CHAPTER VI

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TURKO-AFGHĀNS IN INDIA, AND MORAL AS WELL AS MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF THE COUNTRY DURING THEIR RULE

1. The Turko-Afghan Government

A. The Central Government

The Muslim State in India was a theocracy, the existence of which was theoretically justified by the needs of religion. The Sultān was considered to be Cæsar and Pope combined in one. In theory, indeed, his authority in religious matters was limited by the Holy Law of the Quran, and with the exception of ‘Alā-ud-din, no Sultān could clearly divorce religion from politics. But in practice, the Muslim Sultān of India was a perfect autocrat, unchecked by any restrictions; and his word was law. The Sultāns at times paid, with two short breaks, only ceremonial allegiance to the Khalifahs of Baghdad and Egypt, but did not owe their power to them nor to the will of the people, though the Islamic theory of sovereignty was constitutional and democratic in character. In fact, the Muslim State in India was, to all intents and purposes, independent and autonomous, the Sultān being the mainspring of the entire system of administration. The real source of the Sultān’s authority was military strength, and this was understood and acquiesced in, not merely by the unthinking rabble but also by the soldiers, the poets (e.g. Amīr Khusrāv) and the Ulemas of the age. As the supreme head of the executive, the Sultān transacted the affairs of the State with the help of such officers and ministers as he might choose to select. The State being essentially military in character, the Sultān was the chief commander of forces; he was also the chief law-giver and the final court of appeal.

The autocracy of the Muslim Sultāns of India was the inevitable result of the then circumstances. They had to be constantly on their guard against the hostility of the Hindu States, the Hindu fighting communities and the Mongol invaders. This required a strong centralised government, which gradually made itself despotic. Further, there was no hereditary Muslim aristocracy, conscious of
its own rights and privileges and eager to assert these against royal despotism, although occasionally some nobles made their influence felt. There were also no popular assemblies, keen about constitutional liberty, and no strong public opinion, competent enough to oppose autocracy. Even the Ulemas, who exercised much influence in the State, had not the courage to openly oppose the Sultans and depose an undesirable ruler in the same manner as Hildebrand deposed Henry IV. Succession to the Sultanate of Delhi was not determined by any recognised law, nor was there any definite principle. "Broadly speaking, the choice was limited, as a matter of convenience, to the surviving members of the deceased Sultan's family. The priority of birth, the question of efficiency, the nomination of the dead king—these considerations sometimes received some attention, but the decisive voice seems to have been that of the nobles, who usually preferred personal convenience to the interests of the State."

Even the most autocratic ruler cannot manage the task of administration single-handed. Thus the Sultans of Delhi had to devise, from the beginning of their rule, an administrative machinery with a regular hierarchy of officers in charge of various departments, who, however, did not in any way check their authority but rather carried out their respective duties according to the former's orders. The Sultans had a council of friends and trusted officers called the Majlis-i-Khalwat, which they consulted when important affairs of State demanded attention. The councillors might express their opinions, which at times had some influence on the administration; but these were not binding on the Sultan. The Sultan received all courtiers, Khans, Maliks, and Amirns, in a court called Bār-i-Khās. He sat as the supreme judge in the Bār-i-Ām, where he tried cases, received petitions of the people and heard their complaints. The highest officer in the Central Government was the Wazir, who had control over the other departments of the State,—such as the Divān-i-Risālat or the Department of Appeals, the Divān-i-Arz or the Military Department, the Divān-i-Inshā or the Correspondence Department, the Divān-i-Bandagān or the Department of Slaves, the Divān-i-Qazā-i-Mamālik or the Department of Justice, Intelligence and Posts, the Divān-i-Amīr Kohi or the Department of Agriculture (created by Muhammad bin Tughluq), the Divān-i-Mustakhraj or the Department to look after and realise arrears from collectors or agents (created by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khalji), Divān-i-Khairāt or the Department of Charity (in Firuz Shah's reign), Divān-i-Istihqāq or the Department of Pensions,—and also over the Mint, the charitable institutions and the Kārkhānās. Besides the high officers in charge of the various departments, there were other
subordinate officers like the Mustaafi-i-Mamālik or the Auditor General, whose duty was to check the expenditure of the State; the Mushrif-i-Mamālik, who was in charge of the accounts of receipts; the Majmudār, who preserved the records of loans advanced by government; the Khāzin or the Treasurer; the Amīr-i-Behr or the Controller of Boats; the Bakhshi-i-Fauj or Paymaster of the Forces. and others. The Naʿib-i-Wazir-i-Mamālik or the Deputy Wazir did not enjoy a very high status. The Tughluq period was "the heyday of the Wazirat in Muslim India", and from the days of the later Tughluqs the powers of the Wazir grew enormously. But these began to decline in the time of the Sayyids and the office of the Wazir became obscure under the Afghāns.

Justice was usually administered by the Qāżī-ul-Qazāt, or the Lord Chief Justice, who was aided by Muṣṭīṣ to expound the law, which was based on the injunctions of the Quran, though rulers like ‘Alā-ud-din and Muhammad bin Tughluq were guided by considerations of policy. The penal law was excessively severe, the penalties of mutilation and death being usually inflicted on the culprits. Force and torture were employed to extort confession. The judicial procedure does not seem to have been very regular. Cases were started without due enquiries and, on most occasions, received summary trials. The law of debt, as we know from Marco Polo, was severe; and the creditors often invoked royal assistance to realise their dues from the debtors. The Kotwāl was the custodian of peace and order; and another officer of the municipal police was the Muḥtasib, whose duties were to keep a strict watch over the conduct of the people, to control the markets and to regulate weights and measures. The Sultān kept himself informed of the movements of the people through a large number of spies. The old forts and castles were utilised as prisons. The prison "regulations were lax, and corruption prevailed among the officers".

The fiscal policy of the Turkish Sultāns of India was modelled on the theory of finance of the Hanafi school of Muslim Jurists, which the former borrowed from the Ghaznavids whom they had supplanted. Thus the principal sources of revenue of the Delhi Sultānate were the Kharaǧ or land tax from the Hindu chiefs and landlords; land revenue obtained from the Khālsā or crown-lands, iqṭāʾs or lands granted to followers and officers (usually military) for certain years or for the lifetime of the grantee, who was known as the Muqtā, and other classes of lands; Khams or one-fifth of the spoils of war; and religious tax. Besides these, "awwalās or cesses and other kinds of taxes like the house tax, grazing tax, water tax, etc., were levied on the people. The State also derived
some income from trade duties. The *jizya* was originally a sort of tax levied on the non-Muslims "in return for which they received protection of life and property and exemption from military service". But in course of time, a religious motive was attached to it, and in India it was the only extra burden which the Hindus had to bear. Taxes were paid both in cash and kind. We have already given the important points regarding the revenue reforms of the Khaljīs and the Tughluqs. It may be noted here that the revenue policy of the State, and the satisfactory working or otherwise of the revenue department, varied according to the personality of the rulers. While no important changes in revenue administration are recorded to have been effected by Iltutmish, and only a few attempts were made by Balban to make it orderly, 'Alā-ud-din's revenue policy was comprehensive, affecting all types of land tenures, and Muhammad bin Tughluq's vigorous but ill-advised revenue policy also deeply influenced the condition of the State. The rate of assessment also varied, being excessively high since the time of 'Alā-ud-din, who charged 50 per cent on the gross produce of the land. In spite of his general leniency, Ghiyās-ud-din Tughluq does not seem to have reduced the scale as fixed by 'Alā-ud-din, and in the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq it was certainly not lower, if not higher, than this. The farming system was prevalent, and its lavish extension in the time of Firūz Shāh proved to be detrimental to the integrity of the State.

The standing army of the Sultānate consisted of the royal bodyguard, and the troops of the capital, which were, in times of need, reinforced by the levies sent by the provincial viceroys and the *Muqādas*, and the contingents of Hindu troops. Men of different nationalities, such as Turks, Khataians, Persians and Indians, were enlisted in the army. The main branches of the army were the infantry, including numerous archers, the cavalry, and the elephants. There was nothing like artillery, which came to be used effectively in later times; but rockets and naphtha balls, and a machine discharging balls by the force of gunpowder, were used, though not with much effect, as early as the reign of Iltutmish. Further, a sort of mechanical artillery, consisting of various crude machines, like *manjaniqs*, *mangonels*, *mangons*, through which fire-balls, fire-arrows, pieces of rock, stones, earthen or iron balls, bottles full of naphtha, and scorpions and other poisonous reptiles, could be hurled against the enemy, were used in siege-craft in medieval India.

The Turkish Sultāns of Delhi maintained a court,—though not so splendid as that of the Great Mughuls,—through which their majesty found expression. Harems, full of the wives and concubines of the Sultāns and princes of the royal blood, were kept in
the apartments of the royal palace. Culture of a rather limited type was patronised in these courts, but their maintenance must have caused a heavy drain on the economic resources of the country.

B. Administration of the Provinces

The direct influence of the Sultan was limited to the area within striking distance of his forts and outposts, and the distant provinces were placed in the charge of viceroys, who were called Naib Sultans. The number of provinces varied from twenty to twenty-five. A province was subdivided into smaller portions, which were in the charge of Muqtas or of Amils; and there were further smaller units under Shiqdarzs, whose jurisdiction did not extend over more than a few miles. Each province was "a replica of the Empire", and the Naib Sultan exercised executive, judicial, and military functions in his territory almost as a despot, subject only to the control of the central government, which varied according to the strength or weakness of the latter. Muhammad bin Tughluq's failure to control the provinces encouraged his viceroy to declare independence. The viceroy was paid from the revenue of his province, and after meeting the cost of his administration he had to remit the surplus to the central exchequer. He maintained a local militia and had to render military aid, at times, to the Sultan. Thus his position was somewhat like that of a feudal baron of medieval Europe. The intrigues of the nobles, and lack of co-operation among the officers, usually hampered the good working of the provincial government; and consequently peace and order were not perfectly maintained. Besides the imperial provinces, large tracts of land had of necessity to be left in the hands of old Hindu chieftains, who were not interfered with in ruling their ancestral territories so long as they sent tributes and presents to Delhi. The village communities continued unaffected by the establishment of a new government in the country.

C. The Muslim Nobility

The nobility exercised a predominant influence in the State as generals, administrators and sometimes as king-makers. But it was not a hereditary, homogeneous and well-organised body as was the case with the nobles of France or of England. Though the Turks formed the majority in this class, there were in it also men of other nationalities, like Arabs, Afghans, Abyssinians, Egyptians, people of Java, and Indians. Such a heterogeneous class could hardly be expected to work with a common aim or principle and offer a healthy check to royal absolutism. Naturally the nobles
often occupied themselves with their mutual rivalries and pursued selfish interests at the cost of the welfare of the State. "The nobility," remarks a modern writer, "was nothing more than a mere agglomeration of disintegrating atoms," which failed to "evolve a workable constitution for the country." The State might have derived some benefit from its aristocracy, but it suffered more from a gross caricature of debased feudalism, which was largely responsible for its dismemberment.

The Turko-Afghan machinery of administration, briefly outlined above, lacked the force of habit, derived from tradition, and of will, derived from national support, both of which are necessary for the security and long tenure of a government. Its military and feudal character, which was the inevitable result of the circumstances under which it grew, was opposed to the traditional ancient government of the land, though the medieval Rajput States might have afforded a parallel to it. By the nature of its growth, it could seldom be established on the goodwill and support of the people. As a matter of fact, a tie of mutual attachment between the rulers and the masses of the people was in many cases absent. The State grew on military strength, its rulers were, in most cases, concerned with measures calculated to strengthen their own authority; and its aristocracy, without any consistent policy, pursued selfish interests. Its collapse was inevitable when the Sultans failed to command adequate force and the aristocracy grew more ambitious and turbulent.

2. Economic and Social Conditions

A. Economic

It is not easy to form an accurate idea of the economic condition of the vast numbers of the people of India, during the three centuries of Turko-Afghan rule. Some attempts have, however, been made recently to arrive at the facts of the matter by collecting incidental references from chronicles, the works of Amir Khusrau, folklore and fiction, poetry and ballads, the writings of Hindu as well as Muslim mystics, works on practical arts and treatises on law and ethics, the accounts left by foreign travellers, and some official and private correspondence. The country was then famous for her untold wealth. We know from Ferishta how Mahmud of Ghazni carried off a vast booty, and it is striking that even after the thoughtless extravagance of Muhammad bin Tughluq, and the chronic disorders of the later Tughluq period, Timur captured an enormous booty in Delhi. But the State did not pursue any comprehensive economic policy aiming at the improvement of the
condition of the people; and the few experiments of the Khaljis or the Tughluqs did not produce permanent results. "On the whole," remarks a modern Muslim writer, "any big improvement in the method of production, a more equitable distribution of the economic wealth, or a better adjustment of the economic position of the various social classes, was outside the policy of the State."

India had, however, traditions of industrial organisation, through the guilds and crafts of the village communities and of the urban areas, and of widespread commerce, internal as well as external, which survived the shocks of political revolutions in spite of the absence of State guidance and support during the period under review. The Sultāns of Delhi, or, in later times, some of the minor provincial rulers, encouraged industries and trade only for their own political and administrative needs. Thus the royal kārhānās or manufactories at Delhi sometimes employed 4,000 weavers of silk besides manufacturers of other stuffs to satisfy royal demands. There were no factories or large-scale industrial organisations such as we have to-day. In most cases the manufacturers dealt directly with the traders, though occasionally they disposed of their goods at fairs, and again sometimes a number of them were employed by some enterprising business men to manufacture goods under their supervision. Though agriculture formed the occupation of the bulk of the people, there were some important industries in the urban as well as rural areas of the country. These were the textile industry, including the manufacture of cotton cloth, woollen cloth and silks, the dyeing industry and calico-printing, the sugar industry, metal-work, stone and brick work, and the paper industry. The minor industries were cup-making, shoe-making, making of arms, especially bows and arrows, manufacture of scents, spirits and liquors, etc. Bengal and Gujarāt were especially renowned for the manufacture and export of textile goods. The excellence of Bengal goods has been highly praised by Amir Khusraw, and foreign travellers, like Mauhan, who visited Bengal in A.D. 1406, Barthema, who came to India during the early part of the sixteenth century (1503–1508), and Barbosa, who came here about A.D. 1518.

The volume of India's internal trade during this period "was large except when thwarted by the monopoly of the State or rigid administrative control". Her commercial relations with the outside world also deserve notice. The sea-route connected her commercially with the distant regions of Europe, the Malay Islands and China, and other countries on the Pacific Ocean; and she had intercourse through land routes with Central Asia, Afghānistān, Persia, Tibet and Bhutān. The author of Masālik-ul-āsbār writes:
"Merchants of all countries never cease to carry pure gold into India, and to bring back in exchange commodities of herbs and gums." The chief imports were articles of luxury for the richer classes and horses and mules; and the principal exports consisted of varieties of agricultural goods, and textile manufactures, the minor ones being tutenag, opium, indigo-cakes, etc. Some countries round the Persian Gulf were entirely dependent on India for their food supply. The ports of Bengal and Gujurāt were then chiefly used for India’s export trade. Barthema considered Bengal to be “the richest country in the world for cotton, ginger, sugar, grain and flesh of every kind”.

The prices of goods were not uniform throughout the period. These were abnormally high in times of famine and scarcity, but very low in times of overproduction. Thus, owing to severe famines during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, the price of corn rose to 16 and 17 ājītalas per seer and many people died of starvation. After Firuz Shāh’s second attack on Sind, with the consequent scarcity in that province, the price of corn rose to 8 and 10 ājītalas per 5 seers, and of pulses to 4 and 5 tankās per maund, or 6.4 and 8 ājītalas per seer respectively. The reign of Ibrāhīm Lodi was again a period of exceptionally low prices. A man could then buy 10 maunds of corn, 5 seers of oil and 10 yards of coarse cloth for one Buhālū which was equivalent to 1.6 ājītal in value. The prices during ‘Alā-ud-din’s reign have been considered as normal. These were (calculating per maund)—wheat 7½ ājītalas, barley 4 ājītalas, paddy or rice 5 ājītalas, pulses 5 ājītalas, lentils 3 ājītalas, sugar (white) 100 ājītalas, sugar (soft) 60 ājītalas, mutton 10 ājītalas, and ghee (clarified butter) 16 ājītalas; muslins of Delhi cost 17 tankās¹ a piece, of ‘Aligarh 6 tankās; and blankets of coarse stuff cost 6 ājītalas and those of finer quality 36 ājītalas² for each piece. Comparing

¹ The purchasing power of a tankā was about twelve times that of the present rupee.
² Comparative prices in the reigns of ‘Alā-ud-din, Muhammad bin Tughluq and Firuz Shāh:

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<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Muhammad bin Tughluq</th>
<th>Firuz Shāh</th>
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<td>(prices in ājītalas per maund)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>7½</td>
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<td>Barley</td>
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<td>Paddy</td>
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<td>Pulses</td>
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<td>Lentils</td>
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<td>Sugar (white)</td>
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<td>Sugar (soft)</td>
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<td>Mutton</td>
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<td>Ghee</td>
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the prices of goods in the reigns of 'Alā-ud-din, Muhammad bin Tughluq and Firūz Shāh, we find that, generally speaking, these rose during the reign of the second Sultān but again went down almost to the previous level of 'Alā-ud-din’s reign during the reign of Firūz Shāh. On the whole, food and goods were cheap in the Doāb area as well as in the provinces. Ibn Batūtah observes that he had nowhere seen “a country where the commodities sell cheaper” than in Bengal; eight dirhams were sufficient here for the annual expenses of a family of three. But we have no means of estimating the average income or cost of living of an Indian of those days. We should not, moreover, fail to note that the country, especially Bengal, suffered from an exceptional scarcity of money. It is, therefore, rather difficult to determine how far the people were benefited by the low prices of commodities then prevailing.

As regards the standard of living of the different classes of the society, the difference between that of the wealthier classes and of the peasants was “almost antipodal”. While the ruling and official classes rolled in opulence and luxury, the tillers of the soil had a very low standard of living. The incidence of taxation must have weighed heavily on them, and their condition became miserable in times of famine, when no adequate relief measures could be provided. Amir Khusrau significantly remarks that “every pearl in the royal crown is but the crystallised drop of blood fallen from the tearful eyes of the poor peasant”. Bābur, who was struck with the scanty requirements of the Indian rural folk, writes: “People disappear completely where they have been living for many years in about a day and a half.” Thus the peasants of Medieval India do not seem to have been much better off than their descendants of modern times. But, judged by standards of to-day, they had fewer needs. The villages being economically self-sufficient, the simple requirements of the rural population were supplied locally to their satisfaction. Further, in spite of political revolutions and intrigues at the metropolis, the villagers pursued their ordinary occupations of life with the utmost unconcern. Court politics seldom disturbed the even tenor of village life.

B. Social Life

It was a common practice with the Sultāns and the nobles to maintain slaves, male as well as female. The number of royal slaves (Bandagān-i-khās) was usually large. 'Alā-ud-din had 50,000 slaves and their number rose to 200,000 under Firūz Shāh. Much care was taken of them by their masters, as they formed a
useful source of service and sometimes of pecuniary gain. The Sultāns usually manumitted their slaves after some time, and some of the slaves rose to political and social eminence by dint of their merit and ability. Besides a large number of Indian slaves, of whom the Assam slaves were most liked because of their strong physique, male as well as female slaves were imported from other countries like China, Turkestan, and Persia. The prices of slaves fluctuated according to the courses of wars and famines. The institution of slavery might have served certain purposes for the rulers and the nobles; but at the same time it could not but produce some baneful social consequences. In fact, it was a “stamp of unprogressiveness” and an unhealthy feature of social life.

Dependence of women on their husbands, or other male relatives, was a prominent feature of social life among the Hindus as well as the Muslims. But they enjoyed a position of respect and were expected to observe strict fidelity in their conjugal life. They generally lived in seclusion in the sphere of their homes; and the Purdah system became more elaborate, both among the Hindus and the Muslims, except in some coastal towns in Gujarāt, owing chiefly to the general sense of insecurity of the period caused by inroads of foreign invaders, especially the Mongols. The culture of the women varied according to the classes to which they belonged. While the ordinary village women remained absorbed in their domestic duties, some belonging to the upper class cultivated arts and sciences. Rupamati and Padmāvatī are good examples of educated ladies. Both boys and girls were married at an early age. The practice of Sati, or a wife burning herself on the funeral pyre of her husband, was widely prevalent among certain classes. According to Ibn Batūtah, a sort of permit had to be procured from the Sultān of Delhi before the burning of a widow. Though the general standard of social life was high, being marked by charity and other virtues, there were a few vices connected with the passion for wine and women.

3. Literature, Art and Architecture

A. Effect of the Impact of the Indian and the Islamic Civilisations

So immense was the assimilative potentiality of the old Indian civilisation that the earlier invaders of this country, the Greeks, the Sakas and the Huns, were absorbed within the fold of her population and completely lost their identity. But it did not
happen so with the Turko-Afghan invaders of India. In the wake of Muslim invasions, definite social and religious ideas, which differed fundamentally from those of Hindustan, entered into this country and a perfect absorption of the invaders by the original inhabitants could not be possible. The political relations between the new-comers and the indigenous people were sometimes characterised by bitter strife. But whenever two types of civilisation come into close contact with each other for centuries, both are bound to be influenced mutually. Thus, through long association, the growth of the numbers of the converted Indo-Muslim community, and the influence of several liberal movements in India, the Hindu and Muslim communities came to imbibe each other's thoughts and customs; and, beneath the ruffled surface of storm and stress, there flowed a genial current of mutual harmony and toleration in different spheres of life. As a matter of fact, both Hindus and Muslims had mutual admiration for each other's culture, since the early days of the advent of Islam into India, and one of the sources of Muslim mysticism was Indian. Famous Muslim scholars and saints lived and laboured in India during the Medieval period, and they helped the dissemination of the ideas of Islamic philosophy and mysticism in this land. The wholesome spirit of mutual toleration found expression in the growing veneration of the Hindus for the Muslim saints, particularly of the mystic school, and a corresponding Muhammadan practice of venerating Hindu saints; and it ultimately led to the common worship of Satyapir (the True saint). It was probably due to this feeling of friendliness that conversion of the Muslims into the Hindu fold, and reconversion of the Hindus to their original faith, could be possible during this period and later on. It was out of the desire for mutual understanding that Hindu (Sanskrit) religious literature was studied and translated or summarised in the Muslim courts like those of Zain-ul-'Abidin in Kāshmir and Husain Shāh in Bengal. Further, Muslim courts and Muslim preachers and saints were attracted to the study of Hindu philosophy like Yoga and Vedānta and the sciences of medicine and astrology. The Hindu astronomers similarly borrowed from the Muslims technical terms, the Muslim calculations of latitudes and longitudes, some items of the calendar (Zīch) and a branch of horoscopy called Tājik, and in medicine the knowledge of metallic acids and some processes in iatro-chemistry. The growth of Urdu, of the mingling "out of Persian, Arabic, and Turkish words and ideas with languages and concepts of Sanskritic origin, is a proof of the linguistic synthesis of the Hindus and the Muslims". Some Muslims wrote in vernaculars
on topics of Hindu life and tradition, as Malik Muhammad Jayasfa
did on Padmini; and Hindu writers wrote in the Persian language
on Muslim literary traditions, as Rāi Bhana Mal did in his chronicles.
Numerous Muslim poets wrote in Hindi and Hindu poets in
Urdu. Amīr Khusrau is known to have been the author of some
Hindi works. This assimilation between the two cultures led also
to the springing up of new styles of art, architecture and
music, “in which the basic element remained the old Hindu, but
the finish and outward form became Persian and the purpose
served was that of Muslim courts”. Some Muslims of aristocratic
Hindu origin, or living in a Hindu environment, assimilated the
Hindi customs of Sati and Jauhar. Several intermarriages between
the ruling members of the two communities helped this rapproche-
ment and some again were the result of it. These inter-communal
marriages, though sometimes tainted with compulsion as a condition
of conquest, did much “to soften the acrimonious differences”
between the two communities and assist the transplanting of the
customs of the one to the fold of the other.

The spirit of harmony and co-operation was not absent in the
political field also. Besides retaining, out of necessity, the existing
machinery of local administration, the Hindu headmen and
accountants of the villages, the Muslim State employed a large
number of Hindus, who became prominent in different branches
of administration. Thus Medini Rāi of Chanderi and his friends
held high positions in Mālwa; in Bengal, Husain Shāh employed
Hindu officers, most prominent amongst whom were Purandar
Khān, Rup and Sanātān; the Sultāns of Golkundā employed
some Hindus as ministers; Yūsuf ʻĀdil Shāh of Bijāpur entrusted
the Hindus with offices of responsibility and the records of his
State were ordinarily kept in the Marāthi language. Sultān Zain-
ʻul-ʻĀbidin of Kāshmir anticipated Akbar in his pro-Hindu and
liberal policy. The Muslim subjects of Ibrāhim ʻĀdil Shāh of
Bijāpur described him as “Jagadguru” for his patronage of the
Hindus in his State. Examples of Rājput chivalry towards the
Muslims are not rare. Thus the Rājput hero, Rānā Sanga, was
chivalrous enough to respect the independence of his vanquished
foe, Mahmūd II of Mālwa; Qutlugh Khān after being defeated
by Sultan Nāsir-ud-din took refuge with Rānā Ban Pal of Santur;
and it is well known how Hamīr Deva of Ranthambhor gave
shelter to a rebel chief of ʻAlā-ud-din Khalji at the risk of incurring
the Sultān’s wrath. Even the Vijayanagar Emperors employed
Muslims in their military service from the time of Deva Rāya II,
and patronised “the cause of Islam in and outside their great
capital”. A famous Muslim general, Asad Khān of Bijāpur, was once invited to Vijayanagar to witness the Mahānavami festival. Rānā Sanga had a contingent of Muslim troops under him in his war with Bābur, and Himū, a Hindu Beniā, who rose to be the chief minister of ‘Ādil Shāh Sūr, was the commander and leader of the Afghan troops in their last important fight with the Mughuls in a.d. 1556. These official appointments might have been due more to political necessity than to any feeling of goodwill. But there can be no doubt that they facilitated the growth of amity between the Hindus and Muslims. In fact, in different aspects of life—arts and crafts, music and painting, in the styles of buildings, in dress and costume, in games and sports—this assimilation between the two communities had progressed so much that when Bābur came to India he was compelled to notice their peculiar “Hindustānī way”. Sir John Marshall has very aptly remarked that “seldom in the history of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilisations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar as the Muhammadan and Hindu, meeting and mingling together. The very contrasts which existed between them, the wide divergences in their culture and their religions, make the history of their impact peculiarly instructive. . . .”

Hinduism could not completely absorb Islam but was in turn influenced by it in two ways. On the one hand, the proselytising zeal of Islam strengthened conservatism in the orthodox circles of the Hindus, who, with a view to fortifying their position against the spread of the Islamic faith, increased the stringency of the caste rules and formulated a number of rules in the Śrīmālī works. The most famous writers of this class were Mādhava of Vijayanagar, whose commentary on a Parāśara Śrīmālī work entitled Kālanirnaya was written between a.d. 1335–1360; Viśveśvara, author of Madanapārijāta, a Śrīmālī work written for King Madanaṇḍa (a.d. 1360–1370); the famous commentator of Manu, Kulluka, a Bengali author belonging to the Benares school by domicile; and Raghunandana of Bengal, a contemporary of Chaitanya. On the other hand, some of the democratic principles of Islam made their way into the social and religious systems of the Hindus, and led to the rise of liberal movements under some saintly preachers. With some differences in details, all these reformers were exponents of the liberal Bhākti cult, the message of which they sought to carry before the unlettered masses. They preached the fundamental equality of all religions and the unity of Godhead, held that the dignity of man depended on his actions and not on his birth, protested against excessive ritualism and formalities of religion and
domination of the priests, and emphasised simple devotion and faith as the means of salvation for one and all.

Among them, Rāmānanda occupies the first place in point of time, though it should be noted that there are differences of opinion regarding the dates of his birth and death. Born at Allahābād in a Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇa family, Rāmānanda travelled through the holy places of Northern India. He was a worshipper of Rāma and preached the doctrine of Bhakti in Hindi, to members of all classes and both sexes. Thus, of his twelve principal disciples, one was a barber, another a cobbler and the third a Muhammadan weaver.

Another famous Vaishnava saint was Vallabhāchārya, an exponent of the Kṛishṇa cult. He was born near Benares in A.D. 1479 of a Telugu Brāhmaṇa family, when the latter had come there on pilgrimage. He showed signs of genius in his early life. After finishing his education he went to the court of Krishnadeva Rāya of Vijayanagar, where he defeated some Saiva pandits in a public discussion. He advocated renunciation of the world and “insisted on the complete identity of both soul and world with the Supreme spirit”. His monism was known as Suddha-advaita or “Pure Non-Duality”. But abuses later on appeared among the followers of Vallabhāchārya, and, as Monier-Williams writes, “Vallabhāchāryaism became in its degenerate form the Epicureanism of the East”.

The greatest and most popular of the Vaishnava saints was Chaitanya (1485-1533). Born in a learned Brāhmaṇa family of Nadiā in Bengal in A.D. 1485, Chaitanya displayed a wonderful literary acumen in his early life and his soul soon aspired to rise above the fetters of this world. He renounced it at the age of twenty-four and spent the rest of his life in preaching his message of love and devotion—eighteen years in Orissa, and six years in the Deccan, Brindāvan, Gaur and other places. He is regarded by his followers as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The essence of Chaitanyaism has been thus expressed by Krishnādās Kavirāj, the author of Chaitanyakaritāmrita, the famous biography of Chaitanya: “if a creature adores Kṛishṇa and serves his Guru, he is released from the meshes of illusion and attains to Kṛishṇa's feet”, and “leaving these (i.e. temptations) and the religious systems based on caste, (the true Vaishnava) helplessly takes refuge with Kṛishṇa”. Thus he was opposed to priestly ritualism and preached faith in Hari. He believed that through love and

1 Anantānanda, Kabīr, Pīpā, Bhavānanda, Sukha, Sursura, Padmāvati, Narhari, Raṅgā, Dhana, Saina and the wife of Sursura.
devotion, and song and dance, a state of ecstasy could be produced in which the personal presence of God would be realised. His gospel was meant for all, irrespective of caste and creed, and some of his disciples were drawn from the lower strata of Hindu society and from among Muslims. The influence of Chaitanya’s teachings on the masses of the people has been wide and profound.

In Mahrashtra the religion of devotion was preached by Nāmadeva; and among his followers a few were Muslim converts to Hinduism. Nāmadeva, who belonged to a caste of tailors or calico-printers, flourished probably during the first half of the fifteenth century. With his faith in the unity of Godhead, he did not set much store by idol-worship and external observances of religion. He believed that salvation could be attained only through love of God. Thus he said:

“Love for him who filleth my heart shall never be sundered,
Nāma has applied his heart to the true Name.
As the love between a child and his mother,
So is my soul imbued in the God.”

Kabir made the most earnest efforts to foster a spirit of harmony between Hinduism and Islam. His life is shrouded in a good deal of obscurity, and the dates of his birth and death are uncertain. He flourished either towards the close of the fourteenth century or in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. A legend tells us that he was born of a Brāhmaṇa widow, who left him on the side of a tank in Benares, and was then found and brought up by a Muhammadan weaver and his wife. He is represented by tradition to have been a disciple of Rāmānanda. Though, as Dr. Carpenter puts it, “the whole background of Kabir’s thought is Hindu”, he was also influenced to a great extent by Sūfī saints and poets with whom he came in contact. Thus he preached a religion of love, which would promote unity amongst all classes and creeds. To him “Hindu and Turk were pots of same clay: Allah and Rāma were but different names”. He wrote:

1 There are differences of opinion about the date of his birth. According to Macauliffe (The Sikh Religion, Vol. VI, p. 18) it is A.D. 1270; Dr. Bhandarkar (Vaishnavism and Saivism, p. 89) and Carpenter (Theism in Medieval India, p. 452) place him in the fourteenth century. Dr. Farquhar, however, writes that he flourished “from 1400 to 1430 or thereabouts” (J.R.A.S. 1920, p. 186).

2 For different opinions, vide Tara Chand, Influence of Islam on Indian Civilization, pp. 146–7. According to Macauliffe and Bhandarkar, A.D. 1398, but according to Westcott, Farquhar, Burns and others A.D. 1440 is the date of his birth.
"It is needless to ask of a saint the caste to which he belongs;

The barber has sought God, the washerman and the carpenter—
Even Raidas was a seeker after God.
The Rishi Swapacha was a tanner by caste.
Hindus and Moslems alike have achieved that
End, where remains no mark of distinction."

Kabir did not believe in the efficacy of ritual, or external formalities, either of Hinduism or of Islam; to him the true means of salvation was Bhajan or devotional worship, together with the freedom of the soul from all sham, insincerity, hypocrisy and cruelty.

Thus he proclaimed:

"It is not by fasting and repeating prayers and the creed
That one goeth to heaven;
The inner veil of the temple of Mecca
Is in man's heart, if the truth be known.
Make thy mind thy Kaaba, thy body its enclosing temple,
Conscience its prime teacher;
Sacrifice wrath, doubt, and malice;
Make patience thine utterance of the five prayers.
The Hindus and the Mussalmans have the same Lord."

Another great preacher of the time was Nānak, the founder of Sikhism and the reviver of the pure monotheistic doctrine of the Upanishads. He was born in a Khatri family of Talwāndī (modern Nankana), about thirty-five miles to the south-west of the city of Lahore, in A.D. 1469, and spent his whole life in preaching his gospel of universal toleration, based on all that was good in Hinduism and Islam. As a matter of fact, his mission was to put an end to the conflict of religions. Like Kabir, he preached the unity of Godhead, condemned with vehemence the formalism of both Hinduism and Islam. Thus he wrote:

"Religion consisteth not in mere words;
He who looketh on all men as equal is religious.
Religion consisteth not in wandering to tombs or places of cremation, or sitting in attitudes of contemplation.
Religion consisteth not in wandering in foreign countries, or in bathing at places of pilgrimage.
Abide pure amidst the impurities of the world; Thus shalt thou find the way to religion."
While advocating a middle path between extreme asceticism and pleasure-seeking, Nānak exhorted his followers to discard hypocrisy, selfishness and falsehood. He proclaimed:

"Make continence thy furnace, resignation thy goldsmith,
Understanding thine anvil, divine knowledge thy tools,
The fear of God thy bellows, austerities thy fire,
Divine love thy crucible, and melt God's name therein.
In such a true mint the Word shall be coined.
This is the practice of those on whom God looked with an eye of favour."

Nānak's religion being a proselytising one, several Muslims were converted to it, and it gathered momentum under his successors.

B. Development of Provincial Literature

Besides producing far-reaching social and religious effects, the reform movements also gave a great impetus to the development of Indian literature in different parts of India. While the orthodox scholars continued to write in Sanskrit, the religious reformers, with their aim of preaching before the uneducated masses, wrote and spoke in a medium which could be easily understood by them. Thus Rāmānanda and Kabir preached in Hindi and did much to enrich its poetry; and the dohās and sakhīs of Kabir, permeated with devotional fervour, are brilliant specimens of Hindi literature. Nāmadeva greatly helped the development of Marāthī literature; Mirā Bāi and some other preachers of the Rādha-Krishna cult sang in Brajabhāshā; Nānak and his disciples encouraged Punjābī and Gurumukhi; and Bengali literature owes a heavy debt to the Vaishnava teachers. The famous Vaishnava poet Chandīdās, who was born, probably towards the end of the fourteenth century, in the village of Nānnūr in the Bīrbhūm district of Bengal, is still held in great esteem and his lyrics are known even to the common folk of Bengal. His contemporary, Vidyāpati Thākur, though a native of Mithilā, is regarded as a poet of Bengal and his memory is venerated by the people of this province. The patronage of the princely courts also considerably helped the growth of literature. Vidyāpati was the court poet of a Hindu chief named Śiva Simha. The Muslim rulers of Bengal engaged scholars to translate the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata from Sanskrit into Bengali, which they understood and spoke. Himself a learned man, Babak Shāh patronised scholars like Rāimukut Bṛhaspati Miśra, a highly
accomplished and famous writer of several works, Maladhar Basu, who commenced writing his Śrīkrishṇa-Vijaya in 1473, and on whom this Sultān conferred the title of Gunraj Khān, and Krittivāsa, whose Bengali version of the Rāmāyana has been regarded by some as the “Bible of Bengal.” Sultān Nusrat Shāh of Gaur had the Mahābhārata translated into Bengali. Vidyāpati says much in praise of this Sultān and also of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-din. Husain Shāh’s general, Parāgal Khān, caused another translation of the Mahābhārata to be made by Paramesvara, also known as the Kavindra, and Parāgal Khān’s son, Chutī Khān, governor of Chittāgong, employed Śrīkara Nandī to translate the Aśvamedha Parva of the Mahābhārata into Bengali. We have already noted what great encouragement was given to the development of Telugu literature by the Vijayanagar court.

C. Literary Activity in Sanskrit

The period was not entirely barren of important compositions in Sanskrit, religious as well as secular, though in this respect it suffers in comparison with the preceding two or three centuries. About A.D. 1300 Pārthasārathī Miśra wrote several works on the Karma Mimāṁsā, of which the Śāstra Dipikā was studied most widely. Some works which expounded the doctrines of the Yoga, Vaiśeṣika, and Nyāya systems of philosophy were produced during this period. The more important dramas of the time were Hammirmada-mardana by Jay Singh Suri (A.D. 1219–1229), Pradyumna-abhyudaya by the Kerala prince Ravivarman, Pratāp Rudra Kalyān by Vidyānāth (A.D. 1300), Pārvati Parinaya by Vāmana Bhatta Bāna (A.D. 1400), Gangādāsa Pratāpa Vilāsa, celebrating the fight of a prince of Chāmpāner against Muhammad II of Gujarāt, by Gangādhar, and the Vīdagha Mādhava and the Lalita Mādhava, written about A.D. 1532 by Rupa Goswami, minister of Husain Shāh of Bengal, and author of no less than twenty-five works in Sanskrit. Saṅgītī and grammatical literature flourished during this period in Mithilā and Bengal, the most famous writers being Padmanābha Datta, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya and Vāchaspati of Mithilā and Raghunandan of Bengal. It was also marked by the production of a mass of Jaina literature, secular as well as religious. The Vijayanagar rulers extended considerable patronage to scholars like Śāyana, his brother, Mādhava Vidyāranya, and others, and there was consequently a wide Sanskrit culture. We find instances of Muslim scholars possessing a knowledge of Sanskrit.
D. Persian Literature and Muslim Education

The Sultāns and Amīrs of Delhi, and the Muslim rulers and nobles in the provinces, naturally encouraged literary activities in Persian, which they appreciated better. Amir Khusrav declared with pride that Delhi developed into an intellectual competitor of Bukhārā, the famous university-city of Central Asia. The then Muslim rulers of India extended patronage to the Persian scholars who flocked to their courts from other parts of Asia under the pressure of Mongol inroads; established institutions for Muslim learning at Delhi, Jullundur, Firūzābād and other places; founded libraries, the most important one being the Imperial Library at Delhi, of which Amir Khusrav was appointed the librarian by Jalāl-ud-din Khalji; and also helped the growth of Muslim literary societies. The most famous of the Indian scholars who wrote in Persian during this period was Amir Khusrav. He was a prolific writer, whose genius unfolded itself in poetry, prose and music, and whom destiny granted a long tenure of life. He first rose to fame during the reign of Balban and was the tutor of Prince Muhammad, the eldest son of the Sultān. Subsequently he became the court-poet of ‘Alā-ud-din Khalji, also enjoyed the patronage of Ghiyās-ud-din Tughluq, and died in A.D. 1324–1325. Another poet of the time, whose fame was recognised outside India, was Shaikh Najm-ud-din Hasan, popularly known as Hasan-i-Dihlavi. The first Khalji ruler did not forget to patronise learning, and his successor, ‘Alā-ud-din, also seems to have been an enthusiastic friend of it. We are told by Barni that “the most wonderful thing which people saw in ‘Alā-ud-din’s reign was the multitude of great men of all nationalities, masters of every science and experts in every art. The capital of Delhi, by the presence of these unrivalled men of great talents, had become the envy of Baghda’d, the rival of Cairo, and the equal of Constantinople”’. The pious and learned scholar Nizām-ud-din Auliya and several other scholars flourished during this reign. Ghiyās-ud-din Tughluq, too, encouraged learned men; and, in spite of his fanciful projects, Muhammad bin Tughluq, himself a man of accomplishments, freely patronised poets, logicians, philosophers and physicians, and held discussion with them in his court. The most notable of the literary men of his time was Maulāna Muaiyyyan-ud-din Umrānī, who wrote commentaries on the Husaini, Talkhis, and Miftāh. Firūz Shāh, himself the author of Patūbāt-i-Firūz Shāhī, showed great zeal for the cause of education and established several colleges with mosques attached to them.
Among the learned men of his time, the most eminent were Qāzi 'Abdul Muqtadīr Shānīhi, Maulāna Khwājaqī, and Ahmad Tūhēsvārī. Among the Lodīs, Sultan Sikandar was himself a poet, and gave considerable encouragement to learning. Most of the rulers of the Bahmani kingdom and other independent Muslim dynasties, like those of Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar, Golkundā, Mālwa, Jaunpur, Bengal, and even Multān, were also patrons of letters. The Muslim writers showed their skill in a branch of study which had been comparatively neglected by the Hindus. They wrote several first-rate historical books in elegant prose. Thus we have Minhāj-ud-dīn's Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī, which is a general history of the Islamic world and was named after one of his patrons, Sultan Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd. Amir Khusrav's historical mesnevis are full of valuable information, and his Ta'rīkh-i-'Alī especially "contains an interesting account of the first few years of the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī". The most famous historian of the period was Zīā-ud-dīn Barnī, a contemporary of Muhammad bin Tughluq and Firūz Shāh. Two other important historical works of the time are the Ta'rīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī of Shams-ī-Sirāj 'Aṣif, written during the reign of Firūz Shāh, and the Ta'rīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī of Yahiyā bin Ahmad Sarhīndī, which was written about eighty years after the death of Muhammad bin Tughluq and was largely used by later writers.

E. Art and Architecture

It is inaccurate to describe the architecture of the period as "Indo-Saracenic" or "Pathān", as some scholars like Fergusson and others have done. Nor can it be regarded as entirely Indian in "soul and body", as Havell would ask us to believe. In fact, it represented a blending of Indian and Islamic styles, as did certain other aspects of the culture of the time. Sir John Marshall observed that "Indo-Islamic art is not merely a local variety of Islamic art", nor is it merely "a modified form of Hindu art. . . . Broadly speaking, Indo-Islamic architecture derives its character from both sources, though not always in an equal degree". There is no doubt that there existed in India certain Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist and Jaina styles, while Islamic influences were slowly entering into this land from the middle of the seventh century A.D. At the same time, we should note that what we generally call Islamic art was not of a homogeneous and single type; but the followers of Islam, like the Arabs, the Persians, or the Turks, brought in their train the art of different parts of
QUTB MINAR, DELHI
Western and Central Asia, Northern Africa and South-Western Europe. The mingling of these with the different indigenous styles of old Indian art during this period, according to the needs of religion and personal taste, led to the growth of new "Indian" styles of architecture, distinct in every province, like Jaunpur, Bengal, Bijāpur, Gujarāt, etc. In Delhi architecture Islamic influences predominated owing to the numerical strength of the Muslims there. "At Jaunpur, on the other hand, and in the Deccan, the local styles enjoyed greater ascendancy, while in Bengal the conquerors not only adopted the fashion of building in brick, but adorned their structures with chiselled and moulded enrichments frankly imitated from Hindu prototypes. So, too, in Western India they appropriated to themselves almost en bloc the beautiful Gujarāti style, which has yielded some of the finest buildings of medieval India; and in Kāshmir they did the same with the striking wooden architecture which must have been long prevalent in that part of the Himālayas."

This amalgamation of exotic and indigenous architectural styles was possible owing to certain factors. The Muslims had of necessity to employ Indian craftsmen and sculptors, who were naturally guided in their work by the existing art traditions of their country. Further, in the earlier period of Muslim invasions, mosques were
constructed out of the materials of Hindu and Jaina temples, and sometimes the temples themselves were only modified to some extent to suit the requirements of the conquerors. Again, in spite of some striking contrasts between the Indian and Islamic styles, there were two points of resemblance between them which

favoured their fusion. One characteristic feature of many Hindu temples, as well as of Muslim mosques, was "the open court encompassed by chambers or colonnades, and such temples as were built on this plan naturally lent themselves to conversion into mosques and would be the first to be adapted for that purpose by the conquerors. Again, a fundamental characteristic that supplied a common link between the two styles was the fact that
both Islamic and Hindu art were inherently decorative. Ornament was as vital to the one as to the other; both were dependent on it for their very being”.

The best specimens of the Delhi style are offered by the Qutb group of mosques, the most famous of which is the Qutb Minâr, marked by free-standing towers, calligraphic inscriptions and stalactite corbelling beneath the balconies. The two principal monuments of ‘Alâ-ud-din’s reign—the Jamâ‘at Khânâ Masjid

![Masjid at the Dargâh of Nizâm-ud-din Auliya](image)

at the Dargâh of Nizâm-ud-din Auliya and the ‘Alâî Darwâza at the Qutb Minâr—show the growing preponderance of Muslim ideas over those of the Hindu architects. The architecture of the Tughluq period lost the splendour, luxuriance and variety which characterised that of the Slave and Khalji regimes; it became prosaic, simple, austere and formal. This was due to the religious ideas of the Tughluqs and to the comparatively poor condition of the State finances during their rule. Under the Sayyids and the Lodis, attempts were made to revive the animated style of the Khalji period. But these succeeded only to a limited extent, and
AJAI QARWAZA AT THE QUTB MINAR, DELHI

TOMB OF FIRUZ SHAH, SON OF BAJAEH, DELHI
ATĀLA DREVĪ MASJID, JAUNPUR

CHHOTĀ SONĀ MASJID, GAUH
the style could not "shake off the deadening effect of the Tughluq period".

Between A.D. 1400 and 1478, during the reigns of Ibrāhim, Mahmūd and Husain Sharqī, a new style of architecture developed in Jaunpur, which shows the indubitable influence of Hindu art. Its massive sloping walls, square pillars, smaller galleries and cloisters are clearly Hindu features, designed by Hindu masons; and the mosques of Jaunpur have no minarets of the usual type. In fact, many of the new buildings of Jaunpur were built out of the materials of old temples for a new purpose. The Atāla Devī Masjid, founded

BARĀ SONĀ MASJID, GAUR

in A.D. 1377, but completed in A.D. 1408, is one of the brilliant specimens of the Jaunpur style.

In Bengal also there grew up a mixed style of architecture, characterised by the use of bricks in the main, "the subsidiary use of stone, the use of pointed arches on short pillars, and the Muslim adaptation of the traditional Hindu temple style of curvilinear cornices copied from bamboo structures, and of beautifully carved Hindu symbolic decorative designs like the Lotus". The Ādīna Masjid at Pāndua of 400 domes, built by Sikandar in A.D. 1368, is renowned for its magnitude and beauty. The other famous mosques of this province are the Chhotā Sonā Masjid (Smaller Golden Mosque), built by Wallī Muhammad during the reign of Husain Shāh between
A.D. 1493–1519; the Barā Sonā Masjid (Greater Golden Mosque), completed by Nusrat Shāh at Gaur in 1526; and the Qadam Rasūl, built by the same Sultān in A.D. 1530.

The province of Gujarāt also witnessed the growth of a beautiful style of architecture. A splendid indigenous style had already flourished there before the coming of the Muslims, and the buildings of the conquerors bear unmistakable signs of the influence of that style, though arches were occasionally used for symbolical purposes. Thus we find the use of fine wood-carving and also of delicate stone lattices and ornaments in the buildings of the new capital city, Ahmadābād, which was constructed by Ahmad Shāh, during A.D. 1411–1441, out of the ruins of old temples and buildings. The Jāmsī Masjid, the construction of which was begun in A.D. 1411, has 260 pillars supporting 15 stone domes, made of horizontally projecting courses in the indigenous style. Dr. Burgess, who has dealt exhaustively with the history and features of ancient
and medieval architecture in his five volumes of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, justly describes this style as "combining all the beauty and finish of the native art with a certain magnificence which is deficient in their own works". In the numerous buildings, mosques and tombs, built in Gujurāt since the accession of the Ahmad Shāhī rulers, the tradition of the old Indian art was predominant, though it was modified in certain respects according to the requirements of the followers of Islam.

At Dhār, the old capital of the kingdom of Mālwa, two mosques were built wholly out of the remains of old buildings; the domes and pillars of these mosques were of Hindu form. But the buildings at Māndū, where the capital was soon transferred, were marked by the predominance of Muslim art traditions, as those of Delhi; "the borrowing or imitating" of native forms "seems to have been suppressed and the buildings clung steadily to the pointed arch style". Among the many buildings of splendid architectural beauty built in the fortified city of Māndū, situated in an extensive plateau over-looking the Narmadā, the following deserve mention—the Jāmi' Masjid, which was planned and begun by
Hūshang and completed by Mahmūd Khaljī, the Hindolā Mahal, the Jahāj Mahal, Hūshang's tomb, and Bāz Bahādur's and Rupamati's palaces. Marble and sandstone were used in many of these edifices.

The Muslim Sultāns of Kāshmīr continued the old tradition of stone and wooden architecture but grafted on it "structural forms and decorative motifs peculiarly associated with Islam". Thus here also we find a blending of Hindu and Muslim ideas of art.

In South India the architecture of the Bahmanids, who were patrons of art, letters and sciences, was a composite mixture of several elements—Indian, Turkish, Egyptian and Persian—the last of which was well-marked in some of the buildings like the Jāmi' Masjid at Gulbarga, the Chānd Minār at Daulatābād (1435) and the College of Mahmūd Gāwān at Bīdar (1472). Many of the Bahmani buildings were built on the sites of the old temples and out of their materials, and thus the influence of old Hindu art could not be avoided. Turkish and Egyptian elements entered through West Asiatic and African adventurers, who got employment in the Bahmani kingdom; and the Persian element through the Persians, who poured into that kingdom in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The native Deccan art, however, began
to reassert itself in growing vigour from the end of the fifteenth century. As the monuments which the ‘Ādil Shāhīs of Bijāpur built in the next century were constructed by Indian artists and craftsmen, “it was inevitable”, writes Sir John Marshall, “that Indian genius should rise superior to foreign influence and stamp itself more and more deeply on these creations”. We have already discussed the splendid outburst of art and architecture in the Vijayanagar Empire.

![Tomb of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh, Bijāpur](image)

Thus we find that, in spite of some bitterness in political relations, the impact of Hindu and Islamic civilisations was producing harmony and mutual understanding in the spheres of society, culture and art, during the Turko-Afghān period. This harmony developed in the time of the great Mughul, Akbar, to an unprecedented degree and was not wholly lost even in the time of his successors and also of the later Mughuls.

The preachings of the saintly teachers of India with their ideal of uplift of the masses, the tolerant ideas of the Sūfī saints and scholars, and the growth of Indian provincial literature, might be regarded
as signs of modernism appearing as a result of the fusion of two civilizations, while the medieval Sultānate was hastening towards disintegration. Another noticeable feature of Indian history on the eve of Bābur’s invasion was the rise or growth of indigenous States, like Vijayanagar, Orissa and Mewār, as a sort of protest against foreign domination. We should also note that the rulers of the independent Muslim kingdoms that arose on the ruins of the medieval Muslim Empire cannot all be regarded as aliens; the rulers of Gujarāt, Ahmadnagar and Berar were of indigenous origin. Many of the States, whether Hindu or Muslim, that grew up at this time represented local movements for “self-determination”. But their chances were destroyed by another Turkish incursion, of which the leader was Bābur. Thus Bābur’s invasion gave a new turn to the history of India.