These texts were recognized as the S*thalapuranas.* The concept of pilgrimage received exclusive treatment in the S*thalapuranas.* They represented the pilgrimage literature attracting pilgrims through glorifying a scrupulous centre and its temple. Starting from the mythical/legendary origins of a temple, its history, the spiritual leaders associated with that scrupulous centre, these *Sthalapuranas* provided the legendary cum historical explanation in order to set up the primacy of a *sthala* (centre) in the Vaishnava and Shaiva custom. In developing or contributing to the society consciousness, these *Puranas* had a more popular role than the religious canonical literature which was planned mainly as the vital text of doctrine, theology, philosophy and ritual. Festivals were incorporated directly into the *Sthalapuranas* for festivals attracted pilgrims, worshippers and patrons to a centre. The singular treatment of a scrupulous location and a shrine in these texts was with the intention of highlighting the importance of the lay. The milieu appeared as a legroom for the performance of the divine feasts, its flaura and fauna being identical with the heavenly abode and its potential of salvation from the sins was parallel to the divine intervention. The shrine then became the centre that initiated and linked the devotee with the other world. In this sense, the concept of pilgrimage they were promoting did not in any method aim to integrate the whole society. It represented the interests of the priestly class and other temple functionaries of that scrupulous lay, who wished to draw patronage to the temple. In common, the *Sthalapuranas* with the *Puranic* and the local legends glorifying the concerned location were meant to draw royal patronage as well as the religious society. The contents of the *Sthalapuranas* reveal a strong tendency of mythicization of the lay, deity, rituals and shrine. However the local legends were presented in their original form, often their mythicization took lay whereby creating an element of credibility which appealed to the psyche of the pilgrims. Separately from the epic-*Puranic* framework, the texts also borrowed legends from the Sangam literature, the hymnal corpus, especially concerning the shrine/location,

and the biographical accounts of the *Alvars* and the *Nayanars* and *acharyas*. So, they appeared as the representative texts of the sites and the scrupulous temple. With the decline of the Vijaynagar Empire and the emergence of many power groups, the *Sthalapuranas* widened their scope.

With the development and consolidation of the temples and *mathas* as significant organizations of the several religious societies, the concept of a *guru* became important. The guru was usually an *acharya* or *mathadhipati* (head of the *matha*). The emergence of these *acharyas* can be seen from the thirteenth century when several political and social changes took lay. A *guru* (often *guru* and *acharyas* are used interchangeably) commanded a big group of followers, thereby linking the dissimilar groups in the civilization into the mainstream of the society. The importance of the *gurus* lay in their role as disseminators of the canon and the *guru-shishya parampara*, i.e. the preceptor-disciple connection was the transmitter of custom. The *guru-shishya parampara* not only ensured stability but also legitimized the validity of the teacher as the preceptor of the custom which gave him the power to interpret. The *guru* was indispensable to the devotees as he helped them in attaining salvation. Hence, he was the *upakaraka* and *uddharaka,* i.e. ‗he who gave knowledge and showed the method to salvation and he who took the disciples as it were through hand and led him to salvation.' The *guru* initiated the disciple into the society and was instrumental in the dissemination of the theology. The discourses of the *acharyas* that explained the theological meaning of the texts became a part of the society philosophy. The two roles of the *guru,* the initiatory and expository, got institutionalized into the hagiographies which narrated many accounts of the intellectual superiority of the *guru.* Hagiographical texts refer to the *acharyas* participating in several theological debates and emerging victorious and being rewarded through the rulers. Hence, a guru appeared as the focus for the society. The powerful sectarian leaders who were usually the *gurus* were often the intermediaries through whom the warrior class made

gifts and in return obtained _honours' and _power'. In return they received privileges from the ruling class and gained greater manage in excess of temple organization and management. Therefore, the *acharyas* and the heads of *mathas,* as *gurus,* recognized religious, political and economic manage in excess of the civilization and legitimized themselves as central figures of the society.

Socio-Religious Movements: Growths and Trends

From fourteenth century onwards especially with the establishment of the Vijayanagar Empire, a well urbanized nexus flanked by religion and polity had appeared. The role of the *Smarta matha* at Shringeri for the establishment of Vijayanagar Empire in Karnataka in the fourteenth century has been discussed through several scholars. Vidyatirtha or Vidyashankara, (fourteenth century) a well-known *advaita* teacher based in the Shringeri *matha* was held in great reverence through the Sangama rulers of the Vijayanagar Empire. He is supposed to have been the temporal and the spiritual guide of Bukka I. The Inam Office copper plate grant of Harihara II describes Bukka as the worshipper at the lotus feet of Vidyatirtha. This has led some writers to conclude that it was Vidyatirtha who laid the base of the Vijayanagar Empire. Vidyaranya the disciple of Vidyatirtha was a powerful *advaita* of the Shringeri *matha* and is supposed to have guided Harihara and Bukka in establishing and consolidating the Empire in Karnataka. Although the *Smarta* custom was not a part of the socio-cultural movement, it intellectually and theologically influenced the philosophy of some of the socioreligious societies. The *Smarta* power sustained in the subsequent era, when the several *advaita* philosophers and the *Smarta mathas* were not only significant theologically, they were also playing a important role in Vijayanagar politics. Appaya Dikshitar in the early seventeenth century was an influential *Smarta* scholar.

Shaivism

Tamil Shaivism flourished Throughout this era due to the rising power and power of the Shaiva *mathas* and *atinams*. The sectarian leaders attached to these *mathas* were both *Brahmana*s and *Vellalas* who composed hagiographies and theological treatises. In information, the communal title *Tevaram* to the *Nayanar* " *s* hymns was given almost certainly in the sixteenth century. Flanked by thirteenth and

sixteenth centuries, the leaders and teachers of the *mathas* evolved a new philosophical organization of the Tamil Shaivas described the *Shaiva Siddhanta*. The founder of this movement was one Meyakandadeva who existed in the thirteenth century in the Tamil area, south of Chennai. His job, the *Shivajnanabodam* contains the principles and thoughts of this faith. He accentuated the importance of Shiva and is said to have popularized Shaivism amongst the masses. He had many disciples and followers, some of whom were well recognized as Shaiva Siddhnata philosophers. The significant disciples were, Arulnandi, Marai-jnanasambandar and Umapati Shivam. These three disciples beside with Meyakandar constituted the four *Santana-acharyas* (i.e., teachers in continuous series) of Tamil Shaivism.

The story of the recovery and canonization of the *Tevaram* was described in fourteenth century through Umapati Shivam in his job, *Tirumuraikanta Puranam*. This job is significant for the Tamil Shaiva identity as the story of recovery narrated here recognized the authenticity of the *Tevaram* as the revealed scripture. The recovery story also attested the patronage of the eleventh century Chola ruler at whose behest the *Tevaram* was recovered from a dusty room in the Shiva temple at Chidambaram through Nampi Antar Nampi who was guided through none other than Shiva and Lord Ganesha themselves. The Shaiva Siddhnata philosophy is based on the Shaiva Agamas which are twenty eight in number. The Siddhanta philosophy was also influenced through other Shaiva sects like the Pashupatas and Kashmir Shaivas. Just as to this philosophy, there are three ultimate reals: (a) *pashu*, i.e. the individual soul; (b) *pati*, i.e. the lord or Shiva; (c) *pacam* or *pasham*, i.e. the bondage of *karma*. The soul can be liberated through following the fourfold path of devotion, which were, service, worship, spiritual discipline and ultimate knowledge, activated at every stage through god's grace, *arul*. The organization stresses the importance of *bhakti* in preference to rituals and ceremonies. As the Shaiva Siddhanta philosophy got consolidated numerous schools of thought appeared. Another religious custom urbanized within Shaivism, which flourished in the fifteenth century. This was Shivadvaita, whose chief exponent was one Shivacharya. He is supposed to have existed in the beginning of the fifteenth century and wrote the *Shaivabhashya*. Just as to this school, Brahman was recognized with *Para Shiva* who was superior to the *Trimurtis* that is, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a monotheistic movement, mystical in nature, urbanized within Shaivism in the Tamil area. This was recognized as the Sittars or Siddhas. The term *siddha* literally means one who has attained perfection as separate from a *bhakta* who is attempting to perceive god. Just as to some scholars the teachings of the Siddhas were influenced through Islam and

Christianity. Though, this needs to be substantiated. The history of the Siddhas is obscure. Some of the Siddhas had curious names like Ahappey (inner demon), Pambatti (snake charmer) indicating their ambiguous social backdrop. Shivaprakasha was well recognized Siddha who existed in the seventeenth century. Just as to the Siddha custom, he debated with a Christian missionary and wrote *Eshumada Nirakaranam*, which refuted the Christian thoughts. This job is though, no longer extant.

Virashaivism

Throughout the Vijaynagar era, the Virashaivas shifted from northern Karnataka to central and southern Karnataka, where they eventually based themselves. They received patronage from the Vijayanagar rulers, and Wodeyars of Mysore (eighteenth century), *nayakas* and merchants. *Agrahara* villages were granted to the *jangamas*, who were influential Throughout this era. Though, it was in the post-Vijayanagar era that the Virashaivas received heavy patronage and acquired a popular social base. Temples and *mathas* played a crucial role in expanding and consolidating the Virashaiva custom and identity. Numerous works, composed Throughout this era were associated with these *mathas* and temples which had also appeared as the prime instruments of political procedure.

The Virashaiva identity was articulated in its literature which can be divided into two phases. First phase was from the twelfth and fifteenth century marked through the prolific compositions of the Virashaiva poets. New literary shapes were introduced. This era so has been also described the age of Virashaivas or Basava Yuga. The second phase was from the fifteenth century onwards, when the Virashaiva literature had three main concerns:

The works of the *vachanakars* were composed and edited. For this exercise, evidences from the *Vedas*, *Agamas* and *Puranas* were provided. Some editors also interpreted the *vachanas* giving rise to a new form described *vachanagamas*. Separately from collection, edition and interpretation, hagiographies on the lives of the Virashaiva *vachanakars* were composed. These texts also focused on stories taken from dissimilar Shaiva sources such as *Shiva Purana*, Tamil Shaivism and so on.

Attempts were made to appropriate dissimilar Shaiva traditions. Separately from the power of Basavanna and his followers, the Tamil

Shaiva custom, the Kapalikas, Kalamukhas, Nathpanthis and Aradhyas influenced the society literature and played an significant role in constructing the Virashaiva identity. These growths were taking lay while the Kapalika and Kalamukha monasteries were getting incorporated into Virashaiva organizations Throughout this era.

There were compositions of texts related to theology.

All these three concerns of the literature were reflected in the *Shunyasampadane* composed in the fifteenth century. This job is a collection of *vachanas* with a narrative, the real objective is to record the debates and arguments in relation to the matters of theory and practice and so represented a communal consciousness of the society. Simultaneous with these attempts at broadening the social base and creating a composite identity for the society, there also looks to be a conscious effort to broaden the exclusive notion of the *sharanas*, i.e. the Virashaiva saints. Mechanisms for disseminating the theology for the lay devotees was sought to be done through animate and inanimate intermediaries of the faith. The objective aids to faith evolved through the Virashaivas themselves, *guru, lingam, jangama* were now gaining importance as characteristics of the divine and were in turn related to Basava, Chenna Basava and Allam Prabhu. There were shifts in the perception of saints from being human to having divine origins. This would not only give respectability and social acceptability but also coherence, dignity and justifiability to the society.
On one hand efforts were made to expand and broaden the society outlook, on the other hand, the exercise of incorporating the very brahmanical literature they had protested against was taking lay. For instance, Shripati Pandita's *Shrikara Bhashya* (fifteenth century) was based on the *Brahma Purana*. Nandikeshvara defended the practice of wearing the *linga* and burial of the dead on the foundation of *Shruti* and *Smriti* literature in his *Lingadharan Chandrika* composed in the seventeenth century. Contradictions could also be seen in the Virashaiva attitude towards impure and polluting occupations. Those who followed these occupations were not denied entry into the Virashaiva fold, but they had to renounce these occupations to _be born

again' through devotion to Shiva in order to be a part of the Virashaiva fold. So, the Virashaivas did not challenge the brahmanical standards of occupational purity, however they rejected caste discriminations based on heredity. The hierarchy flanked by the *jangamas* and the lay person remained.

The Madhavas
Throughout the Vijayanagar era the Madhavas consolidated their philosophy and wrote many hagiographies and commentaries and urbanized their organizations of the *matha*. They received royal patronage and were influential. Madhva was succeeded through many disciples. The mainly eminent amongst them was Vyasaraya Tirtha, a modern of Krishnadevaraya. Just as to the Madhva hagiographies, Vyasaraya was a favourite of Krishnadevaraya. The emperor abdicated the throne for a short time in favour of Vyasaraya to avert a serious calamity that was predicted for the empire, should the emperor inhabit the throne at a scrupulous hour. Since a calamity was averted when Vyasaraya occupied the throne, he is said to have been honoured with the title of *Karnataka-simhasadhishvara*. A big number of villages were also granted to him. This story shows the nexus flanked by religion and political power and the emphasis on royal patronage that would accord an exalted location to the society.

Vallabhachraya(AD 1479-1531)
Vallabhacharya was a Telugu *Brahmana* and a modern of Chaitanya. He was a founder of a organization described *Shuddhadvaita* as against Shankara's *advaita*. Just as to Vallabhacharya Vishnu was the highest god and he was to be worshipped in the form of young Krishna associated with Radha. Further, *bhakti* was mainly significant and since every soul was a part of the supreme soul, there should be no restriction on the devotees who worship him. The ultimate aim of a Vallabha devotee was to become a *gopi* (cowherdess associated with Krishna legend) and spend life eternally with Krishna in his heaven, the Vyapi-Vaikuntha which had a heavenly Vrindavana and Yamuna.

Just as to the Vallabha custom, Vallabhacharya was invited to participate in a debate at the court of Krishnadevaraya, where he is supposed to have defeated the well-known Madhava teacher, Vyasaraya Tirtha and was elected the chief *acharya* amongst the Vaishnavas. This story was clearly an effort on the part of the Vallabhas to assert themselves vis-à-vis other Vaishnava societies present Throughout this era. The followers of the Vallabha custom were concentrated in the Andhra, Tamil and Maharashtra area and were mostly merchants. The *acharyas* of this sect described themselves the Maharajas and were Telugu Brahmanas.

Shrivaishnavism
Through the end of the thirteenth century AD, Shrivaishnavism appeared as an organized religious society. As has been stated earlier, Throughout the Vijayanagar era the Shrivaishnava society drew maximum political support. The Shrivaishnava temples, *mathas* and the *acharyas* or the sectarian leaders had a favoured status Throughout this era. It is said that the Vijayanagar ruler, Krishnadevaraya was a Shrivaishnava and since Lord Venkateshwara of Tirupati was his tutelary deity, the temple at Tirupati was especially patronized through him. Subsequently, a big number of *nayakas* also made endowments here as a part of the allegiance to the ruler. So, from sixteenth century onwards, the Venkateshwara temple at Tirupati appeared as one of the prominent Shrivaishnava organizations.

The big level incorporation of the several non-brahmana groups in the temple and *matha* management, a broad based theology and the emphasis on the use of Tamil as the language of devotion are cited as some of the causes for immense popularity of the faith Throughout this era. The philosophy of *ubhaya-vedanta* i.e. dual *Vedas*, introduced for the first time the notion of a scripture in Tamil providing sanctity to the vernacular as a scriptural language. A status of the *Vedas* was accorded to the *Nalayira Divya Prabandham*. Though, the Sanskrit *Vedas* were not ignored and were incorporated in the scriptural framework. This was a important development for it broadened the scope of the society ideology and custom, creation it relevant for a superior part of the civilization. Such popularity drew the attention of the rulers and

other political groups towards it as they establish Shrivaishnavism effective in developing the link flanked by the polity and civilization and spread the political network.

Though, a closer examination of the society theology and social practice reveals that there were ongoing tensions within the society in excess of caste, language and manners of devotion. The *acharyas* were conscious of the information that the *Tamil Veda* was neither a translation nor a parallel rendering of the *Vedas* and they needed legitimacy from the Vedic custom to justify the appellation of *Dravida Veda*. This legitimacy was attempted through constant comparisons flanked by the Sanskrit *Vedas* and the *Prabandham*. The low caste authorship of some of the hymns incorporated in the *Dravida Veda* posed a problem of legitimacy to the subsequent theologians of the society. The question arose as to whether the composition through low caste authors could be accorded the status of a *Veda*. Many commentaries discussed this issue and asserted that caste was ascriptive and a person had no managed in excess of it. What made him great was his devotion to god.

The tensions within the society were further highlighted when the numerous commentaries and theological texts advocated dissimilar interpretations on the philosophy and teachings of the *Alvars* and Ramanuja. The contradictory interpretations created a situation of disagreement that led to a split within the society into two sects, the Vatakalai (northern) and Tenkalai (southern). Temples and *mathas* were also affiliated to a separate Vatakalai or Tenkalai custom. Vatakalai means north, i.e. northern part of the Tamil country with Kanchipuram as its religious centre. The Vatakalais are projected as adhering to the *Vedic* custom, emphasizing on the sacredness of Sanskrit as the scriptural language. The Tenkalai means south of Tamil country with Shrirangam and Kaveri delta as the religious centre. They are projected as adhering to the *Prabandhic* custom and emphasizing on Tamil as the scriptural language.

The vital variation flanked by the Vatakalai and the Tenkalai sects lie in their respective acharyic lineage immediately after Ramanuja. For the Vatakalai, Vedanta Desika (AD1268-1369) was their acharyic head. The importance of these two *acharyic* heads for their respective sects lie in the information that they were in direct row of descent from Ramanuja onwards

and hence claimed to be his legitimate successors. So, it followed that, the interpretations of Ramanuja's teachings through *Vedanta Desika* and *Manavala Mamuni* were a logical continuation to Ramanuja's teachings and were valid. There were theological differences that became the bases of numerous debates flanked by the two sects. They were:

The first issue was the nature of god and soul. Just as to Vatakalais, the soul has to create the effort to attain god's grace, presently as the calf of the monkey clutched the mother with its own efforts i.e. *markata-nyaya*. Just as to the Tenkalai philosophy, the soul did not need to create any effort like the kitten who was accepted through the cat in its mouth; hence *marjala nyaya*. These two similes are popular till this day.

Second issue was that of *bhakti* and *prapatti* (complete surrender to god). To the Vatakalais, *bhakti* and *parapatti* were two dissimilar goals. Status through birth, knowledge and capability were pre-requisites for *bhakti Prapatti* and did not require any qualifications and could be attained through any ordinary human being. Just as to the Tenkalais, since *bhakti* required individual effort, it was inferior to *prapatti*, which was effortless and depended on total surrender to god.

Third issue was that of the life pattern of *prapanna* and the notion of *kainkarya* (or service to the god). Just as to the Vatakalais, *kainkarya* was to be performed just as to the *shastric* rules. To obtain forgiveness *prapanna* (i.e. the devotee) should follow sure *prayschitta* (atonement) rules. The Tenkalais did not provide importance to the *shastric* injunctions for performing the *kainkarya*. In information, *prayschitta* was not required at all and it was assumed that god would forgive and protect his devotee from all his sins, even those committed after *prapatti* and *kainkarya*.

Both the sects agreed on the importance of Shri as Vishnu's consort who acted as a mediator flanked by the soul and god. Just as to Vatakalais, the status of Shri was equal to that of god. The devotees could rely on her totally, and she would take care of their emancipation. Though, just as to the Tenkalais, Shri was finite *jiva* and

did not have such powers. She was not equal to god, but was rather subservient to him. Her role as a mediatrix was no doubt significant, but she did not have the power to grant liberation.

The ‗schism' as understood through the historians involved a series of disputes flanked by the Vatakalais and Tenkalais in excess of the temple management. Although direct proof is not accessible, it can be inferred from the epigraphical as well as textual sources that tensions flanked by several sects and religious leaders lived. The purpose of these lineages was to assert a sectarian identity for the appropriation of possessions in the temples and make spheres of manage in them. Today, the Vatakalai-Tenkalai notion of Shrivaishnavism has altered the identity pattern of the society. The daily practices of both the sects have too several specific rules. For instance, the external sect marks on the forehead (like the *namam*) and other rituals of the respective sects reiterate the differences that strengthen the sectarian affiliations for the Srivaishnava devotee.
Separately from the numerous commentaries and hagiographies that provided a communal identity to the society, it was the notion of pilgrimage that appeared as an effective binding factor for the Shrivaishnavas. In a literal sense the history of pilgrimage for Shrivaishnavism commenced approximately the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when in the hagiographies, for the first time, the notion of pilgrimage appeared as a norm enjoining the devotees to physically visit the one hundred and eight shrines in order to attain merit and salvation. The element of obligation implied that pilgrimage was equivalent to and even more efficacious than the exclusive brahmanical rituals and sacrifices. Such a religious ideology appeared as the motivating factor for the development of a pilgrimage network, which not only incorporated the shrines of the southern area, but also incorporated the north Indian Vaishnava sites. Linking the local centres to the several centres of the north imparted a pan-Indian spectrum to the religious geographical legroom. This legitimized the pilgrimage network, as the northern sites had greater antiquity and longer history because of their early epic, and *Puranic* (Bhagavata) associations. Such an exercise in constructing a cohesive sacred geography became crucial as it created a religious and social context for

bringing jointly several traditions, dissimilar social groups and areas as a Vaishnava *divyadesam*.

Socio-Religious Movements in North India

The beginning of our era in north India coincides with the emergence of a number of socio-religious movements in north India. Emphasis on *bhakti* was key to all these movements. It is significant to note that the seeds of all the socio-religious movements can be traced from Vaishnava movements of South India. The doyen of *bhakti* ideology in north India, Kabir, as per the belief, was Ramananda's disciple, who inturn was the disciple of Ramanuja. Similarly, Chaitanya's association with Madhava is emphasised. The monotheistic movements in north-India were also influenced through the *nath panthi* and *Sahejia* (in Bengal) traditions. The major exponents of the monotheistic movements in north India were Kabir (*c*. 1440-1518), Dadu, Nanak (1469-1539), Namdev (14th century), Dhanna, Pipa, Raidas. These movements were popular in the middle of the general masses as they directly touched upon the sentiments of general people against the socio-economic oppression. Ramananda, the mainly prominent exponent of Vaishnava *bhakti*, however derived his ideological framework from South Indian custom, made Rama and not Vishnu as substance of *bhakti*. This method he was the founder of the Rama cult in north India. Though, Kabir appeared as the mainly popular and prominent figure in the middle of the *bhakti* saints of north India. All later *bhakti* saints associate themselves with Kabir and his teachings. The Sikh scripture *Adi Granth* also contains number of verses through Kabir.

The chief feature characteristic of all these bhakti saints was that they mainly belonged to lower castes. Kabir was a weaver, Raidas (Ravidas) was a tanner, Sena was a barber; Namdev was a tailor. They whispered in the subsistence of only _one' god and were described _monotheists'. Their god was formless (*nirankar*), eternal (*akal*) and ineffable (*alakh*). They had the *nirguna* orientation. Their Ram was formless. They emphasised on the recitation of *satnam*. They all emphasised upon the importance of *guru*, society singing of devotional songs (*kirtan*) and keeping the company of saints

(*satsang*). They denounced both Hinduism and Islam equally. They were also critical of the _caste'
barriers and caste organization as such. They denounced all distinctions based on caste, creed or sex.
All superstitions and symbols of orthodoxy were despised with. They rejected the supremacy of the
Brahmanical thoughts and criticised the Brahmanic dominance. All these movements used the
language of the masses which appealed to the commoners. They did not emphasised upon asceticism
rather they themselves existed a worldly life. However they themselves never organised into a formal
organisation, their followers organised themselves into sectarian orders (*panth*) as – Kabirpanthi
(followers of Kabir) Nanak Panthi (followers of Nanak) and Dadu Panthi (followers of Dadu) on
narrow sectarian base.

Vaishnava *bhakti* movement spread towards Bengal, Maharashtra, Kashmir and Gujarat. Jnaneswar
(1275-1296) was the pioneer *bhakti* saints in Maharashtra. The other well-known *bhakti* saints of
Maharashtra were Namdev (1270-1350), Eknath (1533-99) and Tukaram (1598-1650). They mainly
drew their inspiration from *Bhagavata Purana*. In Bengal Vaishnavite *bhakti* saints propagated the
Krishna bhakti custom as against the *Rama bhakti* custom of Kabir and others. Jaideva (12th century)
in his *Gita Govind* emphasised upon the love of Krishna and Radha. They were also influenced
through non-Vaishnava sects like Sahajiya. Their well-known exponents were Chandidas (14th
century), Vidyapati (14-15 centuries) and Chaitanya (1486-1533). The mainly popular *bhakti* saint in
Kashmir was a woman, Lal Ded (14th century). In Gujarat *bhakti* doctrine gained currency under
Narsimha Mehta (1414- 1481). In Assam Sankardeva (1449-1568) spread the message of *bhakti* in
the Brahmaputra area. It is a matter of debate in the middle of historians whether emergence of
bhakti was result of Islamic power, particularly *sufi* or it had its indigenous origin. But nonetheless it
cannot be denied that there lived extra ordinary parallel flanked by the *sufi* and *bhakti* saints and their
practices. Kabir is whispered to have maintained contacts with Chishti *sufi* saints.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SOCIETY IN TRANSITION

Century of Decline

The eighteenth century is characterized through some historians as ‗dark age', century of ‗chaos and confusion'. They strongly consider that the decline of the glory of the Mughal power in the first half of the eighteenth century brought socio-economic and cultural decline in common. While K. M. Ashraf applauds the Turkish and Mughal empires as symbols of ‗unity' that had succeeded in uniting the whole country under a centralized government, in the eighteenth century all ‗slowly turned into symptoms of social parasitism and decay'.

Irfan Habib calls it a era of ‗reckless rapine, anarchy, and foreign conquest'. Athar Ali argues that, ‗it would be hard to argue that the mutually conflicting small political elements into which India was divided in the eighteenth century were individually stronger than the Empire they had supplanted...several of the compromises that the Mughal satrapies made with the *zamindars* were signs of weakness, and not of strength... It did not mean that the sum of *zamindar* based powers that now arose could be stronger than the unified Empire they had supplanted'. Athar Ali also points out the cultural failure of the ruling class in not responding to European science and technology with the exceptions of Haider Ali and Mahadji Sindhia's efforts to modernise their armies and Tipu Sultan's limited efforts to develop commerce on those rows. Irfan Habib sees the conversion of *jagirs* into hereditary possessions and revenue farming (*ijara*) Throughout the eighteenth century as a sign of decline and not of growth and consolidation. He mentions that Khafi Khan (1731) sounds alarm in excess of the sale of 'tax-farms (*ijara*) become more and more of general practice.' In 1724 when Nizam-ul-Mulk abolished *ijara* he saw it as ‗source of the ruin and devastation of the country'. He further argues that rising tendency to resort to *ijara*, which became ‗marked' in the 1730s and ‗all pervasive' in the second half of the eighteenth century points towards the instability of the taxation organization. R. P. Rana believes that a disturbed peasant economy was at the root of the political crisis of the Mughal empire. This declining trend in the agrarian economy sustained uninterrupted in the first half of the eighteenth century. Basing on *Taqsim Dahsala* documents of *pargana* Antela Bhabra (1649-1708) and Ponkhar (1730-40) *sarkar* Alwar, *suba* Agra he points out that there appears to be a separate decline in the extent of farming through in relation to the 25 per cent in the second half of Aurangzeb's reign and 10 per cent in the first half of the eighteenth century.

As a result of the decline of the Mughal empire extensive aloofness deal also declined. Ashin Das Gupta's revise on Surat clearly points out that its decline was the result of the weakness of the Empire and Bombay, with a dissimilar hinterland, hardly

possessed the potential to compensate for Surat. Irfan Habib points out that second half of the eighteenth century is marked through extraction of tribute through the British colonial power which drained out India's possessions and put burden on the cultivators and the artisans. As per his estimate flanked by 1780s and 1790s the annual tribute to Britain from India amounted to almost £4 million or Rs. 4 crores. Cornwallis (1790) himself acknowledged that, ‗the langour' that the tribute had thrown ‗upon the farming and the common commerce of the country'.

Century of Growth and Stability
C. A. Bayly in his *Rulers, Townsmen, and Bazars: North Indian Civilization in the Age of British Expansions 1770*-1870 challenged the thesis of the decline of the Mughal power at the centre and argued that it did not necessarily lead to the ‗anarchy and chaos' in the eighteenth century. There appears to be stability in the economic life and the battles of Plassey (1757) or Buxar (1764) do not constitute a break. Mainly Mughal organizations sustained to survive in the areas with sure modifications.
In 1985 Frank Perlin, focusing his revise on Maharashtra area published ‗State Formation Re-Measured', followed through three other works of Muzaffar Alam, Satish Chandra, and Andre Wink. These writings were also a departure from the old view and highlight the stability aspect. Muzaffar Alam argues that, Both – the Punjab and Awadh – registered unmistakable economic growth in the seventeenth century. In the early eighteenth century in both provinces; politics and management appear to have moved beside alike rows'. Frank Perlin, though, totally dismisses the Mughals, or Marathas of ‗central significance' and therefore their decline would not bring disaster in the event of their disintegration either. Andre Wink views Marathas as ‗intermediary gentry or *zamindari* stratum' and therefore the eighteenth century for him was ‗the century of the gentrification of the Muslim Empire'.
Evidences of growth of urban centres and agrarian expansion are very much apparent. The textile industry expanded, new deal routes appeared. B. R. Grover's revise shows that there was attendance of ‗integrated marketing organization' in the eighteenth century. Revenue farming (*ijara*) in no method reflected the decline instead it helped in consolidation. Richard Barnett's revise on Awadh clearly points out that the ‗so-called' anarchy in the kingdom was actually an effort to hide the ‗possessions' from the colonial power. Steward Gordon has also highlighted that Maratha organization was ‗efficient'. Rajasthan equally showed no signs of decline

before 1760s. Punjab also recovered through the turn of the eighteenth century. However Surat declined but Baruch flourished at the similar time and appeared to be a major centre of cotton exports. Signs of _universal economic decline' are not visible, rather it benefited in the sense that _drain of wealth' (of revenue) to the centre stopped as a result of decline. Practice of revenue farming only shifted the state power into the hands of the _local interests'.

There is hardly any evidence that constant conflicts, which marred the century, brought any disruption or destructions to the agriculture. We do not discover any important decline in the revenue figures (*jamadami*) of the empire either. Rajat Datta's findings of Bengal illustrate important augment in the revenue returns in Bengal province Throughout the eighteenth century. Wendel's *Memoir* even shows that the Jat territories close to Agra and Delhi under Badan Singh acquiesc the revenue twice the amount that was extracted earlier. Instead the management of the new *riyasats* was more effective in the vicinity. Scrafton comments, _what greater proof need we of the goodness of the government than the immense revenue their country yields, several of the Gentoo provinces yield a revenue in proportion of extent of territory equal to our richest countries in Europe'. Satish Chandra also rejects the view that Throughout the eighteenth century, as a result of constant warfare and disruption, Indian rulers were instrumental in disrupting the extensive-aloofness deal. He argues that the impact of their warfares and confrontations has usually been exaggerated. He emphasises that no state for extensive could afford to loose profits in the form of custom dues. This information is attested to through Orme, _some years ago the province of Oude, laying on the north west of Bengal, became quite impoverished through the excess of the customs and the severity of the collections, the deal went round the province, instead going through it. When Munsurally Cawn, the present Vizir of the empire, obtained that Nabobship, he instantly rectified the errors of his predecessor. He lowered the customs exceedingly, and subjected the collection of them to better regulations. This province being the shortest thoroughfare, immediately received its lost deal, and flourished under his management beyound what it ever was recognized to do'. Satish Chandra, agrues that, _The major threat to deal were not the new states but a part of the *zamindars* who plundered the traders sometimes in conjunction with robbers'. As a result of Jat raids approximately Delhi-Agra area Wendel remarks that the deal on this route got badly affected. But soon an alternative route from Malwa to Indore and Banaras urbanized. Similarly, when Sikhs disrupted the regular north-western deal route connecting Central Asia, the deal got diverted towards Rohilkhand and Kashmir to Kashghar. Chandra remarks that Surat did not decline as a result of decline of Delhi,

Agra and Gujrat, instead its decline occurred mainly as a result of ‗local difficulties' (Maratha raids and Dutch blockade) and on explanation of the ‗downfall of the Safavid empire and the rising crisis in Turkish empire.' There also lived ‗local variations'. The *riyasats* under Awadh and Bengal Nawabs were ‗more stable'; the decline of Surat got counter balanced through the rise of Cochin and Pulicat. Satish Chandra is in agreement with C. A. Bayly and others that ‗the eighteenth century in India was *not* a era of all-round decline following the collapse of the Mughal empire.'

Decline of Municipalities as Cultural Centres and Big Level Migration of the Municipality Populace

Muhammad Umar's revise on urban civilization in north-India in the eighteenth century shows that the eighteenth century is marked through the decline of ‗urban centres', particularly the Imperial municipalities like Delhi, Agra and Lahore. The architecture of newly founded municipalities was no match to the Mughal imperial municipalities (Agra, Delhi, Lahore) in level or grandeur. However he acknowledges that there arose some new cities as a result of shift in ‗political centres of powers'. The new centres therefore appeared were – Murshidabad in Bengal (1704); Faizabad in Awadh (founded through Sa'adat Khan Burhan-ul Mulk (1722-39); Farrukhabad founded in 1723 through Nawab Muhammad Khan Bangash (1713-93); Najibabad through Najib-ud Daula, the Rohilla chief. Aonla appeared when, approximately 1730 Ali Muhammad Khan Rohilla made the city his capital.

City populace – merchants and artisans – migrated to provincial capitals in search of markets. Muhammad Faiz Bakhsh (18th century) comments that at Faizabad, ‗as such people here saw wealth, rank and lavish diffusion of money in every street and market, artisans, and scholars flocked there from Deccan, Bengal, Gujarat, Malwa, Hyderabad, Shahjahanabad, Lahore, Peshawar, Kabul, Kashmir and Multan'. Har Charan Das referring in relation to the Shuja-ud Daula's era (1754-75) highlights the attendance of Persian, Turani, Chinese and European merchants at Faizabad with their wares. Emphasising upon the importance of Lucknow as an significant cultural centre Insha Allah Khan mentions that through the turn of the century Lucknow replaced Shahjahanabad which through then became a ‗ruined municipality'. ‗Men of eloquence and good manners, who were regarded as the very soul and nourishers of the civilization of Shahjahanabad, had approach and settled in Lucknow'. Even Mughal princes, like Prince Jahandar Shah, Mirza Jawan Bakht, son of Shah Alam II migrated to Lucknow in 1786. Just as to Insha Allah Khan the real founders of

Muslim civilization in Lucknow were immigrants from Delhi. _The similar people who had contributed much to new inventions in Lucknow, had demonstrated alike ability in Delhi, where they enjoyed the similar prosperity, as they were enjoying in Lucknow'. When Farrukhabad was founded in 1723 through Muhammad Khan Bangash (1713-93) he brought in and got settled the skilled artisans and craftsmen from Delhi and other parts of the Mughal empire and encouraged commercial behaviors in his newly recognized city. Najib-ud Daula also invited masons from distant off spaces and they constructed the homes and bazars in his newly founded city – Najibabad. As a result of the chaos the awestricken masses started fleeing particularly from Delhi. Mirza Jan-i Jahan wrote to Sahibzada Ghulam Askari Khan Muhammadi that, _the people of Delhi are accustomed to run absent and create a good escape'. Poets, scholars, handicraftsmen, merchants, soldiers were leaving Delhi in band after band in search of livelihood. The new cities were emerging and the old cities declined.

Umar argues that, _the proof suggests that the decline of the Imperial municipalities like Agra and Delhi was not really compensated for through the rise of other cities. The military operations and plundering expeditions of the Abdali Afghans, the Marathas, the Jats, and the Sikhs were not conducive to urban growth; and the emergence of the English East India Company's power and decline of the Indian ruling homes adversely affected the economic condition of the inhabitants of cities'. The municipalities that appeared were usually administrative headquarters (Faizabad, Murshidabad, Lucknow) and depended heavily upon the state patronage. _Once the patronage was withdrawn and the administrative headquarters shifted, it began to decline. When the adminstrative headquarter shifted from Faizabad to Lucknow through Asaf-ud Daula (d.1797) all the merchants, bankers and *sarrafs* were asked through the Nawab to move to the new capital Lucknow. Therefore, all the commercial behaviors shifted to Lucknow once Faizabad ceased to be the capital. Lucknow acquired the prestige of chief cultural centre. These newly founded municipalities, which were administrative headquarters, once shifted, declined. The rise and fall of the cities depended on the support of the founder. Through the turn of the century Lucknow faced further set back as a result of English East India Company's commercial policies, drain of wealth and import of English goods and the impoverishment of the ruling class, who were the main patrons of arts and crafts. Muslim elite specially faced poverty, they were forced to migrate from lay to lay for their survival depended mostly upon the state patronage.

_With the decline of the state, their fortunes were eclipsed'.. Bengal was recognized for its prosperity and manufactures Throughout the Mughal era. William

Bolts, writing in 1772, acknowledges this information and attributes the decline of the municipality to British colonial policies, _That in former times it was customary for merchants from all the inland parts of Asia, and even Tartary, to resort to Bengal with small else than money or bills to purchase the commodities of those provinces. Therefore, through the bad practices of the Company's mediators and gamesters in the interior parts... all those foreign merchants have been deterred from approaching the Bengal provinces; and things have approach to such a pass, that the whole of that advantageous deal is now turned into other channels, and almost certainly lost to those countries forever...' Murshidabad founded in 1704 faced decline as early as 1784 when William Hodges establish the structures dilapidated. Maratha raids added to the miseries of the life and property of the municipality dwellers. Twining, writing in 1794 comments that, however the municipality was (earlier) richer than the metropolis of the British empire, now _lowered to a secondary provincial municipality, deprived of much of its importance and all its splendeur....was even loosing its true name'.

Though, Satish Chandra argues that there was no marked decline in the urban population. Hamida Khatoon Naqvi's revise shows that the decline of Lahore, Delhi and Agra soon compensated through the growth of new cities such as Faizabad, Lucknow, Banaras, Patna and Culcutta. Even the so-described decline of Agra, Delhi and Lahore is _overestimated'. The new, dispersed ruling elites required the luxury goods produced through municipalities such as Delhi and Agra. The new elites, sustained to live in the municipalities and cities, and tried to ape, the life-approach of the Mughal nobles. Just as to Satish Chandra, _sack of Delhi through Nadir Shah in 1740 was not as big a setback'. Through 1772 Delhi showed extra ordinary signs of recovery. Shah Nawaz Khan, writing in 1780 remarks, _Nadir Shah's job resulted in a setback to the prosperity of Delhi, but in a short while it returned to normal and in information in everything it is now better and shows progress. A account of its decoration is not possible for the pen: its industries and manufactures are flourishing and music and convivial parties are general characteristic of the life of the people'.

Rising Power of the Intermediate Classes
To examine the issue pertaining to the question of _growth' or _stagnation' in the eighteenth century, C. A. Bayly points out that at first it is significant to see, _Which kind of landed or commercial interest survived, benefited from, or indeed suffered from the decline of the Mughals'. Bayly highlights that Throughout the

eighteenth century there appeared the prominence of the, intermediary classes – the merchants, moneylenders, and revenue farmers. They served as _mediators flanked by the state and the agrarian civilization. There occurred the _gentrification' of the _service' class _officers, warriors and jurists '. Bayly argues that _the intermediate classes of civilization – townsmen, traders, service gentry – who commanded the skills of the market and the pen' benefited and consolidated Throughout the eighteenth century. It is usually argued that the *zamindars* rose to prominence at the expense of the state. But for Bayly _the disappearance of the Mughal imperial check actually allowed ruling groups to set up a closer hold in excess of the peasantry, artisans and inferior trading groups'. He believes that the procedure of growth of this class began as early as late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The mainly powerful *zamindaris* (Rajputs of Amber, Bhumihars of Banaras, Rohillas of Rohilkhand and Farrukhabad, Bais of Awadh) appeared in the eighteenth century were the _beneficiaries of the seventeenth century'. Mainly they were the carriers of Mughal legacy and assumed prominence under the Mughals. Even those who rebelled against the Mughals (Jats, Sikhs, Marathas) strengthened their base in the seventeenth century itself. They were in managing of the means of manufacture (plough, seed, oxen) as well as the best lands. These privileged classes further consolidated their location in the eighteenth century. Even some were successful in carving out their own kingdoms. They agreed to pay revenue and supply troops in return of absolute freedom. This _service gentry' other than enjoying _service grants' (*jagirs, suyurghal, madad-i maash*), also possessed _primary' holdings once the Mughal official machinery became defunct and states' manage in excess of them _slackened'. You may recall that under the Mughals all these grants were neither hereditary nor permanent. These powerful groups got the opportunity to carve out their own _privileged holdings' where _revenue and miscellaneous payments were lighter' and _in turn (they) afforded closer manage of agricultural possessions, labour and deal'. With the decline of the Mughal power at the centre _leading families' of the areas extended their patronage to this _service gentry'; while the merchants supervised the revenue extraction. The Bhumihars of Bihar and Banaras and the Agarwals and Khattri trading societies of the Gangetic plains maintained secure ties with the state. In Rajasthan Poddars and *mutasaddis* played an significant role in the agrarian policies of the state. Even the _possessions' of the service gentry were redirected to finance revenue farms (*ijaras*) or into deal and moneylending. Ruling families also patronised and made grants to religious personnel (Shaikhzadas of Bilgram, Brahmanas), etc. This _service gentry' made inroads into the villages and

succeeded *in converting their service grants into their personal land-holdings.* Under the Mughals these grants were transferable and *jagirdars* held only the right in excess of the share of the revenue and they did not enjoy the ‗proprietary' right in excess of the land therefore assigned. The merchants-cum-moneylenders had secure association with the state through directly funding them in the form of loans. At the similar time they also maintained their trading network in the cities.

This service gentry and the merchants were closely connected with the ‗great entrepreneurial capitalists' (revenue farmers, portfolio capitalists). These revenue farmers (*ijaradars*) operated as states mediators and were made responsible for the collection of revenue for the state tried to shirk the risk of revenue collection upon them. They, in turn, relied upon the ‗service gentry' and the ‗merchants'. Bayly argues that while these revenue farmers hardly survived ‗a generation, the landholdings and family capitals of their inferior coadjutors in the middle of gentry and merchant families had a better chance of survival'. Satish Chandra argues that the big *zamindars* were the main beneficiaries. In Bengal smaller intermediary *zamindars* were squeezed through incorporating their *ilaqas* into the better *zamindari* regions. In Awadh, the setting up of *talluqedars* at the *tappa* land had the similar effect.' In Bengal and Maharashtra the number of *pahis* (non-resident cultivators) and *khwud-kashta* (self cultivated; resident cultivators) holdings tended to decline. Service grants (*jagirs*, *mokasa*) turned hereditary. *Mamlatdars* (revenue collectors) turned into *ijaradars* (revenue farmers). There increased the tendency on the part of the *ijaradars* to grab more and more administrative powers. The grant of *ijaradars* to outsides, particularly m rchants could have led to greater oppression of the peasantry and sign of a deep cri is. Emergence of the *mahajans*, *sahukars* and merchants as *ijaradars* was a new trend.

But *mahajans* (money lenders) and *sahukars' (bankers)* role in revenue collection mainly confined to as guarantors (*mal zamin* to the *ijaradars).* Satish Chandra argues that, ‗the acquisition of a *zamindari* was more often the final ambition of a successful merchant since it implied social prestige. But it could hardly be the objective of a merchant eager for profit, for the return on *zamindaris* was often very low'. In Bengal and Awadh there are references of merchants and bankers tuning into *ijaradars* and occupied *zamindaris.* But just as to Satish Chandra this was happening only with that class which was already associated ‗with agricultural operations either as bankers and *mal zamins* " . But there are hardly any instances of municipality merchants turning *ijaradars*. This procedure of the feudalization of the merchant's society does not, in any real sense, belong to the eighteenth century. Several old families were ruined but those who were ‗bold, adventurous appeared

prominent irrespective of their status - Marathas (Shivaji) and Sindhias were Kunbis, while Holkars belonged to the caste of goat-herders. This openness of the Maratha civilization is fully noted through Mir Ibrahim Khan, ‗Mainly of the men in the Maratha armies are not endowed with the excellence of noble and illustrious birth, and husbandmen, carpenters and shopkeepers abound in the middle of their soldiers'. There was scope of *khwudkashta* occupying the *muqaddami* rights *(*official location*)* and ‗petty gentry' *deshmukh, deshpande, patil* rising in social level through adding to their *jamait* (military following)'. Though, in Rajasthan the stratification was more marked on caste rows Rajputs were the *zamindars* while Jats and Meenas were the owner-cultivators. Though, Meenas, ‗unable to defend their location through arms, lost their right to ownership of land, and also sank in the social order.

The eighteenth century successor states needed ‗legitimacy' for which they liberally gave patronage to the ‗religious classes'. At the similar time, to ensure revenue returns special favours were granted to the merchant class. Bayly points out that sure changes did happen in their location after 1760 as a result of unstable political condition coupled with series of famines. Nonetheless, it did not alter their location sharply. Rajat Datta's findings for Bengal and Dilbagh Singh's revise on eastern Rajasthan clearly illustrate that the hold of merchants and financiers sustained, rather it got strengthened further. Though, with gradual tightening-up of the British hold after 1780 it did bring sure changes in the power and location of these intermediary groups. British compromised with the Bhumihars, Bais, (Brahman landed classes of Awadh, Bihar and Banaras) and utilized their base for recruits in the army. We do discover that merchant families involved themselves in cash-crop deal and sustained to ‗finance colonial armies and revenue settlements'. But ‗service gentry' got disrupted. They were sacked out from the administrative positions. ‗But, in common local judges, office superintendents, and babus of the early Victorian period were drawn from the later seventeenth century onwards'. Muzaffar Alam's revise highlights that as early as early eighteenth century state started discriminating against the non- Muslim service gentry (Khattris and Kayasthas) as *waqai-nigar and waqai-navis* (news writers).

Caste, Class and Society

C. A. Bayly discovers that usually caste and class are ‗exclusive' categories. Though, ‗in India class formation was inextricably connected with caste and society formation'. Even people of status recognized themselves with caste and class ties. He

elaborates that, ‗the consolidation of Bhumihar ‗gentry' tended to benefit Bhumihar tenants, ploughman, and dependents in scrupulous'. Similarly, Muslim ‗gentry' recognized themselves as ‗carriers of Islamic society'. The positive aspect of this trend was, it ‗could give societies defence in shifting political circumstance'. This procedure is referred to through Bayly as ‗cultural fragmentation'. In his view, ‗the gulf flanked by the non-Muslim mercantile societies of the Punjab and the old Mughal elite widened'. Rohillas and Banaras Raj tried to assert their ‗Hindu or Muslim identities'.

In the context of the Indian Business Society David Rudner's Revise shows that the ‗caste' was the vital organizing force. But Bayly argues that cross-caste mercantile organisations played an significant role. He believes that the role of caste in social life is actually exaggerated. He argues that there lived ‗several subtle shapes of inter-connection crossways the boundaries of caste'. Mercantile elites of the eighteenth century not only hailed from traditional mercantile castes (Agarwals, Oswals) but Khattris (merchant-cum-officers) and Brahmans were equal partners in the deal. Even in the middle of the Marwari merchants local (belonging to Marwar area) and sect (Vaishnavite, Jains) identities were more marked than their caste affiliations. Therefore, ‗while caste was *one* form of social identity which shaped their outlook and social lives, its projection into the sphere of economic organization looks, indeed, at several points to reflect an underlying rationality rather than the perpetuation of the traditional'.

The seventeenth century *karkhanas* which were mainly controlled through the state and the Mughal nobles, now Throughout the eighteenth century were run through big merchants and revenue farmers. At Banaras under the protection of merchants and notables were organised skilled Gujarati artisans who fled to the territory from Ahmadabad and Surat as a result of political flux. Merchants employed them as artisans or labors, as their ‗personal dependants'. In the Rohilla territory as well artisans also served under Rohilla ‗military elite' and ‗financiers'. Big merchants and revenue farmers maintained artisanal workshops (*karkhanas*) which were earlier run and maintained through the Mughal nobles. Throughout the eighteenth century several social groups and societies were trying to redefine themselves in the changing circumstances. The declining power of the Mughal ruling groups is apparent in the prominence of other groups. In Banaras, Bhumihar's dominance in excess of the Ramlila festivals depicts the similar trend. Similarly, the association of kings, Brahmins and ascetics with the Gosains suggests the emergence of the Gosains as powerful group.

Bayly argues that Throughout the eighteenth century *qasbahs* (small-cities) appeared as ‗bearers of Muslim custom' as centres of ‗*Mughali* civilization'. The petty landlords and *ulama* appeared as spokespersons of *qasbah* civilization. Throughout this era began the ‗decline of social communication and shared interest flanked by the Brahmin mercantile elites of the great cities and the Muslim *qasbahs*, and in turn – and very unevenly flanked by the Muslim literati and gentry of the *qasbahs* and their Hindu peasantries.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

How did the Rajput social structure move from political to social in the early medieval period?

Discuss the powers and position of the urban elites during the medieval period in north-India.

Analyze the emergence of middle class during the medieval period in north-India.

Examine the emergence of new social groups during the medieval period in north-India.

Examine the power and position of the landed elites in peninsular India.

What was the socio-political role of the *Sufis* in the Deccan?

CHAPTER 7
Modern Society
STRUCUTRE

LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

Explain the perceptions of the Indian social structure by the nationalists and social reformers.

Describe the studying castes in the new historical context.

Explain the effects and impacts of pattern of rural-urban mobility.

Understand the social structure in the urban and rural areas

PERCEPTIONS OF THE INDIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE BY THE NATIONALISTS AND SOCIAL REFORMERS
Social Backdrop

The social backdrop of a group plays a very important role in shaping its perception. Although, there cannot be one-to-one correspondence flanked by social and class backdrop and perception of a group, (perception is an self-governing, autonomous individual action that involves intentionality of the perceiving subject and this accounts for variations even within a group) the class backdrop of nationalists imparted some common features to their perception of prevalent social-structure. Usually speaking, as mainly of the nationalists were of a liberal democratic persuasion, they whispered in the

sanctity and security of private property and also upheld the virtues of social-hierarchy. Just as to Prof, Bipan Chandra, diverse political and ideological trends co-lived and simultaneously contended for hegemony within the wide spectrum of nationalist ideology, though, mainly of them tended to ignore and downplay the internal contradictions of Indian civilization in conditions of class, caste and religious divisions.

The Nationalist leadership came mainly from the upper caste and class, western educated urban middle class professionals. There was not much urbanization throughout the first half of the 19th century in India. The percentage of population residing in cities of more than 5,000 inhabitants remained stationary flanked by 10-11 percent. Though, the picture was not so static as the nature and character of urban centres changed significantly under the colonial rule. Some old cities connected with administrative and military functions of indigenous ruling homes declined and some new cities especially those functioning as major warehouses for distant markets appeared, stimulated through commercial colonial economy. One peculiar urban form associated with colonialism was _port-municipality'. We can take up the instance of Calcutta to illustrate impact of such urban centres on the indigenous socio-cultural life. The European or White city, constructed as per the English urban models, was confined to a small part approximately Fort William. It was the headquarter of the East India company in India. In relation to the 3000 Europeans stayed there in vast homes bounded through wide avenues and green spaces. But the majority of 2,30,000 Indians in 1837 who made up the Block-municipality, stayed in a number of localities (*paras*). Each para had urbanized approximately the domain of a merchant family, each having its own market and other services necessary for its functioning. Such municipalities were to become the centres of social and cultural life for the indigenous elite. All zamindar families of Bengal had a residence in Calcutta and members of intelligentsia initially either came from this group or were dependent on this group. Though, new opportunities, associated with western education, new printing technology and capitalist enterprise slowly replaced this dependence.

The indigenous elite wished to acquire western knowledge and proficiency in English language, but did not always seek to imitate the English

or Europeans in all characteristics of life. The initiative to learn English and Western science came from the upper caste and upper class Hindus as early as 1817 that recognized the Hindu College in Calcutta. The print-civilization also came with colonialism. The first contemporary press recognized through William Carey (The Baptist Missionary) in 1801 at Serampore, published, beside with the translations of Bible, the first works of contemporary Bengali prose, and a Darpan (1818). A new class of indigenous intellectuals appeared in this procedure of importing western knowledge and technology of print, however it still came from the upper castes that enjoyed the privilege of literacy in the pre-colonial times. Soon, it became self-governing of the local zamindars and landed magnates. The Macaulay's Minute (1835) accelerated the procedure, although his own aim was to produce Indians who would serve the British in subordinate positions. The Wood's dispatch (1854) adopted a more coherent plan to develop education in India. Universities were recognized at the Presidency capitals of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857 and flanked by 1865-85, in relation to the 50,000 candidates passed the entrance examination to the university and in relation to the 18,000 earned a University degree. In addition to it, some others were enrolled in dedicated professional courses and organizations such as Medical Colleges and engineering schools. These colonial educational organizations were sources of both employment and intellectual powers.

The legal profession was the main source of both employment and intellectual powers. The legal profession was the main source of employment and at the end of 19_{th} century, almost 14,000 person were employed in this in the three Presidencies. The Vernacular Press and teaching offered other prospects. Some scholars even relate the emergence of Indian nationalism to the absence of satisfactory job opportunities in the middle of the indigenous elite parts. This sounds too simplistic but there is small doubt that the colonial state followed a strategy to cultivate the urban professional classes, whose skills were essential to the business of management. Social groups such as the Bengali bhadralok (_the respectable folk') and the Parsis of Bombay were drawn to the average of the Raj not basically through financial and status rewards of public service but also through the heady allurements of western thought and civilization. As early as 1877, Keshab Chanra Sen had expressed

faith in the providential hand of the Raj. Slowly this faith in the providential aspect of the colonial state was shaken and moderate nationalists, whatever the weaknesses of their strategy, made a brilliant and thorough critique of the economic characteristics of colonialism. The colonial social milieu had not only produced student clubs like the civilization for Acquisition of Common knowledge, it also became a cradle for the development of political associations such as British Indian Association, Bombay Association (1852) and Native Association in Madras. The colonial public legroom initially affected only an infinitesimal elite, not even the urban middle classes. When Indian National Congress was created in 1885 under the guidance of A.O. Hume, mainly of its delegates hailed from bourgeois big municipality professionals with a sprinkling of merchants and landowners. Eleven of first sixteen Congress Presidents were barristers. Badruddin Tyabji earned Rs. 122,000 from his legal practice in 1890, an amount that was four times the salary of a highly paid Indian Civil service (ICS) officer. Justice M.G. Ranade, was attended through some 21 coolies. Motilal Nehru, a highly successful lawyer of High Court, existed in a big mansion lit through electricity and drove a motor car when there was only a handful in the whole country. In short, they came from wealthy parts of the civilization and enjoyed high social status in the hierarchy of traditional civilization. (Several were Brahmins actually). This social backdrop naturally placed limitations on their form of patriotism and their imaginations. They were wedded to the organization of property and apprehensive of sponsoring anything that might upset the social harmony and the hierarchical arrangement of civilization.

The foundational goal of the Indian National Congress reflected this. The principal demands of Indian National Congress were: reform of central and Provincial Legislative Councils (with greater powers and with acceptance of elective principle in representation), the Indianization of top-stage management through simultaneous organization of entrance examination to Indian Civil Service, both in England and India, judicial reform and access of Indians to the high ranks of the army. Other demands were economic in nature such as reduction of House charges and military expenditure, the need to encourage technological education with a view to facilitate the industrial development of the country, the abolition of duty on alcohol and the extension

of permanent resolution. These issues were of interest only to a small part of privileged individuals within the indigenous civilization. The nationalist paradigm of development reflected the aspirations of the propertied parts to take India onto an self-governing course of capitalistic development, although some broader issues such as reduction of salt tax, betterment of circumstances of Indian migrant labour working in colonial plantations and revocation of Forest Acts were incorporated to provide the programme a semblance of common public concern. As mainly of the members of Indian National Congress, especially in Bengal belonged to zamindars, the scope of agrarian programme remained very limited. Infact, the nationalist intelligentia was operating in a context characterized through predominance of landed property in excess of movable property and could hardly overcome the constraints imposed through these circumstances. Just as to Cambridge historians, C.A. Bayly (1975) and R.A. Washbrook (1976), the intelligentsia intervened into the public legroom, not as the representative of their own class but as the mediators of rural magnates or of the powerful banker traders of the municipalities. Such simplistic correlation leaves out the intricate ideological strands that colored the perceptions of the nationalist leadership. Even, it appears that they are limiting at the roots of question as to why the congress ultimately favoured a bureaucratic rather than mobiliziational form of carrying out the ―passive revolution‖ or a gradual conservative social transformation in 1947 and, therefore, retained the power of agrarian magnates in the countryside.

The Ideological Roots of Nationalist Perception
The colonial modernity that shaped several public organizations and policy events entailed the notion of legal rights, sanctity and security of private property and capitalistic enterprise, contemporary printing and state regulated education. The nationalist leadership, while seeking to challenge the colonial state and its hegemony used an ideological amalgam or hybrid of ‗contemporary' ideologies and ‗invented' indigenous cultural possessions. So, the ‗nationalism' was a multi-faceted phenomenon. The Congress leaders,

who had imbibed the liberal consciousness and who were also guided through a modernistic credo, wished to make a civil civilization in India on the model of European civilization, a civilization of individuals that would be implicitly counter to descent groups. The extension of print civilization and the colonial education with a standardized school curriculum stimulated the growth of such a civil civilization in India and the nationalist leaders only wanted to accelerate this procedure. Though, as Rajat Kanta Ray has shown that ―The pre-history of every national movement lies in emotions, identities and notions ‖. The thought of a ‗nation-in-the-creation ' might have been new, but popular mentality and emotions were rooted in the past cultural-historical legacies. In other languages, identities in the colonial milieu were not created all of a sudden they were rooted in ―the raw, unfashioned feeling of the multitude ‖. One method to avoid being caught in the trap of multiple and competing religious and cultural identities was to refuse to create social reform an objective of political action. So, the social issues were not tackled directly throughout the annual sessions of the Congress, rather they were discussed in an Indian Social Conference, outside the framework of the Congress under the guidance of M.G. Ranade.

The colonial state also provided encouragement to the redefinition of social identities through its own initiative. The decennial censuses started enumerating people just as to the caste-status and there was a competition in the middle of several sub-castes to claim a high varna-status. This expanded the axis of ‗horizontal solidarities' through a number of caste-associations that fostered supra-local identities especially in cities where it was hard to observe ritualistic prescriptions. Similarly, the Cow Protection Agitation (1893) in North India, a movement against the slaughter of cows, also consolidated a Pan-Hindu identity. Earlier, the Hindus were a disparate collection of castes, sects and local cults that followed a congeries of religious practices. The new Hindu ‗collectivity' also brought merchant and artisans into the public arena. The educated nationalist intelligentsia, nevertheless, hardly seemed preoccupied at this juncture with the questions of religious and communal identity. Several of them seemed to concur with the criticism of Christian missionaries directed against the ‗evils of Indian Civilization'. The consolidation of caste-solidarities did not bother them as they were wedded to

the notion of social-hierarchy and caste was the best representation of the principle of hierarchy. What some of them, especially the Extremist faction led through Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal, questioned was the right of colonializers to interfere in the beliefs and faith of the indigenous people. While some people like M.G. Ranade agreed to the criticism of social evils on the foundation of Western Conception of rationality, the revivalistic strand in nationalist politics perceived the Indian Social structure from a contrary point of view. Lala Lajpat Rai wrote in 1904 in an article entitled ‗Reform Revival': ―cannot a revivalist argue in the similar strain, inquire the reformers into what they wish to reform us? Whether they want us to be reformed on the pattern of the English or the French? Whether they want us to accept the divorce laws of Christian civilization or temporary marriages that are now so much in favour in France or America? Whether they want to create men of our women through putting them into those avocations for which nature never meant them?

In short, whether they want to revolutionize our civilization through an outlandish imitation of European customs and manners and a diminished adoption of European vice?‖ Though, a simplistic demarcation flanked by custom and modernity is not possible and the hybrid that evolved due to interaction flanked by modernity of the west and the indigenous traditions involved several ambiguities and ambivalences. The issue was addressed again and again in the nationalist discourse. The colonial milieu produced intellectuals who adopted dissimilar routes to seek a transcendence from the oppressive present. Nehru had hinted at the vital ambivalence involved in this cultural encounter and described the Indian middle class dilemma to choose flanked by modernism and a search for the cultural roots in the past. Aurobindo Ghosh had wished for a synthesis of oriental values and occidental thoughts in the following languages in an essay ‗New Lamps for Old', published on 4th December, 1893: ―No one will deny — that for us, and even for those of us who have a strong affection for original oriental things and consider that there is in them a great deal that is beautiful, a great deal that is serviceable, a great deal that is worth keeping, the mainly significant objective is and necessity inevitably be the admission into India of occidental thoughts, methods and civilization ‖.

Nationalists' Perception of Internal Social-Divisions

The main agenda of nationalist leadership, with all its multi-faceted composition and ideological variations was to put jointly a civil civilization. Though, the creation of a civil civilization and nation is always a par of ideologically engineered contemporary world. The nationalist faced no problem in opposing the bureaucratic intrusions of Indian civilization through the colonial state, even if some of them were, on the surface, at least guided through altruistic motives (such as famine relief and free vaccination against diseases). They could be easily depicted as the agenda of an alien government to wean absent the Indians from their ancestral beliefs and customs, therefore, requiring resistance from indigenous civilization. In a alike fashion, the economic penetration and imposition of land-revenue policies, forest Acts through an alien bureaucracy could be held responsible for the moral and material degradation of indigenous civilization. The economic backwardness and primitiveness of Indian social organizations was connected to lack of enough modernization and transfer of possessions from India to England due to preponderance of vested colonial interests. Though, a more vexatious question was how to deal with some of pre-colonial social cleavages of caste, class, gender and religious nature. Contrary to what some scholars consider, not all of them were _invented' through the colonial rulers. Some of them were customized, distorted and used through the colonial rulers. For instance, religious division was used selectively to patronize a scrupulous religious society in the organization of separate electorate. In some cases, the religious divisions were enmeshed into an intricate web of property-dealings at local stage. These were also other irreconcilable contradictions such as flanked by landowning dominant farmers and the landless agricultural labour, and capital and labour in the new urban centres. There were also contestations flanked by the dominant, upper castes and lower caste groups. The organization of agrestic serfdom or bonded labour had lived even in the pre-colonial periods due to a peculiar caste-class configuration that maintained landlessness in the middle of the lower castes.

The nationalists, even when they were aware of several of these contradictions, tended to ignore them. They had no intention of demanding the existing pattern of social prestige and hierarchy. They gave primacy to the contradiction flanked by colonialism and the whole Indian civilization. Poona Sarvjanik Sabha (1870), in its manifesto had declared that its members were to be —men of respectability, inamdars or proprietors of land, savkars or money lenders, merchants, government officers, pleaders, professors and mainly of the ruling chiefs of the Southern Maratha country. It is, so, not surprising that the Indian educated classes were divided even in excess of the support to a mild reform like Behram Malabari's campaign against early marriage and a need to raise the legal minimum age of marriage from 10 to 12 for girls. Although aware of the inherent social contradictions in the indigenous social structure, the social conference under the leadership of M.G. Ranade did not want —to kick the old ladder yet talked in relation to the —re-casting family, village, tribe and nation in new moulds . Ranade also lamented that the colonial state had done absent with the traditional protection of person and property. He, so, wished to achieve a harmonious integration of hierarchically ordered village civilization with a paternalistic hand. Ranade accentuated the credit functions of sahukars (money lenders) in the wake of the Deccan Peasant Revolt (1875) and recognized Poona *lavad* (arbitration) court on the model of traditional village Panchyat, which would function to achieve an informal but effective compromise in both public and private conflicts (beyond the contractual British model). This was like an effort to restore an old institution that had decayed because of violent innovation under the destructive impact of colonialism.

The Gandhian imagination of a _Ram-rajya' with its _idyllic village societies and his idealization of small level village cottage industries, even while creation some qualified exception to the use of labour saving moden machines, became a symbol of nationalist challenge to the colonial penetration of Indian civilization and its organizations. Though, Gandhi selectively ignored the class questions and wished to resolve them through the policy of adjustment of class-interests and harmony. Mahatama Gandhi had organized the textile workers of Ahmedabad in the form of Ahmedabad Textile labour Association and under-took a fast of 21 days to get bonus from the capitalist

employers in 1918. Subsequently, Gandhi stayed absent from the militant actions of industrial labour. The Gandhian Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association promoted the ideology of class-harmony flanked by labour and capital. Gandhi employed the notion of Trusteeship for the capitalists and perceived the employers as the trustees of the civilization who would job for the benefit of the workers. The other prominent nationalist leaders who were associated with labour organization such as B.P. Wadia, V.V. Giri, C.R. Das and even Jawaher Lal Nehru also favoured a constitutionalist and reformist row of action in labour-thrash about. Similarly on the agrarian front, although some congress leaders especially those belonging to the Congress Socialist camp organized peasants and tenants against the semi-feudal oppression, the common approach was to ignore internal differentiation within peasantry. The Right wing conservatives within congress, on the other hand, directly sided with the feudal landlords. The mainly marginalized part dependent on agriculture, the agricultural labour was not on the agenda at all. M.G. Ranade had favoured transfer of land from inefficient poor peasants to resourceful, rich and inefficient poor peasants to resourceful, rich and efficient farmers on the ground of economic rationality. R.C. Dutt had defended the Zamindari or Permanent Resolution as a rational and presently acts of the British in India. Similarly, while perception of caste differed and while some regarded it as the essence of Indian social structure, others were aware of the harmful effects of caste, no systematic anti-Caste ideology was worked out. Even the radical wing of Congress thought that the institution of caste will wither absent with industrialization and modernization of civilization.

Gandhi repeatedly addressed women in his political discourse and regarded them as a regenerative force. He permitted and encouraged their active participation in the public and political life, especially after 1930. On the other hand, the roles he expected for them we as mothers and supporters of men and as examples of self-sacrifice and non-violence, as spinners of *Khadi*. Gandhi measured women mainly worthy in their traditional lay and avocation i.e. concerned with household tasks and upbringing of children. Therefore, the vision and imagination of Gandhi was colored with patriarchal values.

Reformers

Concepts of socio religious movements and its theme dimensions: The term _socio' implies an effort to reorder civilization in the regions of social behaviour, custom, structure or manage. A movement or its reformers may have sought to reshape any one of these components or a combination of them. All socio-religious moments demanded changes, ranging from a relatively limited approach of suspicious and self consciously orthodox groups to radicals who articulated a sweeping condemnation of status quo.

The term _religious' refers to the kind of power used to legitimize a given ideology and its accompanying programmes. This power was based on scriptures that were no longer measured to be properly observed or a reinterpretation of doctrine or on scriptural sources arising from the codification of a new religious leader's message. At times dissimilar kinds of power were combined to legitimize a scrupulous programme. The teachings of an individual once adopted through his disciples were standardized, codified and transformed into an ideology that is a structured account of the present in conditions of the past events. Such formulae also outlined a path towards the purified future, either for an individual or for civilization at big. The leader initially and later the ideology furnished the vehicle for an individual's participation in a scrupulous movement. Here the term movement refers to an aggregate of individuals united through the message of charismatic leader or the ideology derived from that message. Such a movement might be loosely organized especially throughout the life time of its founder, but if it was to last beyond his death his disciples needed to make and sustain a formal organizational structure. In short a socio-religious movement advocated modifications in social behaviour and justified such advocacy through one or another form of religious power and then built an organizational structure it maintained in excess of time.

The ultimate substance of the reform movement as a whole, was the attainment of social happiness the well being of the people and national progress. For social salvation the intellectuals accentuated truth, equity and justice to be the governing values of future Indian civilization. M.G. Ranade wrote: —The development that we seek is a change from constraint to freedom,

from credulity to faith, from status to contract, from power to cause, from unorganized to organized life, from bigotry to toleration, from blind fatalism to a source of human dignity.

The intellectuals placed a very high premium on knowledge. Ignorance was viewed as a curse and attributed to as the root reason of the prevalence and doggedness of superstition and obscurantism in Indian civilization. Literacy in common and in the middle of women in scrupulous was held responsible for national degeneration and backwardness. The spread of education was so accorded a primary location in the scheme of reform. Almost all the intellectuals held education to be a panacea for all troubles. The conviction in the instrumentality of knowledge as the mainly effective agent of social transformation and national regeneration was a important characteristic of the 19th thought.

In contrast to the British educational policy which was not geared to the needs of material advancement of our country the educational programme of the intellectuals on the contrary aimed at the material development of the country. They stood for the extinction of the privileges of the higher castes in the existing educational arrangements. They were opposed to the monopoly of learning through sure upper castes and classes, and proposed the spread of knowledge to all segments of civilization. Their constant concern was how to create popular education an action. To realize the objective of mass education Parmanand advocated free compulsory education up to the primary stage. Almost all the reformers laid stress on the growth of Indian vernaculars. It was deemed necessary to realize the goal of popular education. They held that English as a medium of instruction could not be an effective instrument of any meaningful advance. The role of English education was to be confined to aiding and enriching the indigenous languages. In other languages, it was to be an aid and never an instrument of social change. Ranade took the colonial policy to task for its neglect of Indian vernaculars.

Another important concern of the intellectuals was female education. It was accentuated as the _root of all reform' and social advancement. Illiteracy in the middle of women was viewed as one of the major reasons of their pitiable plight and the common backwardness of the civilization. They advocated not only primary education in the middle of the (19th intellectuals

who first conceived of educating women for employment and professions, and stressed the expanding of women's role outside the house. The targets of the severest intellectual attack were the existing socio-cultural evils and malpractices such as obscurantism, superstition and irrationality embedded in the civilization. The intellectuals did not though attack the social organization as a whole; their attack centered only on the perversions and distortions that had crept into it. They did not advocate a sharp rupture in the existing social structure of the country. They did not stand for structural transformation; changes were sought within the framework of the very structure. They were advocates of reform and not revolution.

The enlistment of the location of women, late marriage, monogamy, widow-marriage, elimination of caste destructions, monotheism etc. did not signify any revolutionary change in the civilization. Even they themselves were not aware of the reformist nature of their thoughts and endeavors. The course they delineated for transformation was to be evolutionary and not revolutionary. Almost all whispered in the gradual transformation of civilization.

Some Reform Movements
Here we briefly introduce to you some of the reform movements.

The Swami Narayan Sect of Gujarat
Sahajanand Swami (1781-1830), a disciple of Ramananda Swami (1739-1802) popularized a puritanical ideology in Gujarat area. Swami Narayan sect's dissent from the recognized Hindu traditions, was limited to a few characteristics of customs, particularly with regard to the marriage customs, infanticide and the Van-Margist form of sectarian Hinduism. It attacked *Vani-Margas* who worshipped female power (or *Shakti*) and practiced animal sacrifices, meat-eating, drinking and sexual rituals. Although women were also given a lay as female religious mendicants or *Sankhyayoginis* and Swami Sahjanand challenged restrictions on widow-

remarriage, the institution of *sati* and the custom of female infanticide yet the sect also upheld the vital values of the traditional patriarchal set-up. Swami Sahajanand preached that a woman should obey her husband and worship him as a god. The Swami Narayana movement urbanized a hierarchical structure. At the apex was the acharya.

Religious mendicants were recruited from all castes, but the future *acharyas* had to be Brahmin. The mendicants were divided into three hierarchical orders, the brahmcharis, sadhus and patas. The brahamcharis had no caste marks but sadhus maintained caste restrictions and were limited to non-Brahmans of the second and third *Varnas*. The third category of patas was mainly from sudra varna or peasant castes and acted as temple servants and attendants. Untouchables were excluded from Swami Narayana's organizations except for the two specifically built for their use. Therefore, the sect accepted hierarchical social structure as well as patriarchal social values and reinforced Brahmanical power.

The Satnamis

The Satnamis, under the leadership of Ghasi Das, Balak Das and others, on the contrary, appeared from the untouchable castes mainly chamars of Chattisgarh and advocated a sort of equalitarianism. Ghasi Das maintained that all men were equal and therefore, challenged caste as a social hierarchy. Ghasi Das wanted to change the dietary habits of his followers. Meat, liquor and anything that resembled flesh or blood was forbidden (e.g. tomatoes, lentils and red chillies). The Satnamis were therefore confirming the upper-caste customs primarily to improve their social status. Balak Das, the son of Ghasi Das was more radical in his opposition of caste discrimination. He adopted the sacred thread worn through the upper castes and the satnami movement acquired dimensions of social protest and rebellion against the upper castes. It also urbanized its own hierarchical organization of priests and religious centres and a calendar of ritual events. It became confined to the chamars of Chattisgarh area. Briefly it challenged caste-organization but finally returned to an subsistence within that very social set-up.

The Satya Mahima Dharma

Mukund Das or Mahima Gosain, Govinda Baba and Bhima Bhoi (an illiterate blind cow herd) were — figures of Satya Mahima Dharma who organized an opposition to orthodox Brahmanical power in the field of religious rituals. Because of rejection of Brahmanical rituals and idol-worshop, the movement had a wide appeal in the middle of lower caste people, tribals and untouchables. Women could join the movement as devotees but they were forbidden to enter the monastic order of the movement. The Mahima sanyasis underlined their rejection of traditional social structure through refusing to take food from brahmans, princes, and some of the professional classes on the grounds that such food may not have been acquired in a righteous manner.

In an annual feast at Joranda (a sacred lay for Mahima Dhamis because Mahima Gosain was buried there), all devotees joined jointly transcending caste restrictions. Under Bhima Bhoi, Vaishnavism and worship of Lord Jagannath were to become the main theme of their attacks. Because of this opposition of the traditional religious practices and Brahmanical form of worship, Satya Mahima Dharma drew support from the lower castes and tribal people who had small status and power within the traditional social structure.

The Satyasodhaks of Maharashtra

The social structure of Maharashtra was divided into Brahmans, non-Brahmans and untouchables. The Brahmans were usually the priests, landowners, estate managers and government servants, and therefore concentrated the whole power within themselves. Jotirao Phule (1827-90) challenged the power of Brahmans. Realizing that even lower castes were also divided, Phule tried to use a strategy in which he depicted all the *shudras* and *Ati-shudras* (untouchables) as the forgotten descendents of the heroic race of Kshatriyas of ancient India, led through the mythical daitya king Bali. Phule represented Bali as a popular peasant king signifying the utopias of beneficence, castelessness and prosperity. Phule suggested that there was a permanent and irreconcilable hostility flanked by Brahmans and all other castes. In his effort to unite all lower-caste people, Phule accepted the _Aryan

race theory' as the foundation of the Indian caste organization but inverted it to serve his own radical aims. The Satya Sodhaks under leadership of Mahatma Phule challenged the cultural and religious power of Brahmans. In the Junnar campaign (1884) of the Satya sodhaks, the service castes refused to visit Brahmins, peasant cultivators (or *Kunbis*) refused to plough the lands of Brahmin landlords and Brahmans were not invited to conduct marriage ceremonies. But while radically rejecting Brahmanical social structure, the satyasodhaks organized separate caste association and conferences flanked by 1907- 1933 of Marathas, Bhandaris, Malis, Shimpis, Agris, Parits, Salis, Mahars and Mangs for promoting educational behaviors in the middle of these castes, therefore, implicitly legitimizing the separate caste-identity in the middle of them.

Perceptions of Islamic Reformers

Like _Hindu' social reformers, the Islamic reformers also perceived indigenous social structure in diverse ways. Sayyid Ahmed Khan (1817-98), fascinated with western science, and knowledge felt depressed with the state of decadence of Muslim civilization in scrupulous and India in common. To in excess of approach this state of indigenous civilization, he felt that some of the innovative characteristics of English civilization-its discipline, orders efficiency and high stage of literacy beside with science and technology-necessity be adopted through the Muslim society. Sayyid Ahmed addressed himself to the members of ashraf (respectful descendents of past rulers) and stressed the importance of ancestry and social status. He whispered that western education and knowledge through organizations like the Mahammadan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh (1875) would make a generation of leaders who would unite the depressed Muslims into a single *quam*, a society no longer divided through sectarian strife, class tensions and issues of language. Although Ahmad wanted to introduce some changes in behaviour and customs, he upheld the structure of social – hierarchy and class. Contrary to this, the Barelwi ulama led through Ahmad Riza Khan (1856-1921) defended modern customary practices and religion of Islam. The Barelwis accepted a wide diversity of customary practice, defended the

recognized religious elite and showed no interest in western science. Though, the Islamic movements of return like Deobandis connected the Ulama class-interests with the fortunes of the Muslim society. Although they did not ignore the ascendancy of English power, they looked for a new vision of purified religion and a resurgence of ulama. The Deobandi curriculum was intended to prepare students for their role as members of the *ulama* and thereby strengthen the link flanked by Islamic religion and civilization and the Muslim society. Although, they used English techniques and methods for erecting their educational organizations and raising funds, the structure of Islamic civilization, especially the *ashraf* classes provided broad support and financial possessions for their endeavors.

The Fara'izis under the leadership of Shariat' Ullah (1781-1840) and his son Dadu Miyan also represented a return to a more puritanical Islam. In information the term fara'iz meant the obligatory duties of Islam. They wanted to purge Islam of polytheistic beliefs and other customs that prevailed in the middle of the uneducated, Muslim peasants of Bengal and which the Fairazis whispered were because of power of Hindu society on them. They challenged the beliefs of orthodox Muslims as well as Hinduism which was seen as the fountain of polytheism and all evil innovations. As the majority of landlords in East Bengal area were Hindus, their ideological campaign got embroiled in the agrarian conflicts. They challenged the power of local landlords and indigo planters. Shariat _Ullah asked his followers to reject the illegal demands of landlords such as collection of money for *Durga Puja*. His son, Dudu Miyan took a more radical stance and proclaimed that all land belonged to God and that land tax was both illegal and immoral. Such a perception of landed property was a direct attack on the power of landlords and popularized the fairazis in the middle of the Muslim peasantry.

STUDYING CASTES IN THE NEW HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Caste as the Invention of Colonial Modernity or a Legacy of Brahmanical Traditions

Two opposing viewpoints see caste differently. Some view it as an unchanged survival of Brahmanical traditions of India. Just as to this view, Brahmanism symbolizes a core civilizational value and caste is the central symbol of this value. It is the vital expression of the pre-colonial traditions of India. Contrary to this view, Nicolas Dirks, in his *Castes of Mind*, argues that caste is a product of colonial modernity. Through this he does not mean that caste did not exist before the advent of British. He is basically suggesting that caste became a single, unique category under the British rule that expressed and provided the sole index of understanding India. Earlier there were diverse shapes of social-identity and society in India. The British reduced everything to a single explanatory category of caste. It was the colonial state and its officers who made caste into a uniform, all-encompassing and ideologically constant organism. They made caste as a measure of all things and the mainly significant emblem of traditions.

Colonialism reconstructed cultural shapes and social-organizations like caste to make a row of variation and demarcation flanked by themselves as European contemporary and the colonized Asian traditional subjects. In other languages, British colonialism played a critical role in both the identification and manufacture of Indian _custom'. The colonial modernity devalued the so-described Indian traditions. Simultaneously, it also transformed them. Caste was recast as the spiritual essence of India that regulated and mediated the private domain. Caste-ridden Indian civilization was dissimilar from the European civil civilization because caste was opposed to the vital premises of individualism as well as the communal identity of a nation. The salience of this pre-colonial identity and sense of loyalty could easily be used to justify the rule through the colonial contemporary officers. So, just as to Dirks, it was the colonial rule of India that organized the _social variation and deference' solely in conditions of caste.

The attempts to downplay or dismiss the significance of Brahmans and Brahmanical order is not in accordance with much well-known historical records and persistence of caste-identities even in modern Indian social life.

Caste-conditions and principles were certainly not in universal use in pre-colonial periods. Caste in its several manifestations and shapes was also not an immutable entity. Though, starting from the *Vedas* and the Great Epics, from Manu and other *dharamsastras*, from *puranas* texts, from ritual practices, the penal organization of Peshwa rulers who punished culprits just as to caste-principles, to the denunciations of anti-Brahmanical ‗reformers' of all ages; everything points towards the legacy of pre-colonial times. It is true that there were also non-caste affiliations and identities such as networks of settlements linked through matrimonial alliances, deal, commerce and state service in the pre-colonial times. Though, caste was also a feature marker of identity and a prevailing social-metaphor. Caste was not merely a fabrication of British rulers intended to demean and subjugate Indians. It did serve the colonial interests as through condemning the ‗Brahmanical tyranny' colonial management could easily justify their codes to ‗civilize' and ‗improve' the ‗fallen people'. Moreover, strengthening of caste-hierarchy could also act as a bulwark against anarchy.

Orientalists Perception of Caste

The colonial construction of India began through the early Orientalists with their own cognitive maps and with texts explained through *pandits*. Their social model was *varna*based Brahmanism of Manu. The early admiration of a golden age gave method to a condemnation of Brahmanical tyranny. William Jones translated and published *Manu Dharma Sastras* or The Laws of Manu (1794). Manu was concerned with such topics as the social obligations and duties of several castes (varnas), the proper form of kingship as upholder of varna, the nature of sexual dealings flanked by males and females of dissimilar castes and ritual practices related to domestic affairs. It became the main power in imagining of Indian custom as based on *varnasrama- dharma* (social and religious code of conduct just as to caste and stage of life). Scholars have questioned the effort to codify Indian social dealings just as to this single, orthodox Brahmanical text. The text, compiled through Brahman scholars, depicted a caste civilization under the exclusive power of Brahmanas who reserved for themselves pride of lay in the caste hierarchy. The prescriptive text also became the foundation of actual account of Indian social order. James Mill, in his *History of India* viewed caste as a prime instance of an Indian social institution based on priesthood and adapted to oriental despotism. Mill borrowed from Jones' job despite his attack on the Orientalists.

Max Muller also based his interpretation of caste on textual sources. He suggested that the caste in Vedic era was dissimilar from caste in the later degraded periods. For Muller, the soul of Indian culture was that of the Vedic age, while the later distortions began in the time of Manu. Orientalists saw the Hindus as victims of an unchangeable, hierarchical and Brahmanical value organization. Their insistence on this played a crucial role in the creation of a more caste-conscious social order. The vital objective of the colonial state was to procure data in relation to the Indian social life so as to tax and police its subjects. From the early nineteenth century, the company officials turned increasingly to literate Brahmans or to scribal and commercial populations to obtain such information. The Orientalists treated *shastra* texts as the authoritative sources on ‗native' law and custom. Such informants had an

incentive to argue that India was a land of age-old Brahmanical values. They insisted that effective social-manage and cohesion could be achieved only if hierarchical *jati* and *varna* principles were retained. Several nineteenth century Orientalists saw priestly Brahmans as an significant but also pernicious force in the civilization. They doubted the veracity of claims of these indigenous literate specialists.

The image of India as a Brahman-revering caste civilization in some instances suited both the colonial rulers and local landed elites. For instance, the landed- aristocracy in the early colonial period in Tamilnad establish it advantageous to play up claims of superior *varna* and *jati* origins in their dealing with the colonial judiciary and revenue officials. The colonial judges and revenue officials had approach to see the use of prestigious Brahman and Vellala caste titles as proof of authentic lordly origins, even however they were aware that families of humble birth had acquired rights and property under recently subdued warrior dynasties through purchase or endowment. The colonial establishment looked for social-stability and accentuated on age-old jati-statuses and divinely mandated traditions rather than individualistic principles of attainment and personal gain. The local landed magnates used these caste-principles in order to get preferential treatment from the colonial state.

Colonial Anthropology and Caste: Caste as Viewed through the Ethnographers
Through mid-nineteenth century, especially after 1857, anthropology supplanted history as the principal colonial modality of knowledge and rule. The taste for ethnographic inquiry was stimulated through new trends in the intellectual world. New formal schools of social and scientific thought were taking form in the academic organizations. These influenced the colonial ethnographic curiosity in relation to the caste as the primary substance of social classification and understanding. The colonial ethnographers compiled new type of compendia in relation to the castes, tribes and their customs. W.W. Hunter, who was appointed director common of statistics to the

government of India in 1869, produced and supervised a series of gazetteers that sought to systematize official colonial knowledge in relation to the India. These contained descriptions of the local castes and tribes including their manners and customs. More specifically, they described marriage organization, kinship patterns, funeral rituals, clothing, geographical sharing of dissimilar caste groups and adherence to Brahmanical priesthood and values. M.A. Shering's *Hindu tribes and castes* (1872) was part of a new type of empirical quest. Manu and his *varna* categories and *dharmic* account for multiplicity of caste because of inter-marriage were retained in his account. Caste, therefore, became the location for detailing a record of people, the locus of all-significant information in relation to the Indian civilization.

H.H. Risley, in his multi-volume job, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (1891) stressed the racial foundation of caste. His job, *The People of India* (1901), resulted directly from his job as Census Commissioner for the census of 1901. Risley accentuated anthropometric measurements for origin and classification of Indian races or castes. Another colonial ethnographer William Crooke (1848-1923) questioned subsuming of caste-categories into biologically determined racial essences. He suggested that occupational criteria provided much more comprehensive and accurate indices for understanding caste as a organization. Risley had proposed that anthropometry would give good results in India because caste organization as the organizer of social- dealings was based on the principle of absolute endogamy. India, therefore, became the testing ground for speculative theories of races and human species propounded in Europe. The ethnographic surveys were also useful as easy reference works for the colonial officers, for police as well as revenue authorities, district magistrates and army recruiters.

Though, the colonial ethnographers and data-collectors' viewpoints concerning castes were not part of a uniform _colonial' discourse that worked to invent the ideology and social-experience of caste in India. Sometimes, race and racial categories played a more important role in their thinking rather than a monolithic consensus on caste. Denzil Ibbetson's picture of castes in his *Punjab Castes*, demonstrate marginal importance of Brahmans and their standards of rank and hierarchy. Ibbetson stressed that castes like Rajput and Jats in Punjab were based on the concepts of job and accessibility to political

power and possessions. Here, the caste-like affinities and ranking schemes were not based on four fixed varnas. Other colonial ethnographers such as W.W. Hunter, the author of well-known *Annals of Rural Bengal* (1868), and Walter Elliot also depicted caste as a characteristic of life for some Indians, but not all Indians. In their analysis caste is often a subsidiary to racial categories.

Enumerating Castes under the Colonial Rule
Census took in excess of the task of producing empirical data and information on caste from 1871-72 onwards. Census consolidated the imperial ideology of caste through meticulously gathering data in relation to the castes. There was a common consensus in the middle of mainly of the enumerators that caste should be the vital category to classify diverse population of India. There were, though, differences in relation to the manner and procedure concerning organization of information in relation to the castes. Risley adopted a procedure to organize castes on the foundation of _social precedence' in 1901 census. As a result of this, a number of caste associations appeared to contest their assigned location in the official hierarchy, each demanding a higher location and organizing their fellow caste members in the colonial public legroom. After 1931, the colonial state establishes it hard to ignore the political implications of the caste-oriented census. It abandoned the use of caste for census counting altogether.

The thought of an all-India census was first seriously contemplated in the mid-1850s. It had a number of precedents. There were local household counts, an effort in 1846 to test population estimates that had been derived from land resolution records, and presidency-wide census of Madras before 1851. The first all-India census took lay in 1871-72, although it was flawed in that it did not cover all the areas and was not very systematic. The primary principle of classification used in 1872 and in the after that decennial census of 1881 was that of *varna*. The statistical project was enmeshed with the Orientalist categories for the classification of social hierarchy. The minute and endless ramification of castes was classified just as to the fourfold *varna-*

organization. In this mode of classification, Brahmans held the first rank. Majority of Hindus were indiscriminately thrown jointly into the category of *Sudra* or servile classes. The local enumerators often ignored local variability.

In actual practice, the *varna* or ritual markers were used to differentiate and order the higher castes, and occupational markers to classify the lower caste groups. The British enumerators associated with census operations recognized the problem of by *varna* as a single classificatory category. The local location of Brahmans varied. Aside from Brahman and Rajputs, few actual castes could be easily correlated with *varna* distinctions. The caste configuration varied from one lay to another. Dominant caste groups in mainly areas were confined to those areas and did not have an all-India attendance. The use of occupational criterion for differentiating castes was also based on shaky and unsound foundations as formal caste titles only rarely indicated true occupations. Even there was difficulty of ascertaining caste status within a scrupulous locality because caste titles, names and other markers of caste identity were used in numerous and apparently conflicting ways.

In the census of 1881, enumerators were asked to classify only caste groups whose size was more than one lakh. The total population was sub-divided into Brahman, Rajputs and other castes. The number of other castes, who crossed the requisite number of 100,000, was 207. They were listed in an alphabetical order, as classification of castes just as to their social location was an explosive issue. The Census Commissioner, W. C. Plowden, further aggregated census data to make caste blocs such as major agricultural castes, major groups of artisans and village servants and so on. Big caste blocs were seen as amenable to administrative concerns of the colonial state concerning recruitment to the colonial army, maintenance of social order, agrarian policy and legal adjudications. Although enumerators were enjoined to discover where dissimilar caste titles or names could be merged into single groups, they, in information, establish a vast proliferation of actual caste groups.

The 1891 census formally abandoned *varna* criterion for enumeration in favour of occupational criteria. J.C. Nesfield in his *Brief view of the caste organization of NWP and Oudh*(1885) and Sir Denzil Ibbetson as the Census Commissioner for Punjab in 1881 census advocated a functional approach to caste enumeration. The adoption of occupational criteria in 1891 census was

based on the proposal of Nesfield and Ibbetson. Nesfield suggested that tribal groups based on descent became amalgamated into superior tribal groups that were organized approximately occupations and specific functional affiliations. The census of 1891, therefore, broke sixty sub-groups into six broad occupational categories of castes: agricultural and rustic, professional, commercial, artisans and village menials and vagrants.

H.H.Risley, as the leading proponent of colonial ethnology from the late 1890s until his death in 1914, criticised Nesfield. He divided Indians into seven main racial kinds on the foundation of physical measurements of several bodily traits. In his anthropometry, these physical measurements and color of skin became the vital principle of caste ranking-—the social status of a scrupulous group varying in inverse ratio to the mean relative width of their noses . As census commissioner for the 1901 census and honorary director of Ethnological Survey of the Indian Empire, Risley conceived a grand scheme for the mapping and measurement of every racial _kind' and _specimen' in India. His vital assumption was that although there were frequent cultural borrowing and swap flanked by dissimilar caste groups, but due to the practice of endogamous marriages, there was hardly any racial-mixing. Risley's sociology of caste, though, was based on Brahmanical indices such as the acceptance of food and water, the use of Brahmans in rituals, ritual proximity to Brahmans. The question of social precedence and hierarchy assumed greater force in the census of 1901. Caste as subject of social analysis not only organized several administrative concerns from famine relief to criminality, but also constituted the Brahmanical ritual organization. The effort of census of 1901 to rank castes through status induced a number of petitions from caste-associations clamoring for higher status for their own caste. So, although the census of 1911 sustained to gather caste-information, it abandoned the scheme of ranking them just as to status. In 1931, the colonial state totally stopped the use of caste data in census.

Caste in the Creation of Nation

There was an indigenous face to the perception of caste that was reformulated through nationalists and social-religious reformers. The Indian thinkers recognized caste as a topic of vital concern for the creation of contemporary nation. They debated at length whether caste was good or bad for the Indian civilization or whether the communal identities of castes could be reshaped and function as a new type of bond of unifying nationalist visions. Broadly two viewpoints appeared in these debates.

Those viewing caste as a divisive and harmful institution negating nationhood.

Those who saw caste as *varna* or an ideology of spiritual and moral order, a source of national strength and the _essence' of Indian culture.

Social Reformers Perception of Caste

In the nineteenth century, the traditional learned scholars defended Brahmanism. They insisted on the knowledge of *Vedas* as a prerequisite of salvation and saw the *varna* based social-hierarchy as the essence of Indian culture, a hierarchy that debarred those of non-twice born status from access to *Vedas* or the source of salvation-knowledge. Though, they were also critical of sure characteristics of these traditions. Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) insisted on a critical examination of *shastric* texts. He attacked several shapes of polytheistic Hindu worship advocated through the traditional and mythological texts or *puranas*. He indirectly challenged the legitimacy of caste. The Brahmo Samaj (1828) saw itself as an advocate of a new, universal, casteless religion. Paradoxically, though, Brahmos themselves became an exclusive endogamous society within Hinduism.

In the late nineteenth century, controversies in relation to the whether caste was a degenerate social evil or an embodiment of progressive spirituality were articulated in the *Indian Social Reformer* (a journal founded in 1890). Even religious revivalist reformers like Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of Arya Samaj (1875) and Swami Vivekananda, the founder of Ram

Krishna Mission (1897) were united in depicting India where universal standards of cause and morality were to be applied. In their indirect critique of caste, several social issues cropped up. These incorporated the claims of Brahmans to possess unique sacred knowledge, the age of marriage and other matters of corporate honour and sexual propriety; and the origin and meaning of untouchability. All these indigenous intellectuals exalted the values of purity, hierarchy and moral society, the virtuous cornerstone of caste ideology. As a result, the new spiritually regenerated India which they envisioned was an India in which the shapes and values of so described traditional *varna* were to remain salient and active, even if in a customized form.

Early Nationalists and Caste
In the middle of the early nationalists, M.G. Ranade (1842-1901) floated a reformist organization, National Social Conference. The organization, founded in 1887, aimed to persuade Indians to modernize their values and behaviour. One of the chief aims of this western-educated intelligentsia was to campaign against the ‗evils‘ of caste. It helped to describe an ideal of enlightened social upliftment. They did not regard every aspect of caste as an ‗evil‘, to be annihilated. Nevertheless, Conference adherents were expected to endorse so described uplift for the untouchables and reform the high caste Hindus especially with regard to the location of women.

Modern western ethnology and eugenics shaped their thoughts to some extent. A leading activist of Conference, T. V. Vasvani, justified a stance against the ‗evils‘ of caste on the foundation of Aryan ‗race genius‘. The bond of race was extolled as the force, which could eliminate divisions and unify people into a single nation. In the resolutions of National Social Conference, caste was seen as a ‗national‘ problem for the freedom-loving people of India to be solved through their own free will and initiative. Its evil practices were to be challenged primarily in the field of faith and social morality. It attacked caste as ‗an alien and slavish institution‘, a relatively recent creation that shackled Indians within a prison home of superstition and oppression. The reformers attacked the ‗fetters‘ of caste as pernicious and shameful obstacle to the moral and political regeneration of the nation.

The radical congressmen of ‗Extremist' stream, especially B.G. Tilak (1856-1920) led a militant public agitation for immediate house-rule and saw nationhood as an expression of communal moral, spiritual and racial essence. Tilak and his followers were deeply conservative in social and spiritual matters. They viewed the reformist challenge to the so-described caste evils as an attack on the national faith, and a challenge to divinely mandated standards of decency and biological purity. They did not want these divisive issues to be raised form the congress platform.

Caste Conferences and Upliftment of 'Society'
A score of caste conferences and associations sprung up flanked by 1880 and 1930s in response to census operations. These local-based associations claimed to act as moral exemplars for their *jati* members. Mainly of them belonged to castes of scribes, trading societies and cultivating agricultural castes. Though, some like Tamilian Nadars or Shanars were low in caste-hierarchy. Their educated and wealthy leading men raised vocal opposition to stigmatization of their castes as ‗unclean' and ‗backward'. Several of these associations were anxious that public recording of *jati* and *varna* status might be used through the colonial state in such significant matters as military recruitment and the creation of electoral constituencies. Western moral convention and *dharmic varna* norms of purity both were utilized through such associations to achieve a creditable reputation for their society in the public arena. Several of them advocated temperance, remarriage of widows, the raising of age of consent for marriage, the abolition of temple prostitution and sympathized with campaigns such as against ‗lewd' female dance performances, in order to achieve social-purity.
National social conference's scheme for upliftment of India's ‗depressed castes', or untouchables, and Arya Samaj project of *Shudhi* or purification of low-caste converted groups were also part of alike concerns. They were means of restoring both the numerical strength and the ethnological vigour of the ‗Aryan society.' Their ideal of a transcendent pious society was distant from being hostile to caste. Their ‗modernizing' critique of caste challenged the thought that the highest shapes of knowledge and ritual

expertise should be the preserve of a closed caste of Brahmans. They advocated a purified form of caste based on a bond of idealized moral affinity of followers rather than blood or birth. Several of the caste associations drew inspiration from the ideology of such reforms. Such purified *varna* or *jati* social order did not challenge the caste- hierarchy although it was based on communal moral identity of its members. Though, such idioms and ideologies furnished the themes and strategies for the uplift of ‗society'.

Hindu Nationalists Protection of Caste
The Hindu nationalists accentuated racial pride, ties of blood and nationality. They resisted modernization of the Indian social order. While they sometimes deplored sure characteristics of caste in modern Indian social life such as untouchability, they insisted that caste in its true form was essential to the spirit of Hinduism. It represented a legacy of higher moral values from the national past. Vivekananda condemned the oppressive treatment of untouchables and other subordinate castes. Yet, he defended caste and *varna* hierarchy as a natural order and matter of national pride. G. K. Gokhale (1866-1915) was particularly concerned in relation to the declining number of Hindus and saw the success of Muslim, Sikh and Christian proselytizers in attracting low castes as a sign of Hindu weakness and racial decline.

When Ambedkar bid for separate electorates for the untouchables at the second Round Table Conference (1931), this ploy aroused deep anxieties in relation to the Hindu representation and electoral arithmetic especially in Punjab and Bengal. So, Hindu Mahasabha and other Hindu revivalist organizations intensified their ‗purification' drives in the middle of untouchables and tribals through vesting such people with markers of Hindu identity such as sacred thread and a recognized set of *jati* and *varna* titles. In Bengal, the Hindu zamindars and other followers of Hindu Mahasabha took lead in promoting programmes of Hinduization of tribals and untouchables who were induced to declare their allegiance to the Hindu ‗society'. The Hindu nationalists campaigned actively in the middle of groups such as Rajbanshis and Namsudras to identify themselves to the census officials as

Hindus of thread-bearing Kshatriya varna so as to swell the number of Hindus in the provincial census returns.

Recasting the Castes in the Domain of Politics
As we have already noted, caste came to preoccupy the minds of Indian intelligentsia. Their responses were diverse. Some used to explain it as an exotic institution to the alien British officers and defended it as the very essence of Indian culture. Though, mainly of them decried caste oppression and saw it as a symbol of backwardness of Indian civilization, a force that was impeding its progress and was responsible for the subjugation of women in the civilization. It was condemned for its divisiveness and as a barrier in the method of formation of national identity. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this critique of traditional social-cultural order also influenced the ways caste was treated in the emerging political legroom under colonial rule.

The Modernity of Non-Brahmanism
In the late nineteenth century, the educated and politically active intelligentsia utilized new avenues of ‗public legroom'. They expressed themselves in a language of universal rights and citizenship. This contemporary discourse was at odds with a caste-fettered India, which acted as an impediment to the attainment of nationhood. The social backdrop of newly western educated as revealed through census enumerators for the Western India and the Gangetic North, shows that they were mostly from Brahmans and other service groups with a custom of literacy and occupational mobility. The lower-rung bureaucracies came to be dominated through persons of alike castes. When municipalities were recognized under the so-called Ripon Reforms in 1880s, they also dominated them. This was the context in which non-Brahmanism appeared as apolitical force uniting a mixed array of service, commercial and agricultural castes with artisans and other lower-caste educated activists.

Jyotiba Phule in Maharashtra wrote against Brahman privilege and power in 1850s. Rejecting emulation of Brahmnic customs and manners and breaking himself free from the usual pattern of caste movements for upward mobility, he directly attacked Brahmanism. He represented Brahmans as Aryan invaders who conquered local indigenous people through force and concealed their act of usurpation through inventing _caste organization'. In 1873, Phule recognized the Satyashodhak Samaj, an organization for demanding Brahmanic supremacy. Phule and his fellow radicals projected a new communal identity for all the lower castes. He used the existing symbols from Maratha warrior and agriculture traditions for detection of this identity. He underplayed the social-differences that divided mali-kunbi, mang-mahar or Shudra-Ati-Shudra. In his *Ballad of Raja chatrapati Shivaji Bhonsale* (1869), Phule depicted all lower-caste people as the forgotten descendents of the heroic race of Kshatriyas. The King Bali was refigured as on behalf of the utopias of beneficence, prosperity and casteless order. Through claiming Kshtariya status for all the lower castes, Phule was trying to harness the existing trend of upward social mobility to a radical end but it also contained the possibility of slip back into caste-based claim for higher status. The Satyasodhaks failed to evolve a unified and homogeneous sense of identity in excess of a longer era.

Sometimes, the development of _Non-Brahmanism   is seen as the product of colonial _modernity' and official encouragement to _un-shackle' Hindu minds through demanding _Brahman tyranny'. Anil Seal, for instance, sees non-Brahmanism as a reaction to the monopolization of opportunities in bureaucracy and professions through Brahmans. Though, Phule's critique reveals a wider consciousness of caste inequalities and their correlation with social subordination and material and cultural oppression of the Shudra castes.

The Justice Party articulated the non-Brahman resentment in Madras. The founders of this organization were leaders' like. T. N.Nair, P.Tyagaraja Chetti and C.N. Mudaliar. They demanded reserved seats in the Provincial Legislative council and other concessions in education, public appointments and nomination on local boards for the non-Brahman professional middle classes. In 1926, E.V.Ramaswami Naicker, popularly recognized as Periyar (meaning _Great Man') recognized the _Self- Respect Movement' which took

a dissimilar political trajectory than the Justice Party even however it inherited rhetoric of non-Brahmanism. This new radical political stance advocated the overthrow of caste and instituted new shapes of marriage and other ritual practices intended to promote inter-caste social intercourse. The movement further occupied in a radical critique of religious belief and practice. It attacked the Brahmans and the whole Brahmanical ideology of privilege and sacred power in common. Periyar advocated outright atheism as the only true rational worldview. Periodically, the movement organized dramatic assaults on religions and priestly symbols like beating of priest and idols with shoes, and burned _sacred' texts like *Manusmriti*.

The term Non-Brahmanism might have been an invention of the colonial political arena. Though, their political strategies involved use of slogans and symbols reflecting satirical and hostile views of Brahmans which were general in several local folk cultures as well as _contemporary' Hindu reformist teachings. In South India, rising literacy in the vernaculars also helped in spread of awareness of local identities conceived in term of resistance to the traditional power of Brahmans. The ideology of such resistance was often an amalgam of traditional devotional *bhakti* faith and appropriated theory of Aryan race that distanced indigenous Dravidian people from outsider Brahmins.

The Nationalist Ideal and the Gandhian Critique of Untouchability

The Indian National Congress issued its first guarded declaration on the amelioration of caste disabilities through a resolution in 1917. The provisions of the resolution were reaffirmed in the Congress 1920 resolution on Non-Cooperation. It committed the Congress to create the removal of _Depressed Classes' disabilities a major nationalist priority. It, though, favoured voluntary _religious' solutions and urged the Hindu religious heads and other leading Hindus to create sustained efforts to reform Hinduism. There was no emphasis on legislation or any other sort of action through state. In 1920s, Gandhi and other prominent leaders pursued a diversity of religious solutions. They took the fight against the _evil' characteristics of caste to the Hindu temples. They organized a temple-entry campaign at Vaikam in

Travancore (1924-25). Gandhi soon lost faith in such agitations as they went against Satyagraha's morality of non-violence. Gandhi, though, sustained to create passionate appeal against _satanic' practice of untouchability, which he described as a stain on Hindu faith.

Gandhian _reform' minimized caste differences and underplayed caste-identity. It stressed organic unity and harmony of varna-organization rather than hierarchy. Gandhi sustained to exalt the principle of *varna* until the 1940s as an ideal and natural order of things (approximately caste, stage of life and the performance of duty or *dharma*), an egalitarian law of life. In 1940s Gandhi described for full repudiation of caste, abandoning his earlier goal of a purified caste order purged of _sinful' belief in untouchability. The goal of Harijan Sevak Sangh (1932), recognized through Gandhi and his secure associates, was to instill habits of cleaniness and social propriety in their untouchable beneficiaries and to wean them absent from toddy-drinking, meateating and unseemly sexual indulgences. The idealized and reformed *bhangi* (domestic sweeper), with his meek posture and emblematic basket and brushes was supposed to an exemplar of the virtues, which the Harijan Sevak Sangh wished to spread in the middle of the _depressed classes'.

Throughout 1930s and 1940s, Nehru and Congress Socialists expressed their concept of the Indian nation in casteless and egalitarian term. The Karachi Resolution of Congress (1931) was formulated approximately ideal of a democratic polity and industrial modernization, although there was no mention of caste in of resolution. They whispered that caste would wither absent with industrialization or with state legislation. They did not formulate any political programme or strategy for abolition of caste. The radical Congressmen Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose equally insisted on abolition of caste in a new India. In 1930, Bose declared that no Indian should be denied of bearing arms for his nation on grounds of his caste origin. He also described for inter-communal and inter-caste dining in his Indian National Army. This commitment to casteless egalitarianism was enshrined in 1950 constitution of India.

Ambedkar's thought of the 'Annihilation of Caste

B.R. Ambedkar (1891-1956) made a scathing attack on caste from the standpoint a contemporary democratic thinker. He saw caste as an impediment to attainment of social justice, equality and reform in the Indian civilization. Initially, Ambedkar stood for the reason of educational access for the untouchables. He voiced his views against performances of traditional labour services and _village duties' through the *mahars*. He also advocated forced temple-entry and use of _clean-caste' markers of *varna* status. He took lead in the Kalaram temple-entry campaign (1930) at Nasik and in the satyagraha for drawing of water through untouchables from the Mahad tank in Maharashtra. He burnt Manusmrti in public in 1927 as the job defined the codes of Brahmanism. This radical gesture challenged the values of those for whom such sacred writings were embodiment of divinely sanctioned order. Ambedkar's notion of caste rejected colonial ethnographers' criteria of understanding caste as well as the idealized depiction of sure indigenous thinkers' visualization of caste as a natural order. He rejected Nesfield's criterion of occupational differentiation to identify castes and Risley's racial categorization of dissimilar castes. Ambedkar's *The Annihilation of Caste* (1936) made the mainly potent attack on caste.

Ambedkar utilized the opportunities offered through the colonial public legroom and constitutional politics. Though, his political options were determined through his own livelihood experience and his links within newly constituted lower-caste identities. He was apprehensive of political implications of colonial constitutional arrangements as well as future democratic organizations for the fate of untouchables. He referred to India's untouchables as _slaves of slaves' undergoing double oppression of colonial state and Hinduism at Nagpur in 1930. His mistrust of Gandhi and colonial rulers led him to articulate demand for the separate electorates for the untouchables at the second Round Table Conference (1931). The compromise formulae of Poona Pact gave a new constitutional package of higher proportion special reserved seats in the provincial assemblies for depressed caste candidates than promised in the original plan of the colonial state. This was an acceptance of electoral representation for _societies'. It gave the

colonial state a new task of ‗scheduling' caste-based constituencies. After the brief effort to unify non- Brahman tenants and labourers through Self-governing Labour Party (1936-39), Ambedkar returned to the champion the general reason of all those who suffered the disabilities on explanation of *dharmic* impurities under the umbrella of All-India Scheduled Caste Federation (1942).

PATTERN OF RURAL-URBAN MOBILITY: OVERSEAS MIGRATION
Pull and Push Factors
The changing needs of British Empire and impact of colonial rule in India resulted in emergence of factors, which became responsible for the migration of Indians in industrial centres and plantation elements both within India and outside. Initially, the colonial economy was based on the extraction of maximum land revenue from peasants. Through late nineteenth century, British officers were worried in relation to the rising poverty and indebtedness in the middle of peasants. The penetration of British manufactured goods resulted in the decline of handicraft industries. This meant that more and more people started loosing their jobs. The pressure of market economy and demographic changes reduced the size of landholdings and majority of peasants became dependent on small pieces of uneconomic land-holdings. It became hard for the skilled artisans in traditional cotton handicraft industries to sustain themselves. A vast number of them sustained in their old profession due to lack of alternative avenues of employment and due to their loyalty to the profession of their forefathers. Gyanendra Pandey outlines this procedure throughout nineteenth century in many regions in United Provinces such as Lucknow, Benaras, Mubarakpur, Jaunpur, Gaya and Jais in Rae Bareli district. The decline in demand for their textiles produced through methods of craft production and resultant poverty forced weavers to seem for jobs outside their residential region. There were instances of migration of numerous impoverished peasant and labourers, small zamindars and artisans to the industrial belt approximately Calcutta.

The commercialization of agriculture also led to export of cash crops like indigo, jute, tea and cotton to England and other parts of Europe. It resulted in the emergence of processing centres for agrarian products like sugarcane, rice and oilseeds in urban regions. Numerous plantation industries were also set up. For instance the tea farming began in Assam in 1851. British capital urbanized 51 tea gardens urbanized in several parts of the country through 1859. Mainly of them were concentrated in Assam. They required cheap labour. Recruiters were hired to transport labour from Bengal, Bihar and other areas to Assam. The British rulers were not interested in industrial growth of India. Throughout 1850s, several indigenous traders, who reaped profits as mediators of British export-import companies, started setting up industries. Cotton spinning and weaving factories were set up in Bombay, Ahmedabad, and Kanpur. Amritsar witnessed growth of woolen industry. The jute industry was localized in Calcutta. Mainly of the factories were set up on both sides of the river Hoogly and in Northern and Southern parts of the municipality. The beginning was made in 1851 and Scottish Mill owners from Dundee played an significant role in Jute industries. Mining industry was also urbanized on a small level. The coal manufacture amounted to 220,000 tones through 1854. It rose to in relation to the 1.7 million tones through 1890. The growth of railways and military cantonments also provided an outlet for employing skilled and unskilled workers. Through 1920s cities had become centres for the manufacture of manufacturing goods and processing centres for agrarian produce. While industries employed workers in organised sectors, daily wagers like potters, coolies and cart pullers in informal sectors also existed in municipalities.

Overseas migration was connected with the demands of British Empire. Throughout nineteenth century, Indian army was sent to many countries in South-East Asia. Sikhs were also deployed in police and other departments in Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Hong Kong and China. As news in relation to the jobs in these regions reached Punjab, several went to these regions. There was rising demand for Indian labour in overseas British colonies. It arose, when the British Parliament abolished slavery in 1833. The emancipation of 800,000 slaves in colonies was followed through the emergence of the indentured labour. India replaced Africa as the source of

plantation labour. Britain legalized the organization in 1842. Mauritius was the first of the plantation colonies to import contract workers from India. In his revise Verne A. Dusenbery has observed that migration of Sikhs from Punjab throughout colonial rule was reflective of changing circumstances in Punjab and changing opportunities abroad. Rural indebtedness, population pressure, natural disasters and political factors acted as push factors. The advertisement provided through labour contractors, shipping mediators and information provided through return immigrants acted as pull factors. Therefore regulated and self-governing channels appeared for the recruitment of labour.

What factors determined migration? One account suggests that the _reserve price' of labour was low in the source areas. Just as to Lalita Chakravarty, local agrarian labour usually earned more than the migrants coming from areas of poor agricultural circumstances. She also suggests that migrants did not necessarily benefit much through migrating to urban industrial centres because industrial employers in such centres used the power of a non-market institution in the form of intermediary or Jobber to stay the wages and bargaining power of migrants low. Other scholars like Rajnarayan Chandavarkar have questioned this viewpoint. Actually migrants came from all strata of rural civilization. They were not necessarily from the poorest landless families of agricultural labourers. Several such migrants owned land back in their villages. Such migration may be, therefore, viewed as a type of diversification in the portfolio of occupations for the family as a whole. Municipality job meant for them a reduction of risk and to retain a toe-hold in the rural economy. Even agricultural labourers and untouchables the kind that fits the reserve price model best may have had other causes for migration. They experienced a separate improvement in social climates in the urban centres. The life in colonial urban centres was not as rigid and hierarchical, that was in the semi feudal networks of countryside in say of eastern U.P. The municipalities had better job opportunities. The socially and economically depressed circumstances in the source regions pushed the migrants towards municipalities, but new economic opportunities created through colonialism and easier social mobility provided now through new means of contemporary transportation pulled them to new urban centres.

Historiography

The historiography of labour history in Indian and global context has undergone several changes since 1960s. Presently there is rising focus on flow of migration and remittance. In colonial context, initial works either focused on industrial labour or documented their institutionalized history. Presently, there is also focus on unorganized labourers working in the informal sector. There are also studies that increasingly focus on gender issues and employment of women workers in several industries and plantation.

For a extensive time, within Marxist analytical framework, economic determinism dominated labour history. In learning international migration, alike concerns can be recognized. The new classical economics has treated migration as an individual decision for income maximization. There is focus on differentials in wages and employment circumstances flanked by countries. The new economics of migration analyses circumstances in a diversity of markets. In this context migration is seen as a household decision, which aims at overcoming capital constraints on family manufacture behaviors. Both the dual labour market theory and world systems theories are linked with macro stage decision procedures. The dual labour market theory links immigration to the structural necessities of contemporary industrial economies. The world systems theory as urbanized through Wallerstain regards migration as a natural consequence of economic globalization and market penetration crossways national boundaries. While the importance of economic factors in learning international migration cannot be denied it cannot be regarded as the only factor determining the experiences of migrants. Many studies like those of Hugh Johnston have pointed out the procedure of resolution of migrants in host countries. The emergent experiences of migrants are as much shaped through neighbouring ties with local residents as through the policies practiced through management in host countries. Therefore as Hugh Johnston has shown in the early decades of twentieth century, experiences of Sikh migrants in Britain Colombia were shaped through discourses and reality of imperialism and racialism.

Several studies have classified indentured migration as _a new organization of slavery'. Marina Carter in her revise of migration of indentured Indian labourers in Mauritius flanked by 1834-1874 has questioned such assumptions. For her, such studies present static analysis of the indentured organization. They have denied agency to the migrant. The migrants shift to a new social and cultural environment. The investigation of connection flanked by class and civilization becomes significant from this perspective. In his seminal job, E.P.Thompson has studied the historical procedure, which led to the _creation of the English working class'. However he accorded primacy to economic factors, yet he also took into explanation the role of civilization in shaping the experience of workers. Several works have been produced on the emergence of industrial labour force in colonial India. Rajnarayan Chandavarkar in his job focused on Bombay working class flanked by 1900-1940. For him it was the nature of the labour market, business strategies at the job lay, which resulted in the emergence of sectionalized labour force. Therefore he demonstrates how civilization was actively constituted through everyday relationships and networks forged through workers at the residential and working spaces. Dipesh Chakrabarty writing within custom of subaltern historiography has studied the changes brought through colonialism and capitalism in the Jute mills of Bengal. In learning workers, he has focused on society identity, which was defined through religion. In her works Nandini Gooptu has studied _urban poor' in united provinces flanked by two world wars. Not only industrial workers but also manual workers in the bazaar constituted these urban poor. She has focused on workers employed in small level manufacturing elements, artisans, crafts people, transport and construction workers, hawkers, street vendors, peddlers and service group such as sweepers and munipal workers. She stresses that experiences of urban poor were also determined and shaped through non-economic manners of power, exclusion and oppression based on religion and caste. Chitra Joshi in her recent job has further argued that works of Dipesh Chakrabarty and Chandravarkar have not accorded adequate lay to politics affecting working class. For Chitra Joshi, identities of class and society were continuously negotiated within changing historical situations.

Patterns of Recruitment

Recruiters adopted several methods to meet the rising demand of labour. In India, jobbers provided labour to industrial elements. They focused on caste and clan ties to bring workers from villages. The recruitment in plantation was specified through penal contract. The colonial state enacted several laws to ensure safe transportation of labourers to plantations. The services of recruiters were hired for this purpose.

International Migration

Throughout nineteenth century, overseas migration spread beside the Indian Ocean, the Pacific Ocean and the Caribbean Sea. Immigrants went to Mauritius in 1834, to Guyana in 1838, to Trinidad in 1845, to Natal in 1860, to Surinam in 1813 and to Fiji in 1878. The expansion of new opportunities with the big-level investment of metropolitan capital in the colonies led to emergence of indentured organization. It was specified through a contract. Under it, the future immigrant agreed to job for the stipulated era of he five years. After the expiry of get in touch with era, he was free to either return or job elsewhere in the country. The conditions of contract were enacted through an immigration ordinance through the country of destination. Prospective emigrants were required to appear before a magistrate in India to accept and fulfill the conditions of the contract. There after they were kept in a depot in Calcutta until a ship was ready to take them absent. To avoid competition, the government of Jamaica, Trinidad, Mauritius and Fiji maintained an emigration agency jointly in Calcutta. It was the emigrant Agent who issued licenses to sub mediators. The latter maintained depots in the rural districts and hired recruiters who looked for prospective emigrants. The Natal laws, 13,14 and 15 of 1859 also specified contractual era of five years for indentured laborer. The working circumstances, wages were also specified. The Natal Law stipulated a minimum proportion of women in every shipload.

Marina Carter has pointed out that Kangani or Maistry sponsored migration organization was urbanized in Mauritius. Early unregulated streams of immigrants started pouring in Mauritius from 1834. This fostered competition flanked by labour, reduced wages and made them more dependent on capital. The adoption of indenture organization was less as a response to labour shortage and more an expression of a planter's preference for labour importation. Instead of wage bargaining with exslave labour, planters favoured new immigrants. Family resolution was encouraged to foster the growth of a semi-permanent job force on plantations. As the size of Indian labour force increased, new strategies to manage labour were intended. These incorporated use of fiscal and other events to compel old immigrants to stay on plantations and restrict their skill to respond to any short-term fluctuations in the wages. The attendance of dependants also limited the skill of labourers to pay their method out of indenture, the establishment of semi-self-governing camps and more flexible conditions of hiring through job-contractors were basically methods of cost cutting.

The Indian immigrants existed a semi-autonomous social and cultural life, maintained their religious traditions, language and dress pattern. They also had opportunities to bring in their families and to acquire land yet there was stability with the forced labour traditions. In the organization of family and kin group recruitment, Mauritius resembled *sardari* or *kangani* migration, it was a mixture of free and unfree population, an amalgam of indenture organization and chain migration. In this *sardari* ties of loyalty co-lived with the contractual bondage of indentured labour. The relative proximity of Indian sub-continent made it easier for some immigrants to afford their own passage costs and that of family members, giving them greater independence of movement. Rising number of migrants bought their relatives out of indenture organization altogether. The relatively high ratio of returnees to new immigrants influenced the latter's knowledge of local circumstances. The focus on family migration was a type of prelude to permanent resolution and short-term wages were not determinants. Two factors that secured the location of Indians in Mauritius were (i) the morcellement (parcelling) of the big estates from the late 1870s and (ii) the attendance of an Indian elite who lent capital to the first immigrants enabling them to acquire property.

There was self-governing migration of mostly Sikhs from the early days of twentieth century to British Columbia. Mainly of the Sikhs went as passenger migrants. Just as to Hugh Johnston, the first batch of Sikhs came to Canada in 1904. The Hong Kong mediators of the Canadian Pacific Railway encouraged them. The Canadian Government tried to manage migration from Asia through rising of the head tax on Chinese immigrants. Therefore Sikhs, mainly males started moving to British Columbia. Slowly family members and fellow villagers joined them. International migration did not have a important factor in Indian economy. In 1881-91, for instance, net emigration from India was in relation to the 0.7 million or only 0.3% of the 1881 population. In 1890s emigration increased but it declined thereafter. Though, compared to pre-colonial era, it may appear quite a dramatic change. It was an outcome of the expanding British enterprise elsewhere in the world. The steam ship, the railways, and new deal routes facilitated emigration from colonies and within empire. The organised emigration appeared in India in the 1830s through recruiting mediators. Madras and Calcutta were the main parts from where emigrants embarked abroad. Their destinations were South East Asia, Burma, the pacific and the West Indies. The migrations to Mauritius, South Africa, Burma and Ceylon took lay from Madras and other ports on the eastern coast. Throughout 1871-1930, every year in relation to the 200,000 to 6,00,000 people emigrated from India but the majority returned to India after a few years so that net emigration was rather small. Flanked by 1830 – 1900, in relation to the 80% of émigrés migrated within Asia and this ratio increased after 1900. In 1920s net emigration declined sharply as return migration increased. In the nineteenth century, the source regions of migration were combined to a few districts which had high population density.

Major Channels of Internal Migration
There was also augment of internal flows of people within India due to new economic opportunities and expansion of transport facilities some of the major channels of internal migration within India are listed in No.1 (see Table 7.1). There were five broad kinds of internal migrations
Migration out of high density areas (especially U.P., Bihar and Bengal,

Circulatory migration of agricultural labourers in the middle of neighbouring areas,

Traders and professionals seeking out new meadows,

Peasants migrating in search of new cultivable land and,

Agricultural labourers moving into non-agricultural sectors.

Table 7.1 Major Channels of Internal Migration, 1901-1931

Social Composition of Migrants
The accessible data on migrants throws light on the areas of recruitment. The class, caste and religious identity of the workers have also been pointed out. There was interring local migration from United Provinces and Bihar to the industrial centres within in India. Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Gujarat and Punjab were also major centres of overseas migration. In Kanpur artisan castes predominated. In 1906, Koris constituted 21% and Muslims 33% of the job force in two textile mills. Chamars were dominant in tanneries and leather factories. Julahas came from Fyzabad, Benaras, Hardoi, Fatehpur and Farukhabad. Women were employed only throughout the time of labour

scarcity. Ranajit Das Gupta in his analysis of Calcutta labour force has shown that mainly of the labourers before 1890s were Bengalis. Slowly workers from United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Madras and the central Provinces came to Calcutta. Women constituted 16% of the labour force flanked by 1921-1930. Mainly of workers came from low caste people, untouchables, traditional labouring and service castes, landless peasants and artisans thrown out of employment due to de-industrialization. The social-composition of international migrants was also not dissimilar. When the indentured organization was abolished in the early twentieth century, Mauritius had received an estimated 453,000 Indian labourers. They had approach from Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. In the middle of Hindus, numerous caste groups such as Chamar, Kurmi, Koeri, Brahman, Ahir, moochi, Vellala and Maratha constituted these migrants. Some were Christians and Muslims. In the colony of Natal, flanked by 1860-1875, 85% of the immigrants were Hindus. When the indentured labour to Natal was stopped in 1911, 152,184 Indians had gone to Natal. In British Columbia, through the end of 1906, 2000 immigrants had gone to British Columbia. Mainly of them were Sikhs and had approach from the villages of Hoshiarpur, Ferozepore and Jullundhar. They belonged to Jat, Tarkhan and lower caste.

Working Circumstances
The migrants had to cope with a new set of social circumstances in the urban centres. Within India, rules and regulations and surveillance agencies deployed through owners controlling factories and plantations conditioned working circumstances of migrants to industrial centres. Several methods were devised to extract maximum job, pay low wages and uphold regular supply of labour. In Lucknow, *badla* organization was instituted in the 1930s. It maintained regular substitute lists to ensure the regular supply of workers. Casual workers were hired on a regular foundation. Women and children were employed but were not enrolled as workers. The Mill owners and Planters maintained records and employed managers and supervisors to monitor

workers. Therefore in Cotton and Jute Mills, *Sardars* came to play an significant role in shaping the working circumstances of workers. There was often display of physical force to intimidate workers. Several laws were enacted in India specifically to regulate working circumstances of migrant workers. For instance The Transport of Native Labour Act (No III) enacted in 1863 stipulated passage and transportation of native labourers through licensed recruiters. The Assam Emigration Regulation of 1877 authorized the chief commissioner of Assam to declare any garden unhealthy or unfit for residence of labourers. The Assam labour and Emigration Act, 1908, abolished the organization of penal contracts for new recruiters except for in the recruiting districts.

Several laws that were enacted through the colonial state to describe factories working hours and wages of workers also were applicable to new migrants from the countryside. Indian Factories Act of 1881 made the beginning. The Indian Factories (amendment) Act of 1891 fixed the working hours for women and children flanked by 5 A.M and 8 P.M. The weekly holiday was provided on Sunday. Indian Factories Act of 1934 reduced the hours of job for all adult workers from 60 to 54 a week. In colonies indentured labour worked from sunrise to sun set. The job of harvesting, transporting, milling and structure of dams, factories and homes was dependent on the season. More experienced boys were selected for duties requiring greater ability in the factories. Several of them eventually became the supervisor or mill *sardars*. They kept secure watch in excess of all the operations and ensured quality and quantity for their owners. Planters were only interested in extracting maximum labour. They also provided workers with rations and often establish excuses to cut down on the ration. Even when labourers fell ill, it was dubbed as _sham sicknesses. Deductions were often made from the salary on several pretexts. The judicial machinery was also used to suppress workers. In British Columbia, owners of lumber mills regulated job.

Existed Experiences

Many studies have shown that existed experience of migrant workers was shaped through many factors. In British Columbia, Sikhs took pride in the information that they were capable of performing the hardest and hazardous job. The Julahas in United Provinces took pride in their weaving job. The people migrating to the urban centres within India maintained links with their native villages. The organization of money order played a important role as a medium of sending remittances to his family. Several returned to villages throughout harvest times. In Mauritius, several indentured labourers became self-governing and regrouped in local and caste-based population groups.

The economic circumstances of workers were not merely determined through their wages. An estimate of 1926 pointed out that the average income of jute mill workers was Rs. 5/- per week. Though minimum Rs. 7/- were needed to uphold a family constituting husband, wife and three children. A example survey of Kanpur mannered in 1939 showed that 44% of the women had a monthly income of Rs. 9/- to Rs. 11/-. The loss of job only aggravated problem for the migrant workers. In such circumstances, several had to borrow in order to survive. It was seen that in industrial regions, *Sardars* provided job, credit and housing to migrant labourers. They also exploited workers. Often they had to be given bribes so that worker could obtain leaves and ensure regularity in job. Such use was often resented. Babuniya, a Bihari female worker of the Titanghur Jute Mill, expressed her views in front of the Royal Commission on labour: —When I was first entertained I had to pay Rs. 4/- as bakshish to the Sardars who appointed me. Each time I return back from the village I have to pay the similar amount as bakshish to the Sardar. I also pay him Rs 2 as every week. My husband paid Rs 6 when he was first appointed. He pays 4 annas a week to the Sardar. If we refuse to pay the Sardars, as suggested, not get job. Every worker pays a alike amount to the sardar. The residential regions of workers were usually segregated. Only a few factory owners provided residential quarters for workers. A survey of in relation to the 73000 jute workers in Bengal in 1897 revealed that only 13.5 % of them were livelihood in company built coolie rows. Throughout 1920s in municipalities like Lucknow, Benaras, Allahabad and Kanpur, slums of

workers were clearly demarcated. The Municipal Corporations were concerned with hygiene. Workers were recognized as those who were responsible for causing filth and dirt in the regions. The familial, caste and society linkages also shaped the experiences of workers. The daily chores, Akharas religious gatherings, celebrations of festivals and political movements brought workers in public arena. They also forged superior linkages. In the municipalities of Victoria and British Columbia the Sikhs lives revolved approximately their Gurudawaras. Often helping hand was also extended to newly arrived immigrants or those who had lost their jobs. Therefore in their small residential regions immigrants often discussed their personal troubles, shared news in relation to the their families livelihood in Punjab. In Mauritius, slowly Indians led semi-autonomous social and cultural lives. They spoke their language and adhered to their dress code and religious traditions. In India, however working population was clustered in small slums but segregation was also pronounced. In the middle of the migrants, the higher castes like Brahmins tried to uphold their higher social status. Even when they suffered from financial constraints, they tended to spend more on familial ceremonies. The lower castes often experienced social exclusion. Several of them became part of the Adi Hindu movement in the United Provinces. The leaders of the movement, Achhutanand and Ram Charan challenged the social and political exclusion. Identical trends were apparent in Punjab and Madras. The political mobilization of workers also assumes importance throughout 1920s and 1930s. Maulana Azad Subhani, an alim of Kanpur adopted the symbol of the garha or hand woven cloth produced through Muslims artisans in an effort to form political organisation of Muslims working groups throughout UP. Throughout 1940s workers in Bengal were organised beside religious rows through the Muslims league. The rising power of communist ideology and leadership was also apparent throughout this era. Frequent meetings were held to organize workers approximately communist ideology. Class identity of workers was stressed in them. Though Dipesh Chakrabarty has underlined the information that bhadralok leadership held hierarchical notions and often whispered in providing the leadership to the workers and assigned the subordinate role to workers.

Protests and Consciousness

The consciousness of workers was shaped through caste, class and society identities. This multiple dimensions of identity co-exist and overlap and did not exist in pure crystallized shapes. For the redressal of their grievances workers in organised sectors resorted to strikes. They shaped their labour unions. Congress, Communist, Socialist and Muslim league provided the leadership in excess of the era of time in dissimilar contexts. Kanpur Mazdoor Sabha was shaped in 1919. Kamdatt and Lala Devi Dayal inaugurated it. In 1920 All India Deal Union Congress was recognized. Despite the efforts of radical and left wing intellectuals to forge class based identity and consciousness workers remained divided beside caste and religious rows. They participated in communal riots on a number of occasions. They also extended support to the communal politics of Tabligh, Tanzeem and Shuddhi movements. Though the series of strikes also brought forth the consciousness of workers in relation to the their rights inculcated a spirit of class solidarity.

In November 1919 industrial Kanpur witnessed its first common strike. Weavers of the woollen mills struck job on November 22, 1919. Several joined the striking workers and very soon 17,000 had joined the strike. It lasted for 8 days. Workers were successful in obtaining substantial augment in wages, bonus and improvements in workings circumstances. The common strike of 1938 was more wide spread. It lasted for 52 days and involved 46000 workers. Leading Congress and Communist leaders of the Kanpur Mazdoor Sabha, Hariharnath Shastri, Balkrishan Sharma, Sant Singh Yusuf, Aiwaz Ali and Arjun Arora participated in the strike. The Ahmedabad Mill strike of 1918 was rooted in the demand of workers to raise their bonus. As they restored to strike, intervention of Mahatma Gandhi was sought. It resulted in substantial augment in the wages of workers. The principle of arbitration was also accepted.

The Bombay textile strike of 1919 saw the participation of a hundred thousand workers. An augment in wages was demanded so as to offset rising inflation. The whole textile industry of Bombay was paralyzed. In the after that decade communist leadership unified workers. Throughout 1928-1929

wage reduction and rationalization schemes in the mills led to agitation. These events were suspended as a result of a strike led through communists for six months in 1928. Flanked by 1921 and June 30, 1929, 210 strikes were recorded in the jute industry. Several jute mill owners had resorted to job in singe shift. It resulted in loss of jobs. In relation to the 60,000 workers were laid off in 1930-1931. The salaries of workers were also reduced.

There is also proof of protests and resistance through the in excess of sea migrants. The accessible Durban records illustrate that indentured workers in Natal flanked by 1861 and 1911 did raise their voices against use. For instance in 1864, Doorgiate, coolie number 1349 applied for a return passage to India. Under the contract, he had to job for W.H.Middletan for three years. Though in his second year of service, his leg was infected and was amputated. He was forced through his master to job on his plantation. However he was given _light' woman's job but he was unable to do the job. When he fell ill, he was accused of feigning illness. He was punished and was forced to return to _hard job' men's job. He was directed to pay 10 pounds to his master to buy off his remaining term of service. His fellow workers raised the money. Therefore he won his freedom and returned to India. There were more instances of contest and resistance on the part of migrant workers. In 1866, a group of coolie close to Verulam hired a lawyer. A petition was presented before the Natal Court seeking redressal of grievances against their master. The findings proved that the master Shire had fined his coolie illegally. He had also deprived them of their wages. But nothing came out of these findings. There was an enactment of law, which gave greater manage to masters in excess of the workers.

In British Columbia, Sikhs faced discrimination. Through 1906 authorities had enacted laws to ban Sikh immigration. The policy of Canadian Government was a continuation of the policy adopted through British imperialism. In Punjab, Government was resorting to greater surveillance in excess of Sikhs. There was monitoring of Ghadar leaders. When Komagata Maru with 376 passengers anchored on May 23, 1914 opposite Vancouver, immigrant officers delayed the disembarkment of passengers. However local Sikhs extended help and even resorted to legal help, ship had to return back with passengers. It proved to the Sikhs that even within British colony, they

were not treated as equal. They had to remain without civic rights. The franchise disqualifications under British Columbia provincial law stayed in force up to 1947-48. Indians were excluded from employment in public and municipal works and from the profession of law and pharmacy. Therefore avenues of social upward mobility were denied to Sikhs. They had to negotiate with host civilization. It strengthened society bonds. Several participated in anti-imperialist thrash about after returning back to India.

The end of colonial rule in India on August 15, 1947 was followed through procedure of decolonization in many countries of the world. The indentured labourers eventually became free settlers. The immigration laws in Canada and America were changed throughout 1960s. Asia appeared as the main source of immigrant population for Canada and America. The flow of labouring population to Gulf countries also started. Presently the dynamics of labour flows in global economy have undergone structural changes.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN THE URBAN AND RURAL AREAS
Rise of Middle Class

The configuration of social classes under colonialism changed as a result of the vital economic transformation and the administrative needs of the colonial state. The rise of middle class was a product of internal changes and external pressures associated with colonialism. Just as to Prof. B.B. Mishra, there was a lack of middle class in the contemporary sense of professionals in the pre-colonial era in India. He relates this to lack of enough urbanization in the pre-colonial era, rigidity of indigenous caste organization and nature of aristocratic bureaucracy, dominance of clergy and lack of professional character of service-gentry in medieval cities.

Although colonialism produced economic stagnation and backwardness in India, it also created the professional classes comprising contemporary lawyers, doctors, teachers, managers, engineers, journalists and so on. This contemporary intelligentsia was dissimilar in tastes, outlook and behavior from the service-gentry of the pre-colonial civilizations. The changes in social and administrative structures required a new class of educated

Indians who could manage social affairs and organizations that were recognized through the British. New educational organizations- schools, collages, universities and professional training organizations were started to meet the needs of colonial state and civilization. The number of those learning English rose rapidly from 298,000 in 1887 to 505,000 in 1907. This was directly connected to augment in the circulation of English-language newspapers throughout the era. This class of intelligentsia constituted only a _microscopic minority' of Indian population. Yet, it was an integral part of the new colonial civilization and administrative set-up. This social group, so, enjoyed fair amount of importance- distant in excess of its size. English education gave them competence to develop cross-local and cross-lingual networks as several of them worked outside their hometowns. They played prominent role in public affairs and occupied newly created public spaces under colonialism. They were the pioneers, organizers and leaders of social religious reforms. They also played important role in political initiatives of contemporary mass mobilization throughout dissimilar phases of colonial rule in India. The educated middle class was the product of new western education initiated through the colonial state for practical administrative expediency. The educated middle class grew and expanded after 1858 with the establishment of universities and engineering and other professional institutes. It also urbanized its own sectional interests, which culminated in formation of association and organizations of several professions.

The western education also brought with it an increased awareness of currently fashionable ideologies, which in turn influenced the ideological framework of Indian nationalism. The intelligentsia also suffered the pangs of separation from the womb of traditional, indigenous civilization and identities as a result of alienating effects of education through foreign medium. The professional middle class and intelligentsia were forced to approach to conditions with a scrupulous variant of colonial modernization. Several of them still clung to traditional social values and organizations. Others reposed their faith in the doctrines of cause and humanism. They thought that western science and technology would give the key to the regeneration of their own civilization.

The English-educated professionals' usually came from the upper-caste families especially from the traditional Brahmin and Kayastha families. They took the new education more easily. The early Cambridge school of historians like Anil Seal and J.H. Broomfield interpreted nationalism in conditions of such local educated elites and their factional thrash about to gain power, status and power. Though, the real power and privileges in colonial civilization lay with the white Europeans. The Indians educated middle class was not a homogeneous class. They never tried to restrict entry to it and in information, helped in expansion of education through their voluntary efforts and establishment of schools and colleges. Moreover, the growth of middle class educated intelligentsia was an uneven procedure. There were local disparities in the spread of education with Bengal and Madras provinces well ahead of rest of India. There were also differences in the social-roots of middle classes in dissimilar areas. In some cases, they combined their government-service or self-governing profession with manage in excess of landed possessions and trading behaviors.

They were a hybrid of agrarian-based middle classes enjoying rent in-comes in Bengal and Northern India. In Western and Southern India, they were sometimes connected to commercial and business interests. Due to their link with the propertied classes and their specific social roots, they often opposed anti-tenancy legislation, for instance the tenancy legislation of Bengal in 1885. The educated intelligentsia wished for modernization of India in the liberal image of Britain, yet because of their petty rent-collecting rights, they did not want radical transformation of agrarian dealings. In spaces where landlord-tenant dealings were communally defined in the sense that they belonged to dissimilar religious societies, it had momentous consequence for development of communalism.

Growth of Capitalist Class
The growth of indigenous capitalist class in India was very slow on explanation of the British capital's power. Traditional Indian business societies did survive and in some cases flourished despite this manage of

foreign capital. Some of them establish, with their lack of enough capital possessions, that investment in sure non-industrial sectors was more lucrative. The British controlled the upper layer of Indian economy represented through the big joint-stock companies, stock markets, big managing agency homes, major banking and insurance sectors as well as foreign deal and shipping. Initially the Indian businessmen were relegated to small private deal, money lending and in the positions of subordinate mediators to the foreign capital. Though, such a dual economy of colonialism was not a permanent characteristic of India. Despite a host of problem and structural constraints, the white ‚communal monopoly' was breached and the Indian capitalist class grew slowly, utilizing opportunities and overcoming obstacles created through colonial economy. The rise and growth of Indian capitalist class was organically connected to the vital structure of colonialism and bore the imprints of that linkage.

The Role of Colonial State: Stagnation or Market-led Growth

Historians usually relate slow growth of capitalist class and contemporary industries to colonialism. In his well-known ‚drain of wealth' argument Dadabhai Nauroji criticized many channels of ‚leakage' of potentially ingestible capital possessions. The nationalists saw that the British government in India made sure payments or remitted money abroad for which no goods or services of equivalent value were offered. It was argued that such possessions could have been used to make productive assets in India. Shortage of capital and lack of profitable investment opportunities are cited as two vital causes for slow growth of capitalist class in India throughout the colonial era. The unilateral transfer of possessions through the colonial state to meet the cost of Secretary of State establishment in London, cost of defending the Empire in the east, purchase of military stores, pensions and salaries of an alien bureaucracy, a guaranteed annual interest to the British railway companies that constructed the railways in India and interest on public debt raised through the colonial government in London money-markets were all part of this capital-transfer.

Though, we necessity take this economic critique of colonialism with a pinch of salt. For instance, several British _sahibs' were paid high salaries for job that involved power but no great skills and expertise. This was a pure waste of Indian potential possessions. But high salary to a European engineer or university professor, who provided technological skills not accessible in India, may not be described wasteful. Another aspect of colonial state that hindered capitalist growth in India was lack of positive action of the kind undertaken through state in the other advanced capitalist countries. The discriminatory intervention of the colonial state helped only the interests of British capital. It failed to give tariff protection to Indian capital and did not foster demand for indigenous industrial products through guaranteeing purchase through state and its agencies. Another crippling effect was poorly urbanized organizations, especially financial ones such as enough banking and insurance sectors. There was also considerable dependency of Indian capitalist class on British industrial methods and technology. As England was no longer a leader of the global industrial technology especially after 1880s, such dependence proved costly for the Indian enterprises.

Within all these structural constraints, colonialism also guaranteed the security of private property and sanctity of contract, vital legal elements for a market- led growth. It accelerated commercialization. The capital constraint eased somewhat due to expansion of foreign deal. This capitalist growth was usually based on sectors where cost of raw materials was low (textile, jute, cotton, sugar, leather, cement, tobacco and even steel).

Origin of Capitalist Class and Sources of Capital
There was a important stage of urbanized merchant capital in pre-British India. Sure societies such as Chettis of Tamilnadu, Konkani Saudagars, Bohra, Parsi and Jain merchants, Marwaris of Shekhawati area in Rajasthan and Lohana and Khatris of Punjab were prominent in such businesses. The establishment of East India Company's monopoly did not totally wipe them out. Several of Indian traders started acting as middlemen or subordinate mediators in the new colonial economy as the British had to rely on the existing indigenous commercial networks and money- markets to carry out

their commercial operations. When contemporary industrialists appeared in India after 1850s, the capital for them came partly from internal accumulation in the wake of commercialization fostered through colonial penetration. The trading societies of Bombay and Calcutta benefited from the enormous growth of foreign deal especially with China. This was a direct result of end of company's monopoly in India-China deal after 1833. It was in these two municipalities that contemporary capitalist class urbanized initially in India capitalizing on vast profits they earned as the _brokers' of European trading firms. Another significant factor was trading profits that appeared in cotton-export throughout the American Civil War. The rise of two great industrial homes- Birlas and Tatas can be traced to these growths.

The capitalist class did not always originate from in the middle of the traditional business societies occupied in deal and banking. Commercial and financial capital did seldom venture outside their recognized meadows of economic action. When it stepped out of its field, it went into purchase of idle assets such as gold ornaments or such spiritual assets as structure temples. On the other hand, sure other societies utilized new opportunities of profit-creation as a result of get in touch with the Europeans as brokers. For instance, the Parsis were traditionally not traders or financiers, but artisans, carpenters, weavers, and ship-builders. Yet, they profited the mainly from export of cotton and opium from the Western coast. In Ahmadabad, the Khojas, the Bhatias, and Gujrati traders and financiers also benefited from collaboration with Europeans. They later on pumped their profits into cotton-mills to become pioneer capitalists. The main source of capital in two big-level industrial complexes of Coimbatore and Madras in Southern India was the savings of the rich cotton farmers-cum-traders. The traditional business societies of the area, the Chettiars, migrated to Burma in the nineteenth century and entered as capitalists in industry only in the 1930s. In Calcutta and Eastern India, Europeans dominated the big-level industry. The main interests of the Marwari homes were in jute baling, mining, zamindari, and import agency before the First World War. It was only throughout the interwar era, that Marwaris started entering industry in a big method.

Capital for industry was always in short supply in India. A contemporary banking organization was poorly urbanized. The banks,

dominated through European capital and management followed an implicit ethnic preference of helping only European clients. They avoided giving loans for fixed capital to the Indian capitalists. The other major source of capital- the capital market was also a rather small and insignificant institution. It was also plagued through speculation. Given such high cost of capital, it is not surprising that contemporary capitalist class mostly urbanized entirely from societies that had dedicated in trading and banking behaviors. To be a successful capitalist, it was necessary to raise money easily. A strong co-operative society, like one that Parsis and Marwaris had, was needed for this venture.

Business Structure and Management
The traditional Indian business was rooted within the family and society. The business organization and the joint family were regularly indistinct entities. This helped the earlier capitalist in easier access to supply of credit and other skills. Until 1850, partnership was the common form of ownership-cum-management. But some sort of formal corporate management became necessary to overcome the troubles of raising finance and managing firms efficiently. The mainly general institution was the managing agency organization. It was a organization of vesting the management of joint-stock companies in the hands of a firm of professional managers. Such a firm of professional managers helped the promotion, financing, underwriting and organization of a joint stock company. Under this organization, the Directors or representatives of the capitalist owners of a company contracted a firm to manage that company for a fee. The fee was usually a sure fraction of total sales or output. As already pointed out, Indian firms establish it hard to meet their needs of capital. They had to rely heavily on loans and deposits from the public. The owners of firms and managing mediators supplied big amount of capital.
The rest of the capital had to be mobilized from banks and the public. Though; loans from banks required reputed guarantor and the deposits from public required that the borrower was a trusted name. The managing mediators served these purposes. The organization was prone to a number of abuses. The

managing mediators could operate the company to the advantage of their own private fortune, and not to the advantage of shareholders. The managing mediators routinely and illegally speculated in commodity deal in goods and raw materials in which the company was involved. Such speculation was often against the interest of the company. Despite these abuses the organization survived and dominated the economic organization of diverse productive firms.

New Industrial Labour Class
The contemporary working class in India was the offspring of contemporary industries, plantation, mines and transport that urbanized in Indian colonial economy. Their poor average of livelihood and miserable working circumstances were testified through official and nonofficial sources. The industrial labour in India was predominantly concentrated in textile industry (jute and cotton) and mines.

Origins, Markets and Composition
Factory labour provided a new form of employment that appeared with the rise of industries in the middle of the nineteenth century. It represented a shift from rural and traditional occupations such as agriculture and crafts to contemporary ones such as mechanized industry. Mainly workers in urban centres like Calcutta and Bombay migrated from rural hinterlands. An significant characteristic of this labour force was temporary nature of industrial employment for the majority of these labourers. Morris D. Morris, in the revise of Bombay industrial labour, establishes that the proportion of workers working in cotton mills for more than ten years in 1890 was only 26.7%. It rose to 39.1% in 1927-28. The shift to urban centres resulted in changes in the nature of job, job lay and life styles. The industrial workers comprised of common manual labour capable of performing only scrupulous mechanical tasks and another group of technically trained who could operate a single machine for a diversity of purposes and repair the machine. The skilled

labourers tended to be more in permanent employment while unskilled consisted of casual or temporary workers. The skilled technological labour usually came from the upper caste with high school education. Unskilled labourers, on the other hand came mainly from agrarian and artisan castes with small or no formal education.

Even however there was an abundant labour supply in a colonial economy like India, and there was no inadequate supply of labour in the extensive run, the intermediaries in the big industrial centers maintained supply. Initially, shortage of labour forced employers to obtain labour through the Jobbers or intermediaries. But, the practice sustained even when labour was easily accessible at the factory gates. The Bombay cotton mills sustained to rely until the interwar on _labour contractors' who brought workers from the regions to which they themselves belonged. They sometimes even supervised the workers on the factory floor. The labour contractor was paid for his services both through the mill owners and workers whom he gave employment.

The industrial labour of Bombay cotton mills came mainly from the Konkan, the Deccan and United Province. Jute- industry, on the other hand, employed migrants from Bihar, eastern UP and Orissa. The labourers were employed from these areas because price of labour was low in these areas. The factories utilized the cheap labour from these poor agricultural regions, instead of employing local labour. The mill owners to stay the bargaining power and wages of workers low also used the institution of employment through an intermediary therefore creating a type of _labour lordism'. Though, the purpose of seeking industrial employment could be to augment family income, reduce and spread risk especially in famine prone districts, and to retain a grip in the rural economy.

Such linkage with the rural world meant that social and ethnic divisions in the middle of labourers remained powerful. The workers did not acquire a proper _industrial' mentality or a habit of disciplined use of time. Instead of evolving into a homogeneous working class, it remained divided into castes, societies and areas. Version to the factory discipline happened in an imperfect method and workers brought peasants-like mentality into the factory floor and urban life. Compared to rural regions, though, industrial-

employment offered better wages, security from famine, better social mobility and lesser caste oppression. The circumstances of workers in tea plantations of Assam and coalmines had shades of semi-slavery and semi-serfdom in them. Mainly of the workers of tea plantations came from Chota Nagpur and other regions of Greater Bengal throughout 1860-1890. Later, senior workers or sardars also recruited workers. The labourers usually came from the socially marginal groups and rural labourers. The miserable circumstances forced them to leave their houses as the contractors painted rosy pictures of plantations. The workers understood small of conditions of contract. The extreme poverty, lack of information on the part of workers, and the employers' greater legal power were general characteristics of indenture organization.

The profits of the coal- industry were divided flanked by landlords and colliers. The lands were owned through Zamindars who received fixed rents from the owners of coal- mines. They had no interest either in mining or productivity of the industry. The labourers for mines were accessible easily and cheaply from in the middle of the poorest rural strata of Chota Nagpur area. The availability of labour at low wages with circumstances of semi- servitude attached to it made the mining costs very low in India. The mining technology remained manual and crude due to low labour costs. The colliers relied on labour contractors who hired workers at piece rates.

Labour Force and Occupational Structure
Occupational structure depicts proportion of labour force employed in several sectors of an economy. India being an underdeveloped colonial economy, its occupational structure was more or less stagnant. Employment of labour in industrial and mining hovered approximately 9-10% of total job force flanked by 1911 and 1951. Though, the contribution of industrial sector to the national income from 1900-01 to 1946-47 improved slightly from 21 to 25%. This might be due to some organizational and technological changes that led to growth in labour productivity. Sometimes the improvement in education and health might also lead to augment in labour efficiency and productivity. The record of colonial India in these compliments was in the middle of the poorest in the world. Another important characteristic of occupational

structure was the drop in the proportion of women in cotton and jute mills especially after 1920s. Employment legislation made special provisions for women, such as maternity benefits and prohibition of night job. These often discouraged employers when male labourers were accessible for the similar job.

Differential Resource-Endowments in Rural Regions
Throughout the initial decades of colonial rule in India, British colonial state pursued the policy of maximization of land revenue. The colonial state acted as the supreme landlord. Revenue demand on land was fixed in cash and tended to be abnormally high. The burden was felt more as the agricultural prices fell. The colonial state not only composed taxes more efficiently but also changed the conditions of connection flanked by the tenants and landlords and the cultivators vis-à-vis moneylenders. The colonial judiciary defended the sanctity of contractual connection. The commercial transaction in the rural economy expanded as the markets for agricultural inputs including land expanded. The high assessments of revenue stimulated manufacture of cash crops like sugarcane, cotton, indigo, etc. The improved transport networks the railways and ‗cotton roads' and new institutional arrangements like creation of ports, export-import companies, bank financing such deal, etc. all facilitated rising commercialization. Sale and auction of land tended to augment with the operation of market forces. The colonial state also further elaborated and redefined property rights in land. The location of rural creditors, usurers and grain dealers was strengthened. They were able to acquire some of the lands that were transferred as result of operation of market forces.. As a result of these vital changes in agrarian dealings, the class- structure of rural civilization was transformed. The small poor cultivators suffered in common, and so also the rustic societies who existed primarily on livestock rearing and who cultivated lands only as subsidiary job. Though, the impact of expansion in market opportunities was not uniform.

Effects of Commercialization

There were important changes in the cropping pattern, their marketability and the composition of rural classes especially after 1850s. Big-level commercialization started taking lay. Peasants shifted their manufacture of agricultural goods from survival needs of their own families or local use for societies to sale for distant markets. Trends towards commercialization were fairly pronounced in pre- colonial era also, but the British connected Indian agricultural to global markets. Earlier phase of commercialization was based on indigo and opium- non bulk-items. The second wave of commercialization in Indian agriculture, based on cotton, wheat, oilseeds, groundnuts and sugarcane, affected peasant life in a more substantial method. The land became a saleable commodity and number of land transfers increased dramatically in all areas in the nineteenth century. As a result of rising agricultural prices and land-values, and relatively lighter burden of land revenue after 1860, rents in nominal and real conditions increased. Region under cropped region also increased in mainly regions. There were also widespread growths of tenancy or markets for user rights in land all in excess of India. Commercialization increased the profitability of land and hence its demand-especially in the middle of these with insufficient lands. In other languages, inequality of landowner-ship was responsible for growth of tenancy. The mainly significant effect of commercialization was that it increased the demand for working capital credit as well as consumption loans for many purposes. The commercial manufacture of crops needed more investment in agricultural inputs. Due to local specialization of cropping pattern, farmers became dependent on their consumption needs and food necessities before harvests on the markets. Farmers also borrowed money to create payments of rent and revenue in cash. The marketing costs of commercial crops also increased because of transport cost and growth of intermediaries in the market structure flanked by the peasant and the global markets.

There were favorable factors on the supply face that increased supply of credit. New markets and profit opportunities became accessible to usurer and moneylenders due to increased possibilities of spatial mobility. The value

of land increased as a result of creation of new proprietary rights in land through the colonial state and as a result of expansion of canal irrigation in some regions. Thirdly, new judicial arrangements gave creditors more powers to recover loans. Some British officials were concerned that rising sale of land passed the ownership rights to non-cultivating classes through the operation of credit mechanism. Indian nationalist leader, M.G. Ranade, on the other hand, favored transfer of land to rich, resourceful and efficient peasants. Nationalist leaders in common opposed land-alienation legislation on the ground that it would affect credit facilities and values of land.

Was Commercialization a Forced Procedure?

Some historians argue that need to pay excessive revenue or rent in cash force the cultivators to shift to the farming of commercial crops in lay of food crops in the nineteenth century. They consider that manufacture of such crops was not economically beneficial to the peasants, so they borrowed money from the moneylenders who influenced their manufacture decisions. The professional usurers and moneylenders recognized manage in excess of their produce, cattle and land. Peasants were often forced to mortgage their lands due to debt trap and big-level transfer of land to moneylenders reduced the cultivators to the status of agricultural labourers or sharecroppers. This view re-echo a powerful official opinion in the last quarter of nineteenth century. Surendra Patel and R.P. Dutt, two radical historians, traced the substantial growth of agricultural labourers throughout colonial rule to the working of this procedure of forced commercialization. Dharma Kumar, in her classic job, *Land and Caste in South India*, though, proved the subsistence of sizable population of agricultural labourers in the pre-colonial South India on the foundation of correlation of sure castes to labour status. It is also true agricultural labourers failed to attain any substantial improvement in wages and social status. Castes and status differences persisted and were strongly related to socio-economic opportunities. Commercialization, in other languages, strengthened the rich peasants coming from middle or upper castes while it tended to reduce sure groups to bondage and servitude.

Moreover, there was relative decline of land-revenue burden after 1860. In such circumstances, peasants were induced to produce for markets due to incentive of rising prices of agricultural products. Cash crops were produced primarily because they were the more profitable crops. The beneficial fruits of commercialization, though, were reaped differently. The rich farmers forced smaller farmers and tenants to produce cash crops even if the latter did not benefit from such manufacture. Again, although, non- cultivating money lending *sahukars* such as Marwaris. Banias and Chettiars played important role in marketing of commercial crops and owned lands; rich peasants and landowners controlled rural credit markets. Commercialization created rich peasants and consolidated their positions in several areas.

Class-Structure in Rural Regions

The older group of rural gentry underwent a change in composition and in some cases their wings were clipped absent under the colonial rule. The decline of power and social status of older mobility and hereditary elites, especially outside Zamindari resolution regions was directly connected with the British policy of settling _revenues' with the dominant cultivating groups. In Zamindari regions, the definition of property rights usually strengthened the pre-existing groups of Zamindars and taluqdars who enjoyed rights of revenue collections under pre-colonial regimes. In other regions, the practice was to settle with dominant cultivating groups. In the Upper Doab and RohilKhand, for instance, village societies were recognized as proprietary bodies. In Southern and Western India, *mirasdars* or the holders of shares in village land were reorganized. Ryotwari was, in principle, a direct contract flanked by the ryot or cultivator and the state. It was from the dominant cultivating groups that a class of rich farmers appeared. They took advantage of expanding market networks under colonial economy. They had possessions like enough arable land, livestock, implements and superior access to credit. They also became less dependent on the moneylenders, and began to lend themselves. The Jat peasants of Punjab and Upper Doab, the Vellalas in Tamil Nadu, the Kunbi Patidars of South Gujarat, the rich Kamma Reddy farmers in Madras- Deccan, and the Lingayats in Karnataka belonged to this group.

The other cultivators belonged to small marginal farmers and sharecroppers who did not have enough possessions for investment or did not enjoy any security of tenure and were helpless victims of frequent famines despite the information that expanding markets and infrastructure made food availability much easier. They had no marketable surplus to sell and the incidence of debt weighed too heavily on them. The lowest in the hierarchy, the agricultural labourers were the mainly unfortunate, as they did not get any real benefit of commercialization as their wages stagnated and their employment was never secure. Landed groups commanded labour at artificially low cost. The lack of alternative employment opportunities and persistence of caste-oppression made them subject to obligations to supply labour cheaply. The mainly wretched of them had to suffer the agony of servitude as Halis, Khatbandhi Majdoor, Kamia or Panniyals as the bonded labourers came to recognized in the dissimilar areas.

Merchants and Trading Classes

Some prominent business and trading societies were thriving in India when the Europeans trading companies tried to set up their commercial empires and trading monopolies. Some such prominent trading societies were the Khatris and Lohanas, Marwaris of Rajasthan, Chettis or Chettiars of Tamil Nadu, Bohras of Gujarat, the Konkani merchants and so on. Separately from local market network exchanging rural produce; the traders were also active at limited local stage in small cities with permanent markets recognized as *qasba*. Extensive aloofness deal in low-value high bulk goods through caravans of peck bullocks was also fairly urbanized despite high cost of overland transport and insecurity. In the last range came the entirely urban-centered, extensive aloofness deal in luxuries including deal in exportable commodities. The rise of several local states in the eighteenth century strengthened a financial sector dominated through *shroffs* or banking families. These families converted currencies, discounted bills of swap or *hundis*, remitted money in advance for land-revenue and lend money to local elite. They played a very important role in urban economy and extensive- aloofness

deal. The Jagat Seth home of Bengal was only a better recognized such family of bankers. The indigenous merchants used the organization of *dadni* or advance payment for procuring goods from artisans.

Subordination to the European Capital or New Opportunities

The small European trading society was initially confined to port municipalities. The European companies, through they wanted to monopolize Indian deal, made use of existing network of manufacture and procurement accessible in India to obtain exportable commodities. In the course of time, they introduced some modifications and innovations in the indigenous organization. This was planned to solve some specific troubles. The Europeans, for instance, utilized services of *dalal* or broker, an Indian employee with an intricate knowledge of both the local markets and intermediary merchant societies in their dealings with the local merchants. The European deal proved beneficial to the country because the company imported gold and silver into India to buy exportable goods. This led to a substantial augment in the supply of money. The rising monetization in the Indian economy facilitated commutation of land-revenue demand from type into cash, which led to further augment in trading behaviors. It also helped in the coming up of banking families so crucial to the expanding world of commerce. The weaver-cum-merchants approximately Calcutta especially the *Basaks* were prominent beneficiaries of textile exports through East India Company, for instance. So, the nationalist story of retreat of Indian merchants from deal is not entirely true.

Though, through the end of the eighteenth century, the East India Company was less a trading home and more a rentier. It had acquired rights to revenue of a big empire. The company financed its export of Indian textiles from such revenues. This could have created an adverse impact on the Indian traders. Though, the real subordination of Indian traders and merchants began when India was more fully integrated with the inter-national deal. After 1800, the value of India's foreign deal and its composition underwent a phenomenal change. It was the period of indigo-opium deal and the relative decline of cotton textile deal. European firms supplied the capital and handled these new

exports as distant more profitable. The export of indigo, often produced under extra-economic coercion grew rapidly until 1850's when artificial dyes slowly started replacing indigo. Opium again was produced under state monopoly and the company used it as a convenient means for payment for the Chinese tea, silk and porcelain it exported to Europe.

The free deal ideology of colonial rulers served the interests of the exporters of British manufactures especially Lancashire textile millowners in the nineteenth century. All these development reduced the location of Indian merchant classes to some sort of subservience. Though, the expanding level of marketing operations also helped several Indigenous traders to act as intermediaries in opium deal in the first half of nineteenth century and in cotton export throughout the cotton boom of 1860's. They were not only able to survive but accumulated enough wealth to become the pre- cursors of Indian capitalist class. Some portion of merchant capital was transformed under the colonial rule into usury capital, which again was a very profitable avenue of investment throughout the colonial rule.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

How did the social background shape the perceptions of the nationalists about the Indian society?

What was the purpose of enumerating castes in censuses?

Compare Gandhi and Ambedkar's views on caste-oppression.

Briefly describe the changing trends in the historiography of migration.

Briefly describe the lived experiences of workers in colonial India.

How did the organizational-structure of business affect Indian industries?

Explain the nature and composition of industrial labour force in India.

CHAPTER 8
Social Questions under Colonialism
STRUCTURE

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

Understand the colonial forest policies and criminal tribes.

Explain the effects of gender/women under colonialism.

Describe the social discrimination.

Understand the studying tribes under colonialism

COLONIAL FOREST POLICIES AND CRIMINAL TRIBES

Pre-Colonial Legacy

Alfred Crossby (1986) gave a notion of _ecological imperialism.' Just as to the notion, a intricate set of weeds, animals and diseases brought through the biological expansion and migrations from Europe destroyed the flora, fauna and human civilizations or the indigenous ecosystems of the New World. Basing themselves on this notion, Gadgil and Guha (1992) projected colonialism in India as an ecological watershed. Just as to them, although the Europeans could not make neo-Europes in India through decimating and devastating indigenous population and their natural resource-base but they did intervene and radically altered existing food producing systems and their ecological foundation. Three vital elements of this unprecedented intervention in the ecological and social fabric of Indian civilization through colonialism, just as to them, are:

A shift from survival-oriented resource gathering and food-manufacture to commercial manufacture;

Destruction of cohesive local societies and their organizations and emergence of individualism in their lay; and

Breakdown of a organization of restraints on traditional resource-use due to development of markets as the focal points for organizing access to possessions.

Richard H Grove (1998) has criticized this row of thinking as a belief in pre-colonial golden age of ecological balance and harmony. Just as to him, exclusivist shapes of state forest controls urbanized in pre-colonial states in South Asia, which saw rapid state-sponsored de-forestation. The manage of state in excess of forest-possessions was slowly rising in India since in relation to the 800 A.D. It was reinforced in Mughal era and received further impetus Throughout the ascendancy of successor states. The Maratha state tried to acquire manage in excess of forests of the Western Ghats and to set-up plantations, both for shipbuilding and revenue. The states of Cochin and Travancore also exercised alike monopoly rights in excess of forests.

The Amirs of Sind adopted a policy of afforestation and forest protection Throughout 1740-1840. This was meant to encourage development of their hunting reserves or *sikargahs*. Though, the state manage in pre-colonial times was limited to the extraction of sure plant and animal species or to the maintenance of hunting reserves. Sometimes state asserted manages in excess of sure specific products. For instance, Tipu Sultan asserted right of state in excess of sandalwood, a valuable tree. Forest management and manage was also crucial for military causes in some cases especially for the protection of forts. Sometimes agrarian empires in the pre-colonial times cleared woodlands to augment land revenue possessions in pre-colonial times. Although commercial and strategic compulsions initiated the procedure of forest clearance in pre-colonial periods, there were no sharp conflicts in excess of manage of forest-possessions like the one that surfaced in the colonial era. In the pre-colonial era, even if there was no perfect ecological harmony, arable land was in abundance, state manages was limited and a hierarchy of user-

rights rather than an absolute notion of property in arable and forestland were prevalent.

The Forest Acts and Ecological Warfare

Big-level commercial logging began in the 19th century. The demands of European entrepreneurs and the colonial state were much more extensive than the demands of earlier rulers. The contractors hewed several teak forests Throughout 1800-1830 on the Western Ghats for the Bombay marine. Palmer & Company, a managing home based in Hyderabad, similarly logged in the Berars. The expansion of Coffee plantation in South after 1840 and of Tea plantation in Assam and the Bengal Hills further accelerated the procedure. Through approximately 1860, commercial demands for timber were rising due to demand from shipbuilding, iron smelting and other industries. As a result of this Oak forests in Britain started vanishing. So, there was great demand for Indian teak as it was the mainly durable of shipbuilding timbers. Construction of ships in Surat and on the Malabar Coast and export of teak-timber to meet the demands of the Royal Navy greatly stimulated the procedure of deforestation and denudation. The revenue orientation of colonial land policy also worked towards deforestation. Forests were seen as an obstacle to expansion of settled agriculture.

Under the pressures of heavy land-revenue assessments especially on better soils, peasant cultivators moved into hills or onto poorer waste soils and cleared forests. The British, drawing on their experience of Ireland and Scotland took ecological warfare to new heights. There was a big-level expansion of cultivable land due to _clearings' of forests in Northern India after1860. This led to a sharp decline in the fortunes of the extensive itinerant and rustic economy of the plains.

The expansion of railways after 1850s was another main reason of commercial logging. European and indigenous private contractors made vast gains in the procedure of utilizing woods for commerce. Before the opening of Raniganj coalmines, railways used wood as fuel. The railways were by fuel wood in North Western Province even in 1880s. H.Cleghorn, in his job, *The Forests and Gardens of South India* (1860) described the impact of the railways especially in Melghat and North Arcot Hills. The pace of deforestation was correlated with the expansion of railways. The railways expanded from 1349 Kms in 1860 to 51,658 Kms in 1910. The demand for railway sleepers grew proportionately. Only three Indian timbers- teak, sal and deodarwere more appropriate as sleepers. Sal and teak forests were

accessible close to railway rows in the Peninsular India and were worked in early years. Though, subsequently deodar forests in the sub-Himalayan area of Kumaon and Garhwal were also utilized.

The Imperial Forest Department and Forest Acts

The policy of non-intervention and laissez faire slowly gave method to legitimate State intervention. The Scottish Surgeons like Alexander Gibson and Hugh Cleghorn, in the service of the East India Company, pointed the connection flanked by denudation and droughts after 1837. Protection of forests was now seen as essential for maintaining water supplies and safeguarding agricultural prosperity. Some scholars see conservation, as a justification for the strategic and commercial interests of Empire while Richard Grove believes that a wider concern with agrarian prosperity and social stability was primarily responsible for this shift in the attitudes of the colonial officials. The role played through strategic and commercial needs of the Empire cannot be denied as the colonial officers indicted traders and private capital in their accounts but the real brunt of state regulation and manage was felt through small indigenous forest users like tribes practicing shifting farming. In scrupulous, Kumri or shifting farming in Western Ghats, was held to be responsible for deforestation. Shifting farming was banned in Coorg in 1848 and restrictions were imposed on it in Belgaum in 1856. In 1847, Bombay Forest Department was recognized. Through 1865, an Imperial Forest Department, with a formal bureaucratic all-India structure had been shaped. A special executive post of forest officer was created and government's manage in excess of superior tracts of woodlands was recognized. This paved the method for exclusion of private capital as well as rural forest-users and shifting-cultivators from the forests.

Dietrich Brandis, a German botanist, was appointed the first Inspector- Common of Forests. The Forest Act of 1865 initiated the procedure of establishing a legal mechanism to curtail the previously open access enjoyed through the rural societies. The colonial state, prior to Forest Act of 1865, recognized the customary rights of general property possessions in forests. The Forest Acts of 1865 and 1878 asserted state monopoly in excess of forest possessions. The Forest Act of 1865 was passed to facilitate state's possession of those forests that were required for railway supplies. The preexisting customary rights of rural people were left untouched. Though, the powers of regulation and manage were given to the forest officers. Prior to 1878, forest reserves region was limited and there were only 14,000 square miles of reserved forest for the whole of India. Though, forest officers were asserting their

powers even on non-zamindari private lands. In March 1868, teak, sal and shisham were declared protected species in the Central Province even if they grew on non-zamindari private lands.

The status of forests and woodlands as a general property resource became a matter of legal debate in the middle of colonial forest officers. Sharp and conflicting viewpoints appeared in a conference of forest officers in 1874 that was described to look at the defects of the 1865 Act and suggest a new piece of legislation. The debate on the issue was framed within a specific discourse of property. This discourse celebrated proprietorship and as a result customary general property rights in pastures and woodlands, which were a negation of such notion of private property, were denied.

Three separate strands of thinking manifested within the colonial bureaucracy on the question of customary general property rights. The first part, described _annexationist' through Gadgil and Guha, wished for a total state manage in excess of all forest regions. They argued that all land, those were not cultivated through peasants belonged to the state. They further claimed that the so-described norms of society and access to forests were dependent on the sweet will of the rulers. They cited Tipu Sultan's edict banning the cutting of sandal wood trees. They asserted that only those rights of use, which were explicitly granted through the state, were to be accommodated and conceded. Baden- Powell and the then Secretary of the Agricultural Department, A.O.Hume took this location that state monopoly of forest and wasteland was an undisputed characteristic of _Oriental' sovereignty and the colonial state through its _right of conquest' inherited this monopoly right. The second prominent location mainly held through forest officials of Madras government, denied the legitimacy of any state intervention in the customary rights of use exercised through the rural societies. Intermediate location, represented through the Inspector-Common of Forests, Dietrich Brandis and some other officials, held the view that the state had undisputable right in sure cases but favoured retention of customary rights of villagers to freely graze their cattle, cut wood, etc., subject to some restriction through the state. The passing of Indian Forest Act (1878) clearly resolved the question in favour of an _annexationists' location. The imperatives of colonial economy, conquered subjects, commercial and strategic interests of Empire overshadowed and destroyed the customary rights of use of the rural societies.

The forests were classified into three categories as reserve forests, protected forests and village forests under the Forests Act (1878). The reserved forest consisted of compact and valuable regions, which would lend themselves to sustained use. A complete state manages extinguished private rights, transferred them somewhere else

or in exceptional cases, allowed their limited exercise. The second category of protected forests was also under state managed where rights of state and other users were recorded. Though, state's manage was strictly maintained through outlining detailed provisions for the reservation of scrupulous tree species as and when they became commercially valuable, and for closing the forest whenever required to grazing and fuel-wood collection. Subsequently, with the rising commercial demand, several protected forests were converted into reserved forests. The Act also created a class of village forests but this option was hardly exercised in excess of big parts of the sub-continent. The Act of 1878 also enlarged the scope of punitive sanction accessible to the forest management, closely regulating the extraction and transit of forest produce and prescribing a detailed set of penalties for transgression of the Act. _Protection' was meant to augment timber-productivity, which could be achieved only through eliminating trees and species that were not significant commercially. The forest department made a distinction flanked by _superior' and _inferior' species for this purpose. To manage such multi-species forests, cutting the _inferior' diversities and planting _superior' species in the _blanks' increased proportion of _superior' trees. Exclusion of livestock and prevention of fire were two main planks of the _scientific management' through which forest officials manipulated cycles of renewal to selectively assist timber trees. It was only at the turn of the century that experience demonstrated that such strict exclusion of rural forest users did not augment timber productivity. It was establish that grazing and fires did not necessarily affect timber trees. The forest officials towards the end of the 19th century adopted a flexible approach within overall framework of manages. Another significant aspect of forest management was that it generated surplus revenue uniformly in the era 1870-1925. In other languages, the administrative machinery was more than self-financed. This was made possible through the rising demands of the urban centres for fuel-wood, furniture, and structure timber material and supply facilitated through improved transport. In the 20th century, a diversity of industrial uses of the forest produce such as resin, turpentine, essential oils and tanning material also increased the commercial value of the forests. The strategic value of India's forests was also realized in the World Wars when they supplied vast quantities of timber and bamboos to the timber branch of munitions board.

Impact of Colonial Forest Policy on Indigenous Societies
The colonial Forest Acts had a number of ruinous consequences for several itinerant and rustic societies and for people surviving on hunting gathering of forest

produce and based on shifting farming. The Acts enforced an unnatural separation flanked by agriculture and forests. Several of the customary rights exercised through rural and tribal people were abolished while the use of forests was determined just as to the commercial priorities of the Empire. Grazing and shifting farming was banned. Such changes in the use of forests had very harmful effects on the daily life of the villagers. The pattern of local use and manage gave method to state manage. State reservation of forests affected the ecology as sure plant species like Oak and Terminalia were replaced through commercially useful species of teak, pine and deodar.

The former kinds were quite useful for indigenous societies as fuel, fodder, manure, and small timber while the latter served the commercial interests of the colonial state. The colonial management disapproved shifting farming or Jhum and forced several tribal societies to adopt sedentary agriculture as the colonial officials whispered that revenue generating potential of settled agriculture was more. For instance, frenetic attempts were made in 1860s to wean absent the Baigas of Mandla, Balaghat and Bilaspur region of the Central Provinces from shifting farming. The discrediting of the traditional survival mode of livelihood of the rural and tribal people also meant devaluation of traditional conservation methods or indigenous wisdom in relation to the forests and their ecology. The Forest Act of 1878 excluded a range of behaviors of indigenous hunters especially of the underprivileged groups belonging to low caste and tribal societies. At the similar time, the colonial bureaucracy institutionalized hunting or *shaker* as an organized _sport' for maintaining the physical fitness and leadership qualities of white *sahibs*. It became not only a form of amusement but also affirmed their status as racially separate elite. Even the selection of wild carnivorous animal species to be eliminated was culturally informed as such errant and dangerous species were compared to human outlaws.

The impact of colonial forest policy, on the indigenous social groups, though, was not uniform. For instance, private forests of jaguars and zamindars constituted in relation to the 20% total land region in the Central Province and there was a triangular contest flanked by the colonial state, revenue right holders and their tenants in excess of forest use rights. Colonial state's redefinition of property rights brought big tracts of cultivable waste under the manage of Forest Department and became a key factor in the colonization of the land. The manage and power of colonial bureaucracy also strengthened agrestic serfdom and practice of begar (unpaid free labour) in several regions inhabited through tribal societies. Associated with rising penetration of market forces was intrusion of indigenous capital (merchant-cum-usurer) into forest regions. The settlers from plains entered regions inhabited through

tribal groups secured through proprietary rights and shapes of debt-recovery alien to such indigenous societies. As a result of all these social and economic changes, conflicts and confrontations in excess of forest and pasture lands, in excess of the exercise of customary rights through local social groups became frequent. A diversity of shapes of resistance including migration, defiance of forest laws, legal assertion of their rights to open *futures* or rebellion were adopted through the indigenous societies to articulate their grievances against the partnership of colonial state and money-lender-traders.

Pacifying the Internal Frontiers

The colonial state paid special attention to the mechanism of social manage and pacification of internal frontiers. Manage and sharing of forest and cultivable waste and extension of arable was part of their policy to contain the _unruly elements' such as Pindaric (erstwhile irregular cavalry soldiers in the service of the Maratha polity) and other itinerant groups. Forests were seen in the eyes of colonial officials as the abode of robbers, lawless squatters. They drew up on their experience of break-up of general tenurial systems of Ireland and the Scottish highlands to push back forest boundary and achieve political stability through wiping out unstable concentration of power on the fringes of settled agriculture. They discontinued with the earlier practice of not assessing forest and cultivable waste and promoted sedentary agriculture. The colonial authorities attempted to settle and discipline groups such as the Gujars, Bhattis, Ranger Rajputs and Memos, who moved approximately with their cattle, extracting _protection rent' as they moved. From the very beginning, the colonial state used surveillance and mechanism of social manage and defined sure social groups as beyond the bound of civility. This criterion was applied to whole castes and societies. W.H.Sleeman's *The Ramaseeana or the Vocabulary of Thug Literature,* exemplified this procedure of depicting sure groups as barbaric. In 1835, a special Thagi and Dacoity Department was set up to investigate and punish gang robberies and murders. Subsequently, a big number of people, groups, societies and tribes were stigmatized as _the criminal tribes'. The legal language of the colonial officials was used against a wide diversity of marginal groups who did not conform to pattern of settled agriculture and wage labour, especially itinerant, rustic societies and forest -dwelling tribes.

The Criminal Tribes Acts and Branding of Indigenous Societies

A wide diversity of ideological elements converged in the creation of ‗criminal tribe' ideology. The Brahmin subordinates of British officials were always apprehensive of itinerant and wandering groups outside the institution of caste. The British custom also associated forests with crimes and outlaws. The hereditary-based theory of crimes that was popularized in Europe through Cesare Lombroso perceived the criminal man as a separate species with specific hereditary and anatomical characteristics. This belief in the professional and hereditary character of crime was commonly prevailing in the middle of the colonial officers of 19th century. The Criminal Tribes Act (1871) provided for registration of all or any member of such tribes who were notified as ‗criminal tribes.' The registered members had to statement themselves to the local police power at fixed interval of time and notify their lay of residence or any planned change of residence. Any contraventions of these legal provisions invited severe punitive events.

The construction of whole caste and societies through the British officials as ‗criminal' was part of a superior discourse in which caste and society determined the occupational as well as social and moral profile of all its members. The ‗criminal tribes' were branded simultaneously as typical and deviant. The Criminal Tribes Act (1871) listed in excess of 150 tribes as ‗criminal.' Mainly of these belonged to marginalized social groups outside settled domesticity. The colonial state defined these groups as criminal through reference to their caste identity and a legal characterization that rendered crime as an in-born trait of such selected societies. Such societies could not lay any claims to the protection and impartiality of law. Their criminality was represented as an inheritance and a profession, inextricably connected to their forefathers.

Even before the passing of Criminal Tribes Act (1871), colonial authorities adopted alike manners of surveillance. A Superintendent of Thugi and Dacoity Department referred to a ‗predatory tribe' of Bawarias especially in the lower Doab area. Kanjars and Sansis were also treated in the similar manner. Attempts were made through police and judicial authorities to register all Sansis, Harnis and Bawarias. Thanedars or head-constables were required to take security from village headmen where these tribes resided and were to be held responsible for reporting on their movements. Slowly attributes usually given to the Thugs such as cruelty and violence were also ascribed to such groups. The authorities at district management stage, especially Magistrates, in Punjab and North Western Provinces maintained that the provisions of Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure were inadequate

to suppress their criminal behaviors. So, they accentuated special surveillance events to deal with this peculiar and hereditary nature of their criminality. They were to be treated like wild dangerous animals- to be watched, tamed and hunted up. The chief mechanism of manage was to start from the maintenance of their record and through maintaining a check on their mobility.

The Criminal Tribes Act of 1871 instituted a special set of laws, rules and procedures for dealing with the _criminal classes'. The members of these classes and tribes were denied a right to appeal in an ordinary court of law. The Act was alike to the Habitual Criminal Act passed in England in the late 19th Century to exercise discipline and manage in excess of the criminal parts of the working class in order to construct moral subjects. Subsequently, a distinction was made flanked by honest, industrious part of the working class and vagrant, criminal, dangerous elements and a need for institutional segregation of the later was stressed in the era 1860-75 in England. The legal enactment put restrictions on the movement of the members of _criminal tribes' and provision of a regular attendance gave powers to the village patels and local police officials. They used such provisions to harass and exact forced labour from the members of such societies. Even when the repressive strategy was complemented through a strategy of reclamation or reform, officials highlighted the failure of re-settling such tribes in conditions of stereotype attitudes. It was claimed that the members of these societies were unwilling to accept hard moral life of domesticity. This attitude tended to reinforce the stereotype of innate criminality of such tribes. The Amended Criminal Tribes Act (1908) provided for settling of convicted members of tribes in special settlements, to mould and reform them through enforcing job habits under the manage of special resolution officers. These settlements acted as sanctified prisons providing captive labour at miserable wages and harsh working circumstances to a number of factories, state forests and public works departments. The vital assumption of colonial sociology was that hereditary circumscribed societies that moved from lay to lay and shifted their identities committed mainly of the crimes. Such assumptions and enactments of the colonial state were in accord with the values of indigenous landed magnates and their notion of social order.

Law vs. Custom Debate
The British ruled in excess of India through their _right of conquest'. The colonial state used law as the mainly significant source of constituting its legitimacy.

The appropriation of revenue, forest and natural possessions was not arbitrary, unjustified exaction as was the case under ‗oriental' pre-colonial despotic rule but as a legal right of the state. The colonial state itself was projected as a firm and impartial law-providing power that respected ‗universal principles of jurisprudence'. Law creation, though, was an ideological enterprise and as an alien power, the colonial state could not totally ignore the existing legal norms and customs based on rank, status and gender. The colonial rule monopolized legitimate violence and used it as a sole prerogative of the state in its pacification drive. It, though, also used rhetoric of reconciliation with ―laws and customs of people .

For instance, if the indigenous penology punished crimes just as to the caste status of a criminal, the colonial state also recognized caste hierarchy. Concessions were made to ‗rank and respectability and to the patriarchal power of husband in excess of wife and of master in excess of servant. The high caste and rank people were exempted from religious oath in the courts of the Company. The colonial state exhibited ambivalence towards the principle of equality before law.

It stemmed from negotiation of the colonial state with the existing customs. Several of the customary practices were re-ordered through the colonial state to suit its law and civil power. The colonial state exercised its discretion in selectively retaining such customs and practices. For instance, in case of ‗criminal tribe' this offence was traced and deduced from membership of a ‗criminal society', but the powerful land-owning elites who were also often knit into indigenous systems of power and patronage with these similar societies, were not made target of such special laws.

Veena Oldenburg (2002) has shown how the codification of ‗custom' as ad judicable law in the Punjab countryside led to an erasure of women's voices and customs. Just as to her, in the pre-colonial customs, women had been co-parceners in the agricultural produce with their male counterparts as they occupied in sowing, weeding, harvesting, threshing and other agricultural works. Though, colonial legal arrangements privileged male tillers of the soil and made them sole proprietors of the lands and its produce. In the pre-colonial civilization, the transmitted customary practices were negotiated and contested through men and women. These fluid customs were converted into written, fixed, judiciable and enforceable corpus of law. They were elicited only from men and customary law and its colonial legal rendition was only a high caste male reading of the principles of clan, caste, tribal organization and societal norms.

GENDER/WOMEN UNDER COLONIALISM

The Historical Perspective on Women Emerging in the Nineteenth Century

The historical growths concerning woman was and continues to grip the human intellect even today. There have been several ways of looking at the woman question: from the Conservative to liberal Feminist, Marxist to Socialist Feminist and now the Post modernist and the Deconstructionist schools of analysis. Today a big number of works relating to women and job, middle class women, women and nationalism have become possible. These studies range from being very common to very specialised monographs focusing on women. This is because of the initiatives of the feminist movement, the International Decade of women and academic projects focusing on the status of women in India. Today the scholars working on women range from those who are parts of women in history or women and history or history of women perspectives.

In the 19th century when the woman's question came to play an significant part of public discourse the issue of great importance was women's suffrage and equality in the western world. In the case of India that these questions came up Throughout the course of our integration into the colonial civilization and civilization as well as that a number of demands centering on woman became part of the anti-colonial movement has its relevance for shaping the nature of questions raised on the woman question aping of western values through Indian woman and its dangers, the essential sing of the golden period that India too had when there were women who too had a share in the meadows of knowledge and were themselves achievers to be glorified as ideals. These thoughts would in their own method contribute to the debate approximately woman in colonial India in such a method that the troubles of woman in Indian civilization got lost in the maze of civilization, ideology, hegemony and assertion of the male idiom of politics of representation, identity politics of national civilization and the national liberation movement that assumed centre stage till 1947. Issues such as social reform and women which had establish conducive environment under the anti-colonial movement lost steam totally in the post colonial era until these issues were raised through women's groups in modern India.

The context of the range of works on the circumstances of women in our civilization from very early on as in the writings of Altekar, et al., was to seem at how hindu civilization provided or limited the roles assigned for women from the ancient times. There are the examples of the Gayatris and Maithrayees who challenged the

sages and were in their own right capable and knowledgeable human beings. The dominant option that prevails is that women were at some point in history subordinated to their acceptance of domesticity and reproduction and nurture role in our civilization. ―A mother is more revered than a thousand fathers . However a big part of women toiled alongside men in the meadows, the mines and in the 20th century in the factories, it is the former image of women that has superior attendance. It is the middle class women and their issues that establish greater focus in the procedure of the anti-colonial movement and even today as it is their voice that can be rendered more easily on explanation of their social standing and educational backdrop. The range of issues that came up in this situation was so demands such as women's education, women's representation in several bodies, property rights and so on. The visual symbols were of the subordinated purdah clad and voiceless woman folk of the country who were waiting to be emancipated and liberated from the drudgery of domesticity, reproduction, sexual inferiority and subalternity. Here we can lay the writings of women, men both Indian and from the European world who have written heart rending and at times sensational pasteurization of the condition of women in India as for instance the job of Katherine Mayo in the text ―Mother India . Such features of the dismal suspicious responses from Indian intelligentia as well as radical and reformative experiments that particularly in the 19th century created a whole range of debate on modernity, westernization, progress and development in the middle of the Indian intellectuals.

The Impetus of Social Change and Reform Centering on Women in the 19th Century
It was in the nineteenth century when the Indian subcontinent was teeming with thoughts of important importance on reform and change that the woman question assumed centre stage. This was to some extent related to the nature of questions that were taken up in the 19th century. These were influenced through the colonial ideology and political concerns that were voiced Throughout these times. Campaigns such as for instance that the condition of the women in a country is representative of the circumstances and civilization of the region transformed the mindset of the educated literati of Indians who saw in the amelioration of the circumstances of the thoughts such as Western impact and Indian response schema has been put out as the characterizing the social reform agenda in the 19th century or for that matter transforming civilization. To Desai, this resulted in events that were conducive for the emancipation of women and attempts to elevate their status that were initiated

through social reformers. Was this a era of Renaissance? This was another rendition of the 19th century where scholars such as Sushoban Sarkar see in the reform initiatives the rebirth of vitality into colonial Bengal. All this engagement with the woman question realized major reform legislation very helpful for women: Anti-Sati bill of Bentinck, Widow Remarriage Act of 1856 and Educational Organizations for girls. The reform movements produced diversity in its local focus on one or several of the issues that usually invited the concern of the 19th century mind.

In Western India part of the reform was on education of women and a range of social practices such as child marriage, widow re-marriage and the freedom of woman too to not consent to a marriage. Therefore we have the images of Pandita Ramabhai, Ramabai Ranade and Tarabhai Shinde who worked on these issues on whom a number of scholarly works are accessible. That Ramabai Ranade was the child wife of a very significant social reformer in Maharashtra M. G. Ranade made it possible to raise these issues in the nationalist campaigns. That the questions relating to woman such as the age of marriage as well as educational opportunities became the sites of reform for the Indian Social Conference under the leadership of Ranade. Interestingly it was on the issue of Age of Consent Bill that there came up a debate within Indian Nationalist dividing them: Tilak, totally against appealing to an alien government to create any such legislation to remedy an Indian social evil and the likes of Ranade etc. favouring it. Pandita Ramabai for instance taking a particularly critical stance on the Rukmabai episode which was the case of a woman who did not want to provide conjugal rights to her husband who was illiterate, sick and from whom she wanted to be free. It is at this time Malabari sought to job on getting the Age of Consent raised as well as divorce possible for women. Both these issues raised hell in the middle of several Hindu Nationalists as it was deemed as going against the grain of hindu beliefs and customs for women and as attempts to ape the western values for Indian women which were too much to accept.

The other region where the location of women was the location of reform was Bengal in the early 19th century. There has been a major debate on the implications of these efforts of social reform. To some historians the reform agenda was part of the procedure of modernization of the traditional civilization. To others, reform was a tool in the hands of the colonized to regain their identity and to rejuvenate Indian civilization. To some others it was through reform that the nationalist discourse constructed woman in an essentialist sensibility. And therefore it was through reclaiming the legroom for woman, albeit based on essentialist notions, within the social fabric that the male colonial subject helped form a hegemonic national civilization. This to some historians is the vital weakness of the social reform agenda

of the 19th century. It remain embedded in the politics of power and representation that only situated the condition of the woman and through it sought to make the nationalist foundation of mobilization but did not resolve the woman question in any method. For instance, the whole age of consent debate however technically concerned with the issue of the mature age at which the state wanted to ensure marriage took lay, became the battleground for Indian nationalists as an attack on the right of the colonized to decide matters for themselves. Nonetheless, important significant issues that came to the fore and even were legislated upon was the Anti Sati Act of Bentinck, 1829, the widow remarriage Act of 1856. It is through these issues concerning the location of women within Indian civilization that the first visible mobilization of Indians through associations took lay. The demand for women's' education too gained aground as it was argued that it was of utmost need for the happiness, welfare and civilization. The information that there were texts such as Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay's paribarik prabandha that are essays concerned with characterization of the family.

Partha Chatterjee raises motivating questions: Was the field of education the location of challenge from the inroads of western thoughts for the Indian reformers. And hence became a thrust region of great effort for the social and cultural legroom in colonial India was one where the colonial state put out the civilizing mission of the colonized worshipping four million gods and prey to a diversity of social evils through method of modernizing them and liberating the _barbarian' minds through western education. The nationalist agenda approximately the woman question put out its cultural defence that at its initial phase manifested as reform of woman's condition and at a later stage became a revival of earlier traditions neither of which resolved the woman's question. To Partha Chatterjee then the nationalist paradigm made its own selection —to create modernity constant with the nationalist project   And therefore reform was both emancipation and self emancipation of woman and the image of the new woman who was fixed flanked by the confluence of contemporary bourgeois values of order, cleanliness etc. as well as culturally specific spiritual and faithful qualities of traditional moorings. Role models of women were inscribed through the social and religious regulatory family and kinship practices. And therefore the nationalist project of emancipation was partial because of its limited endeavour and aspirations that never really undid the social normative order: of the dealings flanked by gender in civilization and only touched its surface somewhat in its mobilization strategies in the course of the anti-colonial movement.

In taking these arguments further in the context of the characterization of the role of woman in Bengal, Tanika Sarkar points out that the good woman in Bengal

was a good wife. The political vocabulary of Hindu nationalism was woman's chastity. To quote her, —The chaste body of the Hindu woman was therefore made to carry the unusual weight since she had maintained this variation in the face of foreign rule:. As opposed to the Hindu man who she argues had been colonized and assaulted through the western power knowledge. Though she points out there also was the legroom that was traditionally accessible to women to read the scriptures that establish the method out for the aspirations and expectations of women in traditional civilization to job through critically. For instance in the life of Rashsundari Devi a Vaishnavite landlord wife whose biography Aman Jiban she evaluates, she elaborates this argument of feminine autonomy. Rashsundari's biography is of the life of an ordinary Hindu woman in 19th Bengal which very cautiously centres itself on her concerns and herself who was married off early. Although Rashsundari suffered the extensive winding years of caged subsistence as a wife and mother, she establish refuge in reading the religious texts that almost certainly had a liberating effect on her otherwise drab subsistence. It is only when Rashsundari becomes a middle age woman that we get a sense of fulfillment and peace in her when she puts out the thought of my sansar at the point when she is a mother-in-law, a grandmother and is beyond that stage of life where she was controlled. What therefore comes crossways is the image of a woman who while fully rendering the familial responsibilities as in the several stages of life too at the similar time through traditional idioms of reading religious literature and devotion expressed herself identity in such hard times too.

In Southern India too under the leadership of Veersaslingam and later in the Madras Presidency legislature two issues approximately women became very crucial in the debates, one the anti nautch movement and the marriage bill which became the Sarada Act. In Kearla the Marumakkathayam was done absent with through method of legislation in 1896 and in it's lay after a extensive standing debate within Kerala civilization, the integration of Kerala into the patriarchal rights concept came into being in the early twentieth century. With the job of Anne Besant and Margaret Cousins the question of women's rights to representation and suffrage became an issue that occupied the minds and petitions of emergent women's groups in colonial South India. It was in colonial Tamilnadu that the movement of Periyar that the anti-caste movement also took up the question of the role of women in civilization as its centre piece as articulating its thoughts of a new civilization which has its tensions in theory and practice for woman as has been shown in the writings of S. Anandhi.

Educating women was an significant region of focus of the reformers. The Woods dispatch of 1854 and the move to focus on mass education of the Indians incorporated the women as an significant component to be targeted. Therefore came

the Bethune schools, the Theosophical Civilization endeavors as well as a range of reform initiative schools such as under the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj etc. But then came up the issue of the nature of education and it is here the dissimilar approach to woman may be seen and their socially assigned role primarily as middle class mothers approach to light as mainly of the initiative for educating girls initially was towards needle job, homecare and such other mattes separately from the skill to read. Therefore this was at some stage the duplicating of the colonial state endeavour to generate consent for colonialism through educating the women who would then inculcate alike values to their children.

The Changing Role of Women in the Contemporary Era

It is with the policies if the state as well as through popular pressure through reformist organisations, cultural politics as also nationalist mobilization that a number of events relating to woman's condition got taken up. These had distant reaching consequences on the nature of the family and location of woman within civilizations. The impact on women was through no means a unilinear, progressive one. Instead today there is recognition that some of the earlier libertarian events too had embedded within them the privileging of the dominant notions of woman's role in civilization as well as was structure new images of women that did not undo the conservative social fabric. The reformist events to educate women remained an elite enterprise that even today remnants unrealized for a substantial part of women in civilization. Reform for women in the 19th century was also varied depending on the society, area and class that we are talking in relation to the and hence it is necessary to stay this in mind while creation any common assessment for women and reform in contemporary India. For an upper caste woman the matter of education and widow remarriage was important while for the lower caste woman in the early twentieth century presently the right to cover her breasts and to be able to go to the temple of worship or learning would mean a qualitative variation in their acquisition of rights and empowerment.

In the context of Kerala to state a case the Madras High Court decree of 1869 described the sambandham not marriage but a state of concubinage. Therefore through a single legal decision that declared the practice of sambandham as null and void as distant as the legality of such custom as signifying marriage. This provoked a major debate in colonial Malabar as to the legitimacy and the viability of such social custom as being a primitive practice that as Sir Sankaran Nair put out was a great legal impediment to progress. In the course of the after that fifty years first the Malabar Marriage Act 1896 and then the Marumakkathayam Act of 1933 contributed

to the disintegration of the earlier practice in it's lay brought into being the patriarchal, patrilineal family as the norm where earlier matriliny had been the accepted practice. Therefore some of the legislation that was undertaken Throughout this era had distant reaching consequences on the nature of the family. These acts in Malabar created the patrilineal family where earlier the woman was the key determinant of lineage.

The Normative Order and the Changes that Movements Brought to Women in the Political Legroom

The political experiences of women had through the early twentieth century facilitated the emergence of institutional mechanisms. Therefore organisations of women came up in the twentieth century that then became the sites of public policy creation and intellectual discussions. Major women's organisation that came up is the WIA, Women's Indian Association, the National Council of Women in India, NCWI and the All India Women's Conference, AIWC. All of this was middle class in its orientation except for a few as for instance the job of Maniben Kara who became part of the M N Roy Group and took up the reason of the woman workers. Mainly women's organisations concentrated on politics, religion, education and philanthrophy and therefore were successful in bringing feminism and nationalism closer in the anti colonial movement and were part of the nationalist political horizon within which they remained.

Therefore a number of successful women such as Muthulakhshmin Reddy, Shaffi Tyabji, Sarojini Naidu, Amrit Kaur to name a few luminaries did good job. Mainly of these women came from well heeled families and it is that rendered possible the legroom for them to emerge as well as laid the limits of their program for women too. Mainly of the time the women's question was subordinated to the superior interest of the freedom movement and therefore Margaret Cousins for instance exhorted, ―Job first for political liberty… .

The demands of the women for political representation in the twenties and thirties brought to the fore the opposition to these reforms within the nationalists. The reform minded women did not stop at piecemeal legislation, they were aspiring through now for economic independence and comprehensive legislation for social and economic change. Even Gandhi who wanted to improve the status of women appealed to these women to live in the villages to realize that law was not relevant in the manner in which they were demanding for a sizeable number of rural women. Nehru endorsed women's public life but privileged agrarian reform in excess of family law reform such as of property law and was against any collaboration on this

matter with the colonial state. The Muslim league had no opposition to reforms so extensive as it was confined to Hindu Law. Therefore the question of reform of family laws establish no support from the mainstream political personalities and it remained a feeble however constant demand of the women's organisations as necessary to change social dealings in the family that still remnants partial. Franchise compromise and the Rau's Committee's statement did not reflect the mood of the women who slowly became one of the minority groups in the political firmament of vote bank politics of the twentieth century.

With the widening of the mass base of the national liberation movement under Gandhiji, we witness the greater representation of women in numbers in the public legroom. Gandhiji's ideal of women's passivity and self imposed suffering as celebrations of strength was limiting with the widening of the mass base of the national liberation movement under Gandhiji, we witness the greater representation of women in numbers in the public legroom. Gandhiji's ideal of women's passivity and self imposed suffering as celebrations of strength was strengthened through the impetus the Civil Disobedience movement got from the involvement of women. Women were now part of the mass politics and were picketers at foreign cloth shops, at liquor shops, at mill gates and in front of nationalist processions as barricades. We have the proof of firebrand radical women such as Latika Ghosh, Sarojini Naidu as also patient self sacrificing women such as Ambujathammal a staunch Gandhian activist in Madras and Satyavati Devi in Delhi all of them in their own method imbued nationalist politics with a gender sensibility. At the similar time it necessity also be noted that however women became part of the nationalist rhetoric and the subject matter of reform in this era it did not in any method lead to a fundamental transformation of women's roles within civilization or for that matter give a fertile ground for the shaping of the identity of woman dissimilar form that prescribed through the norms laid out in modern civilization. Mainly of the efforts of the reformers were at the stage of job that remained at the tip of the iceberg. There were centuries of ideologically ingrained values that appeared to be general sense, general custom and popular practice that could not easily be shorn off from the people's sensibilities.

The anti-colonial movement centre staged the woman question whose partial resolution was part of the enterprise of the nationalist question. But post the nationalist movement paradigm, with the attainment of freedom the reformative endeavour on the condition of the Indian woman and her social location has remained partial. The civil rights and the citizenship of woman integrally and equally as any

other group in the mainstream social fabric has not happened in the Indian subcontinent as yet.

The Class Differentiation of Women and their Consequent Public Spaces or Lack of Public Attendance

It was Throughout the colonial era that the contemporary factory as a form of workplace took form. This has distant reaching consequences for the nature of job dealings for women. As unlike the open field in these factories women and men were cooped up with not enough light, legroom or ventilation. Therefore the questions that came up with the women going to job in the factories was one such debate in late 19th century India. To the conservatives this would make women with loose morals as also made the safety of women very hard to ensure. At the similar time it was impossible to prevent the employment of women as these were the new sectors where women secured job easily. In information, in the initial era of industrialization, women were invited to become part of the workforce as there were ample jobs accessible for men, women and children. Not to forget, women were sought after for they made economic and social sense for the employer: cheap labour, amenable to ardous labour. And it is in the factory organization that we see legislation particularly for women bearing in mind their primary role as a mother and as a secondary wage earner taking form. The emergent job dealings and policies towards women workers in colonial India have been well brought out in the writings of Radha Kumar for Bombay, Samita Sen for Bengal and Janaki Nair for Mysore. We therefore have proof of how state policies impacted traditional civilization and vice-versa and at times how the bourgeois visions of the colonial state created its poor image in colonial India for the women occupied in industrial job. These in turn created the new job civilization for women and men in the factory organization.

Hence came the question of how to create the workplace safer for women and such attempts through labour reformers as well as government. That the factory and its environs were restrictive in several ways may be seen in a folk song from Ambasamudram where workers described the ethos of the mill as follows: —In the aloofness the dorai is coming, stay three feet off or he will beat you for three days... ₅ It may well have been the case that the power of the dorai at the mill was so all encompassing then presently as we now are witness to the torture of domestic helps within urban environments even in modern India. For the woman, the workplace was constraining more than in presently physical conditions. The constant fear of advances from the —all powerful maistri is an oft-repeated complaint from women

workers to every power for possible redressal. The Royal Commission on Labour recorded this as universal phenomena all in excess of India. We have ample instances of this being a major problem for women at the workplace. In Madurai and Coimbatore, there were several attempts to seek redressal from the management through the maistri's suspension and the appointment of a female maistri in departments where women worked in big numbers.

In India, the Factory Act of 1881 marked the beginning of the colonial government's endeavors to power labour regulations and industrial management through British laws and practices.[8] This act defined what a factory element was, as also the events that were binding on an industrialist to operate a factory. It sought to prevent the overworking of children but small effort was made in the interest of women workers. The Indian Medical Department advised the inclusion of women also as a part to be protected from overwork, night job and extensive hours.[9] Acts that incorporated the recommendation followed in due course. The information that India was a colony of the then mainly industrialized nation had great consequence not only for the course of industrialization that took lay but also the pattern of legislation. The after that Act of consequence for women workers was the Act of 1922, whereby the government excluded women and children from all heavy job. Act II of 1922 also made provision for complete prohibition of night job for women workers.

The issue of wages is a disputed arena for the easy cause that the grounds for payment were through no means rational. To the worker, there was always the scope to demand more, while for the entrepreneur there was always the urge to stay it to the minimum. As regards the payment of wages to women, the rationale operative was the secondary nature of women's job. Well grounded in the patriarchal family structure were the enunciation of the male wage as primary and later the concept of the livelihood/fair wage as accommodating the upkeep of the male laborer's whole family. This, we see, was the determining factor for the low wages of women. A male doffer earned more than did a woman doffer. That cannot be explained as being the result of lower ability. In this, local difference is also marked as in Madras the wages were higher than in Madurai, which, though, rated better than Coimbatore in conditions of the wages paid. Therefore approximately the issue of wage, sexual harassment through the maistri or a petty official at the mill, for better circumstances at the workplace the women was actively involved in protests and strikes. However this as well as their involvement in nationalist mobilization especially Throughout major movements such as the civil disobedience and Quit India the women from the working classes also got integrated into the public legroom of protest and strike politics.

There is also job that brings out the early involvement of women form the peasant group being actively associated with the local stage politics as well as Kisan Sabha questions. The writings of Kapil Kumar symbolize the visibility of women in protest politics for instance in the movements spearheaded through Swami Sahajanand. Women's involvement in mass politics Throughout the anti colonial movement is proof of their integration into the political questions of their times. Captain Lakshmi in the INA, Godavari Parulekar in working with the Warli tribe, the women working for the Telengana movement and the diversity of women involved in the communist party behaviors in the course of the twentieth century carved out a niche for themselves in the male bastion that was politics.

SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION
Notions of Racial Superiority
The British colonial rulers came to India imbued with the spirit of liberal humanism. This liberalism defined white European men as the maker of history, the creators of empires, the founders of contemporary nations, the conquerors of backward people and masters of sciences and technology. Naturally, they placed the people who did not create progress or lagged behind in time at the lower ladder of development. The colonial subjects were basically written out of history, out of modernity and into a timeless primitiveness-Eden-like, easy and permanently fixed. The colonial rulers used the domestic ideology of gender to demonstrate backwardness of India and its inhabitants. The European white men were strong, active, and intellectually fertile with a sense of self-manage and discipline while the colonial Indian subjects were effeminate, fearful, passive and sentimental. In other languages, British imperial experience brought into prominence the _masculine' virtues of the master race and devalued _feminized' colonial subjects. The British sahibs maintained their privileges and segregation not merely in ideological realm but in several meadows. The British in India maintained their segregated and dominant location in India. They not only built their bungalows separately but even their shopping malls, recreational clubs were also separate. The connection with Indians was recognized for the purpose of governance. The British as officers, military personnel's and even as civilians demanded regulated behaviour from Indians. It was presumed that in hierarchical civilization, Indians were bound to adhere to their customs and they had no rights to appropriate symbols of ruling class.

The urban morphology exhibited this clearly. The Europeans existed in big segregated sprawling homes with nearby lawns and separately even from indigenous elite and mercantile groups. Despite the notions of rule of law and equality before law, the British society in India opposed Ilbert Bill, which sought to empower Indian magistrates in the countryside to attempt British subjects. The Indians were denied every opportunity to join the privileged Indian Civil Service, which was dominated through the graduates from elite universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The white sahibs were to be accepted approximately in palanquins in the early phase of colonial rule. The post was accessible to them even before sorting out of post. The Post Office Act (1854) charged double postal rates from indigenous newspapers to that charged on the imported English newspapers. While the liberal traditions wished to recreate India as the mirror image of British civilization, in actual practice India was governed with an iron hand and Utilitarians also declared that India was not capable of governing itself. In order to set up their manage in excess of the forest possessions of India, the British forest bureaucracy discouraged slash and burn farming practiced through several indigenous tribal groups and penalized small level hunting through such social groups, which used to be a major source of proteins in their diets. But, organized hunting was cultivated as a sport in the middle of the members of civil and military colonial bureaucracy to demonstrate their racial distinctiveness.

In the 1830s F.J.Shore, a judge in upper India resented that ‗natives of rank‗ visited the rooms of Englishmen with their shoes on. He was adhering to the practise where in British had noticed that only rich Indians usually wore shoes and their helpers and subordinate went barefoot. The complaint of F.J.Shore rested on the notion that British were the superiors in India. He attributed the behaviour of Indians to ‗the bad manners of the natives of Calcutta‗ belonging to ‗an inferior order‗. Shore also regretted that it was the carelessness of Europeans and their unfamiliarity with ‗eastern etiquette‗, which had resulted in usage of practice. In their public pronouncements and patronized newspapers, British often ridiculed Indians. For instance Tribune, which was started through Dayal Singh Majithia in 1881, exposed the misdeeds of officers in Punjab. In a series of articles, the paper exposed the deputy commissioner, C.A.Roe of Multan in handling the issue of cow- slaughter. The Tribune noted that decisions of C.A.Roe had resulted in communal riots in 1881. It was strongly refuted through the Civil and Military Gazette. In one of its article, it dubbed Multanis as liars. It accused them of exaggerating and fabricating actual incidents. The rulers also whispered in public display of their power. The colonial rulers made use of the several ceremonial trappings of pre-colonial sovereignty for this purpose. The imperial durbar in 1911was specifically organized to display their

racial superiority. In that year, King George V & his queen came to India and King George was formally crowned as the King Emperor of India. To celebrate the occasion, the Government of India decided to hold the imperial Durbar in which the leading Princess through offering homage would express their respect to the imperial majesties. Before the actual ceremony, rehearsal was also held to explain the proper form of offering homage to King Emperor and his consort through the Princess. Though Gaekwad of Baroda could not attend the rehearsal. On his behalf, his brother took notes. On the day of the imperial Durbar, the Gaekwad also offered his homage. He came wearing a plain knee-length jacket, red turban and white European trousers. He also accepted an English approach walking stick. In offering his obeisance, Gaekwad though neglected the Princess and while retracing many steps, he turned back and walked down the steps swinging his stick. It was this behaviour which was dubbed through the Times reporter as seditious. Very soon English newspapers in India and England started heated discussion on the behaviour of Gaekwad. In analyzing this episode Bernard S. Cohn has pointed out that use of a walking stick had evoked strong reaction in the middle of the British because they regarded it as marker of white sahib's identity.

Colonial Sociology and the Revise of Subordinated Others

An understanding of procedure of social discrimination requires some backdrop of pre-colonial hierarchy and rank ordering of civilization as well as transformations initiated through the colonial state. In the historiography of contemporary India, works on colonialism such as those of Thomas Metcalf, Nicholas Dirks and Partha Chatterji have explored its institutional and ideological foundation. Bernard S. Cohn in scrupulous has shown that colonial rule was also a cultural construct. The very procedure of acquiring information in relation to the Indians was linked with strengthening and legitimization of colonial rule in India. The procedure started after the annexation of Bengal in eighteenth century. The interests of British officers in knowledge of Indian law, civilization and religion were intertwined with necessities of running the colonial dispensation. Colonialism reconstructed cultural shapes and social organizations like caste to make a row of variation and demarcation flanked by themselves as European contemporary and the colonized Indian traditional subjects. In such manufacture and identification of Indian traditions, caste-hierarchy was recast as the spiritual essence of India that mediated and regulated the private domain. Caste-ridden Indian civilization was depicted as dissimilar from the

European civil civilization because this institution was opposed to the vital premises of individualism. The operation of this pre-colonial source of identification and sense of loyalty could easily be used to justify the rule of contemporary colonial officers. So, just as to Dirks, it was the colonial rule of India that organized the _social variation and deference' solely in conditions of caste. Caste hierarchy and ritual ranks in their several manifestations and shapes were not unchangeable in the pre-colonial times. There were also non-caste affiliations and social identities such as kinship networks connected through matrimonial alliances, commercial behaviors and state service and patronage in pre-colonial times. Though, caste was also a typical marker of identity and a powerful social metaphor that designated higher and lower orders. The penal organization of Peshwas, for instance, punished culprits just as to caste status. Caste, so, was not merely a fabrication of British rulers intended to demean and subjugate Indians. It, though, did definitely helped colonial rulers in justifying their rule to _civilize' and _improve' the _fallen people'. The evangelicals condemned the _Brahmanical tyranny' and the colonial state also used the principles of caste-hierarchy as a type of bulwark against anarchy and as an upholder of social order. Till 1860s, tenets of social policy centered on abolition of Sati and Female infanticide and this was linked with _civilizing mission' of the rulers. Their notion of patriarchy made them conclude that they alone were capable of maintaining a rational social order based on the thought of material and moral progress in India. As India became the direct colony of Britain in 1858, rulers stressed racial superiority in the public domain.

Viewed from this perspective, social discrimination can be described as those policies of British rule, which denied equality and respect to Indians. Social discrimination was also inherent in the assumptions of rulers revolving approximately customs and behavioral pattern of Indians. Though it also remnants a information that upper castes and dominant groups in India endorsed some of these practices. Social discrimination was, in this sense, rooted in use, denial of identity to subordinate groups. It was also rooted in practice of segregation and imposition of subordination on exploited and oppressed groups.

Stability and Change in Discriminatory Practices Based on Caste
We deal with the changing face of caste Throughout nineteenth century. The colonial rule was consolidated and it acquired powers of intimidation and observation that influenced the Indian subjects. It was in these circumstances that caste became

the measure of the new ranking order. Therefore, the tribal social groups like Bhils, Kolis and Ramoshis became dependent labourers while the privileged landowning and trading castes Hindus were treated as high, pure and superior. With their notions of private property and privileging of settled agriculturists, the Britishers gave tangible force to distinctions flanked by ways of life that had not previously been analytically ranked, compared and standardized. It was not merely the census, which enumerated Indians, and fixed caste identities, there were also many policies adopted through British officers, which dubbed some tribal and caste groups as criminal. Stewart N. Gordon's revise of the Bhils highlights this change in their life. Throughout the Mughal era, Bhils residing in accessible tract in northeast Maharashtra had moved into the Khandesh valley. Throughout the rule of Marathas they started collecting levies from passing carvans. In order to protect travellers, some Bhils leaders were granted the right to collect duties from travellers. Slowly they started working as watchmen. Several of them settled on the plains and became peasant cultivators. When the British controlled central India in 1818, they formulated policies, which perpetrated stereotypes against Bhils and their ways of food manufacture. While land was given to Zamindars, Bhils residing in hills were without permanent sources of income. They were seen as criminal. The very information that they existed in hills generated fear in the middle of British. John Malcolm dubbed them as outlaws and _enemies of order and peace'. They were seen as those who cherished their predatory rights. This led British to dub them as _criminal tribe'. John Briggs, commissioner of Khandesh harped on this rigid identity for Bhils. Subsequently, under the policy of Elphinstone, who was the governor of Bombay, Bhils were slowly settled in plains but it remained a information that those residing in hills remained segregated and several of them became the victims of agrarian bondage as agricultural labourers for the landowning Hindu castes.

Throughout the nineteenth century, colonial officers classified the subcontinent's _castes', _tribes' and races in conditions of importance and desirable quality defined as per the _contemporary science' and exposed tenets of _Hindu religious faith'. These classificatory schemes served the needs of British management, which wished to symbolize itself as protector of the _sanctity of contract and private property', and settled agriculturists against the ravages of Pindari-bands and other so described predators. The thrifty husbandman, the pious man of deal and the chaste _clean-caste' wife became ideal inhabitants of India and those primitive tribes, pastoralists and low-caste untouchables who shared small in the domain of contemporary progress were placed at a lower ladder in the newly constructed taxonomy for social groups. In the pre-colonial periods, birth and moral

attributes did play a role in determining a person's caste status but there was also considerable openness and fluidity. Now, in the middle of colonial rule, Brahmanical standards of piousness, purity and refinement of manners were applied more vigorously to the caste-hierarchy. This finely tuned variation created rigorous barriers flanked by those of _clean' caste, and those stigmatized as innately degraded, unclean and polluting. Defined as the fixed attributes of birth and rank, jati and varna ideals were used to coerce and control, especially as rural elites tried to uphold power in excess of tenants and dependent labourers. But while new disabilities were, therefore, imposed on lower castes and tribal social groups, the volatile and unpredictable colonial milieu also simultaneously offered new opportunities and new set of material and ideological possessions which could be utilized through the less disadvantaged to move up and demand better entitlement to the possessions. In the formal sense, the colonial rule professed equality flanked by its subjects. But this did not mean an end to social discrimination. The insistence on contract, enforceable through law and new courts, meant that those with better possessions could consolidate their location through manipulating the new colonial institutional framework.

The local rural magnates in dissimilar parts of the country tried to claim a right to demand servitude and deference from landless labourers or subordinated *kamins* and other *balutedars*(clients) as well as from the marginal tribal cultivators. Much of this was done with extra-economic coercion by strict norms of hierarchy and pollution barrier. In big parts of Madras Presidency the greater part of agricultural labourers, belonging to lower castes, had been reduced to close to servitude. Big parts of Tamil country as well as Malabar and Kanara area witnessed growth of this kind of agrarian bondage. In some districts, the circumstances of untouchable Pallans or Paraiyans were really terrible. In this part, The British legal and judicial organization reinforced the traditional caste institution and social distinctions, giving a fresh lease of life to the power, privileges and power of upper castes. The Brahman landlords, who did not engage themselves in any type of manual unclean, ritually polluting labour procedures utilized the services of either tenant-cultivators or employed bonded labourers in their meadows. This kind of agrarian servitude was also quite general in the middle of the Cherumans of Malabar where they were treated like slaves and could be sold, mortgaged and rented out. There were groups outside the agricultural sector in the countryside who provided several types of services to the upper castes and classes. The Bhangi _scavengers' of north India, the Vannan washermen of Malabar, the Chamar leatherworkers of north India and the Shannars or toddy- tappers of Tamilnad. Several social disabilities were imposed on such people who performed indispensable defiling tasks for the purity-conscious upper caste

Hindus. They were forbidden entry into temples. They could not create use of public wells. They were also denied use of sure kinds of clothes, ornaments and other paraphernalia of upper caste people, to walk freely in sure quarters and localities. A Nadar of Tamilnad could not approach a Brahman within twenty-four paces. Their women were not allowed to cover their breasts. There were also much superior group of dependent rural labourers such as Chamars in the Gangetic plain, the Mahars in the western India and Paraiyan, Pala, Mala, Holeya and Cheruma in the south who were depicted as permanently unclean and impure through virtue of the defiling labour which they performed, not as free wage labour but as providers of compulsory labour services to local rural magnates or proprietors. Though, much of this ritually defined subordination of these lower social orders was the creation of colonial economic penetration because until well into nineteenth century, settled agriculture had not totally overshadowed the rustic and tribal ways of life and manufacture systems. Expansion of farming in less fertile tracts involving arid crops required few labourers separately from the immediate kin of peasant family. There were, of course, caste-specific conventions and norms of pollution-removal acts and services that provided the model the working of village *baluta* organization in the western India and *jajmani* relationships elsewhere in the precolonial scheme of things. This also had created a separate category of village menial servants recognized as *kamins*, *praja* and *ayagars* in dissimilar local contexts. The connection of these social groups with their patrons was not always harmonious and it is doubtful whether their share in the material and ritual assets of the indigenous civilization were so well protected as sometimes depicted. The famine records of nineteenth century demonstrate that they were, in information, first to perish in big numbers in case of calamity. Yet, in more recent colonial times, these lowly placed *kamins* and group of dependent labourers, accustomed to limited entitlements, establish that their lot was worse off as their former patrons abandoned the existing webs of rights and services, leaving former dependents to fend for themselves in a presumably casteless labour market.

Sometime it is whispered that untouchability and rigid concepts of pollution were basically a reflection of traditional rural India and the colonial milieu created new avenues of opportunities in the form of urban industrial workplaces and contemporary western education. There is no doubt that social transformation connected to colonialism brought several non-elite migrants into colonial coastal cities and industrial and new administrative centres. Moving to municipalities, leather workers tended to be employed as low-paid labourers in tanning and shoe-creation factories. Doms or the traditional north Indian funerary specialists took up the jobs as mortuary attendants at dissecting rooms of the colonial hospitals. In cotton mills also

mill hands were usually from social groups that had been recognized as _impure' or unclean. In the rural settings, these groups faced circumstances of servitude and bondage and paradoxically, when they moved to urban as unskilled labourers, the Bhangi, the Mahar and the Chamar also encountered caste norms. The nature of casual labour in the factories, shipyards and tanneries tended to augment the power of pollution barrier and social life in such workplaces also reinforced their lowly, impure and untouchable status. Therefore, we discover a secure correlation flanked by caste norms and ritually governed entitlement to possessions. Moreover, while mainly of these social norms and practices predate colonial rule, the latter in information, entailed sure changes in the location of subordinate social groups in dissimilar parts of the country.

Sure Socio-Economic Characteristics of Servitude
Mainly of the agricultural labourers in south Gujarat belonged to the tribal groups like Dubla, Naika and Dhodia societies. Several in the middle of them worked as *halis* or bonded labourers. *Halis* were like permanent estate servants of their masters recognized as *dhaniamas*. They would become bonded labourer in perpetuity for a trifling sum of money. They were like unpaid labourers who did all kind of manual *begar* for the local rural magnates. M.B. Desai estimated that in Surat district in relation to the one fifth of tribal labourers were *halis.* The upper caste women of landowning castes like Anavils, Rajputs and Patidars could not job in the meadows due to social taboo associated with manual labour. Such groups, so, employed bonded labour on a big level. The caste divisions in south Gujarat had got crystallized into two major categories: the kaliparaj and the ujaliparaj. The ujaliparaj comprised the higher castes such as Brahman, Bania and Rajputs whereas the kaliparaj incorporated the lower castes such as Dublas, Dheds, Dhodias and Naikas. The distinction was clearly visible in the several characteristics of their social life including food habits, literacy and religious beliefs. More importantly, though, it was a matter of entitlement to several material and productive assets and possessions especially agricultural land and expanding networks of markets that were created through the colonial economy and differential access to it for several parts of rural civilization. Alike class cleavages were also discernible in the other parts of western and southern India where untouchable lower castes, tribal groups and marginal tenant-cultivators suffered from insidious social discrimination. *Hali* organization of keeping bonded labour in south Gujarat was permeated through notion of patronage and was based on use of labour-

services of subordinate families in perpetuity through the dominant landlords of that locality. Just as to Jan Breman, Hali was the term used for a farm servant who beside with his family was in the permanent employment of a landlord, a *dhaniamo*.

Such form of labour employment was everlasting and was transferred from one generation of farm servants to after that generation. The practice had its genesis in incurring of debt through an agriculture labour for marriage or any other social ceremony. The debt was obtained from a master who was willing to employ him. In excess of the era of time, as debt increased, enduring oppression of farm servant also became fixed and preset, as the *hali* would never be in a location to repay his debt. Just as to Jan Breman, recognized service connection could end only if another master was willing to take in excess of the *hali*.

The *Hali* organization governed the social relationships flanked by Dublas and Anavil Brahmins, who were not priest as in the traditional social hierarchy. Several of them had become landlords even before the Mughal era. Being of the highest castes, they did not participate and contribute in the defiling manual labour that was so vital for agricultural manufacture. Employing *halis* belonging to Dublas caste facilitated their dodging of such menial tasks, which would degrade their location in the caste-hierarchy. *Hali* separately from working as farm servant often performed other duties assigned through his master. His wife also served as maid in the home of the master undertaking all domestic drudgery. His children also served the master especially in tasks involving animal husbandry.

The continuation of *Hali* organization was the result of not merely the exploitative power of landlords. It was rooted in the recognized social connection based on patronage and the so-described affection, generosity and intercession of their semi-feudal masters and a _permanent security of livelihood' for the *halis* could be assured. Therefore, their servitude was mixed up with a sense of gratitude. Alongside, *Hali* organization guaranteed dominant status of anavil Brahmins. Throughout nineteenth century, several of them were involved in sugar plantation. As their income increased, several of them married their daughters into the families of Desais. The employment of *halis* provided them with continuous supply of agricultural labour.

The circumstances of lower social orders in other parts of the country were no better. The Chandels in Bengal, the Doms in Bihar and Bhuniyas in south Bihar also reveal that alike scrupulous discriminatory procedures of prejudice and inequity were at job. The Namsudras of Bengal, earlier recognized as Chandels were relegated to the location of Antyaja, for whom even service castes such as barbers, washermen and sometimes lowly placed scavengers refused to perform services. The Bhuniyas provided labour services to the high caste *Maliks* as bonded labourers and they were

incorporated as *kamias* in the social hierarchy. The changes associated with colonialism, therefore, represented a real shift in both the language and the existed reality of rural social life. The landowning local magnates who had earlier defined their respectable status predominantly in conditions of protected landed rights and privileged military service in some parts of the country, now buttressed demands for labour services through imposing grand codes of ritual servility onto an rising assortment of landless farm servants and former tribal share-croppers who had not previously been bracketed with _untouchables'. The colonial policy-makers helped such social engineering through inventing customary obligations for those defined low in caste conditions. The protection provided to their landed rights through the colonial regime further encouraged such elites to demand *begar* and *vethi* from disadvantaged social groups.

Gender Discrimination
Many studies have explored gender relation in colonial India. The location of women within households was marked through subordination at a common stage. The institution of Patriarchy and the legal machinery in public sphere further reinforced this subordination. Radhika Singha, Tanika Sarkar and Kumkum Sangari have highlighted these characteristics in their works. Urvashi Butalia has pointed out particularly how communal riots violated bodies of women. The print media especially newspapers Throughout colonial rule clearly designates that women were essentially seen as marker of honour of society and nation. They were not regarded as self-governing individuals capable of actualizing their innate potential. In a male dominated social arrangement, any effort through them to marry out of caste or with males of dissimilar religion evoked widespread resentment. Seen from the perspective of women, social discrimination was practiced both at the familial and public stages. The denial of an self-governing identity amounted to subjection of women. Here it is also significant of point out that social religious reform movement focused mainly on the plight of upper caste women. The fate of women and men belonging to lower stratum of civilization remained neglected. Here women suffered from many discriminatory practices, which were, imposed in the name of customs through the appropriation of upper castes norms and values. Even the stress on the education of women enabled them to become better wives, mothers and managers of their affluent households. The social reformers evoked the vision of an ideal social world, which was at variance from the actual world in which they existed. So, their moral world

was conservative and hierarchical, a framework comprising of high and lowly, each in their lay. In this male vision, women were placed at the margins of public legroom. They had to be subordinated even within the realm of domesticity. In some cases, it was the fear of Christian conversion that led to creation of institutional and organizational networks to spread female education. Women had no genuine say in excess of theologies, educational curricula and administrative structures in such organizations. Sometimes, when the reformers tried to reclaim _golden age of equality', a time when women were educated and could participate equally in rituals with men; in such discourses also they stressed the traditional and venerated ideal of *pativarta* and the social role of women were still molded through high caste, middle class patriarchal values. In the religious and social discourses, women were relegated to the margins of sacred legroom. More importantly, their sexuality, their shapes of entertainments and their habits were to be controlled in the name of traditions and customs of lineage. In order to recover a lost past, reformers paint a picture of modern moral and cultural degeneration and a homogenized image of traditional women. For the nationalist intelligentsia, securing image of domesticity through a moral and physical rigorous confinement to uphold the fidelity and chastity of women became a new rationale for the subordination of women. The Victorian colonial image of women also equally accentuated the power of a new reformed ideological society in enforcing these notions of proprieties and contributed to fortification of women subordination in domestic and public legroom.

Clothes and Customs as Marker of Social Discrimination

In any civilization, clothes worn through people of dissimilar age, gender and class backdrop act as marker of specific identity. Such identity is reflected not merely in familial legroom but also in public domain. In colonial India, wearing of specific clothes was linked with maintenance of social distinction. In several parts of India, low castes and tribals were not allowed to wear clothes used through higher castes. It severely restricted the mobility of women belonging to lower castes and tribals. They were subjected to numerous exploitative practices, which were justified in the name of prevailing customs. In the state of Tranvancore, low caste shanars who recognized themselves as Nadars were occupied in menial and other informal and casual jobs. They were palm tree tappers, carters and agricultural labourers. Several of them were tenants of Nair

landlords. In social hierarchy, they were placed below Nairs who were the landowners and performed military service in the state. Social norms in civilization were enforced through the state through pointing out specific code of respect and avoidance behaviour. Therefore a low caste person while approaching a Brahmin had to speak from a specific aloofness. In case of Nadars, they were required to stand at the aloofness of thirty-six paces from the Nambudri Brahmin. Nadars were also not allowed to wear shoes, golden ornaments and carry umbrellas. Their women were not allowed to cover the upper parts of their bodies. All castes below the rank of Nair could wear single cloth of rough texture, covering their bodies from waist up to the knee.

The situation changed when missionaries in Tranvancore started spreading Christianity. They were concerned in relation to the clothes worn through Nadar women. Under the power of Christianity, several Nadar women started wearing extensive clothes. Several of them opted for Nair approach breast cloth. It evoked strong reaction from Nair society. Throughout 1820s several Nadar women wearing such clothes were attacked and were beaten up in the markets. There was widespread social tension in 1859. The Maharaja of Travancore responded to social tension through issuing a proclamation on 26 July 1859. Under this proclamation all societies were allowed to dress in coarse cloth. They were also allowed to cover their bosoms. Though the proclamation also directed Nadar women not to wear breast clothes identical to that worn through Nair women. Therefore even the Maharaja of Travancore whispered in maintaining social distinction. Though Nadar women defied this directive. In his assessment, Hardgrave has concluded that response of Nadars was linked with their effort to enhance their social status. R.N.Jesudas though has connected this issue with a wider class thrash about in the state of Travancore.

POPULAR PROTESTS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES
Historiographical Trends
Numerous works exist on the agrarian and social history of precolonial and colonial India. While the imperialist historiography has denied use of India and has taken credit for bringing intellectual awakening in India, the nationalist historiography for a extensive time has only focused on Indian national movement. The role of congress leadership in mobilizing peasants has been highlighted. Though this has approach under scrutiny. Within Marxian framework, agrarian civilization and economy has been analysed within the context of mode of manufacture. In the

procedure social differentiation within peasantry has been also pointed out. Though Shahid Amin in his revise of _Peasant Manufacture' in colonial Uttar Pradesh has stressed the need to revise procedure of manufacture. In his assessment, only then the troubles of peasants and nature of their subjectivity can be highlighted.

Initially works like those of S.B.Choudhary also focused on the role of peasantry in learning popular movements. Though this lacuna has been removed. Social Anthropologists and Historians have focused on several tribal movements to indicate the nature of social structures that determined popular protests led through tribals. In this regard K.Suresh Singh has produced seminal works on the protest movement led through Birsa Munda. Ranajit Guha who has studied the popular characteristics of peasant insurgency flanked by 1783 and 1900 has provided an analytical framework. He has shown that official documentation was indicative of _power-discourse'. The points out since mainly of rebels were illiterates they establish their subsistence in official documentation within colonial perspective so only through deconstructing these documents voices of peasants can be establish.

He has argued that, as the rebel was conscious of starting revolt against dominant groups so he was an insurgent. Though he establish his identity at the stage of dominant groups. That's why he possessed negative consciousness. Ranajit Guha's job definitely helps in understanding social ties, intellectual and spiritual beliefs that went into the creation of peasant revolts. However historians have questioned his concept of negation and the categories of dominant and subaltern groups but it remnants a information that he has produced wealth of information on the nature of popular protests.

The role of national movement, Mahatma Gandhi and Communist leadership in mobilizing people and coordinating anti imperialist movements has been highlighted in many works. Gyanendra Pandey and Kapil Kumar have analysed Kisan-Sabha movements in Northern India Throughout 1920s. The autonomy of Kisan leaders like Baba Ramchandra and role of restrictive leaderships of congress in controlling peasant movements has been highlighted. Similarly the role of communist party in 1940s in leading popular protests against colonial and feudal use has been highlighted. Mridula Mukherjee in her revise on the Punjab has shown the variegated social structures in rural regions, which provided the milieu for variegated protest movements against colonial regime. In recent years, there has been stress on the environmental history. Ramchandra Guha and Gadgil have argued that Marxian framework of mode of manufacture does not take into explanation the use of natural possessions. They have focused on _manners of resource use' to point out how human beings either used natural possessions rationally or exploited them on an unlimited

level. Both have argued there appeared ‗ecosystem people', ‗omnivores' and ‗carnivores'. In ‗This Fissured land', both have focused on colonial forestry to point out its role in dislocating ‗ecosystem people'. Their job definitely helps in understanding the social economic location of tribal & non-tribal people who were at the survival stage.

Many historians and anthropologists have done the categorization of several popular protests. Kathleen Gough has focused on restorative and trans formative movements. E.J.Hobbsbawn has deployed the concept of social banditry in learning pre-industrial Europe. He has differentiated flanked by crime and revolt. Gough has also used this category. Though Ranajit Guha has argued that while Hobsbawn has dubbed such protest as pre-political in pre-industrial Europe, though under colonial rule, aims and ideological foundation of peasants revolts, however in nascent form were political in nature. K.Suresh Singh in his analysis has pointed out the changing nature of several protest movements. The attendance of millenarian trends in popular uprisings has been studied through Stephen Fuchs in his ‗Rebellious Prophet' the emergence of messianic leaders who appeared Throughout times of ruptures flanked by traditional and alien cultural norms has been highlighted through him.

Dominant Characteristics of Pre-Colonial Civilization

Many researches have shown that pre colonial Indian civilization was not static. However village was the vital element of management and social ties. India was mainly rural and was constituted through thousands of villages. Though these were not ‗small republic' as colonial officers dubbed them to illustrate that villages were static and self-dependent, having no linkages with superior ‗political set-up'. The land revenue was the main source of income for the state. After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, decline and disintegration of Mughal Empire was followed through the emergence of numerous successor states. Throughout this era social structure was shaped through many elements. One of the mainly significant elements was rooted in economic ties within village and flanked by villages and urban centres. The political turmoil of the later eighteenth century left its spot on the countryside. In the Delhi area, semi-tribal groups like the Gujars and Jats extended their settlements from the upper doab, to the arable ‗upland' plain. Their settled village societies depicted hierarchy of traditional rights in excess of land. There were either ‗primary' or ‗secondary Zamindars'. Mostly there lived joint extended family management and partial ownership constituted the mainly general tenurial form. In Punjab, primary

Zamindars were the cultivators. The bhaichara societies of the Jats owned land collectively. In the upper doab, primary land manage rights were held through dominant castes that were elites in the civilization. The connection flanked by groups of dominant peasant castes and service and artisan castes were shaped through the Jajmani organization. It centered on the organization of manufacture and sharing approximately the institution of hereditary occupational castes. The nonagricultural castes were either granted fixed village produce in lieu of their services or small plots of land. The prevalence of caste organization did not denote rigid division- M.N.Srinivas has pointed out the procedure of upward mobility in many parts of India. However service and occupational castes were free to sell their products within village or even outside, though there was a tendency towards a high degree of specialization. It resulted in secure connection flanked by specific castes and occupations. The dagbar who made leather bags for holding Ghi and Sugar cane juice was socially and occupationally separate from the Chamar manufacturing shoes, leather ropes and drumhead. The flexibility and mobility was apparent in the information that a very big proportion of the gentry in Bihar, both Hindu and Muslims, cultivated with their own hands. Brahmins were also farmers in the South.

In the tribal areas like Bengal, land hitherto held through tribals was slowly being claimed through dominant castes. While some tribal groups were hunters and gatherers, others were occupied in shifting farming. There was dependence on forest and water bodies. In the western ghats of Maharashtra, villages were shaped through two castes groups of the Kunbis and Gavlis. The former livelihood in the lower valley practised paddy farming. The Gavlis livelihood on the upper hill terrace kept big herds of buffaloes and cattle. There was interdependence flanked by both groups for obtaining necessities of life. In the state of Karnataka, in a village Masur, British Gazetteers noted the subsistence of thirteen dissimilar endogamous groups. Some of them were fishing societies, other were agriculturalists, horticulturalists and entertainers.

There were no direct linkages flanked by caste and class. Within a caste, social differentiation lived on the foundation of status and power. Infact the dealings of power and subordination were governed through moral codes. The low castes were required to obey and respect dominant castes. Within the family, patriarchal power caused the subordination of women. Kinship and sexual status was also marked through variation in speech. In his account of Malabar in the nineteenth century, Logan noted— _The home itself is described through dissimilar names just as to the occupant's caste. The home of a Pariah is a cheri, while the agrestic slave –the

cheraman-lives in Chala'. In Gujarat a patidar youth was not allowed to initiate conversation in the company of his elders. In Orissa, a Bauri untouchable was not to speak to a high caste until spoken to. In parts of southern India, a servant would cover his mouth while getting his master's command. The objects of wear also constituted status symbol. Umbrella and shoes were markers of high castes. In Gujarat, the so-described impure Mahars were not allowed to tuck up their loin cloths but had to trail it beside the ground. Therefore social differentiation was buttressed through customary and cultural norms. The religious groups enjoyed power in tribal's areas. There was faith in superstitions and rituals sanctioned through dominant religions. There lived village deities and also symbols of nature. The role of education was limited. It was the religious beliefs, which shaped the ritual practices and belief systems of people. Within this milieu, many changing procedures marked colonial intervention.

Colonial Rule and Ruptures in Civilization
It was the East India Company, which had approach to India for deal. Taking advantage of local polity, it laid the base of colonial rule from Bengal in the eighth-century. Irfan Habib has divided colonial rule of British into three separate phases from monopolistic trading rights, company shifted to the policy of free deal in the early nineteenth century. After 1813, British declared themselves to be the _Paramount Power' in India. The colonial expansion lasted till 1856. After suppressing the revolt of 1857, British converted India into the direct colony of Britain. In the subsequent years, colonial power was further entrenched. From the outset British evolved policies, which were meant to maximize their possessions? The ideological foundation of British rule rested upon the suppression of subject population. The advent of Christianity from eighteenth century was marked through the establishment of press, church, hospitals and orphanages. Alongside administrative structure was supported through the police and the army. The recognized colonial hegemony led to disaffection of dissimilar social groups. The Dual Organization in Bengal (1765-1772) resulted in widespread famine claiming 1/3 of total population. The attempts of British to deprive in the vicinity influential Rajas, Zamindars and Military persons also caused tension. As land was the main source of income for the state so British focused on the land revenue organization. For this purpose Cornwallis introduced the Permanent resolution in 1793 in Bengal. Bihar and Orissa. Throughout the similar era, Monroe introduced the

Ryotwari organization in Madras. In 1835, William Bentinck introduced the Mahalwari organization in North Western Province. It was further extended to Punjab. After annexing Punjab, in 1849, British introduced agrarian changes in the provinces. There was extensive canal colonization in western Punjab. These agrarian changes not only augmented the possessions of state but also gave birth to colonial sociology. The colonial sociology encouraged land lordism. In canal colonies, supporters of Raj were given land, which led to resolution of Punjabis in western Punjab from central Punjab. Everywhere location of peasantry started declining.

The penetration of market forces and connection with capitalism led to commercialization of agriculture. Though numerous studies have shown that it only led to decline and indebtedness of peasantry. In pre-colonial times also small peasants had to borrow from village's Banias. Though in the existing network, peasants could not be evicted from their land. Under colonial rule, big merchants and Zamindars became the moneylenders. They used the legal organization to deprive peasants of their land. The situation was worse in tribal areas where outsiders started settling as traders and moneylenders. In many spaces, tribal population could not understand the implication of recognized legal and administrative set up. There was hatred for outsiders or dikus as they were described. The procedure of deindustrialization further deprived peasants of their source of income. Numerous village industries declined. The artisans were reduced to the location of labourers. They had to leave their villages in search of job. Their livelihood circumstances in industrial belts like Calcutta, Bombay and Kanpur were miserable. In this method, there was decline and disintegration of traditional ties symbolized through the Jajmani Organization.

As British declared themselves to be the owners of forest wealth, it directly affected the location of tribal societies which were dependent upon forest It was in 1865 that an Act was passed which declared claims of the state in excess of the forests. It was followed through the enactment of the Indian Forest Act of 1878. Under this Act, manage of state in excess of the possessions of forests increased. Very limited rights were given to traditional tribal societies. Therefore, there was ban on the shifting farming. The tribals as per their customs were not allowed to hunt and they were assigned limited legroom for their animals. The extension of railways network further led to penetration of rich trading classes into the distant regions of India. The development of plantation economy not only led to degradation of environment but the _rule of records' as shaped through the _ British led to the undermining of traditional rights. Subjected to use, several castes and societies responded in multiple ways. The web of relationships that had lived since pre-colonial times were sustained in many parts of India. Those who had been deprived of

power and power gained support from general people. Therefore displaced rulers had the support of local population. Within specific areas, tribal population reacted against use. In many cases intertribal affinities were shaped.

The social religious reform movement in nineteenth century also had its bearing on small peasants, low caste groups and tribal population. There was power of Christianity as well. There was affirmation of faith in specific belief systems. Through late nineteenth century, as nationalism was apparent in public domain and slowly it gave birth to mass nationalism, there was change also in the popular protest movements. While some retained their autonomy, others joined anti imperialist thrash about.

Features of Popular Protests

In his assessment, Ranajit Guha has counted 118-protest movements flanked by 1783- 1900. Their number kept on rising in the twentieth century. It is not possible to analyses hundreds of these movements. Though through focusing on the structure of protest, dominant features of popular protests in colonial times can be pointed out:

In the initial years of British rule displaced rulers and military personnel's reacted against colonial demands. For instance when Warren Hastings demanded money from Chet Singh, Raja of Banaras and when latter failed to provide it, he was arrested. Though people of Banaras supported Chet Singh and protested against colonial rule. The Bishenpur revolt of 1789 led through local ruler and supported through local people was also identical in nature. Flanked by 1799-1800 Poligars who were deprived of their military power adopted Gorilla warfare to thwart the power of British rulers. These were localized protests and rooted in specific reasons.

In all popular protests, economic use as perpetuated through the British rule caused tension. The land revenue policies and Forests laws led to resentment. Alongside use of dominant Indian Zamindars and Moneylenders was also opposed. Therefore the revolt of Sanyasis and Fakirs, which resulted from the famine of 1769-70, was directed against British rulers and local Zamindars in Bengal. The revolt of Kols (1831-32) and Bhumij (1832-33) was also rooted in colonial use.

Several uprisings were restorative in nature. The rebels aimed to restore back pre-existing political structure and social and economic rights. There was protest against the penetration of alien authorities and outsiders. Therefore in the revolt of 1857, leadership of traditional rulers was accepted. Alongside small peasants belonging to Jat and Rajputs also rose against alien rule. There were peaceful efforts to restore back what the protestors regarded their rights. Therefore in the Pabna uprising of 1873-1883 tenant farmers hoped that the British rule was in favour of restoring back their landed rights.

In numerous uprisings there was protest against rising indebtedness. Therefore the Deccan revolt of 1875 was against Marwaris moneylenders.

Violence was an integral part of popular protests. It was directed against oppressors.

In excess of the era of time, protest movements/uprisings became more organised. The role of charismatic leaders and religion in providing support and strength to rebels also became clear. Therefore Titu Mir in rising against the use of zamindars, who were Hindus, effectively used Islam in forging solidarity in the middle of his people. The millenarian's trends were also apparent in the revolt of Santals and Mundas.

In conditions of seeking support it was establish that inter-tribal and inter local linkages were also shaped. The revolts were only directed against exploiters. Therefore, the Kinship ties, caste and tribal identities were permeated through class-consciousness.

The role of women was also apparent in the revolts of Santals, Mundas and Mopilahs. They were an integral part of families and societies. They helped their male folks in productive behaviors and Throughout the time of tension, they also joined them in acts of violence.

Numerous historians have explored the nexus flanked by popular movements and national movement. The role of Gandhian leadership in converting national movement into mass movement was also apparent. Throughout 1920s Kisan Sabhas in U.P and Bihar provided

organizational skills to peasants. Similarly, the role of communists in leading peasants' protests against colonial and feudal use became explicit in 1940s.

Kol Revolt

It erupted in some parts of Bihar in 1831-1832. Kols were agriculturalists. The rising land revenue and indebtedness caused socio-economic tension in the region. It was noted through British official Wilkinson that landlords and contractors had increased land revenue through 35%. There was resentment against the land revenue organization as the British introduced it. The tension erupted when in 1831; twelve villages of Sinhari Manki in Sonpur were handed in excess of to outsiders. They were reports in relation to the maltreatment being meted out to his sisters. It was also accounted that one Munda women had been kidnapped in Singbhum. There was rising recognition that British policies had deprived Kols of their rights in excess of land. It was against this use that Kols of Sonpur, Tamar and Naundgoan were directed to assemble in Tamar. The decision was taken to avenge insult through indulging in acts of loot, killing and burning. They were also extended help through the Mundas. The revolt spread in Chotanagpur, Singhbhum and Palamau. Therefore the revolt of Kols exhibited the tribal consciousness against use. Their skill to unite their people and to secure help from other tribals residing in their vicinity was indicative of the information that they were united in their protest against colonial exploiters.

Santal Revolt

Santal revolt was characterised through class solidarity transcending ethnicity. There was not only well defined programme to resist use but the leadership of Sido and Kanho was characterized through usage of spiritual codes to organize rebels. Before the outbreak, elaborate preparations were made. Both written and oral messages were used to solicit support. Women also played an significant role in the uprisings. The method this revolt started and spread in excess of vast legroom showed that Santals were determined to combat their exploiters. Santals existed in Birbhum, Singbhum, Hazari Bagh, Bhagalpur and Munger. They were agriculturalists though the entrenchment of land lordism, usage of legal machinery through money lenders subjected them to continuous use. As per the modern accounts of lawyer Degamber

Chakravarty and Chhotre Dasmanj, Santals failed to comprehend the exploitative nature of British management. Initially they hoped that their grievances would be redressed through the British officials. Though when it did not happen, Santals decided to rise in revolt.

In leading Santals against rising use, leadership was provided through Sido and Kanhu. They proclaimed divine sanction to lead the revolt. They issued parwanas containing their messages and directing local population to extend help to them. For it, they sought help from non tribal population like artisans and other service groups like the Dom, the Lohar and the Gwala. The defaulters were explicitly warned that they job loose their lives. Therefore Sido and Kanhu exhorted their local populace to take up arms against exploiting money lender and British officers. Therefore one of the parwana sent through Sido and Kanho read, ―the sahib and the white soldiers will fight. Kanoo and Seedoo manjee are not fighting. They also observed, ―The Mahajans have committed a great sin; The Sahibs and the amlah have made everything bad, in this the Sahibs have sinned greatly. Those who tell things to the magistrate and those who investigate cases for him, take 70 to 80 Rupees. with great oppression in this the Sahibs have sinned. On this explanation the Thacoor has ordered me saying that the country is not the Sahib .

There were series of meetings in which tribal chiefs and local population outlined preparations for the revolt. It started in 1855 with series of dacoities in Bhagalpur, Birbhum and Bankure where Bengali landlords were attacked and their properties were looted. From the beginning looted goods were equally divided in the middle of rebels. There was participation of women in dacoities. There was appropriation of religions rituals practised through upper castes. For instance, Sido and Kanhu offered puja to Goddess Durga. For the performance of Puja, two Brahmins were abducted. It was also decided to march to Calcutta in order to present their grievances before the rulers. Though brutal suppression through authorities who resorted to destruction of Santals villages and accumulated loot, led to weakling of the movement. Santals resorted to plundering for the purpose of sustaining themselves. Though, eventually the army suppressed the revolt. There were arrests on big level. Women were also arrested.

Munda Uprisings

The scholarly job of K.Suresh Singh on the history of Munda tribe reveals how this tribal society responded to on going use. The penetration of outsiders and

colonial management coupled with missionary behaviors created a milieu in which Birsa Munda provided the charismatic leadership and led the revolt in 1899-1900. The millenarian trends were apparent in this uprising. The support of local customary ties permeating dissimilar tribal groups helped in solidifying support for the Mundas. The leadership of Birsa Munda was successful in uniting exploited against the exploiters. This tribe resided in the area south of Ranchi. The land holdings were based on tribal lineages or the Khuntkatti land organization. This was eroded through merchants and money lenders who penetrated into their region as contractors and landlords. There was recruitment of indentured labour. To redress their grievances, Mundas resorted to peaceful methods. They sought help from missionaries. Though there was no change in their location.

The rising resentment resulted in the protest of tribal chiefs-Sardars. They tried to dislodge the alien landlords and also tried to put an end to forced labour. In this, they sought help of a Calcutta based Anglo-Indian lawyer. Though they were cheated. It led to the feeling that both Sarkar and he missionaries had done nothing to resolve their troubles They had to seek help from within their society. It came in the form of Birsa Munda. He was born in 1874. His father was a share cropper. Initially, he received education from the missionaries. He was also influenced through Vaishnava religion. The practitioner of vaishnavas had led a movement in 1893- 94 to prevent village waste land being taken in excess of through the forest department. Birsa Munda also came under the power of Christianity and mixed several of its beliefs in his religious and spiritual formulations. It was in 1895 that he had a vision of a supreme God. He claimed himself to be a prophet having miraculous heading powers. Soon thousands of people flocked to hear the _new word' proclaiming an immediate deluge. For extending help to the Sardars in their thrash about, Birsa was jailed in 1895. After two years, when he was released, Birsa had become more determined to fight against oppression. In 1898-99, a series of night meetings were held in the forest. Birsa exhorted gatherers to kill _Thakedars, Jagirdars, Rajas, Hakims and Christians'. He promised that _the guns and the bullets of enemies would turn into water'. There was faith in his miraculous powers.

The uprising began in 1899 on Christmas Eve. The Mundas shot arrows and tried to burn down Churches in Ranchi and Singhbhum. They also targeted the police. Though they were defeated at Sail Rakab hill on January 9. There was arrest of Birsa Munda who died in jail. Several hundreds of Mundas were arrested and were punished. However the Munda urising failed to redress grievances of local population but the vision of Birsa Munda survived and kept on inspiring the local people.

Moplah Uprisings

Flanked by 1836-1919, Moplahs rose 28 times against the use of Jenmis or landlords. There was participation of only 349 Moplahs in these outbreaks. Though what distinguished their violent revolt was the permeation of Islam in inducing them to rise against the landlords. However illiterate Moplahs did not understand the doctrines of Islam correctly but they whispered that through killing Jenmis and then through facing death, they would attain martyrdom. In this form of protest, they were symbolically prepared through their wives.

Moplahs existed in Malabar where they were either lease holders – Kanamdars or cultivators-Verumpattandars. They were Muslims and were subjected to the rising power of Hindu upper caste landlords. These were Namboordi and Nair Jenmis. The British policies further strengthened their hold in excess of Moplahs. They existed in small villages and had very limited possessions. It was the mosque, which provided them identity. The number of mosques rose in Malabar from 637 in 1831 to 1058 through 1851. They also came under the power of Sayyid Alwawi and his son Fadl who were Tangals of Mambram close to tirurangadi. It was in Ernad and Walluvanad talukas of South Malabar that revolts started. Several Jenmis were killed. Mainly of Moplah martyrs were poor peasants. Therefore some historian's see it as a class thrash about, which was permeated through religious ideology.

Punjab Disturbances of 1907

The procedure of canal colonization in western Punjab was rooted in the rule of British paternalism. Big tracts of land were colonized through cautiously selecting dissimilar caste and status groups. The crown tenants were granted the right to purchase land after completing an initial era of probation. Several big landlords appeared in this area. The existing laws were manipulated. The local lower stage bureaucracy extorted money to prevent punishment to the potential defaulters. Subjected to everyday administrative interference, resentment grew in many canal regions.

It exploded in the form of the agrarian agitation of 1907. The discontent of peasants resulted from a series of government events. The Punjab land colonization bill was introduced in the Punjab council on October 25, 1906. It sought to alter the circumstances on which land was granted to colonists in the canal colonies. In November 1906,the government ordered enhancement in the canal water rates on the

Bari Doab canal. It provided water for irrigation in the district of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Lahore. The increased rate was up to 50 percent. The land revenue in the Rawalpindi district was also enhanced. More in excess of the colonization Bill of 1906 sought to legalize the imposition of fines for infringements of the circumstances laid down for grant of land. These were to remain outside the purview of courts. The law of primogeniture for inheritance was stressed. There was even bar on the purchasing of the land through the colonists. Subjected to these restrictions, peasants started their agitation. Not only there was breakdown in rural and urban divide but also peasants cutting crossways religious differences joined the thrash about. The big Zamindars Association took the lead. With the coming of Ajit Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai, agitation became wide spread. Numerous public meetings were held to criticize government's events. Eventually the government had to yield. The viceroy vetoed the colonization Bill. The Punjab government also withdrew the enhancement of water rates. The agitation symbolized radicalization of peasantry and its linkages with nationalism.

Kisan Sabhas and Baba Ramchandra
David Hardiman has observed that through the end of nineteenth century, there was emergence of peasant nationalism. Through the time mass nationalism had appeared under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, there was widespread power of Congress in several parts of India. In U.P, numerous Kisan sabhas had appeared. When the Non- Cooperation movement started in 1921. Kisan Sabhas provided the recruitment ground for Satyagrahis. Though autonomy of Kisan Sabhas and their participation in anti imperialists thrash about was also apparent in Southeast Avadh. Here, Baba Ramchandra provided the leadership. His power in excess of peasants was resented through the Congress leadership, which wanted peasant's participation to be non-violent in nature. Though peasants rose in widespread agrarian riots in Rae Bareli, Pratapgarh, Fyzabad and Sultanpur flanked by January and March 1921. Not only bazaars were attacked, the homes and crops of Talukdars and property of merchants were also targeted. On January 6, 1921, 10000 peasants attacked Fursatganj bazaar in Rae Bareli and resorted to fixing of prices for grain and cloth. There were also clashes with police. The subversion of colonial power was apparent in setting up of peasants' panchayats to redress their grievances. Therefore through Kisan sabhas, peasants were organising themselves. They also responded to mass nationalism. Though, they also exhibited consciousness, which was cognitive of use

being perpetuated through big landlords and merchants. That's why effort of Congress to channels them in peaceful thrash about directed only against authorities failed.

Telengana

Throughout 1930s and 1940s peasants had approach under the power of Kisan Sabhas, Congress and Communist ideology. In many states, violent protests were led through feudal use and the manage of land through feudal lords was strongly resented. It was in Telengana that the major peasant guerrilla war occurred flanked by July 1946 and October 1851. It spread in excess of 16,000 square mills covering 3000villages. Almost three million people participated in the thrash about. It was in Telengana that lower caste, tribal peasants and debt slaves were subjected to use of Muslims and high caste deshmukhs and Jagirdars. The state of Hyderabad under Asafjahi Nizams was also indifferent. The power of communists spread Throughout world war II. They had used the Andhra Mahasabha to spread their power. They also provided leadership in leading thrash about against local issues. There was also huge collection of arms through peasants.

The revolt began when on July 4, 1946, thugs employed through the deshmukh of Viunar in Jangaon taluka of Nalgonda murdered a village militant. The latter was involved in thrash about to defend a land of poor washerwoman. Very soon, the movement spread into the district of Warangal and Khammam. From early 1947 small bands were shaped. They used guerrilla warfare resulting in disappearance of Vetti and bonded labour. Not only agricultural wages were increased but also in many instances, confiscated land was returned back to previous peasant's holders. Even wastelands were redistributed. Sundarayya, a leading figure in the armed thrash about had shown in his narrative, how socio-economic equality was sought to be recognized in the liberated regions. There was wide spread power of the communist leaders. Though strong military action and indifference of better off peasants led to slackening of power of communist leaders. They were driven out from the settled plains of Nalgonda, Warrangal and Khamman. They had to create Nallamallia hills crossways the Krishna to the south and the Godavari area to the northeast as their base. Chenchu and Koya tribals were organised. Though slowly through 1950-51, guerrilla action degenerated into occasional murders. However the Telengana movement could not benefit tribals but the regime of Hyderabad was destroyed. Andhra Pradesh was shaped on linguistic rows and Jagirdari was also abolished.

STUDYING TRIBES UNDER COLONIALISM

Perceptions of Tribes Before Colonial Annexation of Territories

The first forays of British colonists into North and Central India in the late 18th century got them in touch with many non-agricultural societies. These societies were dependent on both land and forest possessions for their survival and often came into disagreement with their rulers in order to meet their needs. In his recent job on Khandesh and Central India Sumit Guha shows that early British accounts in the area suggest that the intricate interrelationships flanked by pre-colonial regimes of natural resource management, environmental changes and tribal survival in the Maratha era. The resultant identity of people as tribals is then governed through the multiple contexts of survival within which these people used to live. Superior patterns of resource use and the impact of other forces on them also determined the political economy of such identities and survival systems.

In pre-colonial Central and Northern India one of the main factors that had an impact on both identity and survival was the military disagreement flanked by ruling elite in both the Maratha and Mughal periods. The chieftain civilizations of dissimilar tribes like the Gonds or the Khakkars or Jats also participated in these conflicts. At the similar time the tribals who were peasants and or gatherers in the forests were forced to support their own chieftains and so shaped bands in forests and shaped significant part of the chieftain's mercenary army. In this context it is significant to keep in mind that the term ―tribes‖ has been used very loosely for societies which were lived in a ―pre-class civilization‖. In keeping with this definition several societies that were later described as peasants through Britishers were termed tribes through the accounts of the medieval era. Chetan Singh's early article on the role of tribal chieftains in Mughal management clearly recognized warrior and ruling classes of indigenous kingdoms as superior tribal linkages. Amongst these were the Jats, the Kakkhars, Baluchis and Afghans in this vein, the chief characteristic of their civilization not only being their blood and kinship row of descent but also their rustic and non-sedentary occupational features. In a later article Singh is though more categorical in relation to the mention of hunters and gatherers as primitive people. For instance he writes of their references in Akbarnama where tribal people were described as ―men who go naked livelihood in the wilds, and subsist through their bows and arrows and the game they kill‖. He also argues that the medieval texts

illustrate that in case of tribals like the Gonds —that people of India despise them and regard them outside the pale of their realm and religion .

Such an identification of tribals as outside the realm of the sedentary farming was contingent upon the development of a organization of land management which was an significant feature of the Mughal 16th and 17th centuries and British regimes of the 19th century. Before that the British perceptions of tribes were conditioned through their own contingencies. For instance the Anglo-Maratha conflicts of the 18th century led to descriptions that described the Gond chieftains as the —lords of the rugged hills and their subjects as people who were prone to anarchic behaviour and — habitual depredations . Some of these depredations were described as —ravages of lawless tribes who assisted the errant and —chaotic rulers. We see alike perceptions of the tribes on the Northeast frontiers of the British Rule. Writing in relation to the Eastern Naga tribes in the early 19th century Captain Michelle said that the Nagas accepted on the mainly profitable deal in slaves and suppressed all ryots in their neighborhood. The greed of gain caused endless feuds flanked by villages and tribes.. There are numerous accounts like this that stress the importance and the situation of the tribes before the annexation of territories and after British power. In approximately all these accounts the tribal problem appears to be one where the British see themselves as people who have a duty towards teaching tribals civilized behaviour and an orderly life. While this expression of the civilizing mission did not change after the annexation of territories. Rather it expressed itself in a dissimilar form.

Tribes and their Colonial Rulers

The advent of colonialism in areas that were earlier under residencies and indigenous chieftancies saw the assertion of British colonial sovereignty in many important ways some of which have been described through Nandini Sundar in the context of tribal Bastar. Though from the point of view of perceptions in relation to the tribals themselves perhaps the mainly significant factor that influenced them was the resolution of territories and land rights in the Provinces with important amount of tribal populations. The permanent resolution in Bengal in the late 18th century and the subsequent ryot settlements in Madras, Central Provinces and United Provinces all betrayed a bias towards a sure notion of the agrarian civilization which was firmly grounded in the thoughts in relation to the modernity and progress. Within this perspective an evolutionary method of seeing development also influenced the colonial images of tribal life. For instance the *Statement of the Ethnological*

Committee of the Races of Central Provinces that described its task in the following manner:

―We have confined our analysis entirely to very curious tribes in this country, which are usually described aborigines, their original seat in reality being strange and which are supposed to be dissimilar in languages, custom and physical formation from the greatness of India   .

The term _race' excluded all races and castes that were measured immigrants, i.e., the Hindu cultivators who settled in the valleys and the plains since the ancient times. It only incorporated the tribals who were measured the original inhabitants of the country and accepted special reports on regions like Chanda, Bhandara and others that were measured to be strongholds of tribal population. The notion that tribes were the original and in accessible inhabitants of the forests was useful to colonial officials in their endeavour to take in excess of the fertile plains and valleys of dissimilar parts of the country. In keeping with this image they were also described as rather timid, shy and well behaved. For instance Briggs remarked in his *Lecture on the Wild Tribes* that they were the ―best behaved wild tribes   even while they existed in seclusion and acted as the ―wild beasts approximately them   .

The second feature of the official images in the early and mid 19th centuries was the notion that these ―primitive tribes   were essentially animist forest people who hated the intrusion of outsiders into their life. A good instance of this was the account of the Baigas and the Gonds of the ―remotest hills   in the Central Provinces who were described as livelihood in harmony with nature. Forsyth's explanation of the Maikal hills was reflective of this when he wrote that:

―The real Byga of the hill ranges is still approximately in the state of nature. They are very black, with an upright slim, however exceedingly wiry frame showing less of the negretto kind of characteristics than any other of these wild tribes.... Destitute of all clothing but a small strip of cloth.... The Byga is the very model of a hill tribe   .

This introduction to the Byga is accompanied through Forsyth's detailed explanation of the forest hunt and the pursuit of game. He measured their farming practices and hunting as a sign of their seclusion and

primitiveness. Finally, despite such a classification of the Bygas, Forsyth and his colleagues were not unaware of the differentiation within the tribal economy. Tribals were classified just as to their stage of development and their amalgamation of the Hindu civilization. Social customs and conventions was a yardstick to assess the _level of civilization'. On the economic front the level of civilization that the statement referred to was measured through the yardstick of progress which was manifested in the thought of a peasant. This meant that the colonial ideals in relation to the improvement of the tribal civilization was centered approximately their perception of their own role in teaching tribal people how to live a civilized life. This meant that they were to be taught plough farming that was more desirable than shifting farming and that all those livelihood in the rural regions had to be taught the value of a sedentary peasant civilization.

It is in this context that the first impressions of bewar (a term for shifting farming in the Central Provinces) justified the British need of intervention for the improvement in Baiga lifestyle in consonance with the thought of progress. In colonial terminology the conditions bewar and dhaiya were used for the Baiga farming. The term bewar was sometimes also used for the field that the Baigas prepare for farming. Despite this confusion, in all cases the term *dhaiya* and bewar were used for survival systems that were classed primitive, in accessible and highly destructive to forests. For instance, Richard Temple presently after the formation of the Central Provinces that:

     —One great reason of wastage and destruction of the forest is described Dhya farming? This Dhya farming is practically a substitute for ploughing and a device for saving trouble of that operation. It is resorted to through hill people who are averse to labour and have virtually no agricultural capital   .

Temple classified the dhaiya economy as —primitive   or —backward   . Its traits were laziness and wastefulness. He implied that the tribals of the Central Provinces preferred to do the minimum amount of labour to eke the minimum that they needed. All such images also stressed the information that bewar farming was not eco-friendly and brought in relation to the destruction

of the forests. All these arguments were used to justify colonial interventions for controlling land and forests in the 19th century.

Romanticism and Tribal Protection: Colonialism and Anthropology in 20th Century
The late 19th century saw a worsening of livelihood circumstances of tribal people in the tribal regions. Mainly regions like Bihar, Orissa and Central Provinces, land alienation and indebtedness amongst tribal people grew at an alarming rate. At the similar time the circumstances of tribals in forests also worsened as they were reduced to providing cheap labour to the forest department. All this created circumstances of extreme dissatisfaction that also led to much protest through tribal people. Some of the mainly well-known ones were Birsa Munda's movement in 1875, the Gudem Ramapa Uprising and the Santhal Uprising that forced the colonial policies. In other regions like the Mandla district of the Central Provinces Baiga tribal people fled from the forests and the British were forced to negotiate with them so that they remain in their villages and job for the forest department. They were therefore forced to make an region where the otherwise banned practice of shifting farming would be allowed in some part of the forests. All these protests and negotiations not only resulted in some welfare events being put into lay but also resulted in the crystallization of the tribal cultural identity which was reflected in anthropological and official texts of the time.
One of the mainly significant debates of the time was the debate in relation to the demarcation of tribal regions into protected zones under the Government of India Act of 1935. The enactment of the provisions showed that the tribals had now become totally dependent on the welfare events of the state to meet their vital needs. The debate on the events proposed under the Act also revealed the method in which dissimilar people viewed tribal people. One of the mainly significant figures in the debate was W.V. Grigson, an official who was commissioned to enquire into circumstances of tribals in the Central Provinces viewed them with the lens of benevolent patriarchal power. In the *Maria Gonds of Bastar* he wrote that the Marias, a primitive tribe of Bastar, was people who had existed in harmony with forests and therefore he said that:
    ―In mainly of this region (*penda* region) the forests have been too remote and inaccessible to be exploited, and that, even however some

fine timber has been sacrificed much that has gone is in excess of mature. Vast regions of forest have been reserved through the State, and it is not possible to job half these reserves. The Maria does not rage through the forest clearing patches for farming at random; he has more or less definite rotations, and a field of two to three years' they may have a twelve or fourteen years' rest, and a thick forest at the end of it. The axe and fire have let the light of civilisation penetrate slowly but surely into the Bison-horn country as nothing would have done for centuries; they alone have prevented the Abujhmarh tract from remaining a trackless wilderness .

This view marked a important departure from the views of officials in the 19th century. It also showed that the officials were forced to recognize the rights of tribal people in a manner that they were being articulated at that time. Further people like Grigson also reflected upon the role of the British Empire in tribal development when he wrote that,

―All there necessity is an approach to some elements of ‗economic democracy' if the aboriginal is to play his due part in the India of the future.... There is no political democracy without economic democracy .

For Grigson ‗economic democracy' denoted ownership of land, freedom from indebtedness and from use of labour at unusually low wages. To achieve ‗economic democracy' outside intervention in tribal regions had to be restricted and government protection ensured. Though what is important in relation to the Grigson's perception is the information that he measured the people in Bastar as alike to that of people in Africa when he wrote that:

―The primitives have more in general with African tribes than they have with people in other parts of India such as the plains of Bengal, the Punjab or Maharashtra…. I don't think that ―self governance outside the village or tribe has ever entered their heads. It is obvious that what is needed is a form of protectorate and this can only be achieved through benevolent autocracy .

The belief that tribals were not able to seem after their own interests was mainly based on the assumption that they had always existed in a hostile civilization that had exploited them. The creation of a protectorate would in information enable forces that had their benefit at heart to protect their interests and also bring in relation to the their economic development. This perception was integral to several official anthropologists of the era whose vision was also informed through the European anthropological writings of their times. The mainly prominent of these anthropologists was Verrier Elwin who worked first in Central India, then Eastern India and finally the North-East. The romanticism and the functionalism of his anthropology have had an significant impact on the method in which people have looked at tribal people. In the 1940s Elwin wrote in his well-known pamphlet, *Aboriginal*, that *"a tribe that dances does not die"*. Through creation such a statement he exemplified the information that tribal people were distinguished from others through their distinctive cultural identity. For Elwin the ‗primitive‗ was a romantic category which he described in the following method when he wrote that:

"The life of a true aboriginal is easy and happy, enriched through natural pleasures. For all their poverty, their days are spent in the beauty of the hills. A woman carrying a load to the hill-top pauses a moment to see the scene below her. It is the ‗sweet forest‗ the ‗forest of joy and sandal‗ in which they live".

The ‗forest of joy‗ was Elwin‗s dreamland - a lay where people tended the dead, were devoted to the soil, staged a magnificent and colorful tribal festivals, and were infused with the spirit of sharing. For Elwin these were ‗things of value in tribal life‗. For him the ‗primitive‗ constituted a ‗pure‗ and a ‗pristine‗ state of subsistence that was morally superior to the civilized world. Elwin‗s image of the forest dwellers voiced his despair at the tendency towards the destruction of an idyllic civilization. Though this emotion was not expressed in a vacuum and embedded in it the critique of the contemporary industrial civilization. Therefore he said that:

—Until contemporary life is itself reformed, until civilisation is itself civilized, until war is vanished from Europe and untouchability from India, there is no point in trying to change the aboriginals .

"Distant better let them be for the time being – not forever of course; that would be absurd. Perhaps in twenty, fifty or hundred years a race of men may arise who are qualified to assimilate these fine people in their civilization without doing them harm. Such men do not exist today".

Elwin assumed that the get in touch with flanked by the tribals and the wider agrarian civilization would result in the injustice to their reason. In this he also critiqued the British rule for its policies towards the tribals. He opposed the British policy of extending of contemporary commercial economy into these regions, and wanted a relaxation of forest rules. In this he also received the support of some colonial officials, notable amongst whom was the Governor of Bombay, Mr. Wylie who wrote that:

—We are dealing with people whom their admirers describe as the ancient lords of the jungle but whom I personally prefer to consider as forest labourers in accessible from the normal working of the law of demand and supply and as such at the mercy of the Forest Department who are the sole purveyors of the labour from which, if the inhabitants of the forest villages are to stay there at all, they have got to create a livelihood .

Sharing such a critique with Elwin also ensured that several colonists like Wylie and Grigson also shared with him the solutions to the problem. Ideally Elwin wanted the forest dwellers to acquire the spirit and benefits of civilisation without a painful transition procedure. Therefore he wrote that:

—I advocate, so, for the aboriginals a policy of temporary partial protection, and for their civilized neighbors a policy of immediate reform....It is not enough to uplift them into a social and economic sphere in which they cannot adapt themselves, but to restore to them liberties of their own countryside .

Through advocating this location, Elwin showed how systemic change in forested regions, were organically connected to changes in contemporary civilization, which he measured decadent. Such a perception of tribes, their troubles and he solutions was to power the thinking of scholars down the ages. The mainly prominent of these is Ramachandra Guha, who in a recent biography of Verrier Elwin celebrated the cultural primitivism for which Elwin became really well recognized:

—Mainly of all Verrier Elwin necessity be distinguished from other primitivists in that he actually existed with the persons whose civilization he so vigorously celebrated. The narrator of primitivist revelries has the choice, which he usually exercises. _to return, at the end his sojourn, to the highly civilized countries he came from'…. Not several who wrote so eloquently of the return to nature,' he [Elwin] remarked, _were prepared though, to take the journey themselves, *at least not without a return ticket"*.

Elwin was livelihood with the tribals and his understanding of their troubles was so based on their experiences and life rather than the participant observation of an academic anthropologist. But even if this distinguished him from others, his extensive-term thoughts and the policies that he recommended succeeded in supporting the benevolent imperialism of people like Grigson. But it is not only Guha who were influenced through colonial anthropology. Many other activists and anthropologists also used the arguments of people like Elwin and Grigson to justify their arguments for the restoration of traditional tribal rights and identities in the current polity.

In the 1970s and early 1980s, tribes were seen as self enough and in accessible civilizations that existed in harmony with nature. In the late 1980s and early 1990s a important body of environmental history concentrates on the history of state forest management and its impact on the rights of local people. In these studies, some historians follow the assumptions of their precursors through stressing that tribal societies had stable systems of survival. Though the notion of stability and harmony is elaborated in conditions of the theory of

ecological prudence. Authors like Ramachandra Guha and Madhav Gadgil argue that pre-colonial civilizations were well-adjusted caste organizations that regulated resource use where each society occupied a specific ecological niche in civilization. These ecological niches were closed and self-contained systems of resource use that were regulated through social and cultural codes. And within this organization the tribes were given the niche of being either hunter gatherers or shifting cultivators who were well adjusted to their surroundings in all its characteristics.

The notion of a society is characterised through the thought of egalitarianism and homogeneity where there is small differentiation in conditions of access to possessions. It is also marked through the information that political and ritualistic authorities are the source of resource management as well as the cohesiveness of the society. Kinship is defined as the organising principle of labour and the conceptual and the cultural characteristics of civilization defined the method in which the society related with other and defined the boundaries of the society. This is reflected in the job of Nandini Sundar and Ajay Skaria who effort to complicate the picture through hinting at the transformation of society identities in history. While they are right in relation to the transformations in identity, they too refuse to acknowledge the information that the identities that they themselves were writing in relation to the were a result of the underdevelopment of tribal areas. The self-perceptions of tribal's people of themselves as the original inhabitants or as shifting cultivators and hunters and gatherers got solidified with the colonial government putting a ban on these practices. Therefore the primordial tribal identity was hardly traditional in nature and infact reflected the destruction of the productive forces in tribal civilizations.

Tribals and the Nationalists: Anthropology for Nation Structure
In the contrast to the views of the anthropologists and the colonists the nationalists of the 1930s and 40s were severely critical of colonial policies and hostile towards anthropological writings that celebrated the cultural primitivism. The supporters of tribal civilization values measured the

connection flanked by tribes and peasants to be exploitative in character. They contended that the segregation of these people was the mainly effective method of modernizing them. Nationalist anthropologists and Congressmen contested these assertions, thereby arguing that the foundation of exclusion was totally unfounded. The Congress debated the pro-exclusion British officials on two counts. The first argument was political. It concentrated on being anti-imperialist in its stance and laid emphasis on the development of an overwhelming Indian identity that was planned to mobilize people against the colonial rule. The second contention contested the social and anthropological foundation of the contentions made through those supporting the government policies of Exclusion and Partial Exclusion.

The Congress thought that the future of tribals was integrally connected with the economic progress of the rest of the Indian population. They did not want to deny these societies an opportunity to associate and learn from other advanced societies. They disagreed with the official view that the tribal people had special needs and rejected anything that celebrated the distinctiveness of cultures. For instance in this scheme of thinking anthropology deserved contempt. Two leaders of the Central Provinces, M.S. Aney and N.M. Joshi, charged all anthropologists with desiring to stay all the —primitive races of India uncivilized and in a state of barbarism as raw material for their science in order to add to their blessed stock of scientific knowledge. But the mainly articulate location in this respect was taken through G.S. Ghurye in his monograph *Aborigines – so described and their future* in which the crux of his thesis was that ‗aborigines' were an integral part of the Hindu civilization since a very extensive time. Explaining why these societies necessity be described —so-described aborigines he said that:

  —It is clear from this discussion that the proper account of these peoples necessity refers itself to their lay in it close to Hindu civilization and not to their supposed autochthonism. While parts of these tribes are properly integrated with Hindu civilization, very big parts, in information a bulk of them, are rather loosely assimilated. Only very small parts, livelihood in the recesses of the hills and the depths of the forests, have not been more than touched through Hinduism. Under the

circumstances the only proper definition of these people is that they are imperfectly integrated classes of Hindu civilization. However for the sake of convenience they may he designated the tribal classes of Hindu civilization, suggesting thereby the social information that they have retained much more of the tribal creeds and organisation than several of the castes of Hindu civilization, yet they are in reality Backward Hindus .

Just as to Ghurye, the historical procedure inevitably led to the Hinduization of the tribals. He argued that they would witness moral and economic betterment if they were _properly assimilated' into such a civilization. Their dance and music would be allowed in Hindu civilization; and even if they lost some part of their civilization, they would be at an advantageous location in the extensive-run. Of the preservation of —tribal civilization Ghurye stated that:

—Isolationism or assimilationism does not so appear to owe its inspiration either to a supposedly queer academic interest of the anthropologist or to the possibility of the perverse mentality of British officers. It is very mainly a matter of opinion as to the best method of preserving the vitality of the tribal people only secondarily complicated through other thoughts .

Ghurye stated that the exclusion of the tribals was a political statement that was to be opposed. Just as to him its sociological and historical assumptions were inaccurate. He saw the peasant and tribal societies as open and dynamic structures, each influencing the other. But despite this conceptual framework, the merits of the assimilation of the tribes into Hindu civilization sustained to be in excess of emphasised in Ghurye's job. Ghurye was not the only nationalist sociologist to criticize the pro-Exclusionist policies. In an essay entitled _Hindu Method of Tribal Absorption' Nirmal Kumar Bose laid down his interpretation of the connection of the dominant Hindu societies with tribes. He said that,

―From what has been observed in the middle of the Juangs and from the reading of law books, it is to be noted that the Hindu civilization while absorbing a new tribe or while creating a new *jati* through differentiation of job, always guaranteed or tried to guarantee monopoly in a scrupulous job to each caste within a given area. The last point is very significant; for the similar *jati* may be establish practicing several dissimilar deals if it discovers the prescribed hereditary occupations no longer economically satisfactory .

The stances of both Ghurye and Bose resulted in a defence of Hindu civilization and civilization. They saw the tribal identity as a sub-set of the superior identity of the caste Hindu civilization and so did not consider the assimilation into Hindu civilization a major problem. But this was not true of all nationalists. Social workers like A.V. Thakkar reflected upon the need to develop a strong nationalist identity. In 1941 Thakkar wrote that,

―These people were the original sons of the soil and were in possession of our country before the Aryans poured in from the North West and North East passes, conquered them with their superior powers and talents and drove them from the plains to the hills and forests. They are older and more ancient children of the soils than the Hindus and more so than the Muslims and Anglo-Indians. But they are steeped in ignorance and poverty and do not know their rights and privileges, much less their communal and national responsibilities .

In his interpretation of the tribal past, Thakkar tried reinstate the location of these societies as the _original inhabitants of India'. Though in doing so he also asserted that the present circumstances of poverty and ignorance in which tribal people existed had to be changed. This transformation could not be brought in relation to the through a policy of isolationism or Exclusion. Thakkar argued that the spirit of provincial government of national responsibility could only be inculcated into these societies through a policy of ―assimilation . But his path of assimilation was slightly dissimilar from that of Ghurye and Bose. He said that:

—It is hard for me to understand why these persons fear the get in touch with the Hindus and Muslims of the plains. In few cases the social evils of the plains are likely to be copied through unsophisticated aboriginals. But it is not right to consider that get in touch with will only bring bad customs into tribal life and that the aborigines will suffer more than they benefit. Safeguards may be instituted to protect the aborigines from more advanced people of the plains, as has been done with regard to non-alienable land. But to stay these people confined to and in accessible in their inaccessible hills and jungles is like keeping them in glass cases of a museum for the curiosity of purely academic persons .

Thakkar measured the strategy of assimilation was an essential part of their development procedure. He whispered that if these societies learnt some good things from the Hindu civilization, they would also be exploited through it. Hence he proposed a dissimilar kind of a policy of protection for these societies. Rather than the confinement of these societies in a segregated legroom, he proposed protection of the forest societies through the legislation of special laws. In this sense, even if Thakkar was opposed to the Exclusion, he was in favour of some type of protection for tribals.

The predominant nationalist view that the tribes were not a historically and anthropologically valid category was reflected in the writings of post colonial writers who were inspired through them. Reviewing the literature on tribes and peasantry Andre Beteille wrote in 1987 that there was no satisfactory method of defining the tribal civilization. Arguing that it was hard to call any one a tribal in Indian civilization, rather the agrarian civilization was comprised of a heterogeneous body of peasants cut up into several ethno-linguistic categories. In a alike vein Guha also argues that historically informed anthropologists like G.S. Ghurye and D.R. Gadgil were justified in repudiating the categories of aboriginals and tribals and that the historical record supported such skepticism. Therefore we discover that the anthropologists, sociologists, and historians of modern tribal India were

profoundly influenced through the writings of people who studied tribes in the colonial times.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Describe the various positions taken by the British officials in formulating forest policy.

What was the impact of colonial forest policy on the indigenous communities?

What were the issues taken up by the social reform movement which impacted the women's question?

What were the issues women faced at the modern factory in the colonial period?

How did women of lower caste suffer in Indian society during nineteenth century?

What were the different views of British officials about tribes in India?

What was the defining principle of the nationalists on tribes in India?

EIILM UNIVERSITY
SIKKIM

Jorethang, District Namchi, Sikkim- 737121, India
www.eiilmuniversity.ac.in