The Meiji Restoration: An Account and the Nature

The Meiji Restoration refers to a chain of events that led to enormous changes in Japan's political and social structure following the decline of the Tokugawa shogunate and the restoration of the authority of Mikado in the year 1868.

Historical Background

The Tokugawa Shogunate came to an official end on November 9, 1867, when the fifteenth Tokugawa Shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu "put his prerogatives at the emperor's disposal" and then resigned his position ten days later. This was effectively the "restoration" (Taisei Hōkan) of imperial rule.

Though the leaders of the Meiji Restoration acted in the name of restoring imperial rule, political power simply moved from the Tokugawa Shogun to an oligarchy consisting of themselves, mostly from the Satsuma Province (Okubo Toshimichi and Saigo Takamori), and the Choshu province (Ito Hirobumi, Yamagata Aritomo, and Kido Koin). Their concept of imperial rule was the ancient model, with the emperor performing high priestly duties, while his ministers governed the nation in his name. Mention may be made of Kido Takayoshi, Saigo Takamori, Matsukata Masayoshi etc as leaders of the Restoration.

Abolition of Feudalism

The Meiji Restoration was a catalyst for the industrialization of Japan that led to the rise of the island nation as a military power by 1905, under the slogan of "National Wealth and Military Strength" (fukoku kyohei], and "Flourishing Industries and Start Up Businesses".

The Meiji oligarchy that formed the government under the rule of the Emperor first introduced measures to consolidate their power against the remnants of the shogunate, daimyo and the samurai class. In 1868, the Emperor took all land from the Tokugawa and put it under his own control. In 1869, the daimyo of the Hans of Tosa, Hizen, Satsuma and Choshu, who were most fiercely opposing the shogunate, were persuaded to return their domains to the Emperor. Other daimyos was subsequently persuaded to do so. Finally, in 1871, the daimyo, past and present, were summoned before the Emperor, where it was declared that all domains were now to be returned to the Emperor. The roughly three hundred domains (han) were turned into prefectures, each under the control of a state-appointed governor. The 250 former domains now became 72 prefectures and three metropolitan districts, a number later reduced by one-third. Until 1888, numerous prefectures were merged in several steps to reduce their number to 75. The daimyo were promised 1/10 of their fiefs' income as private income. Furthermore, their debts and payments of samurai stipends were to be taken over by the state.

Land surveys were begun in 1873 to determine the amount and value of land based on average rice yields in recent years, and a monetary tax of 3 percent of land value was established. The same surveys led to certificates of land ownership for farmers, who were released from feudal controls. The land measures involved basic changes, and there was widespread confusion and uncertainty among farmers that expressed itself in the form of short-lived revolts and demonstrations. But the establishment of private ownership, and measures to promote new technology, fertilizers, and seeds, produced a rise in agricultural output. The land tax, supplemented by printed money, became the principal source of government revenue for several decades.

The oligarchs also endeavored to abolish the four divisions of society. Throughout Japan at the time, the samurai numbered 1.9 million. The fixed stipends paid to each samurai presented a tremendous financial burden on the government. The oligarchs embarked on another slow and deliberate process to abolish the samurai class. First, in 1873, it was announced that the samurai stipends were to be taxed on a rolling basis. Later, in 1874, the samurai were given the option to convert their stipends into government bonds. Finally, in 1876, this commutation was made compulsory.

Military Reforms

To reform the military, the government instituted nation-wide conscription in 1873, mandating that every male serve in the armed forces for three years upon turning 21. The ancient privilege of bearing arms was suddenly extended to every male in the nation. This led to a series of riots by disgruntled samurai. One of the major riots was the one led by Saigo Takamori, the Satsuma rebellion, which eventually turned into a civil war. This rebellion was, however, put down swiftly by the newly formed imperial army, trained in Western tactics and weapons. The core of the new army was the Tokyo Police force, which was formed largely of former samurai. This sent a strong message to the dissenting samurai. There were fewer subsequent samurai

uprisings and the distinction became all but a name as the samurai joined the new society. The ideal of samurai military spirit lived on in a romanticized form and was often used as propaganda for Imperial Japan's wars during the early twentieth century.

The majority of samurai were content despite having their status abolished. Many found employment in the government bureaucracy, which resembled an elite class in its own right. The samurai, being better educated than most of the population, became teachers, government officials or military officers. The formal title of samurai was abolished.

Political Reformation
The Central Administration
The Meiji Restoration was perfunctorily the revival of a system of centralized government based on the "ritsuryo" legal code of the Nara (710-794) and Heian (794-1185) periods. As the Tokugawa shogunate collapsed, the new Meiji government urgently needed to centralize administrative power. Although some official terms were adopted from the "ritsuryo" legal code, the actual form of the new government was different.

After the declaration of the Restoration of Imperial Reign, the abolitions of the shogunate, kampaku and regency took place. Upper (Gitei and Sanyo) and lower (Sanji and Koshi) legislative bodies were created under the Emperor, but because Emperor Meiji was still very young, a political system was needed to assist him. The new Meiji government experimented with several reforms and finally, in 1885, adopted a cabinet system of government.

Kido Takayoshi had been insistent on setting up a legislative branch of the government from the first year of Meiji, but opposition made it necessary to wait until the system of public government offices had been reformed, and until a certain level of national education and cultural understanding had been achieved. Okubo Toshimichi maintained a system of political reform centered upon the bureaucrats of the former Satsuma – Chosu domains. As the reformations matured and the Movement for Civic Rights and Freedom rose during the 1880s, several steps such as "the order of setting up an assembly by Emperor Meiji" in 1881, were taken by Ito Hirubumi and others, to enact the constitution in earnest. A privy council (a body that advises a nation's head of state) was established for deliberation of the constitution. Finally, in **1889 the Meiji Constitution** was promulgated, and the next year the Diet was opened. Okubo Toshimichi and others wanted to move the capital to Osaka, but as Emperor Meiji Edo several times, eventually Edo was changed to Tokyo and became the new capital.

Economic, Social and Diplomatic Changes
The political transformations of the Meiji period were mirrored by economic and social changes. The economy remained dependent on agriculture, but the government directed the development of strategic industries, transportation and communication. The first railroad was completed in 1872, and by 1890 there were more than 1,400 miles (2,250 kilometers) of railroad. All major cities were linked by telegraph by 1880. The government gave financial support to private companies and instituted a European-style banking system in 1882. Western science and technology were imported, and a program of "Civilization and Enlightenment" (bunmei kaika) promoted Western culture, clothing, architecture and intellectual trends. In the 1880s, a renewed appreciation of traditional Japanese values slowed this trend. An educational system was developed which, though it made use of Western theory and practice, stressed traditional samurai loyalty and social harmony. Art and literature turned from outright imitation of the West to a synthesis of Japanese and Western influences.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the goals of the Meiji Restoration had been largely accomplished, and Japan was becoming a modern, industrial nation. Unequal treaties that had granted foreign powers extraterritoriality and judicial privileges were revised in 1894. The Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902, and Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1905) gave Japan new international status as a major world power.

Nature of the Meiji Restoration: Restoration or Revolution?

The scholars are still debating on the questions whether the events of 1868 should be considered as a restoration or a revolution. Tetsuo Najita writes that, the Japanese Emperor did not have a specific structure of power to restore, and whatever grandiose images came to be associated with him after the ishin [restoration] were the result of the ideological construction of the contemporary state and not the legacy of

recent history. The events of 1867 and 1868 were not of a cataclysmic nature and if only this era is measured, then the transition from Tokugawa to Meiji appears easy and with little disagreement. Though, when viewed from the beginning of the nineteenth century then it can be seen that the changes which were brought in relation to the profoundly altered Japan and created a new nation state.

The Marxist View

The Marxist view may be divided into two broad groups: The Labour-Farmer group (rono-ha) saw the restoration as fundamentally a bourgeois revolution which ended feudalism and laid the foundation for capitalist development. The koza group argued that the Meiji Restoration was not a successful capitalist revolution but one which ushered in an absolutist rule. This was based on the Emperor System and the power of this system rested on feudal dealings which had sustained in the countryside.

An influential Japanese ideologue Ikki saw the restoration as a restoration-revolution recognizing both the forward looking elements as well as the constraints of the past which sustained.

The Post-War Debate

In post-war Japan the debate has sustained. E.H. Norman saw the restoration as the work of a coalition of lower samurais and merchants. This coalition was crucial to creating the Meiji state and it was responsible for the characteristics which were urbanized, namely foreign expansion and internal centralization.

But Albert Craig has argued that lower samurai is analytically meaningless as upper samurai were a very small percentage and any movement would contain a big number of lower samurais. Shibahara Takauji has seen the popular anti-feudal sentiments as the driving force behind the restoration movement. Conrad Totman, though, argues that commoners took part on all sides and it is not possible to equate anti-feudal with anti-Bakufu. The role of popular discontent is hard to analyze. The role of merchants also needs to be cautiously studied before it can be conclusively argued that they were supporters of the loyialist movement. Marius Jansen has questioned the actual danger posed through foreign intervention arguing that the governments were not either really interested or in a location to augment their power. Though, he does concede that the Japanese perceptions of foreign threat were a significant force in creation the people take action.

The debates will continue and we need to further refine our understanding of the actual procedures through careful and detailed revise. Though, it can be said that there are three major regions approximately which the debates centre: The first is that the Meiji ishin arose as a protective reaction again the Western imperialist threat. Secondly, the real disagreement lay flanked by the forces of feudalism and the emerging capitalist forces and the Meiji state which appeared was a mix of these two elements. Thirdly, the debate continues on the nature and role of the lower samurais.

Conrad Totman has argued that the prime cause of the Meiji Restoration was the internal collapse of the Tokugawa Bakufu and this was brought in relation to the through a extensive-term decline caused through an inability to respond to the new forces generated through the continuous peace and economic development. He sees the movements of the early 1860's such as the sonno-joi and kobugattai as voluntaristic but, he argues that they failed to unify the country. His analysis stresses the importance of national political thoughts and consequently he does not lay a crucial significance on domainal affairs and troubles. But Harold Bolitho argues that rather the weak shoguns had increased the strength and power of the han. The domainal interests then became the crucial force in the last years of the Bakufu. These han interests establish symbolic leadership under the Emperor. This coalition of hans under the Emperor could challenge the Bakufu and press its demand for political change. The kobugattai movement was the main effort to replace the Bakufu through this coalition. The sonno-joi movement was national in scope and brought lower and middle ranking samurai jointly against the Bakufu.

In conclusion it needs to be emphasized that while the Meiji Restoration inaugurated a new era for Japan the cause for Japan's successful transformation lie not merely in the breathing legroom which it enjoyed. The Western imperialist powers were certainly more interested in the great China market than that of Japan. This gave Japan the chance to carry out a series of reforms. Japan's credit lay in the fact that she was able to take the chance to conceive and execute these reforms. This was possible more due to her internal strength and indigenous institutions.

NATURE OF THE MEIJI RESTORATION
(Short)

Whether the events of 1867 mark a restoration or a revolution are questions over which scholars are still debating. The historians debate on the issues like whether there was any real restoration of the political authority of the Mikado or whether the changes after the restoration were indicative of a new order.

E. H. Norman is of opinion that by the events of 1867 transformed the position of the Mikado from a nominal to real ruler. In this sense it was a restoration. George Sansom is of opinion that by the end of feudalism the political authority of the Mikado was restored. But it should not be considered as a revolution, for it was no way the beginning of a democracy. But, Vinacke and Richard Storry have altogether rejected the idea of restoration of the monarchy. Vinacke opines that the ruler did not establish his authority directly. Four clans of western Japan who helped the restoration became the real power behind the throne. Storry also thinks that the real control of Tokyo went into the hands of the clans of western Japan and they efficiently created the rule of an oligarchy.

Maurius Jansen thinks that the events between 1853 and 1877, the coming of Commodore Perry and Satsuma revolt, were, in one hand, a reaction towards feudalism, and on the other, towards the fear of western imperialist aggression. He considers this period as the age of national consolidation. To him, the Meiji restoration was a nationalist revolt and the Meiji rulers took up defensive modernizing policy against foreign aggression.

Takahasi is of opinion that out of the fear of foreign attack the Meiji rulers took recourse to few reforms. These reforms paved the way towards the development of modern capitalist economy in Japan. According to him, the Meiji restoration was an anti-feudal political revolution that initiated capitalism.

However, the great changes that transformed the face of Japan after 1867 were indeed revolutionary. The restoration movement was inspired as much by the idea of returning to the past practices and institutions as by the desire of strengthening the country by adopting western methods and techniques. Though Japan copied many things from the west after restoration, she did not give up her ancient culture and traditions. New Japan became a meeting ground of western and ancient ways of life.

Meiji Economy: Financial Reforms

Central in the thinking of the early Meiji leaders was the need to create a financial, commercial and industrial society competitive with the outside world and assuring Japan's security. The task of rapidly building a modern economic society was a gigantic one. Most of the government's meager revenue in 1868-9 came from such limited sources as customs duties, domestic borrowing and newly-printed paper currency. The existing currency from feudal days was a motley array of gold, silver and copper coins and rice certificates. The Meiji decided to build economic strength through its own resources and its own initiative. The Iwakura Mission, for example, implemented the statement in the Charter Oath that new knowledge would be sought wherever it could be found. For a time, foreign advisers – British, French, German and American – were employed, but this was a temporary expedient since the Japanese learnt rapidly and foreign advisers were very expensive.

Back in the later Tokugawa days, the Shogunate and the western clans independently had made some limited beginnings in heavy industry (Shipbuilding and Munitions), and in such light industries as cotton textiles. These enterprises were taken over, expanded, and subsidized by the Meiji government. These and other ventures were financed by the government's modern banking system, at first secured largely by government bonds. The government was also the active promoter in the whole field of communications. In 1872, Japan's first railroad, from Tokyo to Yokohama, was opened. Port facilities were improved. A modern Postal system was established, while telegraph lines began to penetrate all important cities. Despite these efforts, Japan's financial position by 1880 was one of deep crisis. Everything the government did to promote the economy and to strengthen the state cost money, which in considerable measure the government simply did not have. Again, most of the government's infant industrial enterprises were not yet making a profit. These troubles were met by the policies of Matsukata Masayoshi, who became the Minister of Finance in 1881. He sold most of the government's plants in the non-strategic industries to private interests, and applied measures of rigid retrenchment. These measures were successful. Within less than ten years, the financial crisis had been met and passed.

The Matsukata policies were a turning point in the Japan's industrial development. While the government would still operate many industries and foster others in direct and indirect ways, private entrepreneurship would be relied upon for basic and rapid economic growth. The industries which at this time were sold by the government went to a very small number of rich merchants able to buy them at burgain prices. Most of these industries were soon profitable, not only because of the energies and abilities of private management but also because the Japanese were mastering the necessary technological skills. Before the end of the century, the success of Japan's industrialization was assured. The less favourable side of the picture was that much of these growing industries were concentrated in the hands of an exceedingly small group of entrepreneurs. From this group would emerge later the great financial and industrial family combines known as the *Zaibatsu* which would dominate the Japanese business in the twentieth century.

The Restoration government was conscious of industrial and economic development. The latest machineries were imported from America and Europe and the industrialization of Japan was initiated. The government provided all facilities for the industrial development. It not only built railways and went into the shipping business but also subsidized liberally the private industrial effort. It fostered the textile industry in various ways: the product of the Japanese loom was exhibited at international expositions; model factories were established; internal exhibitions were held; and permanent commercial museums were established in various centres. Japan developed its industrial research wing in order to analyze and improve production and manufactures. It explored mines, developed iron industries, coal and explosives. In 1890, Japan could boast of more than 250 modern factories run by steam. After 1890 the industrialization and mechanization was amazingly rapid. A new class of capitalists emerged ready to invest its surplus wealth in new industries. At the turn of century, industrial boom was the order of the day.

In the economic field the next task of the government was that of currency reform. Gold and silver were used for exchange besides currency issued both by Shogun and several Daimyos. The foreigners, after the treaties of 1858, freely used gold and silver in a way as to result in economic ruin of Japan. The gold flowed into foreign countries. Only a revision of treaties and measures of control over exchange could save Japan from impending economic ruin. The new government had inherited an empty treasury from the Shogunate and the non-existence of banking facilities complicated the problem. The government took inevitable measure of issuing inconvertible paper currency. This measure stopped to an extent the drain of gold.

The reorganization of banking was necessary for solving the problem of currency. Moreover, the extension of banking facilities would give renewed impetus to industrial growth and economic development. In 1872, regulations for national banks on the American model were promulgated. The banks were endowed with the power to issue inconvertible notes. In 1873, the First National Bank was established. By 1879, there were 151 national banks in existence with a deposit of 12 million yen. The inconvertible notes were expanded which produced inflationary pressures and consequent rise in prices. The successive Finance Ministers grappled with the problem and finally the provision for redemption was made and a convertible currency was established. However, the silver continued to be the standard and gold standard could be adopted in 1896 when China paid huge war indemnity to Japan.

The extension of banking facilities laid bare the defects of banking and the national banks. This led to the establishment of the Bank of Japan (1882) as the chief fiscal controlling agency of the government. The national banks Were turned into private banks in 1896 and separate banking institutions were organized to serve special purposes, for example Yokohama Specie Bank for controlling and financing foreign trade and exchange; the Hypothec Bank, Bank of Formosa, Hokkaido Colonization Bank and 46 industrial and agricultural banks to cater different needs. In the creation of new Japan, the banking system had played its part by laying a solid agro-industrial economic foundation.

The Japanese threat and Communist takeover 1931–49

Japan had long harboured designs on Chinese territory and resources. In 1931, it made its first major move by occupying the resource-rich northern province of Manchuria. From there, it began to spread out over other parts of China, establishing, as in Manchuria, Japanese puppet regimes. A full-scale Sino-Soviet war broke out in 1937 when Japan, on a flimsy pretext, decided to extend its control over a much wider area of China. The war was to have a profound influence on China's internal politics and its international relations. It prepared the way for the Communists' takeover of China in 1949. These developments are studied under the following headings:

★ The Japanese occupation of China 1931–7
★ The Sino-Japanese War 1937–41
★ The Sino-Japanese War 1941–5
★ The Communist takeover 1945–9

Key dates

1931	Mukden Incident		1940	100 Regiments Campaign
1932	Manchuguo created		1941	Pearl Harbor attack brought USA into Sino-Japanese War
	Shanghai resistance			
1933	Japan withdrew from the League of Nations		1944	Ichigo Offensive
	Treaty of Tanggu		1945	Atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki
1936	Xian Incident			
1937	Marco Polo Bridge Incident			Japanese surrender
	Beijing, Shanghai and Nanjing fell to Japan		1946–9	Chinese Civil War
	Rape of Nanjing		1949	Mao declared the creation of the PRC
1938	GMD capital moved from Nanjing to Chongqing			Jiang Jieshi fled to Taiwan

1 The Japanese occupation of China 1931–7

▶ *What steps did Japan take to occupy China between 1931 and 1937?*

Prelude: Japanese designs on China before 1931

In the 1920s, Japan experienced a severe economic recession. This encouraged the Japanese government to intensify the aggressive designs it had on China, which it had shown earlier in 1915 and 1919 (see pages 59 and 64). Japanese hostility was not simply aggression for its own sake. There was in Japan at this time a genuine fear that, unless it took immediate steps to acquire living space for its population and resources for its industries, it would be unable to sustain itself as a modern state. There was a feeling that if it did move quickly to expand its territory and increase its supplies, it would enter into irreversible national decline. To avoid this, Chinese land and resources must be seized as a first step towards much wider Japanese control of east Asia and the western Pacific. Such plans were the forerunners of what became known as the '**Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere**', a Japanese euphemism for its own imperial expansion.

The Manchurian Crisis 1931–3

The Japanese were deceptive in their dealings with China; in secret they sought to destabilise the Chinese republic while at the same time openly claiming that the instability in China gave them a right to interfere there in order to protect Japan's vital interests. This was evident in a Japanese-provoked confrontation in the Manchurian capital Mukden (Shenyang). The Mukden Incident, as it was called, provided the pretext for the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931.

In September 1931, a group of Japanese officers in the **Guangdong army**, acting on its own initiative, concocted a plot in which it blew up a stretch of the southern Manchurian railway at Mukden and then blamed the act on Chinese saboteurs. The officers, who were in league with the pro-war party in Tokyo, then appealed to the Japanese government to authorise the punishment of the Chinese.

Without waiting for a response, the Guangdong army launched a full-scale sweep across Manchuria. Within six months the province was under Japanese military occupation. The Tokyo government, which had been initially reluctant to give full backing to the Guangdong army, found itself swept along by war mania in Japan. Dismissing the doubts raised by its more moderate members, the government sanctioned the formal takeover of Manchuria and then defended its actions against the international protests that followed.

Creation of Manchuguo

In 1932, the Japanese consolidated their occupation of Manchuria by formally changing its name to Manchuguo and declaring it to be an independent Chinese nation, ruled by Pu Yi, the last emperor of the Manchu dynasty (see page 50). But in reality it was a vassal state with a puppet leader under direct Japanese control. As with the Mukden Incident, the creation of Manchuguo was the result of a local Japanese initiative which the Tokyo government was then pressured into accepting. The expansionist drive in Japan was gaining an unstoppable momentum; in 1932, Japanese troops moved into Shanghai.

Shanghai's resistance

China's leader, Jiang Jieshi, waited nearly a month before making any military move. Having appealed to the **League of Nations** to condemn Japan, he hoped that the major powers would step in to prevent further encroachment. He was to be disappointed. The League did indeed pass a number of resolutions condemning Japanese aggression, but the powers took no action. In any case, Japan showed its contempt for international opinion by wholly ignoring the resolutions and then formally withdrawing from the League in 1933.

Once he realised there was no help coming from outside, Jiang ordered his forces to fight. They did so with resolution and courage. Shanghai's garrison commander, **Cai Tingkai**, led his troops in a fierce counter-attack. Japan sent in 20,000 extra troops and its navy bombarded the city. The savage encounter ended with 15,000 of the Chinese defenders dead or missing. The occupation of Shanghai had not been broken but the Chinese resistance did persuade the occupiers to come to terms. One result was the creation of a combined Sino-Japanese administration to run Shanghai. However, despite the appearance of cooperation, it was the Japanese who dominated the regime. Those Chinese who worked for the occupiers became collaborators, hated by their own people and despised by the Japanese, a pattern that was to be characteristic of the whole period of Japan's occupation of China.

Jiang Jieshi's response to the Japanese occupation

The initial reaction of all the Chinese parties to the occupation of Manchuria was to unite against Japan as the common enemy. But from the beginning, the unity was more apparent than real. Jiang Jieshi always regarded resistance to Japan as secondary to his aim of destroying the Communists. His basic strategy was to give ground before the Japanese invaders, judging that they would never be able to conquer such a vast country as China. Although there were occasions when he found it expedient to form a united front with the Communists against the invader, his priority remained the crushing of the Communist enemy within China (see page 89). In any case, whatever the United Front's declared objectives may have been, there was little chance of realising them immediately; Japan was too powerfully entrenched.

> **KEY TERM**
>
> **League of Nations**
> The body set up in 1919 with the aim of settling future international disputes.

> **KEY FIGURE**
>
> **Cai Tingkai (1892–1968)**
> Fought against the Japanese as a commander of the NRA, but was forced into exile in 1934 when he opposed Jiang Jieshi. He later returned to China and joined the Chinese Communists.

Treaty (Truce) of Tanggu, May 1933

With Shanghai under their effective control, the Japanese next set their eyes on Beijing. However, not wishing to have to fight over Beijing as they had over Shanghai, where they had suffered 2000 casualties, they offered Jiang a truce, albeit one on their terms. Desperate for a ceasefire and unable to resist Japanese pressure, Jiang instructed his negotiators to accept the Japanese demands. The result was the Treaty of Tanggu, whose main terms were:

- A demilitarised zone, stretching 65 miles south of the Great Wall, extending from Beijing to Tianjin, was to be created, with the Great Wall to be under Japanese control.
- Jiang Jieshi's Nationalist forces were debarred from entering the demilitarised zone.
- The demilitarised zone to be policed by a Japanese-controlled Peace Corps.

The wider significance of the Treaty of Tanggu was that it effectively marked the acceptance by Jiang's Nationalist government of Manchuguo and Japan's control of northern China. This did not end hostilities and Jiang remained committed to fighting the Japanese when he was in a better position to do so. He believed that China was too large a country for the Japanese to occupy without exhausting themselves; a protracted occupation would mean war and the eventual defeat of Japan. He defined his approach as 'trading space to buy time', giving ground to the Japanese so as to overstretch their resources and allow the Chinese the opportunity to build up their own strength. However, the policy of avoiding direct conflict with the occupier proved uninspiring and brought obvious political dangers. His supporters frequently found it difficult to maintain their loyalty. Throughout his time as leader of the Guamindong (GMD), Jiang was subject to opposition from within its ranks. It took him over a year to suppress a rising in 1933 among his troops at Fujian (Fukien), who were reacting against his failure to confront the Japanese.

Jiang suffered further damage to his reputation as a defender of China when between 1934 and 1935, Japanese troops fanned out from Manchuria into six other northern provinces. Rather than confront the Japanese, Jiang came to an agreement with them. He withdrew the GMD forces from Beijing and accepted that the newly occupied provinces be recognised as 'autonomous regions', to be administered by pro-Japanese officials. What was considered by many Chinese to have been craven behaviour by Jiang led to the **9 December Movement**, an episode in which outraged students in Beijing, Shanghai and Wuhan took to the streets in protest. The slogans on their banners conveyed the nature of their anger: 'End the New Imperialism', 'Stop the Civil War, Unite Against the Japanese Enemy'.

Character of the Japanese occupation

The approach of the Japanese to their occupation of China had two main features. At the same time as they increased their control over the Chinese,

KEY TERM

9 December Movement
The title was meant to convey the continuity between this protest and the movements of 4 May 1919 and 30 May 1925.

their ministers endeavoured to create better relations with China's leaders. This apparent contradiction followed from Japan's readiness, when expedient, to emphasise the historical links that bound the two peoples together. Japan argued that it made sense to look towards a common Sino-Japanese future. The Japanese were anxious to make east Asia an area of oriental resistance to Western domination. In 1936, Hirota Koki, Japan's foreign minister, showed intense irritation at the GMD's attempt to negotiate a special loan from the USA. He complained that Japan was now sufficient for all China's needs.

However, Koki punctuated his appeal to the common links between the two nations with demands that the Chinese recognise Japan's special rights and privileges in China. Clearly, Japanese notions of cooperation rested on the assumption that Japan would remain very much the dominant partner. This was evident in Japan's creation by 1934 of further collaborationist governments, on the Shanghai model, in Hebei and Inner Mongolia. These were termed 'Autonomous Councils', but they were far from being independent Chinese governments; like Manchuguo, they were simply a front behind which the Japanese maintained their control.

The Xian Incident 1936

The culmination of the deep Chinese dissatisfaction with Jiang Jieshi's response to the Japanese occupation came with the Xian Incident in December 1936. During a visit to Xian in Shaanxi province, which, ironically, Jiang had undertaken in order to berate his GMD forces for their slowness in crushing the Communists, he found the tables turned. He was seized by troops acting under the orders of General **Zhang Xueliang** (Chang Hsueh-liang), who had been persuaded by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to commit himself to the anti-Japanese struggle. After his arrest Jiang was handed over to the Communists, who offered to spare his life if he would promise to end his persecution of them and lead a genuine resistance against the Japanese. Finding himself in an impossible position, Jiang gave in and agreed to the following terms:

- to cease all attempts to suppress the CCP
- to recognise the CCP as a legitimate party
- to lead a new united front against the Japanese invader.

Neither side felt fully bound by the Xian agreement, as their continuing struggle against each other would show, but Mao's Communists came out of the Incident far better. They could now claim that it was they who were the genuine nationalists whose prime motivation was their love of China, as expressed in their willingness to fight under Jiang's leadership. At the same time, they had undermined the GMD's claim to be the sole representative of the nation. Moreover, although Jiang eventually went back on his word and renewed his campaigns against the Communists, Mao and his followers had at least gained a temporary respite from Nationalist attacks.

> **KEY FIGURE**
>
> **Zhang Xueliang (1901–2001)**
>
> Sometimes known as 'the Young Marshal', the son of Zhang Zuolin, warlord of Manchuria until his assassination by the Japanese in 1928.

2 The Sino-Japanese War 1937–41

▶ *Why did the Chinese suffer so severely at the hands of the Japanese?*

▶ *Why was the United Front not able to offer effective resistance to the Japanese?*

In 1937, Japan extended its occupation of the northern Chinese provinces into a full-scale war against China that was to last until 1945.

The Sino-Japanese War divides into two distinct phases:

- 1937–41: during this first phase, Japan made rapid advances down the eastern seaboard (see the map on page 108) to which the Chinese response was a mixture of courageous resistance, retreat and appeasement.
- 1941–5: the second phase saw the Chinese struggle become part of the Second World War in which China, as an ally of the USA, recovered to gain victory over the Japanese.

Reasons for Japan's 1937 decision for all-out war

A number of factors came together to suggest to the Japanese government that it was justified in extending the occupation into a war:

- The war party in Japan argued that, as a result of the contraction in international trade that accompanied the worldwide **depression** in the 1930s, Japan could no longer sell its goods abroad. This commercial crisis made it imperative that Japan consolidate its hold over Asia, beginning with the total control of China.
- Since over 80 per cent of Japan's overseas investments were in China and a quarter of Japan's international trade was with China, it was necessary in a time of economic crisis that Japan have complete domination of China.
- Its armies' successes in China since 1931 gave Japan every confidence that total military control of the country was wholly feasible.
- Japan judged that the internal divisions among the Nationalists and Communists and the apparent half-hearted military response of China's leader, Jiang Jieshi, meant that future Chinese resistance could be relatively easily overcome.
- No outside power had yet formally intervened on China's behalf; Japan calculated that a swift defeat of China would rule out any possibility of this happening.
- Japan also calculated that in 1937 it had sufficient economic reserves, particularly of oil and rubber, for only three years ahead. Hence, it was necessary to tighten its grip on China, which would serve both as a source of vital supplies and as a base from which to extend into south-east Asia.
- Japan considered that time was not on its side. If it waited too long, the uncertainties of international politics might lead to its being isolated. The

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KEY TERM

Depression Between 1929 and the late 1930s, there was a serious worldwide slump in industrial production and international trade.

hawks in Japan spoke of the danger of their country being encircled by a combination of the USA and the British, Dutch and French empires in Asia. Better, therefore, to complete its subjugation of China while Japanese forces were in the ascendant.

The Marco Polo Bridge Incident 1937

Being set on war, Japan needed only a justification for it. This duly came on 7 July 1937, when a relatively minor clash between Chinese and Japanese troops occurred at the Marco Polo Bridge, an important crossing point, ten miles outside Beijing. The confrontation had been deliberately planned by the Japanese to create trouble. Using the clash as a pretext, Japan demanded that, in order to prevent further trouble, the GMD government yield even further authority to the occupying forces in China. On this occasion, Jiang Jieshi refused to make concessions. He declared to the Chinese people that their country was now in a state of total war against Japan. 'If we allow one inch more of our territory to be lost, we shall be guilty of an unpardonable crime against our race.'

The Second United Front

Jiang's appeal for national unity may be regarded as the start of the second United Front between the CCP and GMD, a commitment by both parties to suspend their differences and ally against the Japanese aggressor. In doing this, they were activating the agreement they had made seven months earlier following the Xian Incident. However, the second United Front was never a genuine alliance. The CCP and GMD forces invariably fought as separate armies and, although they did liaise on occasion, their mutual distrust meant that they rarely acted as a combined force. Outweighed by Japanese military strength, which made them reluctant to risk large-scale battles, the Nationalist–Communist allies engaged mainly in sniping and **guerrilla** tactics.

That the Chinese defenders were not in a position to face the Japanese in large-scale battles was soon evident from the fight for Shanghai, whose strategic importance was indicated by the huge efforts China and Japan put into the battle over it between August and November 1937. To gain or lose Shanghai would be to gain or lose control of central China.

The battle for Shanghai 1937

Throughout the war against Japan, Jiang Jieshi showed flawed tactical judgement. The battle for Shanghai in 1937 was a particular illustration of this:
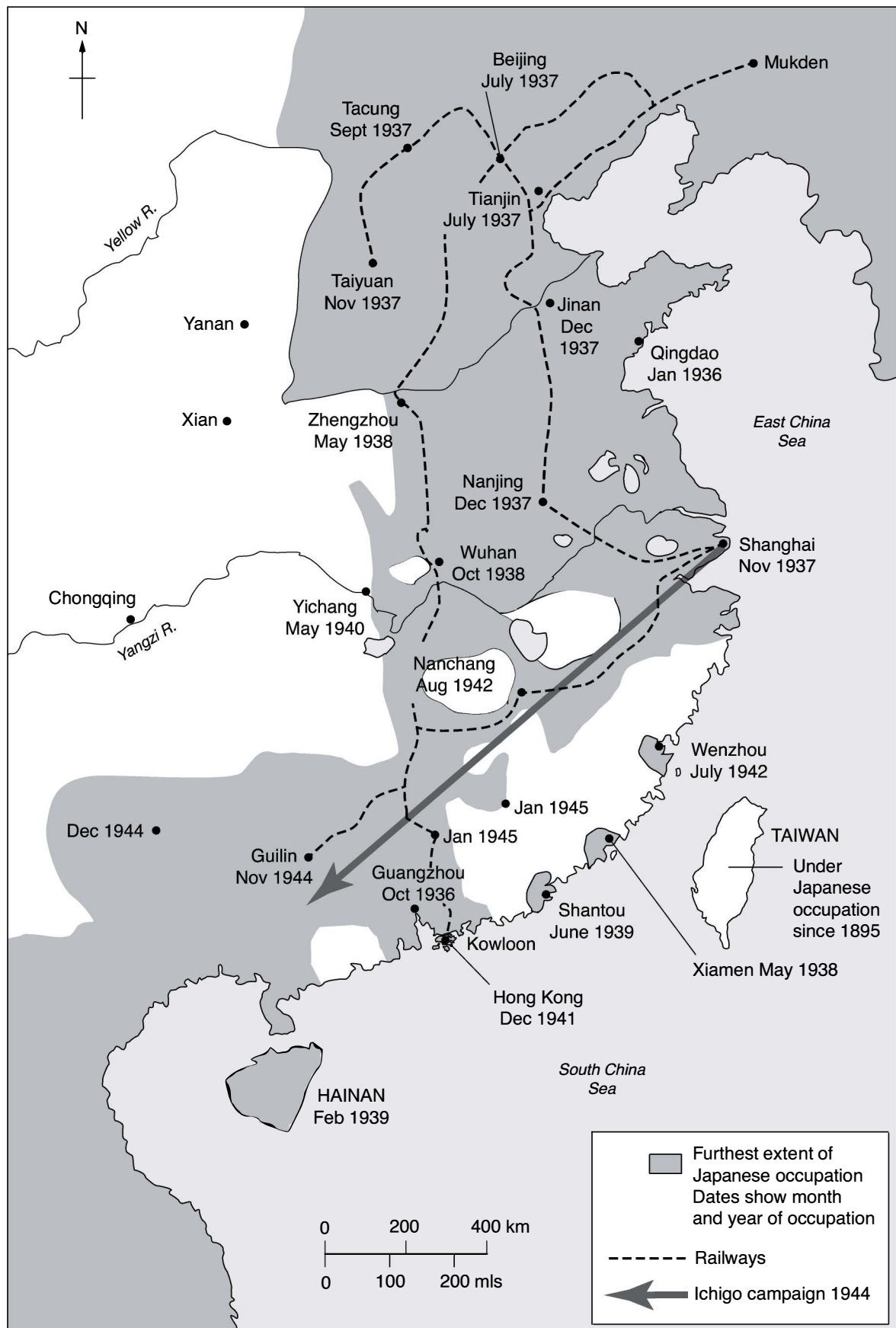
- Initially, Jiang's forces held the initiative since GMD troops outnumbered the Japanese in the Shanghai area by over ten to one.
- A series of fortified block houses had been built along the railway linking Shanghai and Nanjing, giving the National Revolutionary Army (NRA) protected movement of men and supplies.

> **KEY TERM**
>
> **Guerrilla** A hit-and-run style of fighting, avoiding pitched battles and using local knowledge of people and terrain to harass the enemy.

N

Mukden

Beijing
July 1937

Tacung
Sept 1937

Tianjin
July 1937

Taiyuan
Nov 1937

Yellow R.

Yanan

Jinan
Dec
1937

Qingdao
Jan 1936

*East China
Sea*

Xian

Zhengzhou
May 1938

Nanjing
Dec 1937

Chongqing

Wuhan
Oct 1938

Shanghai
Nov 1937

Yichang
May 1940

Yangzi R.

Nanchang
Aug 1942

Wenzhou
July 1942

Dec 1944

Jan 1945

Jan 1945

Guilin
Nov 1944

Guangzhou
Oct 1936

Shantou
June 1939

TAIWAN

Under
Japanese
occupation
since 1895

Kowloon

Xiamen May 1938

Hong Kong
Dec 1941

HAINAN
Feb 1939

*South China
Sea*

0   200   400 km

0   100   200 mls

Furthest extent of
Japanese occupation
Dates show month
and year of occupation

- - - - - Railways

Ichigo campaign 1944

Figure 5.1 The Sino-Japanese War 1937–45.

- Since taking Shanghai in 1932, the Japanese had given little attention to strengthening their own defences, their warships in Shanghai harbour seeming to be particularly vulnerable.

In August, expecting to take the enemy by surprise, Jiang gave the order for his air force to begin bombing raids on the Japanese ships. But, by the time he gave the command, the attack was no longer a surprise since the NRA's written and radio messages had been intercepted; forewarned, the ships had raised anchor and broken formation. This disorientated the Chinese pilots, who missed their targets at sea and bombed Shanghai itself, in the process killing far more Chinese civilians than Japanese troops.

Claiming that the attack gave them the right to reinforce their position, the Japanese prepared to send a number of fresh divisions to the Shanghai region. Jiang, desperate to retake Shanghai before these divisions arrived, ordered an all-out attack on the city. Ferocious fighting ensued over a period of nine weeks. In a reversal of the Nationalists' initial attack, planes from the Japanese carriers bombed the Chinese positions outside Shanghai, an assault accompanied by heavy shelling from the Japanese warships. Attacks by Chinese ground troops were repeatedly repulsed by the Japanese, who were reinforced by newly arriving marine units.

The NRA's attempt to break the Japanese defences was finally abandoned when an amphibious Japanese landing south of Shanghai resulted in the Chinese being outflanked and open to attack from the rear. A retreat was ordered, but rather than being an orderly withdrawal towards Nanjing along the protective prepared lines, it became a rout. Sensing that Nanjing was now within their grasp, the Japanese rejected Jiang Jieshi's belated appeal for a truce. The casualty figures indicated the scale of the struggle over Shanghai: a quarter of a million Chinese were killed, while Japan suffered 50,000 losses.

By 1938, Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Nanjing had all fallen to Japan, disasters which obliged the GMD government to withdraw their capital west up the Yangzi River to Chongqing (see the map on page 108). It was the taking of Nanjing that first brought to the world's attention the true character of the Japanese occupation of China.

Character of the war: Japanese brutality

The grimmest aspect of the Sino-Japanese War was the savagery with which the occupiers treated the Chinese. Easy military successes early in the war confirmed the deeply held conviction of the Japanese that they were a superior race, entitled to treat those they defeated with contempt. It was an equivalent Japanese notion to the Nazi concept of Germans as the master race. One of the commanders of the first Japanese invasion force to arrive in China in 1937, Sakai Ryu, declared: 'The Chinese people are bacteria infesting world civilization.' Lieutenant Ryukichi of the Imperial Japanese Army remarked to a foreign

correspondent, 'you and I have diametrically different views of the Chinese. You may be dealing with them as human beings, but I regard them as swine. We can do anything to such creatures.'

SOURCE A

> ? What is there about the photo in Source A that suggests it was posed?

The aftermath of a Japanese air raid on Shanghai in 1937. Although the picture appears to have been composed by the photographer, there is little doubt that what became an iconic image represented the reality of the Japanese bombardments of Chinese cities.

The rape of Nanjing 1937

It was the Japanese contempt for the Chinese that created the frenzied bloodlust which resulted in arguably one of the worst atrocities in twentieth-century warfare: the rape of Nanjing. In December 1937, after spirited resistance and the refusal of its defenders to surrender, the city eventually fell to the Japanese attackers. Responding to the specific instruction of their commander, Asaka Yasuhiko, 'to kill all captives', the Japanese soldiers engaged in a sustained month-long programme of murder and terror. The statistics tell the grim story:

- 300,000 Chinese people were slaughtered during the four-week period.
- The ways of killing included shooting, bayoneting, beheading, burying alive, soaking in kerosene and setting on fire, and suspending on meat hooks.
- 20,000 girls and women were serially raped regardless of their age. Many were so abused that they died from the rape itself or the mutilations that were inflicted afterwards.

- A Japanese private later confessed, 'We sent out coal trucks to the city streets and villages to seize a lot of women. And then each of them was allocated to 15 to 20 soldiers for sexual intercourse and abuse.'
- Half the city was burned to ashes.

Among the many eyewitness accounts was the following (Source B) diary entry:

SOURCE B

From an eyewitness account by a member of the International Committee of Westerners in Nanjing, quoted in Shuhsi Hsu, editor, *Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone*, Kelly & Walsh (Shanghai), 1939, pp. 34–7.

Robbery, murder, rape continued unabated. A rough estimate would be at least a thousand women raped last night and during the day. One poor woman was raped thirty-seven times. Another had her five months infant deliberately smothered by the brute to stop its crying while he raped her. Resistance means the bayonet …

On Ninghai Road, half a tin of kerosene oil was taken away from a boy by force and the boy bitterly beaten when asked to carry the same. At Yin Yang Ying at about 8 a.m. a Japanese grasped at food freely. At Pin Chen Shan No. 6, one pig was taken away by Japanese soldiers. A number of ponies have been taken away by five Japanese soldiers. Several girls living in No. 121 Ho Lu were raped after all the men living together with them as refugees were chased away. One teahouse master's daughter, aged 17 years, was raped by seven Japanese soldiers and died on the 18th. Last night, three Japanese soldiers raped four girls between six and ten o'clock. One old man reported his daughter was raped by several Japanese soldiers. Three girls were taken away by Japanese soldiers last night from the Girls' College and returned to No. 8 Tao Hsin Tsun in bad condition this morning. In Pin An Shan, a girl was raped by three Japanese soldiers and died. Raping, robbery, and searching are happening along the Yin Yang Ying.

The soldiers are looting the places mentioned above continually, and all the jewellery, money, watches, and clothes of any sort are taken away. At present, women of younger ages are forced to go with the soldiers every night who send motor trucks to take them and release them the next morning. More than 30 women and girls have been raped. The women and children are crying all the night. Conditions inside the compound are worse than we can describe.

In what ways do the details in Source B depict the manner in which Chinese civilians were treated by the Japanese occupiers?

The conduct of the Japanese troops in Nanjing was intended to spread terror among local populations throughout China by illustrating what would happen to them if they resisted. The only recourse for many Chinese in the occupied cities was to flee into the international concession areas in the hope that these would provide a safety zone which the Japanese would not enter. Sometimes, they received protection but, as shown in Source B, there were many instances when the Japanese simply ignored protocol and pursued the Chinese into the concessions. A resident in one of the concession areas in Nanjing recorded that

'the Japanese paid no heed to international law or justice. At night they climbed the wall that surrounded the "safety zone" and descended on the women inside.'

Although the behaviour of the troops in Nanjing was not officially sanctioned by Tokyo, the Japanese army in China had soon gained a worldwide notoriety for its savagery towards both its military and civilian captives. In the words of the **war-crimes arraignment**, 'Wherever the Japanese army went, they burned as well as committed mass murder.' Attempts were made by Japan to justify this as an act of retribution for a massacre in July 1937 of Japanese personnel by Chinese troops at Tongzhou, capital of the East Hebei puppet state. But it is significant that the Japanese government was at pains to prevent its own people from learning of the violence that invariably accompanied Japan's military conquests.

A living reminder today of Japan's war crimes is the knot of elderly ladies, known as '**comfort women**', dwindling in number year by year, who continue to gather on certain dates in China's main cities to demand compensation for the horrors they suffered 80 years earlier.

100 Regiments Campaign 1940

This offensive was undertaken by Mao's Communists to convince the GMD and the Chinese people of the dedication of the CCP to the anti-Japanese struggle. It followed a period of relative quiet when the Japanese, having seized a large number of provinces and cities by 1938, slowed their advance and concentrated on consolidating the gains already made. In August 1940, under the overall command of **Peng Dehuai**, the Communist forces, numbering 400,000 troops in over 100 regiments, undertook a series of attacks on Japanese positions in northern and central China. For two months the Communists had considerable success. A number of Japanese garrisons were overrun and over 600 miles of railway line destroyed along with extensive damage to roads, bridges and canals. However, by December 1940, the Japanese counter-offensive had regained the territory lost earlier. Some 100,000 Communists, a quarter of their force, were killed.

Recriminations followed within the CCP. Mao dismissed Peng Dehuai, not simply for being defeated by the Japanese but for causing the CCP to lose reputation among the Chinese people. What had also angered Mao was that the 100 Regiments Campaign had revealed to Jiang Jieshi the true size and disposition of the Communist forces. It was certainly the case that Jiang exploited the defeat of the Communists to renew his attack on them. In a set of ambushes and surprise raids in January 1941, the Nationalist forces inflicted 4000 casualties on the retreating Communists. It was clear that Jiang regarded them as a greater enemy than the Japanese. He was making a fiction of the supposed GMD–CCP United Front against the occupier.

🔑 KEY TERMS

War-crimes arraignment In 1946, an International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE) was set up in Tokyo, before which thousands of Japanese war criminals were arraigned and tried.

Comfort women Chinese females who were forced to work in the brothels specially set up for the troops of the Japanese army.

🔑 KEY FIGURE

Peng Dehuai (1898–1974)

One of Mao's ablest commanders and one of the few Communists with the courage to criticise Mao openly. Mao tolerated him because of his abilities as a soldier.

Further Japanese terror

The Japanese response to the 100 Regiments Campaign showed that the rape of Nanjing had not been an isolated case of savagery. Under the 'Three All' slogan – 'Kill all, Burn all, Loot all' – Japanese forces launched a terror campaign against the population in the areas which had supported the Communist attacks. Murder, mutilation and rape were the order of the day. Whole villages were systematically destroyed.

Chinese collaboration with the Japanese

As Japan gained ground in China it sought to consolidate its military hold by enlisting Chinese leaders who were willing to cooperate in the setting up of nominally independent areas. In an effort to wreck the United Front, Japan, which saw the Communists as the major enemy, offered to recognise Jiang Jieshi as the national spokesman for China if he would abandon his alliance with the CCP. Jiang refused. While it is true that his ultimate objective was the defeat of the Communists, he was not willing to abandon his claim to the leadership of China by throwing in his lot with the Japanese.

However, there were lesser figures who did respond to the occupiers' approaches. One such was Wang Jingwei, a former colleague of Jiang (see page 77). Judging that China could not win the war, Wang agreed in 1940 to become the head of what the Japanese called 'the New Government of China'. From Nanjing, the captured former capital, Wang denounced Jiang and his Nationalist government as traitors to the true interests of China. Wang's rival government survived for four years until his death in 1944. But it was never able to match either the GMD at Chongqing or the CCP at Yanan as an expression of Chinese aspirations. Without the backing of the occupying forces, Wang's government was powerless.

International reaction to the Sino-Japanese War

The savagery of the Japanese in Nanjing and elsewhere appalled international opinion. Newsreels carried grim pictures of Japanese atrocities in China into cinemas worldwide. Indeed, Western perceptions of the horror of modern warfare were often drawn from the scenes of the Japanese bombing of Chinese civilians as depicted in these films. Yet this did not create any real determination on the part of the international community to become involved in the struggle. The League of Nations continued to criticise Japanese excesses, but its protests were little more than gestures. The Americans similarly condemned Japan for its illegality. Yet, although individual volunteers, such as General **Claire Chennault** and his team of 'flying tigers', fought for the Chinese, the USA as a nation was not ready to become directly engaged in the China struggle. It preferred at this stage to guard its Pacific interests against Japanese expansion by economic rather than military sanctions.

🔑 **KEY FIGURE**

Claire Chennault (1893–1958)

A Texan hero figure who built a team of fighter pilots and, independently of the US government, fought for Jiang Jieshi against the Japanese and the Communists.

Europe's response

Europe was no more willing than the USA to respond actively. France and Britain individually expressed anger at Japan's treatment of the Chinese, but, apart from taking extra precautions to safeguard their own interests in the region, they made no positive move to resist Japan. It is true that they recognised and paid verbal tributes to Jiang Jieshi as leader of the Chinese people in their resistance to the aggressor, but, right up to the time of Pearl Harbor (see page 116), Western commercial links with Japan were maintained. In the case of the Western oil companies, their volume of trade with Japan actually increased between 1937 and 1941 as they sought to cash in on Japan's growing need for fuel.

As for the **Axis powers**, Japan's humiliation of China earned their approval. As Fascist states, they looked upon Japan as an oriental version of themselves. Such convergence of feeling became formalised with the creation in 1936 of the **Anti-Comintern Pact**. Germany was naturally cautious in regard to Japanese expansion since it still hankered after its former territories in the Far East. But, on the broader political issues, Japan and Germany now had much in common. The result was that Germany was prepared to give Japan a free hand in its dealings with China.

The reluctance of the international powers to become involved meant that in the initial stages of the Sino-Japanese War, 1937–41, China stood alone. There was thus no restriction on the way Japan behaved. International tensions elsewhere meant that Japan's full-scale attack on the Chinese mainland between 1937 and 1941 met no significant foreign opposition. Consequently, Japan was able to overrun large parts of the central and southern coastline of China, and make major incursions inland. By 1940, Japan had sent over 750,000 ground troops to China. This was a huge drain on men and **materiel**. But once Japan had made the commitment, it could not easily detach itself unless it achieved complete victory. That it did not achieve that victory was ultimately due to the entry of the USA into the war in China.

Role of the USA in China 1939–41

US foreign policy during the 1930s was one of neutrality. The USA did not wish to become embroiled in foreign issues. The major exception to that was its attitude to Japan, with which it developed a mutual antipathy.

Reasons for American–Japanese hostility

The following factors help to explain the growing tension between Japan and the USA:

- Naval rivalry: Japan resented the restrictions on its naval expansion laid down at the 1922 **Washington Conference**, for which it blamed the USA.
- The great powers were competing over the control of the Pacific.

- Growing Japanese militarism alarmed the US government.
- Japan was embittered by the USA's immigration laws, which treated the Japanese as inferiors.
- The Anti-Comintern Pact of 1936 aroused American fears that with Germany as an ally, Japan would feel free to increase its expansionist aims in Asia and the Pacific rim.
- Japan was aware of its economic vulnerability and dependence on the USA, with nearly two-thirds of Japan's imports, mainly oil, cotton and iron, coming from America. Most significant of all, by the late 1930s Japan received 90 per cent of its oil supplies from the USA.
- Japan in 1939 calculated that it now had sufficient economic reserves for only two years ahead and only one year in the event of war.

Despite these underlying tensions, the USA for much of the 1930s clung to a set of basic principles which it held should govern international relations and which accorded with its maintenance of neutrality. These included:

- respect for territorial integrity
- non-intervention
- equal economic opportunity
- maintenance of the *status quo* in the Pacific.

However, by the late 1930s, Japan's brutal occupation of China and its growing ambitions towards south-east Asia suggested to many in the US administration that these principles were no longer realistic and that conflict with Japan might be unavoidable.

Immediate steps leading to US involvement in China 1939–41

There followed a series of developments which changed the character of the Sino-Japanese War:

- 1939: the USA cancelled existing US–Japanese trade agreements.
- July 1940: Japan began the construction of airfields in northern Indo-China, bringing much of south-east Asia within bombing range. The USA immediately reacted by pointedly granting a large loan to China. In the same month, the USA introduced an Export Control Act, restricting the sale of arms and supplies to Japan. In the following months, similar restrictions were placed on the export of aviation oil to Japan.
- September 1940: Japan entered into a Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy, committing each party to retaliate militarily against any country which attacked any one of them.
- April 1941: the USSR and Japan signed a Non-Aggression Pact which left Japan confident that it was safe from northern attacks.
- July 1941: Japan claimed authority over the whole of Indo-China. The USA responded by immediately freezing Japanese assets in the USA.
- September 1941: an American embargo was imposed on oil exports to Japan.

- March to November 1941: talks between the Fumimaro Konoe and Cordell Hull, the respective Japanese and American foreign ministers, were personally friendly, but did not narrow the gap between the two governments.
- September 1941: the Tokyo government approved plans for an aerial attack on Pearl Harbor.
- 26 November 1941: the USA demanded unavailingly that Japan withdraw all its forces from occupied China. On the same day, the Japanese attack force set sail for Pearl Harbor.

AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF JAPAN

The surrender of Japan in 1945 was followed by a foreign occupation force into the country. As Japan had been defeated mainly by the actions of the United States' armed forces, the responsibility for occupation, disarmament and reform of Japan was primarily assumed by the U.S. government. The American General Douglas McArthur became the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) to accept the surrender and to carry out the occupation. For all practical purposes, he ruled Japan until 1951. Legally the occupation force in Japan was under international control, but in practice it was an American affair. Although the Emperor Hirohito was retained, but SCAP worked through the bureaucracy and the traditional offices at almost every level.

According to the Far Eastern Commission (FEC), the occupation of Japan was to achieve two major objectives: (a) to adopt such measures that Japan might not again endanger peace and security of the U.S.A. and the world; and (b) to insure the eventual establishment of a peaceful, responsible and democratic government in Japan. These objectives were be achieved by the following methods: (i) by completely disarming and demilitarizing Japan, (ii) by democratizing and demilitarizing the industries, and at the same time affording the Japanese the opportunity to develop an economy which would meet the requirements of a peace-loving population, and (iii) by encouraging individual liberties and respect for fundamental human rights as well by helping in the formation of democratic and representative organizations in Japan. General Macarthur, being entrusted with enforcing these objectives, set out earnestly to democratize, which meant Americanize to him, and to eliminate all traces or militarism from Japan.

To carry out these objectives the United States wanted to dismantle the structure of militarism and expansionism which had led Japan to war and to suppressing its own people at home. The United States felt that the big business houses and the military exercised excessive control over the system and they, through government control, spread an Emperor based ideology which created a pliant and submissive citizenry. Therefore, the people who carried out these policies would have to be purged and the system opened and made more democratic and less centralized.

Political Implications

The first problem was the position of the Emperor. Although there was a debate over the question whether he should be tried and executed as being responsible for was, General MacArthur, as well as the conservatives in Japan, supported the continuation of the Emperor as any action against him would lead to social disorder. However, the Emperor was forced to renounce his divinity.

The next step the Occupation authorities took was drafting the new constitution. This process involved producing many drafts. The first was produced by a Japanese government committee headed by Shidehara Kijuro, a diplomat, but MacArthur thought the draft was too cautious and had his own members produce a draft which would satisfy the conditions for establishing a democratic system. The draft produced by the General headquarters Government Section (GS) in early 1946 was promulgated in November 1946. The new constitution transferred sovereignty from the Emperor to the People. The Emperor became "a symbol of state and unity of the people". This was a far reaching change from the principles of the Meiji constitution. The Diet continued to have two houses but the earlier House of Peers' was changed into an elected House of Councillors and the main legislative power was with the lower House of Representatives. The cabinet was collectively responsible to the Diet. The judiciary became constitutionally independent.

The other major departures from the Meiji constitution were:
1. Women were given the power to vote and legal equality with men;
2. The principle of local autonomy was also written into the constitution;
3. The most radical departure was Article 9 which renounced Japan's right to wage war.

The article states that the "Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes." It goes on to say that war potential, that is land, sea and air forces will never be maintained and the right of belligerency of the State will not be recognized. This article had far reaching consequences even though it was modified in practice as the demands of United States policy required Japan to develop her military capability.

In the new political structure the Home Ministry and police which had exercised close control over the

people were broken into smaller units and their authority reduced. Labour laws guaranteed the workers right to organize and take collective actions and the communists and other progressives who had been jailed before the war because of their opposition to the government's policies were set free.

The first post-war general election was held in April 1946. Till then the cabinets had been constituted by appointments and not elections. The general elections served to confirm the peoples' acceptance of the new constitution. However, no party emerged with a clear majority and Yoshida Shigeru, who became prime minister, headed an unstable government.

The elitist education system, which was seen by the Occupation Powers as having inculcated blind obedience and submission to authority, was sought to be overhauled. It was argued that the ideas of reverence for the Emperor and of the uniqueness of the Japanese were spread through the highly controlled education system. The Occupation reduced the power of the Ministry of Education and a system based on the United States system was adopted. In this there were six years of compulsory primary education and then three years secondary and three years of high school followed by four years university. Co-education was introduced. The decentralization of education and the creation of local boards were crucial in democratizing the system.

Economic Implications

The Occupation powers also carried out important changes in the economy. When Japan surrendered it had lost an estimated one-fifth of its resources. Even though there were huge losses in industrial equipment and many factories had been dismantled much of the productive capacity of the heavy and chemical industry remained intact. There was a serious shortage of civilian goods as the economy had been diverted to producing for the war. Inflation and lack of food in the cities made life difficult though there was not the kind of starvation that existed in China or the Philippines which had suffered under Japanese rule.

The SCAP initially played a punitive role. It was believed that Japan's industrial capacity was responsible for its aggression and therefore this capacity, which had made it the leading industrialized country in Asia, be reduced. To this end the **zaibatsu** were dissolved and extensive land reforms carried out with the aim of introducing decentralization and democracy. The land reforms helped to avert a crisis in rural Japan where the population had risen because of the returning soldiers and consequent hardship was felt by the small farmers who formed 70% of the rural population. Land ceilings and Confiscation of land from large holders together with the setting up of agricultural cooperatives, helped to stabilize the rural areas.

SCAP policy began to change when in 1946 food aid was provided to Japan. By the middle of 1948 the goal clearly became one of rebuilding a strong and self-reliant Japan. Many U.S. planners, even before the war had ended, had seen in Japan an ally against the rising power of communism in China which they feared would form a monolithic ally with the Soviet Union. In Japan also, many leaders were fearful of a socialist revolution caused by the defeat in war and in part the speed with which they surrendered was motivated by this fear.

This change of direction is often called the "reverse course" and it became clear once the Korean War broke out in 1953. In August 1950 a National Police Reserve had been set up and by 1954 a Self Defence Agency and Self Defence Forces was set up. In the San Francisco Treaty of September 1951 a bilateral mutual security treaty was concluded in which it was made clear that Japan would increasingly assume the responsibility for its own defence. Similarly many other changes were carried out both by the Occupation powers and after Japan became independent by the new government so the reverse course spans the occupation period and the initial years of the new government's rule. Because of the changed objectives Japan benefited from access to U.S. capital, technology and market.

Japanese Reactions to the Occupation

Japanese reactions to the Occupation were not highly ideological but motivated by practical necessity. The U.S. forces had expected to meet resistance when they entered Japan but they were surprised at the general welcome they received. This was because of the fact that most of the Japanese were tired of war. Moreover, SCAP controlled the mass media and could spread its views and ideas without any controversy. Finally, the reforms that the SCAP carried out benefited large sections of Japanese society introducing such rights which had till then been denied to them. For example, the new rights given to women were not the

product of a movement. In fact, according to surveys most women were not interested in these rights.

The U.S. Occupation has therefore been looked upon by some scholars as the beginning of democracy in Japan. To them it marks a break in the flow of Japanese history when very new ideas and practices were forcibly introduced into Japanese society. Today, many Japanese scholars have been re-looking at pre-war developments to argue that the basis for Occupation reforms was already being laid and that the search for the roots of Japanese democracy should go back to the popular movements in the Meiji period. In spite of these differing views the Occupation period marks an important interlude during which internal changes were initiated. Japan was linked closely to United States foreign policy objectives and a firm ally. Finally it must be mentioned that the Occupation saw two very strong figures emerge on the political scene in Japan. One was General Douglas MacArthur, who played a decisive role in moulding and directing Occupation policies and the other was Yoshida Shigeru who became the first Prime Minister of post-war Japan under the new constitution. He laid the basis for the post-war structure of Japan. A conservative, Yoshida saw that Japan's future lay in an alliance with the United States and in concentrating on economic development, the two pillars on which Japan's development was carried out.

CONTRASTING RESPONSE OF JAPAN AND CHINA: CAUSES

The ways in which China and Japan responded in the nineteenth century to the Western impact form an arresting study in contrasts. How did it come about that the Japanese alone met the Western intrusion with vigour, seeking survival in strong, independent nationhood and readily employing modern science and technology to refashion traditional Japanese society on industrial foundations, while the Chinese in the same years failed to make a positive, constructive response? Satisfying answers are the more elusive because what actually happened was just the reverse of what informed contemporaries might well have predicted. They might have noted that Japan was at a grave physical disadvantage in the struggle for power and wealth. Her farmlands were crowded, her minerals scanty. She was not well located either as to materials or markets. In mid-nineteenth century, she was still bound by feudalism and by the self-conscious power of a warrior caste antagonistic to modernization. In contrast, China might have seemed ready for the modem world. In location and wealth, she was superior. She had traditions of freedom and social mobility, of private property, of pragmatism and materialism, of humane political ideals, and of knowledge as the key to office. All in all China appeared uniquely equipped to adopt the secular, rational, utilitarian democratic culture of the West. Yet it was Japan, not China, that embraced the modem world in the nineteenth century. No simple explanation can explain why and how this occurred but the following factors are suggestive of the processes at work.

1. Traditional philosophical attitudes, especially those attributable to Confucianism and Taoism, with their emphasis on indirection, may well have conditioned the Chinese response. In Japan, the code of the samurai taught that an enemy was met by direct action, and most of Japan's Meiji leaders were samurai.
2. Most important in Japan's response was her capacity to combine the two essential conditions of successful adaptation and growth: *a*. leadership in technological and social change, and *b.* teamwork and discipline in organization, giving order and momentum to the process of change. The fitness of the leaders to rule and the willingness of the majority to follow characterized Japanese organization.
3. Japan's response was aided by the fact that her society, above the family, was more pluralistic in structure than was China's. Initiative in Japan thus tended to be dispersed among a number of centers. Groups such as the business elite, barred from the hereditary aristocracy, had built their own money power, thereby undermining the ruling caste; particular families, such as the Western clans, became the pioneers in Western technology and later the leaders of political revolution.
4. Japan's response was more vigorous because her internal crisis, unlike that of China, was potentially revolutionary. Within Japan, the mid-century tensions were such that powerful elements of the ruling-class were ready to adopt modernization even if it meant the downfall of feudalism and the liquidation of their own class.
5. Historically Japan was a frontier society, a cultural borrower, and, as it happened, the Western impact reached her shores at the precise moment when internal frictions had already prepared the way for great changes in her society.

SINO-JAPANESE WAR II, 1937

Japan had important financial interests in China and had secured mandatory rights in some of the Pacific islands. For about ten years after the Washington Conference she adopted a conciliatory attitude towards China. The pacific contemplation was disliked by the militarist leaders of Japan, who sought extension of Japanese influence over China. Their ambition was reinforced by economic considerations and, in the result, a new phase of Japanese imperialism began with the invasion of Manchuria in 1931. On 18 September 1931, officers of the Kwantung Army in Manchuria overran Southern Manchuria. The pretext for this action was provided by an explosion near Mukden which slightly damaged the Japanese railway. The Kwantung army had been trying to look out for or even create such an opportunity since a long time but was deterred by the government in Tokyo. Manchuria was made 'independent' of China and a puppet government was installed and Pu Yi, the last of China's former Manchu emperors, was made head of the new state now called Manchukuo. The Japanese government was faced with a *fait accompli* and ultimately the cabinet had to approve the establishment of the puppet government in Manchuria. The Government of the United States had all along stood for the principle of "Open Door" involving equality of opportunity and she now could hardly be expected to view with complacency Japan's attempt to close the door by an imperialistic policy disguised under schemes of "new order" and "co-prosperity sphere". The United States strongly protested against Japan's Manchurian adventure and refused to accord official recognition to Manchukuo. She had made it clear that she would not accept any change in the status of China by the unilateral action of Japan. Japan which came under severe criticism for its activities in Manchuria from the world community withdrew from the League of Nations. This act symbolized Japan's parting of ways from the Western countries.

However, the Western powers did not come to the support of China against Japan's advancement. Japan after quick victory in Manchuria in 1933 resumed her operations in the northern provinces of China and Jehol was soon added to Manchukuo. Japan continued with its advances in China on a small scale and in intervals. It also intervened in the politics of the provinces especially those in the north and supported those political movements which might be willing to accept "autonomy" under the patronage of Japan. The Chinese opposition to Japanese expansion in their country increased and was further strengthened when Chiang Kai Shek reached an agreement with the communists in 1936 to join hands against Japan.

Japanese military leaders were convinced that to have a total domination of China, a large scale conflict was inevitable. The army was also dominated by men who believed in the Japanese expansionism on the mainland. Besides, it had become necessary to ease the political tension at home which was possible to some extent if the Japanese army made remarkable gains in China which was expected of them by the public.

On 7 July, 1937, fighting broke out, between Chinese and Japanese troops at Marco Polo Bridge and after a very short period this incident turned into a major war between the two countries. By August Peking and Tientsin were occupied. Hostilities spread further and Japanese captured Chiang Kai Shek's capital Nanking, in December 1937. The Japanese army indulged in full scale murder, loot and rape and about 12,000 Chinese civilians were killed. By 1938 Japan had captured Hankow (after Nanking, Chiang had moved his capital, to Hankow) and Canton. After the fall of Hankow Chiang again moved his capital to Chungking. Japan controlled several of the major cities and railways by 1938 but still its political control was not well consolidated. Japanese continued to face tough resistance from the Chinese guerrillas. Economically, maintaining its gains in China and fighting the guerrillas put a great strain on Japan.

Gradually, Japan was caught in the vortex of international events leading it to ultra-nationalism at home, world isolation and war with the United States.

## Trade and Urbanization under the Abbasids

Prior to the civil war, during the reign of Harun al-Rashid, Abbasid prosperity reached such heights that the real motors of imperial expansion may not have been as much military and political in nature as they were economic. Starting from the late eighth century onward, trade and agriculture connected the empire with the entire known world through networks of land and sea routes. By the 13th century, it is estimated that empire-wide trade had become the vital linchpin of a world system, tying the eastern Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean and both of them to China. The Abbasid Empire, a key player in world trade, was at the heart of this world system, if not its chief conduit, as Muslim, Christian, and Jewish merchants operating under its patronage bartered, bought, and used credit to ship textiles, food products, and livestock all over the empire and far beyond. Among the first items to be traded were wood, metal, sugar, and paper.

One of the chief reasons for the efficiency and success of long distance trade, whether by land or sea, was the unity imposed by Islamic rule. That unity was established from the very first outpouring of Muslim troops into the fertile and cultivable lands of the East Mediterranean and North Africa. Later on, Umayyad and then Abbasid control of the Mediterranean Sea and Indian Ocean created a clearly defined and homogeneous area for trans-empire trade, unified by Islamic customs and tied by the Arabic language. Bruce Stanley is of opinion that the Abbasids improved upon and established many critical trade routes: "Under the Abbasids (750–1256), the newly developed route from Basra to Mecca had to be laid out, provisioned with regular water via underground cisterns as well as *Khans* built for the thousands of pilgrims, and provided with ample security." To maintain Basra's pre-eminent position, implemented further massive construction projects, including canals, a river port, and major water provision. These projects allowed for more trade and accommodated "thousands of sailors who berthed in the city [Basra] during the days of the Abbasids." [However, historians have pointed out that while the Abbasid Empire at its height controlled a large proportion of the known world, there were at least two other economic zones that cooperated as well as came into conflict with the Muslim realm, and those were China and the yet-to-be unified and largely underdeveloped European states.]

[Sociologist Janet Abu Lughod has written that there were striking similarities between economic systems in Asia, the Islamic world, and the West, and that contrary to the belief that capitalism or a money-driven economy only developed in Europe, both the Islamic empire and China had created capital-intensive economies that competed fairly well with each other (Abu Lughod 1989, ISIS).] The Abbasids and, later on, the Italian merchants of the city-states minted coins in their rulers' names; in China, paper money was introduced in the early ninth century. Credit was widely available so that traders could buy in one place and guarantee payment in another. Banking appeared initially in the Islamic world and was later copied by Europeans: members of merchant families worked for family firms in disparate regions of the world and guaranteed long-term credit and cash payments in a pre-modern system of family banking. As a result, Muslim traders were able to establish trading posts as far away as India, the Philippines, Malaya, the East Indies, and China. Abu Lughod also shows that even in small Islamic city-states, there was a controlling oligarchy at the head that monopolized trade and organized traders.

According to historian K. N. Chaudhuri, there were four great Asian commodities bought and exchanged in medieval times: silk, porcelain, sandalwood, and black pepper (Chaudhuri 1985, 39). Other products complemented trans-regional trade, such as shipments of horses from the Gulf; incense from southern Arabia; and ivory, cloth, and metal. There were many important port cities that facilitated this regional trade. Until the advent of the Abbasid Empire, trade was mostly land based and carried out by camel caravans passing from ports such as Jeddah (western Arabia) to Egypt and Yemen. After the conquest of the eastern Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, Abbasid merchants were able to use the sea to great effect. New port towns developed or, in some cases, were redeveloped from small coastal

communities to large trading emporia. For instance, Basra in southern Iraq, although built as a garrison town for Islamic troops, quickly became a major trans-shipment route for goods from Syria, Baghdad, and the coastal Gulf islands to India. Until the 20th century, Basra remained the main port of shipment to Bombay (present-day Mumbai) and other cities in Western India. Other famous commercial centers in the Abbasid era were Siraf, a short distance away from Basra on the Persian side of the Gulf, Hormuz at the tip, Sohar in Oman, and Aden in Yemen. There were also the famous East African ports of Kilwa and Mombasa, from which sailors traveled across the Indian Ocean in ships that had been constructed without the use of a single nail.
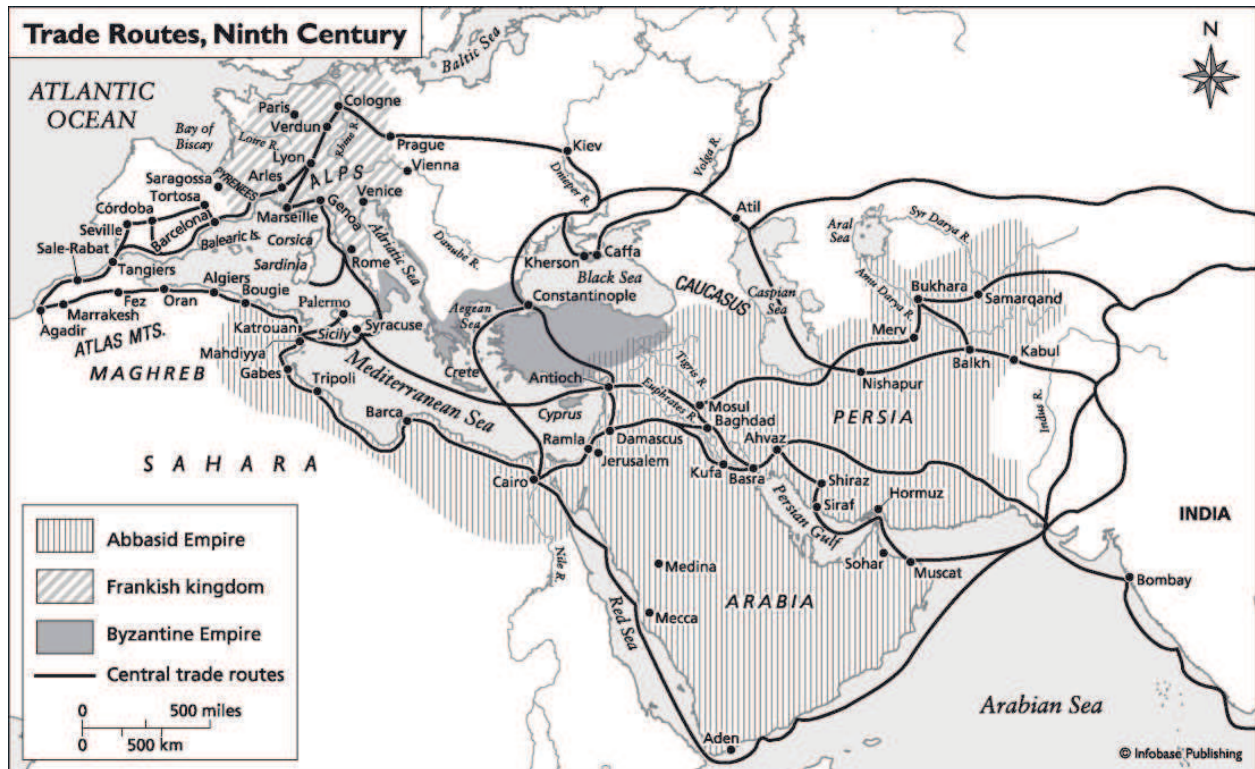
An Abbasid-era dirham, the unit of currency

Trade provided with the main impetus for urbanization. Islamic civilization flourished as the number of cities grew phenomenally. Many new cities were founded, mainly to settle Arab soldiers (*jund*) who formed the backbone of the local administration. Among this class of garrison-cities, called *misr* (the Arabic name for Egypt), were Kufa and Basrah in Iraq, and Fustat and Cairo in Egypt. Within half a century of its establishment as the capital of the Abbasid caliphate (800), the population of Baghdad had reached around 1 million. Alongside these cities were older towns such as Damascus, Isfahan and Samarqand, which received a new lease of life. Their size and population surged, supported by an expansion in the

production of food grains and raw materials such as cotton and sugar for urban manufactures. A vast urban network developed, linking one town with another and forming a circuit.

At the heart of the city were two building complexes radiating cultural and economic power: the congregational mosque (*masjid al-jami*), big enough to be seen from a distance, and the central marketplace (*suq*), with shops in a row, merchants' lodgings (*fanduq*) and the office of the money-changer. The cities were homes to administrators (*ayan* or eyes of the state), and scholars and merchants (*tujjar*) who lived close to the centre. Ordinary citizens and soldiers had their living quarters in the outer circle, each fitted with its own mosque, church or synagogue (Jewish temple), subsidiary market and public bath (*hammam*), an important meeting place. At the outskirts were the houses of the urban poor, a market for green vegetables and fruits brought from the countryside, caravan stations and 'unclean' shops, such as those dealing in tanning or butchering. Beyond the city walls were inns for people to rest when the city gates were shut and cemeteries. There were variations on this typology depending on the nature of the landscape, political traditions and historical events.

AGRARIAN TECHNIQUES AND PRACTICES DURING THE SULTANATE PERIOD

It will of course be unreasonable to expect that the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate would have effected any radical changes in the system of agricultural production, though the coming of certain new technologies seem to have helped irrigation and there was spread of some market crops. According to D.D. Kosambi, this change did no more than intensify the elements already present in Indian feudalism while the Muhammad Habib regards these to be not only radical but so progressive in nature that to him these deserved the designation of 'rural revolution'.

PLOUGH: An illustration in the *Miftah ul Fuzala*, a Persian lexicon compiled in about AD 1460 in Malwa, clearly shows the plough with an ironshare drawn by two yoked oxen. Unlike Europe, India could not developed horse-drawn wheeled-plough for the reason that Indian plough was light in weight suited for the soft soil.

SOWING: For sowing, the method of broadcasting was known. The practice was to scatter seeds manually by taking them out from a cloth-bag slung over shoulders. The time scale of seed-drill in India is controversial: some would trace it back to the Vedic age. At any rate, the only positive evidence for its use along the western coast of India comes from one Portuguese traveler Barbosa (1510 AD) in connection with wet-rice cultivation.

HARVESTING, THRESHING & WINNOWING: Harvesting was performed with a sickle, and threshing by using oxen that walked round and round over the ears put on the threshing floor. 'Wind Power' was exploited in winnowing in order to separate the chaff from the grain.

IRRIGATIONAL DEVICES: There were many sources of water for the purpose of irrigating fields. Rain water was the natural source. Ponds and tanks received this water which was used for irrigation water channels formed by inundation served the same purpose. But the most controlled source was the water of the wells, especially in Northern India. Almost all the irrigational devices were oriented towards drawing water from wells. The latter were more often than not masonry with raised walls and platforms. *Kuchcha* wells also existed, but these could not have been durable or strong enough for extensive water lifting.

There were five devices to raise water from wells:

1. The simplest technique was to draw water with rope and bucket by using hands without any mechanical aid.
2. The second method was the employment of pulleys (*charkhi*) combined to the rope-bucket contraption which was activated manually.
3. An improved method of the rope-bucket-pulley contraption was the employment of a pair of oxen to replace human power. At this stage, it had become a specialized device for drawing water intended specifically for irrigation. In some areas of Northern India it is still in operation known as *charasa*.
4. The fourth technique was what is considered to be semi-mechanical as it worked on the First Class Lever principle. A long rope is lashed to the fork of an upright beam or trunk of a tree to put it in a swinging position. The bucket is fastened to a rope whose other end is tied to the one of the swinging pole hovering over the well. The pole's other end carries a counterweight, a little heavier than the bucket when filled with water. This contraption requires a little effort only on the part of the person operating it. The device is known as *shaduf* in Egypt. It is called *Tulā* (Balance) in Sanskrit, but in Bihar and Bengal it is known as *Dhenkli* or *Lā·*.
5. The fifth water lifting method is called *saqiya* or *Persian Wheel*. None of the four mechanisms described above required wheels as their basic component. The water-wheel could well claim to be called a water-machine because of the employment of the gear system. With gears we enter upon a very advanced stage in the technological sense: it has been surpassed only now by electric tube-wells.

The five devices to raise water from wells described above can be put into two broad categories:

I. Intermittent or discontinuous water supply device, and
II. Continuous water supply system

The first for belonged to the former and the fifth to the latter category. Again, depending on the nature of the operative source, the first and the forth fall in the 'human power' category and the others were driven by 'animal power'.

Origin, ideology and physical patterns of Arab urbanization
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Origin, ideology and physical patterns of Arab urbanization

Adel A. Ismail

Pre-Islamic urbanization

The Nile Valley, Mesopotamia, and the Levant witnessed the development of early civilizations. These civilizations produced large cities in which certain urban planning measures were developed and used. Among these cities are Memphis, Thebes, Kahun, and Tell al-'Amarnah in Egypt; Uruk, Ur, and Ashur in Mesopotamia; Jericho, Jerusalem, Sidon, Aleppo, and Damascus in the Levant.

Alexander's conquest of Western Asia and Egypt in 334 B.C. led to their coming under the European sphere of political and cultural influence for the succeeding epochs of Macedonian, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine civilization.

The interpenetration of Greek and Semitic civilizations, initiated by Alexander's conquests and enhanced by Seleucid and Ptolemaic policies, gave rise to a new culture known as Hellenistic as distinct from the Hellenic or purely Greek. Hellenism became the dominant feature of the Middle East and North Africa in the three pre-Christian centuries. It remained an effective force for a thousand years, and until the rise of Islam.[1]

Hellenism was and remained a highly developed urban culture. Its beginning witnessed a great urban development. Alexander had founded twenty-five cities in an attempt to hellenize the East. Among them was Alexandria of Egypt. Seleucus founded no less than sixty cities. Chief among them was Antioch on the Orontes, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Laodicea (al-Ladhiqiyyah, or Latakia) on the Syrian coast, and A-pamea (Afamiyyah of classical Arabic, the present

Qal 'at al Madiq).[2] In addition, older urban settlements were colonized and hellenized. Among these was Rabbath Ammon (renamed Philadelphia in honor of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, today Amman, capital of Jordan),[3] Beroia (today Aleppo), Damascus, and the Phoenician cities. Greek in population and in language, these cities generally enjoyed constitutions of their own with privileges, rights and measures of democracy and civic independence.

Characteristic Hellenistic urban planning principles were the dominant feature among these cities. They appeared in a checkerboard road pattern, theaters, baths, gymnasiums, and forums, thus differing conspicuously from previous native establishments.[4]

The impact of pre-Islamic urbanization on early Islamic-Arab towns

The Moslem Arab conquerors took over numerous Hellenistic and Persian cities. These settlements were slow to be Islamized, which on the one hand had a physical effect on their Hellenistic or Persian features, and on the other hand influenced the patterns of newly founded Islamic-Arab settlements.

In cities like Aleppo and Damascus after the spread of Islam, the city walls continued to delimit an area which was organized around the ancient system of co-ordinates. The *jami'* mosque has taken the place of the agora. The Hellenistic checker-board structure was rendered ineffective by the build-up of the

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COMMUNITY SCALE	i	ii	iii	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
EKISTIC UNITS — MAN	ROOM	DWELLING	DWELLING GROUP	SMALL NEIGHBORHOOD	NEIGHBORHOOD	SMALL TOWN	TOWN	LARGE CITY	METROPOLIS	CONURBATION	MEGALOPOLIS	URBAN REGION	URBANIZED CONTINENT	ECUMENOPOLIS	
NATURE															
MAN															
SOCIETY								●	●●	●					
SHELLS								●	●●	●					
NETWORKS								●	●●	●					
SYNTHESIS									●						

individual quarters. The decomposition of the checker-board had in some places begun as early as the fourth century A.D.[5] But the development was consummated under the Moslem domination.

Selected Hellenistic fundamental institutions of urban life survived the Islamic conquest, and were even to provide a base for the later elements of the Islamic-Arab city, where the *sūq* developed from the colonnaded avenue, the *qaysarīyyah* and the *khān* from the basilika, the *hammām* from the thermae or ancient bath, and the court house from the Greek peristyle house.[6]

Other Hellenistic urban elements such as the gymnasium and theatre were to disappear from the Islamic-Arab town. These elements were functionally compensated for by the social and educational aspects of the mosque and — from the eleventh century onward — by the existence of special institutions of legal and religious learning, the *madrasahs*.[7]

The Hellenistic rectangular plan had a certain effect on several towns of Islamic origin in al-Maghreb and Egypt, where semirectangular plans were to appear at the beginning of urban settlements, such as: towns successively built on the site of Cairo (al-'Askar, al-Qata'i', and Al-Qāhirah), towns of Almohades (Rabāt,[8] Meknes, Taza, Qaṣabah of Marrakech, and Fez-Jadid or New Fez), Mernid towns built in the 14th century A.D. in Morocco, and Tunisian towns.[9]

The circular urban plan of Assyrian use was possibly effective in the eastern Islamic regions, where it was realized in the first Islamic settlements of Kūfa, Abbasid Baghdād of Al-Mansūr (Fig. 1), and in certain Islamic Iranian towns.[10]

Muqaddasi's theories on the typology of Islamic-Arab settlements and their regional organization (10th century A.D.)

The following is an attempt to follow the Arab line of thought on urban and regional development in a later period when Arab civilization had developed to the degree which enabled it to form its own measures and theories on urbanization.

Al-Muqaddasi (or al-Maqdīsī) is so called because he was born in Jerusalem (Bayt al-Maqdis). This urban geographer visited all the Moslem lands except Spain, Sijistan and India. In 985-6 A.D. he embodied an account of his 20 years of travel in a valuable work — Ahsan al-Taqāsim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm (The best of Classification for the Knowledge of Regions).

Muqaddasi was one of several other medieval Arab geographers who divided the Islamic greater region into sub-regions as a means of studying its settlements. His division resulted in fourteen sub-regions, and was most probably based on both the historical and sociopolitical identity of each region.[11]

Muqaddasi, after dividing the Islamic World into regions, or *aqalīm*, lists the settlement of every *iqlīm* according to a grading system:

Fig. 1: The layout of Baghdād, the round city
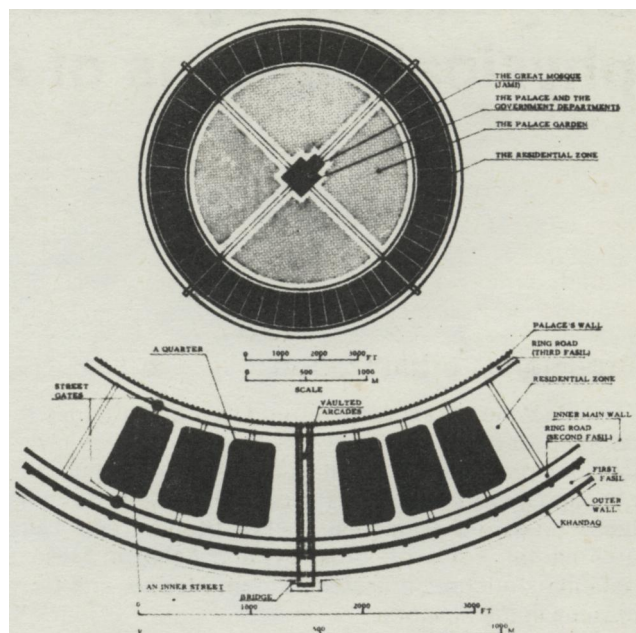
Source: Modified from K.A.C. Creswell, A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture, *Penguin Books, 1958, pp. 161-172.*

"In my grading system of settlements, the *amṣār* (sing. *miṣr*) are comparable to kings; the *qasabāt* (sing. *qaṣabah*) are comparable to ministers; the *mudun* (sing. *madīnah*) are comparable to cavalry men; and the *qura* (sing. *qaryah*) are comparable to soldiers... etc."[12]

Muqaddasi continues by explaining his system of analysis where he apparently uses two hierarchies one for the grading of settlements, and the other for the grading of regional units (Fig. 2).

Muqaddasi identifies the borders for each region, or *iqlīm*, and marks the main connecting highways, or *al-masālik*, which existed in his time. He also writes:

"Every *iqlīm* must have *kuwar* (sing. *kūrah*); every *kūrah* must have *qasabah*; every *qasabah* must have (or attract) *mudun* (sing. *madīnah*)... etc."[13]

In this statement Muqaddasi goes on to suggest a pattern of regional spatial distribution for regional units and their settlements (Fig. 2c). Then, he applies this system in grouping, listing and discussing every region and its settlements.

Elements and architectural patterns of the pre-industrial Arab city

In this chapter, each of the urban elements is briefly examined with regard to its origin, function, form, and possible location, or locations within pre-industrial urban patterns. Samples for each element are chosen from Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, and other pre-industrial Arab cities as well.

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The residential unit

For this analysis, the house represents a cell within the urban whole. The Arab word for house is *sakan* or *maskan*; it is related to the word *sakīnah* meaning peaceful and tranquillity. The inward looking *maskan*, open to the calm of the sky, made cool by the element of water, self-contained and peaceful, the deliberate antithesis of the harsh public world of work, warfare and commerce, is the place where the early Arab family found its *sakīnah*. The shape and form of the early Arab house are the outcome of several effective factors; such as Islamic philosophy and tradition, available building materials, family social life, and climate.

Islamic ideology is fundamentally hostile to luxurious dwellings and to lofty ones, which are symbols of pride and arrogance. Thus, the low-built house is characteristic of early Islamic-Arab settlements. Big apartment dwellings, except for certain cases, were rare in these cities.[14]
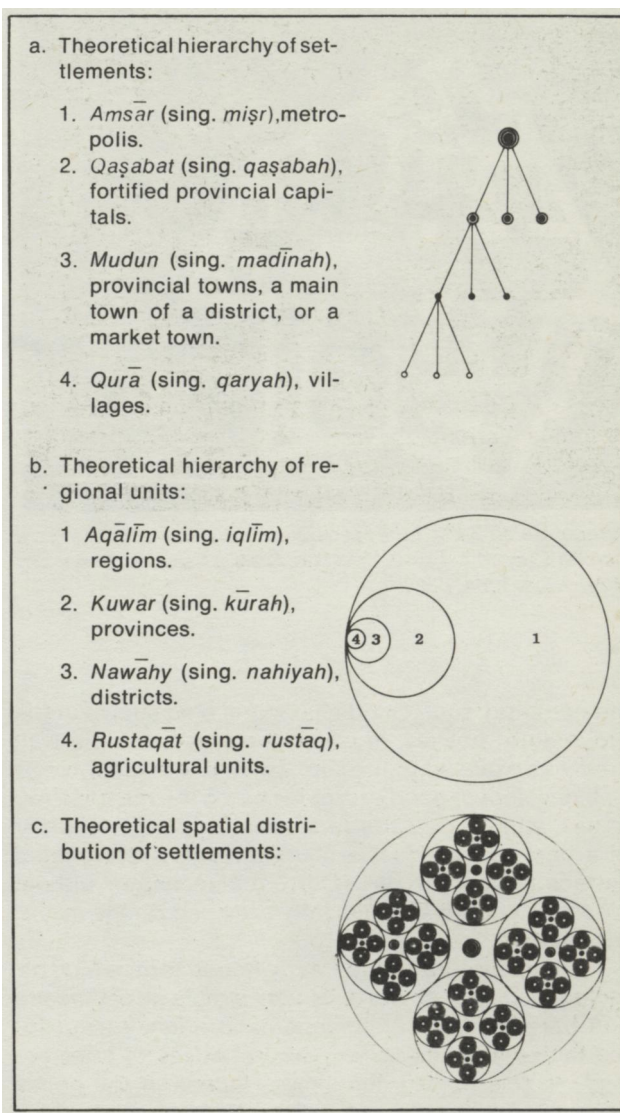
Islamic ideology has also encouraged the use of fragile and perishable materials in house building. Concern for durability is secondary. The use of fragile materials is a token of the insubstantiality of material things. This rule was not strictly observed in the later periods, where stone was also used whenever available for the wealthier homes.

The prescription against height, the use of fragile materials and the shutting out of the dusty hot climate, have encouraged the persistence of a pre-Islamic plan; the house with central court or patio. This house-form was already familiar to most of the Mediterranean area.

The organization of the Moslem family required that the house should provide maximum privacy and protect its dweller from the eyes of the outsider. These requirements led to the development of a 'double circulation' system, or the division of the house into *salāmlik* and *ḥaramlik*. Under this system, male friends of the dweller were to be received in the *salāmlik*, leaving the *ḥaramlik* as a private family sanctuary.

To achieve the 'double circulation,' several solutions were adopted in the house design. In some houses with a single court, the *ḥaramlik* was generally raised a few steps above the rest of the house. Some other houses were planned with two courts, one for men, a *salāmlik*, and the other for women, a *ḥaramlik*. Two story-houses were also built, where the *salāmlik* was on the ground floor, and the *ḥaramlik* on the upper floor.[15] The court in this house form was entered from the outside by a passage with one or two turnings to prevent the passerby in the street from seeing in (Fig. 3). The complex of the constituent buildings were arranged so as to secure the maximum privacy required. This oriented the house away from the street, receiving its light from the inner court. The windows and roofs were constructed in such a way as to prevent anyone intruding unseen into the intimacy of his neighbour's life. Whenever windows were opened from the

Fig. 2: Muqaddasi's grading of settlements and regional units, and their spatial distribution

a. Theoretical hierarchy of settlements:

1. *Amṣār* (sing. *miṣr*),metropolis.
2. *Qaṣabat* (sing. *qaṣabah*), fortified provincial capitals.
3. *Mudun* (sing. *madīnah*), provincial towns, a main town of a district, or a market town.
4. *Qurā* (sing. *qaryah*), villages.

b. Theoretical hierarchy of regional units:

1 *Aqālīm* (sing. *iqlīm*), regions.
2. *Kuwar* (sing. *kūrah*), provinces.
3. *Nawāhy* (sing. *nahiyah*), districts.
4. *Rustaqāt* (sing. *rustaq*), agricultural units.

c. Theoretical spatial distribution of settlements:

outside walls, trellises or *mashrabiyyahs* were projected on them. These *mashrabiyyahs* served to satisfy the curiosity of those who were indoors and could not be penetrated by the indiscretion of those who were outside.[16]

To deal with the regions' climatic problems, different measures were developed. Correct orientation was observed, whereby rooms of the house were opened into the patio or court facing the direction of the cool breeze. The court itself with a fountain in the middle and sometimes a tree, offered a tranquil and cool atmosphere that contrasted sharply with the hot burning street outside. Various parts of the house were to suit the different times of the day and year.[17] Semi-open spaces were for coolness and breeze, and closed rooms with no external walls for shelter from

Fig. 3: A one-court house from the first half of the 11th cen-
tury A.D., Al-Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo)
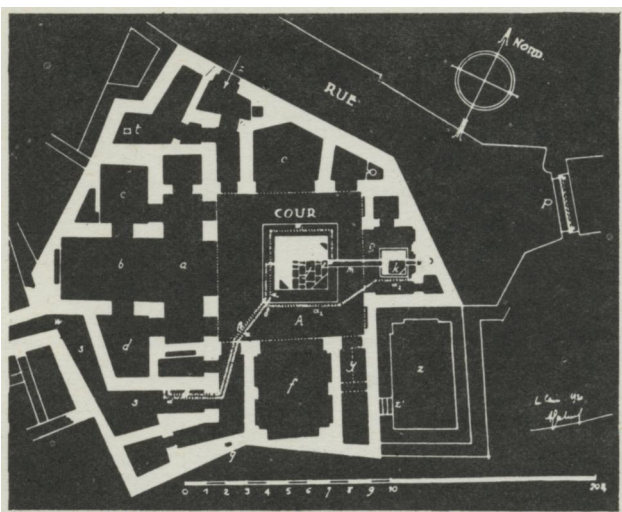
Source: Salah Said, An Approach to Housing Design for Low
Income Groups in Cairo, Doctoral Thesis, Catholic University
of America, 1964, p. 24.

the noon-day sun. Good shading is also shown in the
grouping of houses, in which the least possible wall
area was exposed to the sun. Cool air circulation was
well developed, good examples being the malqaf (trap
of air), and the salsabīl (a system for dropping water
in a pool in the house's court through a corrugated
surface to cool the air). Correct illumination without
gloom or glare was pleasantly provided by the mash-
rabiyyah.[18]

A significant trait of the early house form which af-
fected the urban scene is its very simple street facade
and bare walls with minimum decoration, except for
the lattice-work mashrabiyyah in houses of later pe-
riod. In this regard, the simple facade of the house
contrasted with its interior richness and comfort, which
in one way signifies the dweller's appreciation of com-
fort in preference to a care for the external appear-
ance.[19]

'Skyscrapers' of eight or more floors are found in
Hadramaut and in other cities of southern Yemen.[20]
These big buildings are of pre-Islamic origin. Other
than cities of southern Yemen, the use of such big
apartment dwellings in early Islamic periods was limit-
ed to certain of the central districts of the very largest
cities.

From the medieval writers' descriptions of al-Fusṭāṭ
(later included in Cairo) in the 10th century A.D., it is
known that this city had big residential apartment
houses, five to seven stories high with roof-gardens.
Due to the high population density, each building was
to house between 200 to 350 residents.[21]

No ground plans for such early apartment houses
have survived till the present time. Hypothetically, it

could be possible that there was a degree of similarity
between these apartment houses, and the ones of
southern Yemen. This hypothesis could find support
in the fact that some districts of al-Fusṭāṭ at the time
housed Arab descendants of tribes from Yemen.

The residential quarter of harah

The composition of residential quarters on an ethnic
basis appeared in cities of pre-Islamic origin. In the
cases of newly-founded Islamic cities the Arabs settled
by tribe, each having its own quarter,[22] which intro-
duced early nomadic Arab social values into urban life.
Thus, the development of the quarter as a social, poli-
tical and physical phenomenon was consummated
under the Moslem domination.

In the later middle ages, the quarter phenomenon
was fully developed, where Islamic-Arab cities became
divided into districts called ḥārahs, maḥallahs, or khiṭ-
ṭahs. Many of these quarters maintained a solidarity
and were closely-knit and homogeneous communities.
Each district retained a special character.[23]

The solidarity of some districts was based on re-
ligious identity. Each of the Christian, Jewish, Arme-
nian and Maronite peoples had their own quarter.
Among the Moslems, different ethnic or social groups
lived apart. There were quarters for Turkmans, Per-
sians, Kurds, and Bedouin in process of sedentariza-
tion. For the dominant Arab-Moslem population, com-
mon village origin unified some urban districts. The
solidarity of some other Moslem quarters depended
on sectarian religious affiliations. In this case, there
had been no prior unity of race, origin, or family, but
unity had grown out of the eventual association of the
whole quarter with the school or madrasah and under
the leadership of the sheikh.

There was also an economic basis for the homo-
geneity of particular quarters. Some were named after
a market or craft. A common occupation often gave
these quarters their special character. Mills, lime
works, brick kilns, dye works, and tanneries drew
workers into separate districts. There is no evidence,
however, of any radical separation of economic
classes. Quarters were communities of both rich and
poor.

The solidarity of the quarter was reinforced by the
important social and administrative responsibilities
which devolved upon it. Administrative responsibilities
extended to police functions as well. Social and ad-
ministrative cohesiveness naturally extended to com-
munal defense. In insecure times, when thieves, ban-
dits, civil war, or invasion threatened, the quarters bar-
ricaded themselves behind great doors, closed off
the thoroughfares to the rest of the city, and hid them-
selves from attack. But however cohesive within, the
quarters were not isolated ghettos, but adjacent streets
and districts within the cities. Only in times of trouble,
not in their daily life, did they impose a quasi-physical
isolation sealing themselves off from each other.

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Each quarter, being a small fortified self-sufficient neighbourhood, was able to live independently when necessary (Fig. 4). It contained its own mosque or church or school (*madrasah*), public bath (*ḥammām*), small local market (*suweqah* or small *sūq*), and perhaps workshops, especially for weaving. Characteristically, these elements were physically isolated from the bustle of the main central city markets (the great *sūq* or *bāzār*) and their services were limited to their own quarter.

However, it was not a rule that every quarter was a real unit of social organization, or had an identical economic base, or was physically bordered. In some cases, a large area containing more than one quarter was the unit of effective social action, or presented an economical function, or had a physical identity. Therefore, quarters or *ḥārahs* were neighbourhoods within the urban whole, but their size varied.[24]

Religious institutions

In medieval Islam, religion, law, education and government were so integrated that an orthodox Moslem would hardly try to distinguish them as separate entities. Therefore, the classic *jāmi'* mosque was to function as a religious entity, a court of justice, and an intellectual and educational center. It was also a place of secular activity, such as eating and drinking, as well as providing recreation for many people.[25]

The *jāmi'* mosque being the hub of the city, was in general appropriately placed at a rectangular crossing of two main thoroughfares, where the plan of the city permitted. Its integration with the rest of the city and the narrowness of the streets surrounding it, determined its form.

The *jāmi'* mosque did not have any obvious elevations except for the entrance portal. But it has other identifying signs which characterize its form. These are the minaret and the dome. The minaret was the tallest structure in the city. It marked the skyline of the early urban scene.

As the cities expanded and the need for public services multiplied accordingly, most of the *jāmi'* mosque's functions were transferred to other departmentalized buildings converted to such usages, but always in close proximity to the mosque.

Learning institutions

Learning and the manifestation of piety were inseparable in Islam. Institutions of Islamic learning started to function in the early days of Islam. *Ribāṭs* were originally places where defenders of the faith gathered, but they also had an educational mission. *Khānqahs* were particularly for the Ṣūfis. *Zāwiyahs* were places for religious people to live in. By the time of the early Mamlūks, there was no great difference between one and the other, and the application of the term monasteries for the three kinds is justified.[26]

Fig.I4: A residential quarter, Damascus

Source: Jean Sauvaget, "Esquisse d'une histoire de la ville de Damas," Revue des études islamiques, Vol. VIII, No. 4, 1934, p. 452.

Monasteries were occupied by Ṣūfis and ascetics. Many were strangers, mainly from other Islamic regions. Some were independent ascetics, others were members of one *ṭariqah* (order) or another. Such *tariqahs* were numerous in the Moslem world, and by the 13th A.D./7th A.H. century they had become well organized. There were also special convents for women. The monastery developed into an institution of learning and merged into the school or *madrasah* (Fig. 5). The Ayyūbids and Mamlūks had both educational and political special interests and they built as many schools as they could, and encouraged others to build them all over the Islamic cities.[27]

Commercial institutions

Markets, *bāzārs* or *sūqs* are the arena of urban economic life. Each medieval Arab city had its markets; the larger the city, the bigger the markets. Larger cities, such as Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo had to provide goods not only for their populations, but for the countryside as well. The amount of trade in such cities permitted the existence of different *sūqs* of different sizes in the same city.[28] Besides the main *sūqs*, other secondary small ones, or *suweqahs*, were to serve the local needs of different residential quarters or *ḥārahs*.

Fig. 5: *Madrasah, Khānqah,* and mausoleum of Sultān Ināl from the middle of the 15th century A.D., Cairo
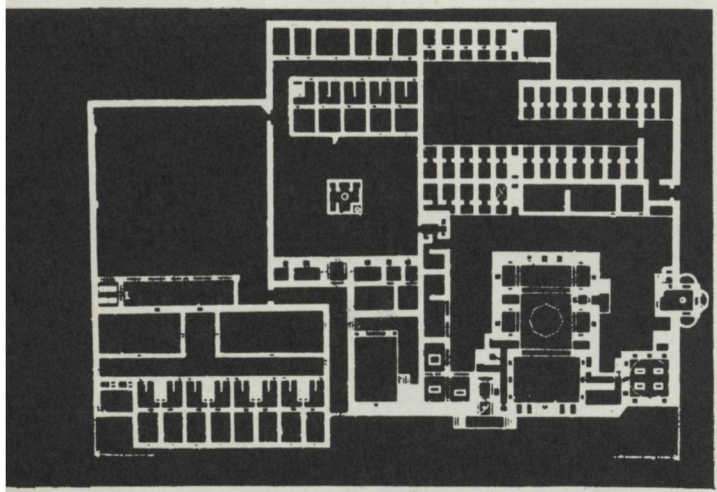
Source: Dietrich Brandenburg, Islamische Baukunst in Ae-gypten, Berlin, 1966, p. 172

Fig. 7: A hypothetical process of the transformation of an antique thoroughfare in a pre-Islamic city into a me-dieval Islamic-Arab city sūq
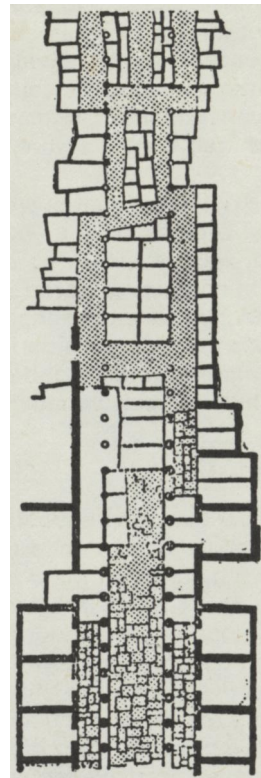
Source: Sauvaget, Alep, p. 104

Fig. 6: The Banqousa *Sūq* for grain, Aleppo

A. Market for poultry

B. Hammam

C. Granary

D. Hammam

E. Drainage outlet
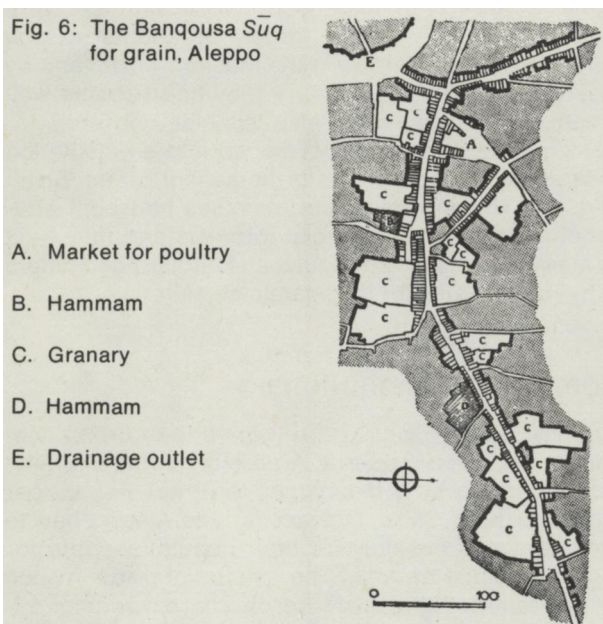
Source: Jean Sauvaget, Alep: Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du XIX siècle, *Paris, 1941, p. 228*

Urban markets appeared in different forms; among these are the spontaneously developed *sūq* (Fig. 6), the architecturally designed *qaysarīyyah* and *khān,* and the open market place or *maydān.*

In cities of pre-Islamic origin, and during the early Islamic epochs, commercial activities went on in the same places as in the Roman epoch. But gradually, the great Roman thoroughfare with its side arcades took on a new and completely different form. The arcades were occupied by shops, the roadway itself invaded by booths, and a maze of *sūqs* developed (Fig. 7). With the continuous development of the Isla-mic-Arab city, newly planned additions were some-times added to existing spontaneously founded *sūqs.*

The textile industry was one of the dominant indus-tries in medieval times. The *qaysarīyyah,* [29] which was the market dealing in textile goods, had then a special importance for the whole urban economy. The architectural form of the *qaysarīyyah* developed from the Byzantine market building.[30] As a section of the *sūq,* it took the form of a double row of rooms and workshops opening on a central passage or court. It was regularly roofed and could be locked.
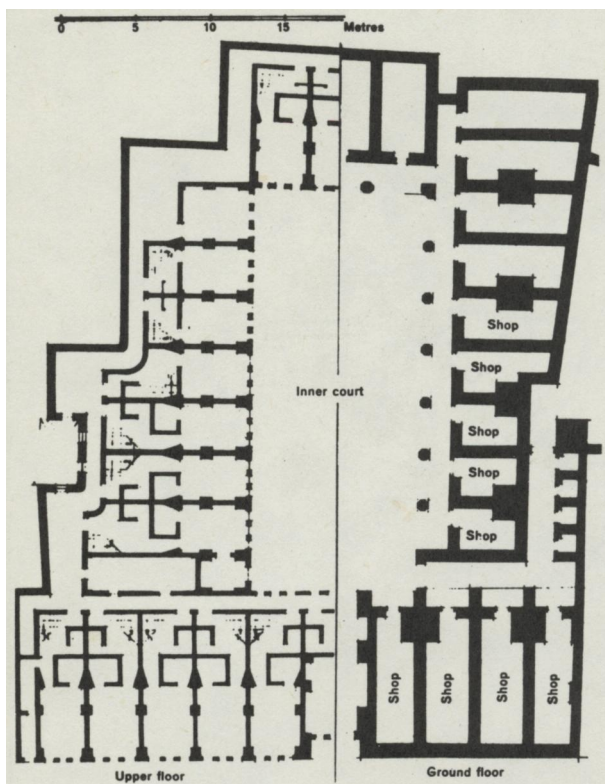
Khāns or *Wekālahs* were buildings chiefly designed for the reception of merchants and their goods. There, they found lodging and store for their merchandise until such time as they could dispose of them. Thus, *khāns* became of vital importance for trade movement.[31] The *khān* consists of rows of stores surrounding a court. It is open to the street and is defended by strong gates which are kept closed at night. *Qaysarīyyahs* are connected to some *khāns* (Fig. 8). Many *khans* had upper floors providing lodging for merchants.[32] Some were located close to the city center, others to the city gates.

The open square, or *maydān*, served the city in more than one way. Apart from busy commercial activities it was the place for processions of the ruler and military parades. The *sultān* and the notables played polo and various other kinds of sports on the *maydān* and attended horse races there. The *maydān* also had clowns, jugglers, conjurers and story-tellers, especially at night, and was the scene for such public events as political gatherings and uprisings, public executions and public funerals of distinguished people.[33]

Health and indoor recreation institutions

Al-Walīd I (705-15 A.D./86-96 A.H.) is credited with having been the first to build a *māristān*[34] in Islam. But whether this first *māristān* was to function as a hospital providing full medical services, or was a mere measure of segregation for sick people is uncertain.[35] In Egypt, hospitals were built before the arrival of the Arabs. It is said that establishments of this type existed in al-Fustāt from earliest times, but organized and regular public medical service had its beginning in the *bīmāristān* founded by ibn-Tūlūn (872-74 A.D./259-61 A.H.[36] *Bīmāristāns* were soon to be founded in other Islamic-Arab cities, where they served as an urban institution. Some of them include a medical school, such as Bīmāristān al-Nūrī in Damascus.[37] The functioning and building of medieval *bīmāristāns* reached its highest point with the founding of the great *bīmāristān* of al-Mansūr Qalawūn in Cairo (1284 A.D./683 A.H.). Built on the site of the Fatimid palace, this hospital admitted both men and women and had wards where fevers, ophthalmia, surgical cases, dysentery, and other diseases were separately treated. In fact, all that the best experience of the time could suggest for the healing of the sick was provided by this institution.[38]

The public steam bath and the public latrine are urban elements of the Roman and Byzantine periods. They were adopted by the Arabs to become typical elements of the later Islamic-Arab city (Fig. 9). References in texts mention the construction of baths in the earliest Islamic cities, al-Fustāt and Basrah, and archaeological remains bear witness to their existence as early as the Umayyad period.[39] Some of the *ham-*

Fig. 9: A *hammam* from the 19th century A.D., Cairo

A. Entrance
B. Meslakh
C. Leewáns
D. Station of the M'allim
E. Faskeeyeh
F. Coffee stall
G. Latrines
H. Beyt-owwal
I. Leewán
K. Mastabahas
L. Harárah
M. Leewáns
N. Faskeeyeh
O. Room with maghtas or tank
P. Hanafeeyehs
Q. Firing chamber and boiler
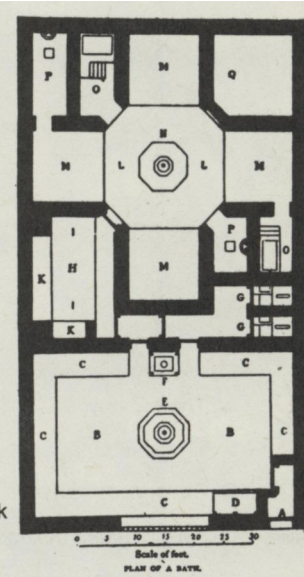
Fig. 10: A schematic land use pattern for the early medieval Arab city

A. City Core
  1. *Jami'* mosque
  2. *Qaysariyyahs* and specialized *sūqs*
  3. *Khāns*
  4. *Hammams*
  5. Square or *maydān*

B. *Sūqs* on the thoroughfare or *qasabah*

C. A residential quarter or *harah*, including local mosque, *suweqah* and *hammām*

D. The citadel

E. The government area or *al-makhzan*

F. *Khāns*

G. Wall

H. Open market place or *maydān*

I. Semi-rural district

J. Cemetery

K. Cultivated fields, pastures and parks

Fig. 11: Pattern of phase one of physical urban growth

A. The old city

B. The citadel

C. Square, or *maydān* Taht al-Qal' ah

D. New clusters of *sūqs*

E. New residential districts

F. New dwelling clusters
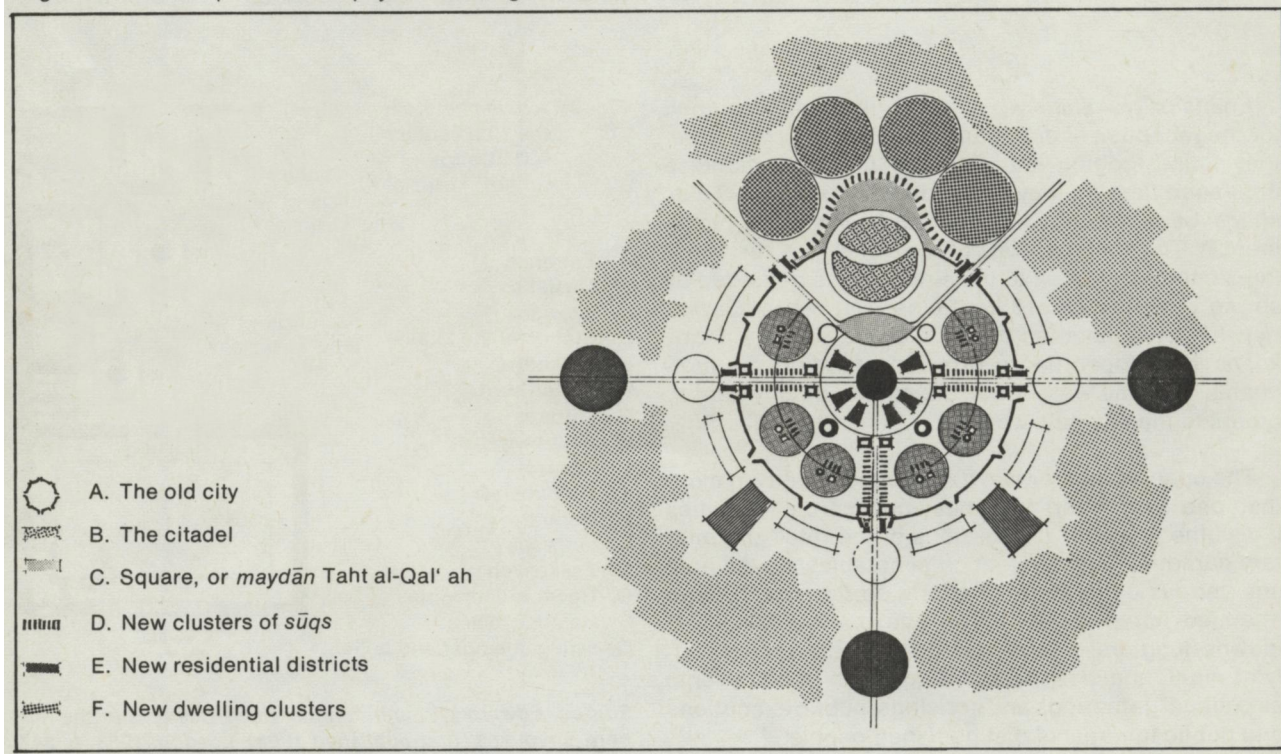
Fig. 12: Pattern of phase two of physical urban growth

A. The old city

B. The citadel and its surrounding districts

C. Growing satellites reaching the main urban body

D. New residential districts

E. The beginning of the formation of new central business district
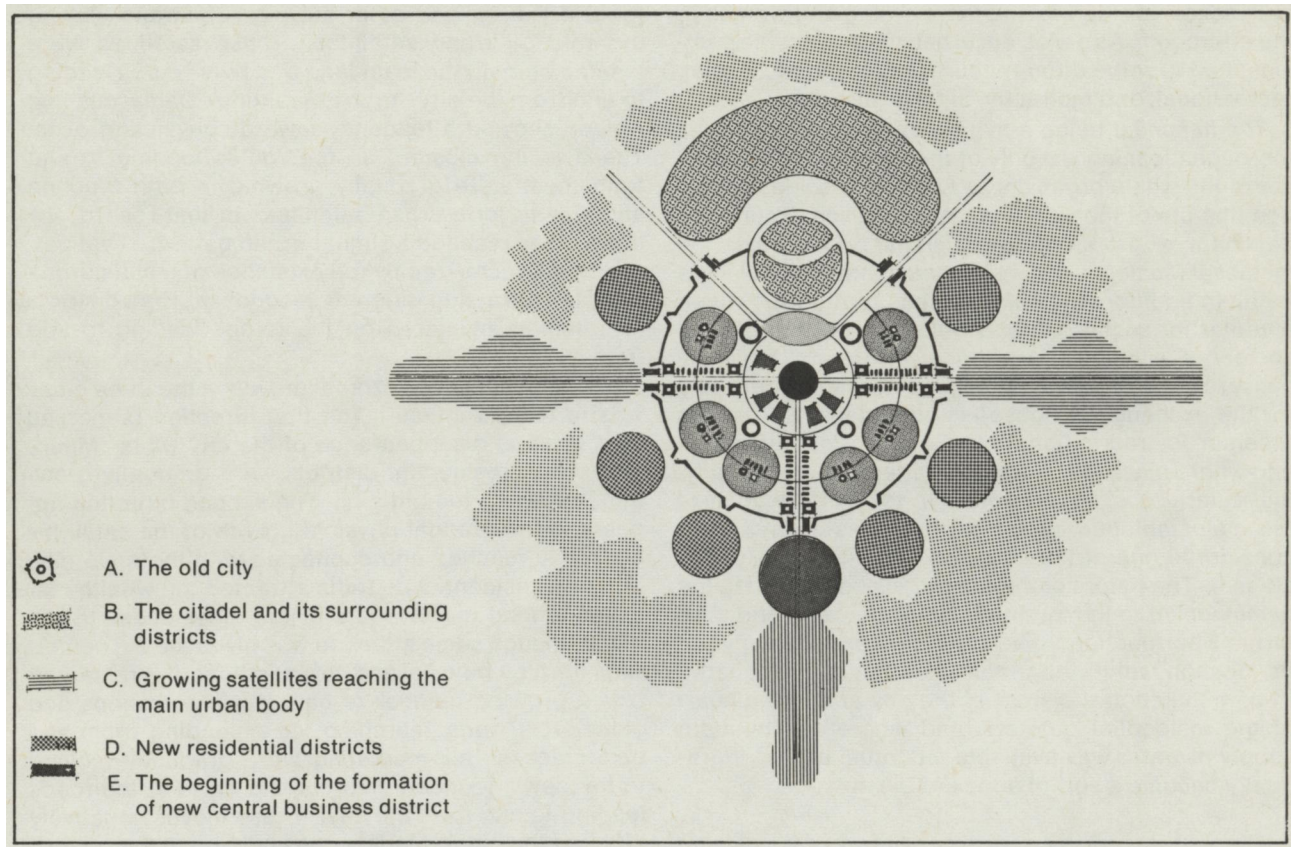
Fig. 13: Pattern of phase three of physical urban growth

A. The old city

B. The citadel and its surrounding districts

C. New residential districts following western patterns

D. The gradual shifts of the new central business district

E. New industrial locations
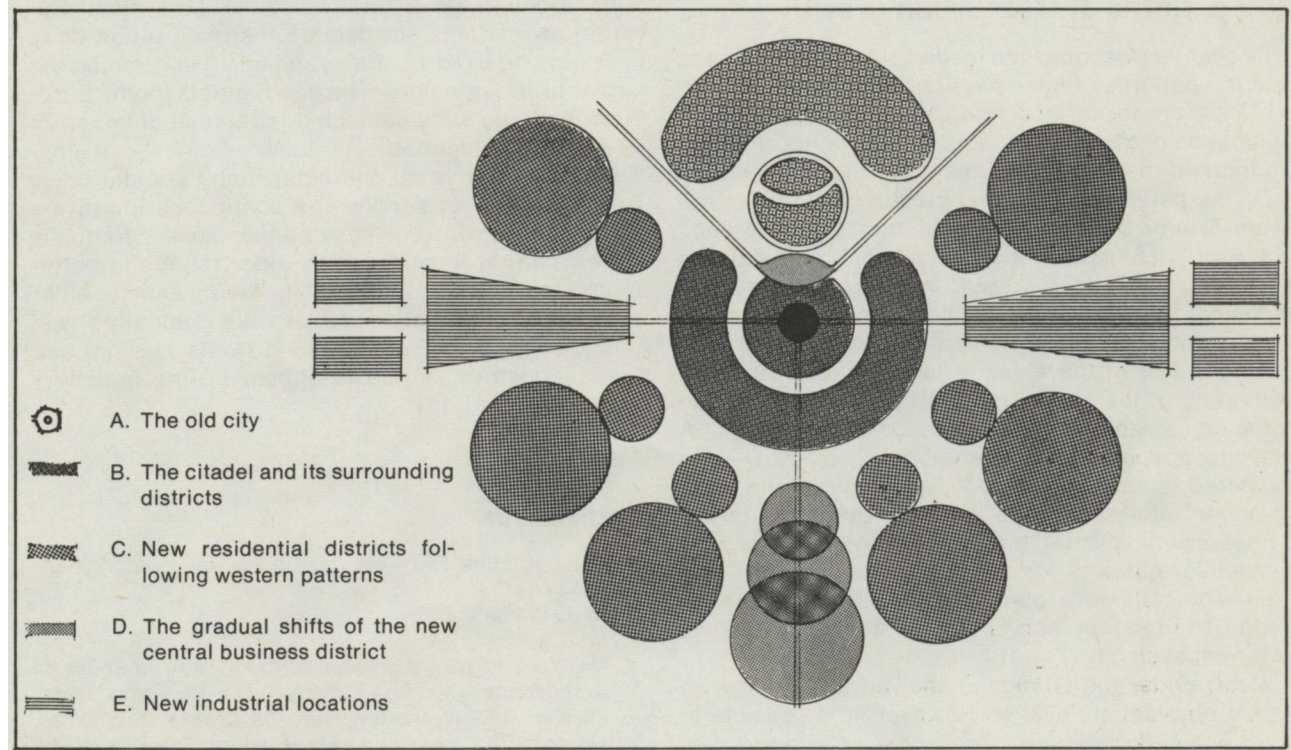
māms are for men, others for women, and some for both sexes, for men during the morning and women in the afternoon. As a Moslem urban institution, the *hammām* had to serve different purposes: hygienic, social, recreational, and indirectly, almost religious.

The *hammām* being a hygienic institution, provides thorough cleaning not only of the exterior of the body, but of the whole organism as well. As a social institution, the life of the whole quarter revolved around the *hammām*, where all the great social occasions in the medieval Moslem's life were accompanied by taking a bath. In addition, the *hammām* has traditionally been a center for social contacts between members of the society. For men, it is a place of informal business conversation. For women it provides an opportunity for the exchange of house-keeping ideas.[40] It is also a center for recreation, being a place for relaxation, and where massage is available after bathing. Finally, the ritual use of the *hammām* in the performance of the major ablution explains why it has always been considered one of the essential amenities of Moslem cities.[41] The nature of the operations performed in the *hammām* led to the formation of its elements and their form. The functions given the *hammām* determined its location within the urban plan. Thus, it appeared in both the central district of the city and in the heart of the residential quarters, and where an abundant supply of water was available. Its ritual use let it gradually become a sort of annex to the mosque.

Medieval land use patterns and patterns of later urban growth

This chapter describes the medieval land use patterns and the patterns of later physical growth. These patterns are organized according to a hierarchical order of location of the different land use elements. It might be thought that, since the middle of the 13th century A.D., the patterns of physical growth would differ between Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo, because each city was influenced by particular local, political and social-economic forces. But, in spite of differences in timing, there is a similarity between the three cities in their consequential urban patterns of growth.

By the end of the Mamlūk period and around the beginning of the 16th century A.D., the citadel in the three cities became the nucleus for urban growth. A *maydān* appeared in its neighbourhood. New *sūqs* clustered around this *maydān,* and some of the older main central *sūqs* moved there, too. Bordering on the complex of the citadel, the *maydān,* and the *sūqs,* new residential quarters for military leaders and governmental officials were founded. Other dwelling clusters began to gradually appear on the routes leading to and from each city (Fig. 10).

Cairo under the Ottomans showed a tendency towards physical shrinkage. However, it is possible to identify a definite urban form in which Cairo acted as a main urban center, with Būlāq, Miṣr al-Qadimah (or Old Cairo), and other suburban districts playing the role of urban satellites. These satellites were located on both the main land and river routes leading to and from the city. In the meantime, Damascus and Aleppo showed a tendency towards physical growth. The dwelling clusters on the routes leading to and from them were gradually growing in both function and size to form urban satellites. In that regard, the three cities reached a similar urban pattern. That pattern is characterized by the existence of a main urban complex attracting different secondary urban districts or satellites clustered on the routes leading to and from it (Fig. 11).

The subsequent horizontal growth in the three cities was in two directions. The first direction is marked by a gradual disappearance of the city walls. Meanwhile, new residential districts were gradually growing, bordering the old city. The second direction appears in the gradual physical growth of the satellites until they reached and connected with the main city. The new residential districts attracted the wealthy families among the dwellers of the older ones. In addition, though some attention was given the old central *sūqs* through renewal and new additions, it is remarked that a growing number of handicraft workshops and commercial *sūqs* searching for expanding room and better access for marketing were gradually moving to the newly founded districts and close to the roads leading to and from the city. These moves negatively affected the older districts, thus helping in their physical decay (Fig. 12).

The three cities in their modern and contemporary periods witnessed a fast horizontal expansion. Several new districts surrounded the main urban body bordering on older quarters, and filling in between the former urban satellites. The new districts (or the European districts) were subjected to the use of imported foreign urban standards. Thus, they differed distinctively in their physical character from the older ones. To be capable of serving the continuous urban expansion, the main business center moved gradually to new central locations with wider room and better access to the newer districts. In the meantime, older and historical quarters and *sūqs* were gradually physically declining. Recently, new districts for light and heavy industries started to appear on the periphery of each city (Fig. 13).

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15. Planhol, *op. cit.,* pp. 26-27.

16. Gaston Wiet, trans. by Seymoir Feiler, *Cairo: City of Art and Commerce.* Norman, Oklahoma, 1964, p. 87.

17. See Lane's description to the function and form of the different elements of an 18th-19th century A.D. house in Cairo. Edward W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians,* London, 1963, pp. 4-21.

18. The *malqaf,* the *salsabīl* and the *mashrabiyyah* are discussed in detail in: Azzam, Omar Abdulrahman, *The Development of Urban and Rural Housing in Egypt,* Doctoral Dissertation, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, 1960, pp. 43-72.

19. L. Torres-Balbas, 'Al-Abniyah al-Aspaniyyah al-Islamiyyah — The Islamic Spanish Structures,' article in Arabic, in *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islaminicos,* Madrid, 1953, passim.

20. Helen Kaiser, 'Hochhäuser aus Lehm in Hadhramaut/ Südarabien,' *Bauwelt,* Vol. 4, January 1968, Berlin, pp. 90-93.

21. Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo,* Cairo, 1950, p. 109.

22. Grunebaum, *op. cit.,* p. 147.

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27. *Ibid.,* p. 155.

28. Halim ʿArif, "Al-Aswaq al-Qadimah wa al-Hadithah fi Madinat Dimashq" (Old and Modern Suqs in Damascus), *The New Metropolis in the Arab World,* Cairo, 1963, pp. 162-163.

29. The word *qaysariyyah* comes from the Greek word *kaisáreia* (agora), perhaps in relation to a building called Kaisáreion at Alexandria.

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31. Ziadeh, *op. cit.,* p. 89; Dietrich Brandenburg, *Islamic Baukunst in Aegypten,* Berlin, 1966, pp. 100-101.

32. ʿArif, *op. cit.,* p. 168.

33. Ziadeh, *op. cit.,* p. 88.

34. *Bimaristan,* often contracted to *maristan* from Persian *bimar* 'sick' — the suffix — *istan* denoting place. In modern usage *bimaristan* is applied especially to a lunatic asylum.

35. D.M. Dunlop, 'Bimaristan,' *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* New Edition, Vol. I, Leiden, 1960, p. 1223.

36. Wiet, *op. cit.,* p. 126.

37. Ziadeh, *op. cit.,* pp. 158-161.

38. Dunlop, *op. cit.,* p. 1224; Brandenburg, *op. cit.,* pp. 143-149; and Wiet, *op. cit.,* pp. 128-129.

39. J. Sourdel-Thomine, 'Hammam,' *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* New Edition, Vol. III, Leiden, 1965-66, p. 139.

40. *Ibid.,* p. 145.

41. Torres-Balbas, *op. cit.,* p. 109.

Imperialist/ Cambridge/ Colonial School:

In post-enlightenment world as Bipan Chandra[1] argues imperialist perspective first emerged in the writings, pronouncements, and declarations of the Viceroys, Lord Dufferin, Curzon, and Minto, and the secretary of state George Hamilton. It was firstly put forward by V. Chirol, the Rowlett Committee (sedition) report. American scholar Bruce T. McCully attempted to theorise this approach in 1940. Further this school split into liberal and conservatives. Its conservative wing further developed itself as Cambridge school. Anil Seal[2] and J.A. Gallagher developed this school in India after 1968.

Cambridge School

The conservative colonial administrator who studied British Empire from imperialist point of view and supported British Empire as a source of civilization in India were known as Cambridge School. Anil Seal, J.A. Gallagher, Gordon Johnson, Richard Gordon, and David Washbrook, were chief exponents of this school.

This School developed its interpretation of Indian past on the basis of imperial needs[3]. Purpose of this school of history writing is to interpret Indian past in a manner so that it could facilitate British Empire. This school deny the exploitative nature of colonialism. They do not recognize the fact that Indian's anti- colonial struggle was an outcome of British Colonialism and its economic, social, cultural and political exploitation of India. They see the Indian Struggle against imperialism as mock battle or mimic warfare. They completely overpassed the imperial contradictions as a reason of for India's struggle for Independence. The imperialist writer deny that India was in a process of becoming nation rather they understood India as a group different caste, religions, creeds, and communities. They argue that political organisations in India is based upon group mobilisation according to these groups and these groups are using Nationalism as a cover to their selfish, and individual interests. National movement according to this school was not a people's movement but a product of the needs and interests of the elite groups. Thus, the elite groups and their private interests provided an idea, ideology and movement of nationalism. Two main constitutive element of this group were, caste and religious identities or political connection built around patronage. They argues that each group had their very narrow selfish interests and they used nationalism as an ideology for mass mobilisation and to gain public support.

Dufferin, Curzon, Chirol, Lovett, McCully and B.B. Misra argues that India's educated middle class used nationalism to fight against 'benevolent Raj'. Anil seal in his book Emergence of Indian Nationalism develops an almost similar view like this. He argues that Indian national movement had not been fought against British imperialism rather it represented the struggle of one elite group against another elite group for British support. Thus Anil Seal interpreted Indian National Movement in terms of mutual rivalry and jealousy.

Along caste and religious identities, Anil Seal and John Gallagher[4] interpreted that Indian elite groups had been formed on the basis of Patron-Client relationship. They theorize that, as the British Imperialism extended its administrative, economic and political power to the localities and provinces, local elites started organizing politics by acquiring clients and patrons whose interest they served, and who in turn served their interest. Thus Indian politics began to be formed on the basis of this client-patron relationship. These historians argue that later bigger leader emerged who acted as a brokers and worked as a link between local population and British Raj. Anil Seal says that Chief political brokers were Gandhi Nehru and Patel. This believes that local people on whose behalf these political brokers acted, they associated themselves to this movement only after 1918. This school

also believes that Indian national movement had nothing to do with exploitative nature of British colonialism rather it developed itself due to their own grievances such as war, inflation, disease, drought and depression and it is these grievances which were cleverly used by nationalist to convince them to participate into struggle against British Empire.

Romila Thapar[5] in her article interpretation of Indian History: Colonial Nationalist and Post-Colonial, discusses that modern historiography of India has been inaugurated by British power. In order to legitimize their imperial rule in India they started inventing a past of modern India. This process was further taken forwarded by nationalist historiography and post-colonial historiography (Marxist and Subaltern Interpretation of Indian History). Thapar pronounced British historiography as Colonial School. She argues that colonial historiography of India was based upon the thrust of colonial power of gaining knowledge about India. She argues that imperial historiography was based upon the idea of "knowledge is power"[6]. To gain legitimacy in their pursuit of power within India they started locating connection between and European past. In that process they just not only investigated Indian past for gaining knowledge but instead of that they constructed a different knowledge about Indian Past. This ideological intentions of imperial power inaugurated a whole range of debates, discussion about "the orient". Thapar further argues that this process led to the very stereotypical project of Indian national self as a complete contrast of western and idea of Europe. This historiography was mainly responsible for shaping imagination about "The orient" as an "other" of Occident.

were most important. They acted like nodal points where agricultural goods were brought from the countryside for sale and further dispersed to the consumption centres like religious as well as political establishments. He emphasises upon the study of the trade of agricultural products required for day to day life, instead of paying sole attention to trade in luxury items.

Cultural Aspect

This was the time when distinct regional art and architectural styles emerged in different areas. In the previous centuries, the architectural style was basically Buddhist but this was the time when Hindu temples were more prominent. There are three prominent architectural styles—Nagara, which is found between Himalayas and Vindhyas; Dravida, is found between Krishna and Kaveri rivers; and Vesara, which is generally found between the *Vindhyas* and the Krishna River (Singh, 2009: 624). The Nagara style of architecture flourished during the *Guptas* and later times in northern India, while the Dravida and Vesara styles were in practice in the Deccan and far south.

Nagara Style: The Nagara temples are square having many projections in the middle of each side, giving it a cruciform shape. The most important part of the temple was the *sanctum cella* (*garbhagriha*). The elevation of the temple was marked by a conical or convex *shikhara* or temple tower which was usually crowned by an *amalaka* or notched ring stone. For example, the temple of Dashavatara at Deogarh and the brick temple at Bhitargaon constitute these features. In north India, the Nagara style had at least two major subregional courses, one in Orissa and the other in the central India. Later new features were also added to it, such as—*natamandapa* (pillared pavilion for musical, theoretical performances in the temple precincts), *bhogamandapa* (pillared pavilion for distributing the sacred *prasada*) and *jagamohana* (a massive hall as a vastly enlarged form of the original pillared porch before the main shrine). Lingaraja temple of Bhuvaneshwar is an outstanding example of Nagara style. (Chakravarty, 2010: 373).

Dravida Style: The Dravida temples had *shikhara* as their most important feature. The shikhara consists of the progressively one after another smaller storeys, culminating in a slender pinnacle surmounted by a small dome (*stupika*). Later huge gateways known as *gopurams*, pillared halls and corridors were added to the Dravida style temples (Singh, 2009: 625).

Vesara Style: Hardy suggests that the term 'Karnata-Dravida' is a better term than 'Vesara' for the *Chalukya* temples of the Deccan (Singh, 2009: 625). It was a mixed style of the north and the south elements but had its own distinctiveness and variations. The later *Chalukyas* of Kalyani and the *Hoysalas* followed this pattern.

Chalukyan Architecture and Literature

Art: The cave frescoes had begun earlier, but some of the specimens belong to the *Chalukya* period. The murals that were executed on the walls dealt with not only the religious themes but also with secular ones. In the first monastic hall at Ajanta, there is a painting depicting the reception given to a Persian embassy by Pulakeshin II.

Temple Architecture: The *Chalukya* temples evolved basically from the *Gupta* style of temple building by linking it to the southern style. The *Chalukyas* perfected the art of stone building, i.e. stones were finely joined without mortar. The temple-building during the *Chalukyas* of Badami can be broadly divided into two stages. The first stage is represented by the temples at Aihole and Badami. Aihole is a town of temples and contains approximately 70 structures, of which four are most prominent—*Ladh Khan* temple, which has a flat roof, a pillared porch, a large square hall with pillars arranged in two concentric squares, at the end of which has a small shrine. The *Durga* temple, which was much of an experimental temple structure, was an attempt to give a Buddhist *chaitya* style to a Brahmanical temple. Though it is an apsidal temple it lacks a typical feature of apsidal temples i.e. the barrel roof. The *Hucimaligudi* temple, which was similar to the Durga temple but was smaller in size; and the *Jaina temple of Meguti*, which shows some progress in the erection of structural temples and has the famous inscription of Pulakeshin II, but it is unfinished. Of the Badami temples, the *Melagitti Sivalaya* is a small but finely proportioned and magnificently constructed temple. A group of *four rock-cut halls* at Badami (three of them Hindu and one Jaina) are all of the same type. At a little distance from Badami, there is a place called *Mahakuta*, which houses around 20 temples belonging to the early the western *Chalukyan* time. Almost all of them have curvilinear *shikhara* representing the northern style.

The second stage is represented by the temples at Pattadakal. There are about ten temples here, four in the northern style and six in the southern style. There were temples, which had combined features of Nagara and Dravida styles—the *Papanatha* temple (c. 680 AD) is the most notable among the temples of the northern style. The *Virupaksha* temple (c. 740 AD) or the temple of *Lokeshvara* was dedicated to Shiva. It was built by Lokamahadevi, who was the chief queen of the *Chalukyan* king Vikramaditya II. It is a direct imitation of the Kailashanatha temple of Kanchi with a complex of shrines, including a Nandi pavillion within a rectangular walled enclosure. The main shrine has a *pradakshina* path and the square *shikhara* is in the Dravida style. The *Sangamesvara* temple (c. 725 AD) built by Vijayaditya, also known as *Vijayeshvara* after him, was built before Virupaksha temple, and both are very much similar except that it has a *mandapa* (Sastri, 2000 [1975]: 408).

Cave-temple Architecture: During the Chalukyan rule, in the last quarter of the 6th century AD many cave temples were built. Prominent among these are the three elementary cave temples at Aihole (one Shaiva, one Jain and one Buddhist which is incomplete), followed by four developed cave temples at Badami (of which cave 3, a Vaishnava temple, is dated accurately to c. 578 AD). The Shaiva cave at Aihole is called *Ravanaphadi* cave and consists of a central hall, two side shrine sections, and a *garbhagriha* with a *linga* at the back (Singh, 2009:628). These cave temples at Badami are similar, in that, each has a plain exterior but an exceptionally well finished interior consisting of a pillared verandah, a columned hall (*mandapa*) and a cella (shrine, cut deep into rock), which contains the deity of worship. In Badami, three cave temples are Hindu and one is Jain. The Hindu temples contain large and well sculpted images of Harihara, Mahishasuramardhini, Varaha (boar), Narasimha (lion), Vamana (dwarf), and Nataraja (dancing Shiva). It is important to note that boar was the royal symbol of the Chalukyas of Badami.

Literature: The *Aihole inscription* of Pulakeshin II (c. 634 AD) written by his court poet Ravikirti in Sanskrit language and Kannada script is considered as an excellent piece of poetry. A few verses of a poetess named Vijayanaka, who describes herself as the 'dark Sarasvati' have been preserved. It is possible that she may have been a queen of prince Chandraditya (a son of Pulakeshin II). *Karnateshwara Katha*, which was quoted later by Jayakirti, is believed to be a eulogy of Pulakeshin II and to have belonged to this period.

The Pallava Art, Architecture and Literature

Art: The Tamil poets by this time had popularized their hymns and music, which were incorporated into temple rituals. The *vina* and the lute were probably the most frequently used instruments. Mahendravarman I studied music under Rudracharya and composed exercises for the practice of students on a variety of the *vina* known as *Parivadini*. He had them engraved on rock at Kudumiyamalai (Puddukkottai). It was the Pallava period when the more prosperous temples maintained trained dancers, singers and musicians which later took the form of employing *devadasis*—the women who served the deity (Thapar, 2002:358).

In Deccan, an independent school of sculpture appeared. The temples of Aihole and Badami have some fine works from the 5th century AD onwards. These sculptures have the influence of *Gupta* style and that of Amaravati. The sculptures at the rock-cut temples of Mamallapuram made by the *Pallava* kings are most striking. The descent of Ganges, portrait of king Mahendravikramavarman and his queens, and a number of free-standing animal figures are magnificently sculpted on the various rock-cut temples of Mamallapuram.

The Buddhist trend of excavating cave temples continued along with the murals. The paintings continued to be made on the walls of these deep caves as well as in the free-standing temples.

Cave-temple Architecture: In the Pallava dynasty the credit to begin the rock architecture goes to the king Mahendravarman I. He got a cave temple built on the hill at Mandagappattu in South Arcot District, which is dedicated to Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva without the use of brick, mortar, timber or metal. There is also a five—celled cave temple at Pallavaram near Madras which bears his multiple titles. In the north Arcot District too, there are number of cave temples excavated during his time—four cave temples of which two are finished and two unfinished at Mamandur. Inscriptions say that two of them were dedicated to Shiva of which one refers to the composition of his play, *Mattavilasa prahasana*, in Sanskrit. Another Shiva temple is *Avanibhajana Pallaveshvaram* at Siyamangalam. The upper rock-cut cave at Tiruchchirapalli is probably Mahendravarman-I's best creation with Gangadhara on the opposite side of the entire excavated sanctum side. Besides these temples, which are dedicated to Shiva, there are temples dedicated to Vishnu too. For example, the *Mahendravishnugraha* temple at Mahendravadi and the *Ranganatha* temple at Srigavaram in the north Arcot District are the best. Also *Ananteshvara* temple at Undavalli in the Guntur District was constructed during his time.

The rock-cut architectural style continued during the rule of Mahendravarman-I's son and successor, Narasimhavarman I Mahamalla too. He is best known for embellishing the sea-port which came to be called *Mamallapuram* after him. During the rule of subsequent *Pallava* kings, this place became the hub of rock-cut temples. These temples can be divided into— i) cut-in cave temples; ii) cut-out monolithic temples now known as *rathas*; iii) bas relief sculptures in the open air rocks; and iv) structural temples. It was during Narasimhavarman I that the monolithic temples or *rathas* were hewn out of single rock-boulder. The *rathas* are popularly called the 'Seven Pagodas' and are eight in number. They are—Dharmaraja, Bhima, Arjuna, Sahadeva, Draupadi, Ganesha, Pidari and Valaiyankuttai. However, it is more often referred to as five rathas taking into account five Pandavas and their wife Draupadi. Ratha meaning chariot was probably associated with the celestial chariots on which the deities moved around. The *Dharmaraja ratha* is square in plan with open porches and a terraced pyramidal tower. The *Bhima ratha* is proportionately a long rectangular *vimana*, with a sanctum in the centre and probably a *pradakshinapatha*. *Arjuna ratha* is simple hut-shaped temple while *Sahadeva ratha* is an apsidal temple with a portico in the front. Lastly, the *Draupadi ratha* is a small square structure with a curvilinear roof shaped like that of a thatched roof of a hut (Sastri, 2000 [1955]: 415; Singh, 2009: 636).

Structural Temple: During the time of Narasimhavarman II or Rajasimha, the trend of the *Pallava* architecture changed to structural temple style from rock-cut pattern and reached its pinnacle with magnificent temples like *Rajasimheshvara* or the *Kailashnatha* temple at Kanchipuram. The temple was enclosed within a large rectangular courtyard with 50 other minor shrines. The main temple consists of a square sanctum enclosing a *linga* with a *pradakshina-patha*. It has a *shikhara* like the Dravidian style. The *mandapa* and the sanctuary were joined together later. The *Shore temple* at Mamallapuram or Mahabalipuram, however, is the earliest example of the architectural style of his time. It is made in open on the sands of shore facing the action of wind and sea. The face of the cella is towards the sea and is located almost at the water's edge; so, the other adjuncts have been added to its rear. A massive wall surrounds the central building and entry into the open courtyard is from the west. Later, two more shrines were added with the area containing a stone *linga*, Somaskanda (Shiva with Uma and Skanda) and Vishnu resting on the serpent Anatha. The parapet of the wall is crowned by figures of couchant bulls and all round the exterior there were boldly carved lion pilasters at close intervals (Sastri, 2000 [1955]: 416). The other temples built by Rajasimha were the Airavateshvara temple at Kanchipuram and the Shiva temple at Panamalai, all embellished with excellent paintings. Vaikunthaperumal temple at Kanchipuram has an amalgamation of basic parts i.e. cloisters, portico and sanctum. This temple is little larger than the Kailashnatha temple. Another achievement of Rajasimha is that he got the *ghatika* (college) of the Brahmanas re-established.

There were some important structural temple constructions made during Nandivarman II also. These temples were small and in no way formed advancement on the previous achievements. The famous examples of this period are—the *Mukteshvara temple* at Kanchipuram, the Vadamallishvara *temple* at Oragadam (near Chingalput) and the *Parashurameshvara* temple at Gudimallam (near Renigunta).

Literature: The Pallavas were the great patrons of both Sanskrit and Tamil languages. Their capital Kanchi had been a great centre for Sanskrit learning. The Pallava monarch, Mahendravarman I himself wrote the *Mattavilasa Prahasana* in Sanskrit. Both Bharavi and Dandin were great Sanskrit scholars, who lived in the *Pallava* court and have written *Kiratarjuniyam* and *Dasakumaracharitam* respectively.

CONCLUSION

The time period under survey brings forth the rise of many regional powers along with some important and powerful dynasties like *Pushyabhuti's* in the north and the *Chalukya, Pallava* and *Pandya* in the south. These dynasties were under continuous political conflict with each other. During

THE CONFUCIAN STATE

The state in traditional China was in crucial respects unlike any other state in the pre-modern world. In many ways it was unique in character. In theory, the boundaries of what constituted China, or *Zhonqquo*, literally meaning the 'Middle Kingdom', were never clearly delineated. In the Confucian scheme of things, the Emperor was considered to be the 'ruler under Heaven' (Tian-xia). His realm was seen to include not just those provinces which came under the direct rule of the imperial administration, it was also believed to include those areas which merely acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chinese Emperor but which ruled themselves in virtually every other respect. In some of these outlying areas, such as Tibet or Mongolia under the Ch'ing dynasty, the imperial presence was physically represented by a garrison or by an official known as a Resident. But in other areas, even this did not exist, and the overlordship of the Emperor was little more than a fiction carefully maintained by the Chinese and not openly challenged by the ruling circles in those areas.

A consequence of this was the blurring of the distinction between what constituted the foreign affairs and what constituted the domestic concerns of the Chinese Empire. Normal diplomatic and commercial relations with non-Chinese people and states were, with very few exceptions, governed by the so-called "tribute system". The arrival of foreign envoys or commercial missions was perceived as the arrival of missions to pay tribute to the Chinese Emperor and they' were treated as such. They were used to bolster the domestic position and prestige of the Emperor of China as one who presided over a vast conglomeration of people, Chinese as well as non-Chinese, "civilized" (as the Chinese understood it) as well as "barbarian". Of course, when hostilities broke out between the imperial government and any of these other states or people, this could not be easily accommodated within the framework of the tributary system.

But the imperial government preferred to view this as only a temporary aberration. Hostilities had to end at some point. If they ended in a stalemate or in the victory of the imperial forces, then the status quo before the outbreak of hostilities was usually restored. However, if they ended in the victory of the foreign forces and in their conquest of China, this too did not always lead to a breakdown of the system. As happened with the Mongol conquest in the 13th century and the Manchu conquest in the 17th century, the conquerors simply assumed the exalted position of the Emperors of China themselves. The fact that rulers with different ethnic origins and cultural traditions were occupying the top positions in the Chinese Empire did not in itself lead to the collapse of the imperial system. As long as these rulers carried on with the traditional statecraft based on Confucian principles, life carried on as usual. In this sense, the traditional Chinese state cannot be considered as a national state of the Chinese people, but as a much broader political entity presided over by an Emperor ruling according to Confucian precepts.

THE EMPEROR

It may be pointed out that the Emperor of China was a Confucian monarch. Confucianism held that the social and political order, on the one hand, and the natural order on the other hand, were integrally linked, and that the primary function of the Emperor was to maintain this overall cosmological order. Thus, the Emperor was held responsible not only for any major disturbances in the social and political life of his empire, but also for natural disturbances and calamities such as floods, droughts, earthquakes, etc. In such periods of "great disorder", Confucian tradition actually legitimized rebellion against the ruling Emperor. A successful rebellion was considered a 'proof' that Heaven had withdrawn its mandate to rule.
This perhaps, explains why the Emperor of China, unlike the Emperor of Japan, was not just a figurehead, but the actual ruler of the land. He was:
- the chief executive of the land and the linchpin of the entire administration,
- expected to appoint, transfer, punish and dismiss his officials,
- expected to supervise and guide their activities by pondering over their reports and memoranda and by issuing directives, and
- supposed to personally intervene in any matter in any part of the Empire when this was necessary.

Whether an Emperor actually did this or not depended largely on his own abilities and inclinations, but he was expected to do so. The Emperor was also the only lawmaker. The laws of the empire were little more a compendium of the judgments and directives issued by the Emperor and his predecessors. He was also the

supreme commander of the armed forces.

Because the Emperors were meant to be actual rulers, and not just figureheads, when China was faced with major crises and humiliation in the 19th century, the blame fell directly on the Emperors themselves, and not just on their officials. The major peasant rebellions of the middle and later 19th century, as well as the emerging radical nationalist movements had one thing in common – they all called for the overthrow of the imperial ruling house. Because the Emperors considered themselves to be the upholders of the traditional Confucian political order, they were hesitant to initiate the radical changes necessary to pull China out of its crisis and decline. In general, the reforms they instituted were too little and too late. The result of all this was that the imperial institution in the late 19th and early 20th century China became more and more discredited unlike in Japan. It was rapidly overtaken by events and was eventually overthrown in the Revolution of 1911.

THE BUREAUCRACY

Apart from the institution of the Emperor the other great pillar of the traditional Chinese political system was the bureaucracy. From the time that China was first unified by the Emperor C'hin Shih Huang-ti in 221 B.C., the day-to-day administration of the empire was carried out by a bureaucracy that was more elaborate, more developed, more rationalized in its structure and functioning, than any other in the pre-modern world. It is inconceivable that a country as vast as China could have remained united and have had such a stable system of government for so many centuries without such a bureaucracy.

From the highest official at the Imperial Court to the lowest official in the district, the entire bureaucracy formed part of the distinct corps. It was governed by an elaborate set of rules, regulations and rituals pertaining to the recruitment of the officials, their promotion, transfer, dismissal and punishment, and to the way they had to carry out their official duties. These rules and regulations were in one sense harsh and restrictive, and ensured the obedience and subordination of the officials to the Emperor. But, in another sense, they gave the bureaucracy a degree of autonomy and acted as some check on the arbitrary whims of different Emperors. An official could reasonably expect that if he abided by the rules and carried out the functions of this office, he would not be unduly harassed by the Emperor or his other superiors.

One of the most remarkable features of the Chinese bureaucracy was its system of recruitment. For the first 1000 years of the Chinese empire there were several routes of becoming a bureaucrat, including the purchase of official positions or inheriting a position from another family member. However, from the 11th century AD onwards, the primary means of recruitment was through a centralized system of examinations. Once in every three years examinations were held throughout the empire which was theoretically open to all males, whatever their social standing. These examinations tested the candidates' mastery of Confucian scholarship. The identity of the candidates was kept a closely guarded secret so that the examiners would be impersonal and unbiased in their marking. The successful passing of the examinations automatically placed an individual in the category of the gentry. If the candidate succeeded in passing the examinations at the provincial level after having cleared the first stage at the district level, he was also entitled to be appointed as an official of the imperial government.

This system of recruitment through examinations conditioned the bureaucracy in important ways. It ensured that the officials of the empire were by and large men of exceptional intellect and scholarship. Long years of education and training in the Confucian classics also ensured their loyalty to and indoctrination in Confucian ethical and political values. The fact that they were recruited on the basis of merit, rather than favouritism, etc., gave them a higher degree of self-respect and prestige than they would have enjoyed otherwise. This is not to say that all officials were incorruptible, or that they were not subject to the pressures and pulls of their office. But it was in general true that Chinese officials continued to have a certain prestige and status even if they temporarily fell out of favour with their superiors or the Emperor.

However, in the 19th century, when China was faced with unprecedented challenges, complicated by the intrusion of the modern, industrialized West, the Chinese officialdom became a prisoner of its own scholarship, of its own complacency and self-esteem. Although many outstanding officials understood the challenges the country faced, and even risked their necks advocating the need for bold, innovative reforms to meet the challenge, they were exceptional. The majority tended to carry on with their conventional outlook and modes of functioning which were unable to cope with the pressure of developments. With the defeat of the reform movement of 1898 the initiative to pull China out of its crisis finally went out of the hands of this

important stratum of traditional society into the hands of newly emerging classes and forces who had very few links with or loyalty to the old social and political order.

<div align="center">TRADITIONAL CHINESE SOCIETY</div>

The social and political system of traditional China was highly complex and sophisticated. Its complete collapse and radical transformation in the first half of the 20th century might make us think that it was fundamentally weak and unstable. But this was not always the case. In fact, it had endured in its basic form, with some evolutionary changes, for close to two thousand years, holding together a region of vast size, population and great diversity.

SOCIAL HIERARCHIES

The basic hierarchy of Chinese society consisted of the four occupational orders which reflected the political and moral values of Confucianism. Highest of all were the scholars (*shi*); next came the peasants (*nong*), then the artisans (*gong*), and last the merchants (*shang*). Excluded from the four orders were people in some occupations regarded as infamous: actors, prostitutes, servants, soldiers, *yamen* (local administrative unit) messengers, vagrants and others.

The four orders were rounded out by intermediate structures, each with its own hierarchy, and every individual fitted snugly into an appointed place. The guild had its patrons, members, and apprentices, the village its local hierarchy, and the family its complex network of relationships based on authority.

A DEVELOPED AGRARIAN SOCIETY

China has always been predominantly an agrarian society. The bulk of her population lived in the villages, and agriculture was their principal source of livelihood. The basic division in the society was between the large majority of labouring peasants on the one hand, and the landlords on the other. The landlords did not till the land themselves but lived off the income from their lands which were tilled by the peasants. However, this does not mean that China was a simple agrarian society. From the very early stages China had a complex and developed social order. For example as early as the first millennium BC, we see the construction of formidable border fortifications, trunk roads, huge dams and irrigation networks, etc. There were certain basic factors that had contributed in the development of a strong state organization from very early times. The Chinese civilization had developed through the ages under circumstances that had compelled the people to undertake collective political and economic activity on a large-scale. For example there was always the need to defend themselves from the incursions of their nomadic neighbours as well as the need to contain the ravages of floods, or to ensure adequate irrigation, etc.

The enormous growth of commercial farming and inter-regional trade, particularly from the 10th c. AD, also profoundly affected the character of the Chinese society and state. The ruling class thereafter was no longer a class that derived its wealth solely from the land, but also from commerce. The development of the money economy, the growth of lively urban centres, the spread of literacy (although mainly among the upper class), the increased inter-regional as well as overseas migration, etc., all combined to make the China of the later imperial period a far cry from that of the beginning of our epoch. Until the Industrial Revolution in Europe, China was among the most advanced societies in the world.

THE GENTRY

Of the three main social classes in traditional China, the dominant class was what has been called "the gentry". The gentry was the class of landlords who did not themselves till their lands. They derived their wealth mainly, though not entirely, from the rents (often as substantial as 1/2 of the value of the crop) paid to them by the peasants who worked on their lands. But to define, this class simply as a landowning class would be inaccurate. This is because over the years members of the gentry had taken up various pursuits in diverse fields. They were also distinguished by their educational attainments, social prestige and a lifestyle that set them clearly apart from the common people. The sons of the gentry families by and large underwent a process of rigorous education in Confucian scholarship. Their success was measured by the scholarly degrees that they earned in various levels of state-sponsored examinations. The top stratum of the

successful candidates in the exams was appointed as officials under the imperial government. This was considered as the highest achievement possible in traditional Chinese society. Having one or more of their members holding high public office was in turn one of the main ways in which the gentry families protected and expanded their landed estates and other sources of wealth, and enhanced their social status.

Not enough research has been done to specify the exact connection between the scholar-officials as a statutory group and the land-owners as a class founded on landholding. What is certain is that it was a feudal situation: the mass of the peasants were under the domination, both economic and extra-economic, of a minority. Joseph Needham has suggested the term "bureaucratic feudalism" to emphasise the unique combination of economic and political power. Whether they were actually serving in the imperial government or living on their rural estates, the members of the gentry had important social and political functions. The non-serving gentry members were a kind of local elite at the district level, whose cooperation was absolutely essential for the stability and effectiveness of the imperial government. For example they:

1. participated in the construction and maintenance of charitable and public works,
2. informally adjudicated disputes among the local population and served as intermediaries between the local people and the administration,
3. organized militia and other forms of self-defence associations to police their areas, and
4. maintained order in times of trouble.

In general, their sphere of operations and their responsibilities increased whenever there was a decline in the strength and effectiveness of the imperial government. This was seen most clearly in the last years of the imperial system in the late 19th and early 20th century.

The remarkable thing is that while emperors and ruling dynasties rose and fell, the existence of the gentry class, as well as its willingness to adjust to different rulers, showed amazing continuity. For example the real resilience of this class was seen in the early 20th century. This was a period when imperialism and the growth of modern industry and commerce had made deep inroads into the traditional agrarian economy. Moreover:

- the abolition of the examination system in 1905 knocked off one of the gentry's main avenues to advancement, and
- the 1911 Revolution brought down the entire edifice of imperial rule with which they were intimately associated.

Yet the gentry as a class did not disappear at once, but continued to adapt and survive, although in a distorted form. The overall stability and resilience of the traditional social and political system was integrally linked with the character and functions of this class.

THE PEASANTRY

Agriculture had a privileged position in the Confucian economic ethic, and peasants came second in the hierarchy of the four orders. It was said: *Zhong Nong Bing Shang*, that is, respect agriculture and despise trade. By far the most numerous class of Chinese society was the peasantry. The condition of the peasants undoubtedly varied from region to region and from one period of time to another. But by and large, they were ostensibly exploited and poor. After the great waves of migration that filled up the central and southern regions of China from the 3rd to the 6th centuries AD, the amount of available land did not increase significantly. Population increase was 200 % (from 143 million in 1741 to 430 million in 1850). But the increase in the size of cultivable land was only 35 % (from 549 million mou in 1661 to 737 million mou in 1833). This led to growing pressure of the population on the land. In theory, the peasantry in China was not serfs. But in reality, their condition was not much better than that of serfs. Poverty and insecurity compelled the bulk of them to become tenants paying half of their crop to the big landlords as rent. The peasantry was caught between the extortionate demands of the landlords on the one hand, and the obligation to pay up heavy taxes including forced labour service to the state. So oppressive was the burden of taxation that many peasants used to flee their villages, forsake their status as independent cultivators and become virtual retainers of powerful landlords who could protect them from the exactions of the state officials.

Recurring floods, droughts and other natural calamities added to the miseries of the peasants. These calamities were more frequent and their consequences were harsher in times when the imperial government was weak and it could not maintain the dams, dykes and other public works necessary for normal agricultural activity. When the central authority was weak there was no check on the exactions imposed on the peasants

by rapacious local officials or gentry members. It was precisely in such periods in Chinese history that we see the proliferation of secret societies and the increasing incidence of banditry. By and large the phenomena of secret societies, banditry and other symptoms of lawlessness were an outgrowth of acute discontent and destitution among the peasantry and other poor sections of rural society. To cope with their increasing hardship, peasants often banded together in associations which had to be secret because they were ruthlessly hounded by the state. This was particularly true of those peasants who, because of economic and political compulsions, had been forced to leave the security of their original homes and families and become migrants in search of a livelihood. It was quite natural that when times were hard, these societies would turn to some form of banditry, usually preying on the local rich.

In times of real mass dissatisfaction and frustration among the peasantry these secret societies often became the nuclei of peasant revolts and even large-scale rebellions, directed against the officialdom or against the ruling dynasty itself. Time and again, huge peasant armies were formed, which ransacked the local or provincial seats of government or tried to march on the capital itself. When they succeeded in storming the imperial headquarters, as happened several times in the history of China, it invariably meant the collapse of the ruling dynasty. In this way the peasantry, sometimes played a crucial role in political affairs by catapulting a new ruling house onto the throne of China.

THE ARTISANS

The town-dwelling artisans, the third order of the society, were organized into guilds which controlled production and marketing in each professional sector: weaving, shoemaking, bamboo handicrafts, gold working, and so on. The guilds were also mutual insurance societies, religious fraternities, and unofficial arbitrators in trade disputes. Each guild had a patron saint or legendary founder, usually a divinity from the Taoist pantheon, whose annual feast day it celebrated.

Not all handicraft work was performed in towns under the supervision of the guilds. Rural manufacturers, which provided work on the farms during the off-season, were an important part of each village economy.

THE MERCHANTS

In the Confucian scheme of things, merchants were at the bottom rung of the social ladder, lower even than the peasants. This was because commerce, unlike agriculture, was not considered a primary form of economic activity. But this formally low status was, in practice, no bar to merchant families thriving and improving their social status. Many merchants managed to amass huge wealth. The better off merchants invariably sought to raise their social standing either by marrying into prestigious gentry families or else by securing official positions for their sons. Apart from the normal examination route to officialdom, the possibility of directly buying official titles and positions ensured that a good number of merchant families had at least one member with official standing. It was also a common practice for wealthy merchants to invest some of their profits in buying land. This they did more the sake of prestige rather than of economic value. All this ensured that there were fairly close links between the top stratum of the merchant class and the gentry and officialdom. Particularly, with the rapid development of commerce in the later imperial period the increasing involvement of gentry members with some form of commercial activity, the gap between these classes was much narrower than it was formally made out to be.

State supervision and control of commerce, however, prevented the development of the independent economic and political activity of the merchant class. In China, the state understood the potential of commercial activity as a source of revenue and sought to keep it under its tight control. Apart from taxing commercial activity, the State also started establishing lucrative monopolies of certain essential commodities like salt and iron as early as the 2nd century BC. By and large a feature of the Chinese merchant class is that it did not challenge this state regulation and state control of commerce. On the contrary, the most prominent merchants were content to collaborate and to act as some kind of state agents in business. The merchant guilds and associations served primarily as mutual-aid societies, and never became centres of struggle and of independent economic and political power, as they did in Europe.

China's traditional economy evolved in a slow and gradual process in which organizations, techniques of production and distribution, etc. were developed over a long span of time. The Chinese attitude towards life, ways of living and doing business had a bearing on these organizational activities which were not subject to swift and frequent changes. China had been extremely rich in natural resources. The vastness of land, fertile plains, forest wealth, reserves of minerals and coal, rich water resources, etc. have all contributed in the economic development. However, the economic development of China passed through various phases witnessing progress as well as regression. The main components of the traditional Chinese economy can be classified as agriculture, handicrafts, trade, indigenous transportation and service activities.

AGRICULTURE

China, had predominantly been an agricultural society. Agriculture advanced over the years along with changes in the agrarian structure and relations. The production relations in agriculture passed through various stages; from hunter-gatherers to slavery and feudalism. All these stages left their mark on agrarian relations. There emerged two patterns of land ownership private and collective. The private ownership of land gave rise to landlordism. The collective ownership of land included royal and government estates as well as military and monastic lands. Interestingly, all these patterns of land ownership expanded and functioned in a feudal system. Different kinds of taxes were imposed by the stale as well as the landlords and the state regulations proved beneficial to the landlords. For example, the monastic landlords were exempted from paying taxes and labour services. This was in spite of their large lands, assets and works. However, during all the stages we find certain technological advances in the field of agriculture. Particularly, during the eighth and twelfth centuries AD agriculture was transformed to a large extent. We know about these changes from a variety of sources. For example:

1. Chueh Szuhsieh (during the Northern Wei Dynasty) wrote a book, *The Manual of Important Arts for the People* which covered a variety of themes related to agriculture like sowing operations, adopting agricultural production according to local conditions, farm tools, husbandry and emphasis on high yields for it read: "Better reap good harvests over small areas than poor harvests over large areas."
2. Lu Yu (733-804 AD) wrote *The Book of Tea* which mentioned about the cultivation of tea bushes and tea-processing methods.
3. In 1149 AD Chan Fu wrote a book entitled *Agriculture* which dealt with paddy field work.
4. In 1273 AD the Yuan government issued *The Fundamentals of Agriculture and Sericulture* which contained details about cotton growing techniques.
5. Wang Chen wrote a book *On Agriculture* between 1295 and 1300 AD. This book gave illustrations of agricultural implements and operations.

Besides the advancement in the methods of agricultural operations we find an improvement in the quality of tools also. For example the popularization of iron smelting by hydro-power flowers tremendously increased the production of iron agricultural implements.

The Sui-Tang period witnessed a new type of plough which had eleven parts and was adjustable for working in varying depths. During the early Ming period efforts were made to bring more land under cultivation. For example, King Chu Yuan advocated that the soldiers posted at frontiers should devote 70 per cent of their efforts towards cultivation and 30 per cent towards defence. For soldiers posted in the interior the ratio was 80:20 per cent. However, in due course of time the Ming government increased taxes on the peasantry.

The land system that gained prominence under the Ming was manorial. Its basic characteristic was that the peasant held land from the landlord and in return he owed certain dues and services. For example, he was supposed to work for a number of days on the landlords' lands. This system remained quite effective till the 15th century. However, a number of peasant uprisings contributed to the decline of the Ming dynasty. Some of them were:

- The uprising in Shantung under the leadership of a woman peasant Tang Saie (1420 AD).
- The peasant uprisings under the leadership of Yeh Tsung liu in Chejiang province (1445-50 AD).
- In 1448 AD, in Fujian province, Teng Mao chi declared himself the "King of levellers" and led the peasants in armed uprising.
- The peasant uprisings in Shaanshi province (from 1627 AD onwards), etc.

In fact, feudal oppression, famines and floods left their mark on agriculture.

The Ch'ing period witnessed a gradual rise in the land under cultivation. For example, in 1661 the total land under cultivation was 82,350,000 acres and by 1812 it had gone up to 118,500,000 acres. Agricultural development centered on the cultivation of rice and cash crops. Land tax remained the greatest tax.

However, there also emerged a labour market. A large number of hired labourers worked on the lands of the landlords on seasonal, yearly or daily basis. Though this was in specific regions only it slowly paved the way to free the labourer from feudal control to sell his labour.

Another important development in the pattern of landownership was the emergence of a new landlord class. This consisted of government officials, gentry and merchants.

The Ch'ing rule witnessed a number of peasant revolts, the most famous one being the Great White Lotus Rebellion (1796-1804). But it was only during the 1850s that the Taipings, attempted to establish a new agrarian structure in China.

HANDICRAFTS INDUSTRY

Chinese handicrafts, particularly from the Shang period (1523-1027 BC), have been of a high quality. For example excavations have yielded beautiful pottery and bronze vessels of that period. The manufacture of such items continued and the most frequently pursued handicrafts were:

- Lacquer and Porcelain ware
- Bronze items like vessels, weapons and tools, etc.,
- Cloth, and
- Paper

Similarly salt making, iron smelting etc. developed as specialized skills.

The traditional handicrafts industry developed as a subsidiary to agriculture. This was because the seasonal character of agricultural operations gave ample time to the peasants to engage themselves in handicrafts manufacture. Gradually independent craftsmen also appeared on the scene in rural as well as urban centres. However, the techniques of production remained largely primitive where only simple tools were used. Many items had a market even outside the country. For example, during the Han period Chinese brocade was in great demand in Rome.

At different intervals certain innovations were also carried out. For example, during the Three Kingdoms period the old weaving loom was made easier to operate by reducing the number of pedals from 60 to 12. Similarly the paper made during the Tang period was famous for its fine and even texture in many countries outside China. High quality porcelains were produced under the Sung and Yuan dynasties. Some of the famous kilns were located at Henan, Kaifeng etc. By the time of Ming-Ch'ing period the blue vase and the multicoloured vase were the most famous products.

The salt industry had expanded during the Tang period and by Ch'ing period a large work force, consisting thousands of workers, was employed in salt making plants.

Certain achievements were made in the field of iron smelting and new methods of making steel were introduced during the Ming period. Coke was used as fuel for iron smelting. Smelting of zinc, a very difficult process, was done in China since the early decades of fifteenth century and later the method spread to Europe.

Engraved wood block printing had appeared during the Tang period and by Ming-Ch'ing period printing was also being done through movable type made of copper, lead, tin or wood. Besides the regular printing plate now the multi-printing plate was also introduced.

Spinning and weaving remained a subsidiary occupation but from the middle decades of the Ming rule it also developed as an independent enterprise, manufacturing for the market. For example, during the early Ming period we find the evidence of hired weavers working on the looms of a wealthy merchant. It was reported during the Wan Li period that:

"Craftsmen in Hangchou, having their own employers, were paid wages on a daily basis. Those who had no regular employers stood on a bridge early in the morning waiting for their names to be called."

This indicates that a free labour market had emerged. Many rich weavers also increased the number of looms in order to hire other weavers to increase production. An important development was the distribution of raw materials to weavers, dyers and stampers by cloth merchants. The raw material was processed stepwise till the final product came. Hence, on the one hand the rich weavers were becoming owners of workshops and on the other the merchants acting as contractors, organized textile production. However, these activities

were confined to south-eastern China only. Yet, they represented the beginning of capitalism in China. A new kind of class struggle was also emerging. We find evidences of protest against increase in taxes on looms. For example in the closing years of sixteenth century many workers went on strike in Suchou when the tax superintendent increased taxes on looms.

Similar incidents were witnessed in the mining industry. In 1603 the workers of the Hsi shan mine went to Peking to demonstrate against the high-headedness of the mine superintendent. In 1606 the office of the tax collector was burnt by the miners of Yunan. Yangjung, the mine superintendent, killed more than one thousand miners in retaliation. This further enraged the miners and more than two hundred of Yang's followers were killed. All these incidents show the growing awareness among the workers.

Though the Chinese industry did not develop on modern lines (as was the case in Europe) handicraft workshops represented the highest stage of development in the traditional industry of China.

INDIGENOUS TRANSPORT

As we all know communications play a vital role in the growth of a country's economy. In traditional China the most vital transportation link was through the rivers and canals. In fact from very old days, particularly the Chin-Han period, water conservancy projects were developed in relation to navigation, agriculture and animal husbandry. Some of the important canals dug during this period were:

- Liu Chu canal
- Tsao-chu canal built under the supervision of Hsu po, an expert on water conservancy, and
- In 69 AD the Haunghe River was harnessed under the supervision of Wang Chin, etc.

In all these projects a huge labour force was involved. These projects also improved the transportation of grain.

An unknown author listed 137 major waterways in China during the Three Kingdoms period in his work *Waterways Classic*. By 6th century AD Li Tao-Yuan mentioned 1252 other waterways in his work.

Between sixth to twelfth century AD a number of canals were built at state initiative. The aim was to link the principal river in North China. The construction of Grand Canal, which stretched six hundred miles from Hankchou to Shantung province, was a major achievement. Besides helping in the transportation system the canals also improved irrigation facilities.

It is worth mentioning here the efforts of Pan Chi hsun in supervising water conservancy works and navigation along the Huanghe and Huai rivers during the sixteenth century. He even wrote two books: *My Humble View of the Two Rivers* and *An Outline of River Control*.

During the Ming-Ch'ing period large-scale efforts were made to improve transportation through rivers and canals. However, rampant corruption emerged in this area. In 1811 AD it was estimated that more than half the budget of water control was lost in corruption. The post of superintendent of water control yielded the largest amount of bribery.

As far as land routes are concerned, the Tang and Sung governments not only maintained the earlier routes but also improved them. The situation remained the same during the Ming-Ch'ing period. Efforts were also made to clear the main routes from pirates.

Ocean navigation in China had a long history and by the nineteenth century certain coastal villages and major ports had developed for overseas trade.

Improvements in communications immensely contributed towards the formation of a nationwide market and gave impetus to trade.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

In ancient China trade was mainly controlled by nobles or officials. This was the case particularly during the Chou period. By the Warring States period we find that merchants had emerged as a social class. There is a reference to a merchant Pai Kui who made big fortunes through the purchase of grain and selling silk and lacquer ware in the years of good harvests. In the years of bad harvests he sold grain and bought textile and cotton goods. The ancient silk route was well-known and by first century AD Chinese merchants were trading with the Western World. By the time of Tang rule Chinese commodities had a market in Arabia, Japan and other countries. The most important items of trade were silk fabrics and porcelain wares. An important development during this period was the appearance of "fei qian" (means flying money) a bill of exchange.

During the Sung, Chin and Yuan period paper currency also appeared in China. Extensive trade also led

to urbanization and establishment of market centres. For example in Hangchou commercial activities were carried out even in night and the city had more than twenty licensed pawn shops. Marco Polo described Dadu, during Yuan rule, a city where one thousand carts filled with silk were transported every day.

Very often there were protests by merchants against high taxation. For example in 1599 the merchants of Lin Ching (in Shantung province) went on strike against the tax superintendent and burnt his office. There also emerged regional merchant associations (Tung-hsiang hui) but till the nineteenth century they could not consolidate merchants' interests and powers.

The merchants were termed lower in social stratification and the government imposed various kinds of controls on them. For example:

- licensing was there in items like salt manufacture and distribution,
- trade in rice was dominated through grain tribute system, and
- direct control was kept on silks and pottery made in imperial manufactories.

OBSTACLES IN CAPITALISTIC DEVELOPMENT

Certain aspects of initial capitalistic development had emerged in China during the late Ming and Ch'ing period. However, its normal growth was hindered due to a variety of reasons. Let us briefly examine some of them.

1. For a long time China had a self-sufficient economy under a feudal set-up. This, too a large extent, effected production processes. For example, we have already seen how peasants were exploited by landlords. Hence, any increase in productivity benefited the landlord whereas the peasant received no share in it. The peasant production either of food grains or handicrafts remained confined to meet the daily demands of the traditional household. Thus, the emphasis on traditional household structure restricted market relations and commercial activities. This in turn hindered the expansion of industrial capitalism.

2. The handicraft guilds in China worked under strict regulations. These regulations were imposed by the feudal government to have a strict control over the artisans. Moreover, the regulations related to the distribution of raw materials, grading of finished products etc., forestalled competitions in the market and this again hindered capitalist development.

3. The attitude of the feudal government towards commerce, handicraft, textile and mining industries was also an obstacle in the development of capitalist forms of production. For example the Ch'ing government levied heavy taxes on tea, salt and liquor; often purchased products at low prices and restricted the movement of products as well as traders. Many a times mines were closed arbitrarily despite the profits. This was done so because the government was afraid that the constant staying together and interaction amongst the miners might create troubles for the government.

4. Merchants remained at the lowest levels in Chinese society. In order to obtain social status they invested in buying lands. This diverted a considerable amount of money which otherwise could have played a role in commercial and industrial development.

5. Investments in land and money-lending were considered a profitable business. This prevented the transformation of wealth into industrial capital.

6. Restrictions imposed on foreign trade during the Ming and Ch'ing period adversely affected the production of certain commodities of trade.

In short we can say that though cracks were emerging in feudal system it was the feudal influence on economy that restricted the development of capitalism in China.

TRADITIONAL CHINESE SOCIETY

The social and political system of traditional China was highly complex and sophisticated. Its complete collapse and radical transformation in the first half of the 20th century might make us think that it was fundamentally weak and unstable. But this was not always the case. In fact, it had endured in its basic form, with some evolutionary changes, for close to two thousand years, holding together a region of vast size, population and great diversity.

SOCIAL HIERARCHIES

The basic hierarchy of Chinese society consisted of the four occupational orders which reflected the political and moral values of Confucianism. Highest of all were the scholars (*shi*); next came the peasants (*nong*), then the artisans (*gong*), and last the merchants (*shang*). Excluded from the four orders were people in some occupations regarded as infamous: actors, prostitutes, servants, soldiers, *yamen* (local administrative unit) messengers, vagrants and others.

The four orders were rounded out by intermediate structures, each with its own hierarchy, and every individual fitted snugly into an appointed place. The guild had its patrons, members, and apprentices, the village its local hierarchy, and the family its complex network of relationships based on authority.

A DEVELOPED AGRARIAN SOCIETY

China has always been predominantly an agrarian society. The bulk of her population lived in the villages, and agriculture was their principal source of livelihood. The basic division in the society was between the large majority of labouring peasants on the one hand, and the landlords on the other. The landlords did not till the land themselves but lived off the income from their lands which were tilled by the peasants. However, this does not mean that China was a simple agrarian society. From the very early stages China had a complex and developed social order. For example as early as the first millennium BC, we see the construction of formidable border fortifications, trunk roads, huge dams and irrigation networks, etc. There were certain basic factors that had contributed in the development of a strong state organization from very early times. The Chinese civilization had developed through the ages under circumstances that had compelled the people to undertake collective political and economic activity on a large-scale. For example there was always the need to defend themselves from the incursions of their nomadic neighbours as well as the need to contain the ravages of floods, or to ensure adequate irrigation, etc.

The enormous growth of commercial farming and inter-regional trade, particularly from the 10th c. AD, also profoundly affected the character of the Chinese society and state. The ruling class thereafter was no longer a class that derived its wealth solely from the land, but also from commerce. The development of the money economy, the growth of lively urban centres, the spread of literacy (although mainly among the upper class), the increased inter-regional as well as overseas migration, etc., all combined to make the China of the later imperial period a far cry from that of the beginning of our epoch. Until the Industrial Revolution in Europe, China was among the most advanced societies in the world.

THE GENTRY

Of the three main social classes in traditional China, the dominant class was what has been called "the gentry". The gentry was the class of landlords who did not themselves till their lands. They derived their wealth mainly, though not entirely, from the rents (often as substantial as 1/2 of the value of the crop) paid to them by the peasants who worked on their lands. But to define, this class simply as a landowning class would be inaccurate. This is because over the years members of the gentry had taken up various pursuits in diverse fields. They were also distinguished by their educational attainments, social prestige and a lifestyle that set them clearly apart from the common people. The sons of the gentry families by and large underwent a process of rigorous education in Confucian scholarship. Their success was measured by the scholarly degrees that they earned in various levels of state-sponsored examinations. The top stratum of the successful candidates in the examinations was appointed as officials under the imperial government. This was considered as the highest achievement possible in traditional Chinese society. Having one or more of their members holding high public office was in turn one of the main ways in which the gentry families

protected and expanded their landed estates and other sources of wealth, and enhanced their social status.

Not enough research has been done to specify the exact connection between the scholar-officials as a statutory group and the land-owners as a class founded on landholding. What is certain is that it was a feudal situation: the mass of the peasants were under the domination, both economic and extra-economic, of a minority. Joseph Needham has suggested the term "bureaucratic feudalism" to emphasize the unique combination of economic and political power. Whether they were actually serving in the imperial government or living on their rural estates, the members of the gentry had important social and political functions. The non-serving gentry members were a kind of local elite at the district level, whose cooperation was absolutely essential for the stability and effectiveness of the imperial government.

For example they:

1. participated in the construction and maintenance of charitable and public works,
2. informally adjudicated disputes among the local population and served as intermediaries between the local people and the administration,
3. organized militia and other forms of self-defence associations to police their areas, and
4. maintained order in times of trouble.

In general, their sphere of operations and their responsibilities increased whenever there was a decline in the strength and effectiveness of the imperial government. This was seen most clearly in the last years of the imperial system in the late 19th and early 20th century.

The remarkable thing is that while emperors and ruling dynasties rose and fell, the existence of the gentry class, as well as its willingness to adjust to different rulers, showed amazing continuity. For example the real resilience of this class was seen in the early 20th century. This was a period when imperialism and the growth of modern industry and commerce had made deep inroads into the traditional agrarian economy. Moreover:

- the abolition of the examination system in 1905 knocked off one of the gentry's main avenues to advancement, and
- the 1911 Revolution brought down the entire edifice of imperial rule with which they were intimately associated.

Yet the gentry as a class did not disappear at once, but continued to adapt and survive, although in a distorted form. The overall stability and resilience of the traditional social and political system was integrally linked with the character and functions of this class.

THE PEASANTRY

Agriculture had a privileged position in the Confucian economic ethic, and peasants came second in the hierarchy of the four orders. It was said: *Zhong Nong Bing Shang*, that is, respect agriculture and despise trade. By far the most numerous class of Chinese society was the peasantry. The condition of the peasants undoubtedly varied from region to region and from one period of time to another. But by and large, they were ostensibly exploited and poor. After the great waves of migration that filled up the central and southern regions of China from the 3rd to the 6th centuries AD, the amount of available land did not increase significantly. Population increase was 200 % (from 143 million in 1741 to 430 million in 1850). But the increase in the size of cultivable land was only 35 % (from 549 million mou in 1661 to 737 million mou in 1833). This led to growing pressure of the population on the land. In theory, the peasantry in China was not serfs. But in reality, their condition was not much better than that of serfs. Poverty and insecurity compelled the bulk of them to become tenants paying half of their crop to the big landlords as rent. The peasantry was caught between the extortionate demands of the landlords on the one hand, and the obligation to pay up heavy taxes including forced labour service to the state. So oppressive was the burden of taxation that many peasants used to flee their villages, forsake their status as independent cultivators and become virtual retainers of powerful landlords who could protect them from the exactions of the state officials.

Recurring floods, droughts and other natural calamities added to the miseries of the peasants. These calamities were more frequent and their consequences were harsher in times when the imperial government was weak and it could not maintain the dams, dykes and other public works necessary for normal agricultural activity. When the central authority was weak there was no check on the exactions imposed on the peasants by rapacious local officials or gentry members. It was precisely in such periods in Chinese history that we see

the proliferation of secret societies and the increasing incidence of banditry. By and large the phenomena of secret societies, banditry and other symptoms of lawlessness were an outgrowth of acute discontent and destitution among the peasantry and other poor sections of rural society. To cope with their increasing hardship, peasants often banded together in associations which had to be secret because they were ruthlessly hounded by the state. This was particularly true of those peasants who, because of economic and political compulsions, had been forced to leave the security of their original homes and families and become migrants in search of a livelihood. It was quite natural that when times were hard, these societies would turn to some form of banditry, usually preying on the local rich.

In times of real mass dissatisfaction and frustration among the peasantry these secret societies often became the nuclei of peasant revolts and even large-scale rebellions, directed against the officialdom or against the ruling dynasty itself. Time and again, huge peasant armies were formed, which ransacked the local or provincial seats of government or tried to march on the capital itself. When they succeeded in storming the imperial headquarters, as happened several times in the history of China, it invariably meant the collapse of the ruling dynasty. In this way the peasantry, sometimes played a crucial role in political affairs by catapulting a new ruling house onto the throne of China.

THE ARTISANS

The town-dwelling artisans, the third order of the society, were organized into guilds which controlled production and marketing in each professional sector: weaving, shoemaking, bamboo handicrafts, gold working, and so on. The guilds were also mutual insurance societies, religious fraternities, and unofficial arbitrators in trade disputes. Each guild had a patron saint or legendary founder, usually a divinity from the Taoist pantheon, whose annual feast day it celebrated.

Not all handicraft work was performed in towns under the supervision of the guilds. Rural manufacturers, which provided work on the farms during the off-season, were an important part of each village economy.

THE MERCHANTS

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State supervision and control of commerce, however, prevented the development of the independent economic and political activity of the merchant class. In China, the state understood the potential of commercial activity as a source of revenue and sought to keep it under its tight control. Apart from taxing commercial activity, the State also started establishing lucrative monopolies of certain essential commodities like salt and iron as early as the 2nd century BC. By and large a feature of the Chinese merchant class is that it did not challenge this state regulation and state control of commerce. On the contrary, the most prominent merchants were content to collaborate and to act as some kind of state agents in business. The merchant guilds and associations served primarily as mutual-aid societies, and never became centres of struggle and of independent economic and political power, as they did in Europe.

THE TUNGCHIH RESTORATION & THE SELF STRENGTHENING MOVEMENT

In the mid-19th century, the Ch'ing state, having withstood challenges from the internal crisis generated by the Taipings and the European onslaughts of the two Opium War, embarked upon a programme of reform and strengthening the state. This Period referred to as the Tungchih Restoration had two major policy components. Tungchi was the reign title of the Emperor who ascended the Chinese throne in November 1861. The Tungchih reign extended from 1862-1874. The two aspects of the policy were:

RESTORATION OF CH'ING POWER (*chung hsing*): This was a cardinal theme of restoring the power and glory of the state and by implication of Confucian society. The idea of restoration was not anything new. There were in fact several such restorations attempted in Chinese history which in the interim provided a renewal of faith and commitment in the dynasty and the traditional order. The more significant of these restorations were in the 9th century BC of the Western Chou, the Han restoration of the first century AD and the Tang in the 8th century AD.

SELF-STRENGTHENING (*trugiang*): This entailed a limited modernization policy concerned initially with the creation of an armaments industry. However, during the 1870's and 1880's modernization was extended to areas of industry, communications and most importantly to education.

ARCHITECTS OF THE RESTORATION AND SELF STRENGTHENING

The principal architects of these programmes were Prince Kung (1833-1898), the brother of the late Emperor Hsien feng and Wen Tsaing (1818-1876) who was the Chairman of the Ministry of Public Works and the Minister of Civil Works. At the provincial level they were fortunate to have some outstanding bureaucrats who built the programme. The most prominent of them was Tseng Kuo fan (1811-1872) who in 1860 as the Imperial Commissioner was instrumental in helping the state to suppress the Taipings.

Tso Tsung-tang (1812-1885), another official who had come to the limelight in the wake of the anti-Taiping manoeuvres, played a critical role in the establishment of modem enterprises and in restoring the agrarian economy.

One of the principal figures of the Restoration was Li Hung chang (1823-1901), who during the last half of the 19th century played an important role in China's relations with the Western powers.

These officials were supported by a host of provincial leaders and officials, all products of the examination system. They were products of Confucian education and committed to preserving the social order and the Confucian conception of the State. One need to bear in mind that this social and ideological base was to determine both the contours as well as the extent of reform what was proposed.

RESTORATION OF THE AGRARIAN ECONOMY

In the mid-19th century several observers were to comment on the general desolateness of the Chinese people. Restoration of the agrarian economy became the principal concern at this time. Limitations were placed on government spending and more importantly on the material aspirations of the peasantry. The idea was neither to increase national wealth nor production. A balance was sought to be struck between state finances and people livelihood and thereby to re-emphasize the principles of Confucian political economy.

The programme had major thrusts:

1. Extension of cultivated areas,
2. Expansion of public works, and
3. Reduction of land tax.

Extension of cultivated areas

In the wake of the political disturbances of the first half of the 19th century, much land lay abandoned because of the migration of the rural population. As political strife ended, efforts were made to repopulate areas like Hunan, where demobilized soldiers were given plots of land. Peasants were encouraged to migrate to the more prosperous and irrigated regions. For instance, in Chin Chiang in Chianghsi, the population increased from 8,000 to 40,000 in a period of just 6 months. Although some of the repopulation was spontaneous. Ching officials encouraged it through homestead acts. Agricultural resettlement offices were established to encourage group organization and to distribute seed-grain and tools.

The results of this policy were, however, uneven. In some provinces like Chiangsu, Fujian and Zhenjiang more peasants than before owned land in the form of small farms of less than one hectare. In Chenjiang, in Chiangsu province, for example, landowners had disappeared in the wake of the Taipings and only peasant owners left. With the restoration, however, land was given back to the original owners. Bureaucrats and army officers built up vast holdings. Now a clear trend emerged towards concentration of land ownership.

Reconstruction of Public Works

In an effort to fight famines, reserve granaries were repaired and additional granaries created with the help of the gentry. The most urgent task, however, remained the waterworks. Dikes and canals had been badly neglected. In Chili, Shantung, Shenhsi and Sichuan vast enterprises were launched to repair hydraulic works and recover flooded lands. Though it was recognized that the major threat to the agrarian stability of the North China plain was the vagaries of the Yellow River, attempts to control it remained at the planning stage only.

Reduction of land tax

A principal target of the popular movements had been the tax abuses. It is estimated that the Tungchih rule, land taxes were cut by some 30 per cent. An important step was the permanent reduction of land tax in the more affected areas like Ciangsu.

As in the case of all the other reforms, the benefits of the tax reforms did not reach the peasants. This was because:

- the rise in the price of silver cancelled out any benefit that they may have enjoyed;
- the land registers were not drawn up nor the new tariffs published, hence local magistrates and gentry continued to collect taxes at the old rates; and
- the proposed reduction in land tax was not accompanied by a reduction in rent. The majority of peasants who were tenant farmers were thus left outside the purview of the tax reform.

The attempt at rehabilitation of the agrarian economy hardly improved the lot of the peasants, since the larger socio-economic and political exploitation of the peasant by the large landowners continued. There were several other aspects of the non-agrarian economy which received little attention. The Restoration government had no policy of encouraging the revival and development of trade and commerce and did little in this direction.

There were some attempts to improve transportation as a means to fortify Peking by sea and to ensure a sustained food supply. Steamships gradually replaced the big seagoing junks. In 1872 the China Merchant's Steam Navigation Company was started. There was considerable resistance to the introduction of steamships for inland water transport, the building of railways and the telegraph system. It was believed that these innovations would seriously undermine the Confucian social order.

To sum up, economic policy during this period was essentially conservative. The aim, both stated and unstated, was to re-establish and strengthen the agrarian foundations of the traditional state with a minimal of change. Land was given back to the original owners in the areas affected by the Taipings. It was the gentry which were directly benefited by the reduction in taxes.

RESTORATION OF STATE AND CIVIL AUTHORITY

Besides the agrarian and economic rejuvenation, the Tungchih Restoration focussed on the re-establishment of state authority and administration which had been seriously undermined during the first half the nineteenth century. Substantial attempts were made to improve the bureaucracy with an emphasis on recruiting "men of talent". As in the past, examination was stressed upon as the only road to power and prestige. Attempts were made to curtain the sale of degree and offices which during the preceding decades had reached alarming proportions, a process which was perceived as contributing to the general morale of the civil administration. The goal was to be able to recruit the ideal officer, an officer of all-round competence. Besides trying to streamline the bureaucracy in line with the goals of a Confucian state, the Ch'ing quickly re-established the economic, legal and social privileges of the elite in an attempt to consolidate their support. The political and administrative reconstruction was consolidated through ideological reconstruction, with an emphasis on Confucian knowledge. Schools and academies were reopened in an attempt to extend Confucian teaching to a wider section of people.

NEW DIPLOMACY TOWARDS THE WEST

Despite the defeat in the two Opium Wars most Chinese officials and gentry believed that the barbarians could be driven back. A few leaders mentioned earlier, however, like Prince Kung, Wen Hsiang, Li Hung Chang and others, recognizing the gravity of the foreign aggression, felt it necessary to evolve new institutions to contain foreign encroachments. Hence, on January 20, 1861 the *Tsungli Yamen* was created. The role of the *Tsungli Yamen* was seen as one of controlling the superintendents of foreign trade in the various ports. It had general charge of all China's relations with the Western powers. Here it would be pertinent to mention the translation of Wheaton's work *Elements of International Law* into Chinese by an American missionary, W A P Martin in 1864. This translation was tremendously useful to the Chinese since it enabled the *Tsungli Yamen* to insist on the inviolability of treaties, that is, they tried to make the treaties a protective wall for the Chinese government and to confine the Western powers to the letter of the treaty.

SELF STRENGTHENING

A closely connected policy of the Restoration was the official policy of limited modernization, called as the *Yangwu Tung* (foreign matters movement), a term that came to refer to anything foreign from diplomacy to industrial machinery. The first expression of this policy was the creation of an armaments industry. Following this were the development of mines, communications and textile industry, all of which were covered by the new objectives of the 1870's onwards of acquiring "wealth and power" (*Tsu kaing*).

Tsu kaing had first been advocated for reasons of domestic policy, i.e.:

- to ensure the Imperial militia's ability to suppress popular movements, and
- to resist the foreigners.

It was an attempt at national recovery in domestic and foreign relations. There was a growing recognition that to maintain power a minimum of technology had to be borrowed from the West. Feng Kuei-fen (1808-1874), a scholar from Suchou, wrote a series of essays of the need to utilize Western technology to defend the traditional state. Feng's ideas found a fair response among the officials and gentry all of whom were concerned with the preservation of the traditional order.

To rationalize and justify the introduction of Western technology, a popular axiom of the period was 'Chinese learning as essence and Western knowledge for practical use'. This view tried to prevent any criticism that the changes proposed were inimical to the basic values and norms of Confucian culture and society.

Given the military humiliation that China had faced, the modernization of the military was given initial priority. The two major aspects of the military modernization were to:

- reorganize the Ch'ing armies and to-reinforce loyalty to the state of the rapidly growing regional armies, and
- make China militarily equal in arms and armaments of the West.

This recognition of the need of modem weapons and their manufacture in China led to the establishment of four major arsenals between 1865 and 1867.

- The Chiangnan arsenal was started under the aegis of Tseng Kuo fan in 1865.
- The Nanking arsenal was started by Li Hong Zhang.
- The Fuchou shipyard was founded by Tso Tsung tang in 1867.
- An arsenal was started at Tientsin in1867 under the direction of a Manchu dignitary, Chung-hou with an Englishman Meadows as technical advisor.

However, the first of the objectives of reorganizing the armies remained unfulfilled, since it would have involved greater changes in class structures and values, changes which the Ch'ing was unwilling to allow.

The modem arsenals introduced mechanized production in China for the first time. This did not, however, lead to a technological revolution. Nor did it result in the emergence of a bourgeoisie. The arsenals were essentially state enterprises which did not stimulate any ancillary industry and functioned more or less like bureaucratic departments racked by growing deficits, inefficiency and corruption.

The first phase of the industrialization policy, however, was not able to stem the tide of decline in the agrarian economy and the traditional handicraft sector.

Though the emphasis in the first instance was on borrowing of Western technology for the making of rifles, cannons and modem ships, there were other trends which developed at the same time. The *Tsungli Yamen* required interpreters. To meet this demand foreign language schools (*Tung Wen Kuan*) were started. The first of these was started in Peking where English, Russian and French were taught. Other centers were opened in Canton and Shanghai. There were also schools attached to the arsenals which gave instructions in technical subjects and Western languages. Gradually these schools extended to introducing other Western subjects as well. The consequences of this trend were to be seen not only in the field of education, but also in Chinese views on change, reform and modernization.

THE SECOND PHASE

During the 1870's arms manufacture seemed less important once the great popular uprising had been suppressed. Soon the second phase of the *Yangwu* movement was launched. Li Hung Chang and others intended to draw on the wealth and competence of the merchants to set up new enterprises. They aimed to make China rise to "wealth and power" (*Fu-kiang*) as Li Hung Chang wrote in 1872. Li applied the term *chuan tu shang pan* (government supervision and merchant operation) to all the new enterprises that were started. As part of this policy the China Merchant's Steam Navigation Company was launched in 1872. Even here the attempts to draw in private capital though successful in the first few years, did not last very long. By 1877, the Company under the guidance of Sheng Hsuan huai (1844-1916) represented the interests of the bureaucracy. The mining industry was developed both to meet the demands of the armaments industry as well as to forestall the foreigners who were demanding the right to open mines in China. Between 1876-1885 about 10 mines were opened based on the *chuan tu shang pan* system. All these were under the control of Li Hung Chang.

It was in the textile industry that there was some competition between official and private enterprise. The Shanghai Cotton Cloth mill started in the late 1880's went into production in 1890. In the 1860's several textile companies were launched by a Chinese comprador with support from foreign firms. The first entirely Chinese textile factory was a silk factory opened in 1872 in the Canton region by a silk merchant Chen Chi-yuan. But his success was not entirely appreciated by the officials. The attitude towards private entrepreneurship is best represented in a

comment made by a local official: "only the public authorities have the right to use machines."

The *Fu-kiang* policy led to two major innovations in the fields of communications, i.e.: railways and the postal system. In 1863, 27 foreign firms gave a proposal to construct a railway between Shanghai and Suchou which was rejected as part of an effort to prevent further foreign encroachment. This position changed with the favouring of limited modernization. In 1881 the first Chinese railway, 11 kilometres in length was commissioned to haul coal for the Kaiping Mining Company. In 1870-71 foreign companies installed telegraph lines linking Hong Kong, Shanghai and Vladivostok. The introduction of national postal services met with opposition from the officials, the foreigners and the banks and other companies which had a vested interest in a private postal system. The officials feared that the suspension of the official service (*yichan*) would seriously endanger official authority. The banks did not want to lose their business. The foreigners who had established their own services in the port cities wanted to retain foreign mail firmly in their own hands.

Beginnings of a Modern Education

The establishment of foreign language schools as part of self strengthening led to new trends in the field of education. No doubt the innovations were not on a large scale nevertheless they were to lay the foundations of an exposure to non Chinese ideas which expanded rapidly during the last decades of the 19th century. A small number of schools were opened to train a limited number of men for taking careers as technicians or officials. The Institute of Western Knowledge was started in Canton in 1880. In Tientsin a telegraph school was started in 1880, a naval and army medical school in 1881 and a military academy in 1885. Between 1872-1881, 120 Chinese youth were sent to Hartford in the United States to receive American education. A parallel mission was sent to France in 1876. These programmes were severely criticized for making the participants too westernized.

It is significant that some of the beneficiaries of this education abroad, like Yan Fu played an important part in Chinese intellectual and political life at the end of the century. This policy of officially sponsoring overseas education was given up by 1881. This happened partly due to the exclusion policy of the United States whereby the US unilaterally suspended and other Asian immigration in the wake of a strong anti-Chinese movement in California. During the last decades of the 19th century, however, several Chinese students were to seek education abroad.

Opposition to the innovations

There was sustained opposition to the *Yangwu* movement in official circles from the beginning. The most prominent of the critics was Wo-jen, a Mongol official who held important positions as tutor to the Emperor and Chairman of the Hanlin Academy. Using Confucian texts, Wo-jen tried to argue that science and technology would not resolve the problems of the state. The controversy, however, remained within manageable limits as long as the *Yangwu* movement was advocating the making of arms to suppress internal revolts and prevent foreign incursions. The conflict became sharper when innovations were sought to be introduced in other areas like industry, communications and education. The opposition was strengthened by popular resistance to mechanization and the modem economic system. Riots over the introduction of railways were used to argue that the introduction of modem technology endangered law and order. It must be remembered that popular opposition stemmed from both religious beliefs and superstitions as well as from the belief that the machines had ruined the livelihood of the people. The conservative reaction, however, was fighting to preserve a traditional state and order, which it feared would be undermined by the new developments. In the long run the fears of Wo-jen and others proved to be right.

The impact

The major results of the Restoration and the Self Strengthening movements were as follows:

1. The Restoration reinforced the political and social roles of the gentry.
2. Since the state had drawn on the military forces created by the provincial gentry to quell the Taipings and other popular uprisings of the 19th century, the seeds of regional militarism were sown. These new armies were superior to the traditional Imperial Army, and potentially were a threat to the state: a threat which was actuated in the early 20th century.
3. Historians agree that the state sponsored enterprises illustrate the rise of modem capitalism in China. A striking social development was the emergence of bourgeoisie, officials, compradors, merchants, gentry and landowners.
4. New intellectual and literary trends in the form of translations and publications widened the horizons of Chinese intellectuals. Increasingly Chinese scholars were becoming aware that Western knowledge was more than mere technology.

In the final analysis, these efforts met with only short-term results. The aim was not to transform but to preserve with innovations. Power continued in the hands of small ruling elite. The limitations of the efforts to gain a greater control over foreign relations were sharply belied by the 1880's. Foreign presence, far from being contained, seemed to pervade wider and wider areas of Chinese society during the last two decades of the 19th century. The *Yangwu* movement, while it set the ball rolling in initiating industries and modernization of the Chinese economy, was not really able to strengthen the Chinese economy and state to face the challenges of imperialism or meet the needs of its exploited peasant masses.

THE CRITICAL YEARS AND THE SCRAMBLE FOR CONCESSION

The pattern of history in the Far East after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 is woven about six main threads: Western aggression, rivalry among the powers, Russian ambition in the Far East, the Japanese imperialism, the revolt of China against the old order, and the attempt on the part of the Western Powers to substitute cooperation for competition.

By the Treaty of Shimonoseki, China agreed to pay a huge war indemnity to Japan. But rank corruption, mis-government and the war had emptied her exchequer, and to meet her obligation China had to borrow from abroad for the first time in recent history. This aggravated her troubles and a new trend of foreign control over her finances started, which multiplied the bonds about her.

Russia secured the privilege of advancing the first installment of loan to China. But Russia was not financially sound and she in turn had to seek assistance of the French bankers. Both Russia and France used the financial troubles of China to gain their ends. The so-called 'battle of concessions' was started immediately by France. A fresh delimitation of the boundaries between French-occupied Tonking and China was effected in favour of France. She was also granted options on the mines in the southern provinces of China and the right to extend the railways from French Indo-China northward.

Russia also did not lag behind. Taking advantage of her new position as protector of the integrity of China, she persuaded her to grant Russia the right to build the Chinese Eastern Railway across Manchuria. As a reward of her financial assistance, she was permitted to establish in China the Russo-Chinese Bank. This Bank was granted many facilities and very extensive fiscal powers which included the receipt of taxes, some control over local finances and the right of construction of an extended system of railway and telegraph lines. She also received some privileges in China. China entered into a fifteen-year defensive alliance with Russia which gave her the right in case of war to utilize Port Arthur and Kiao-Chou as naval bases.

Germany, the third partner of the Triple Intervention, could not but regard without apprehension the advances of France in the South and Russia in the North. This secured the position of the Dual Alliance of France and Russia in the Far East. Moreover, the successful cooperation of the two partners strengthened the bond of the Dual Alliance. Besides, William II, who demanded for Germany "a place in the sun", was anxious to obtain a foothold in China. The murder of two German missionaries on November 1, 1897, in the province of Shantung afforded Germany a chance. Within two weeks, the German fleet appeared at Kiao-chou. Germany demanded and obtained as compensation a ninety-nine years' lease of the harbour of Kiao-chou with the surrounding territory and got full jurisdiction within the leased territory together with the right of free passage for her armies in a neutral zone of fifty kilometres outside it. She also received large commercial and financial privileges, including the first option on any undertaking in the province of Shantung in which foreign assistance was needed. This signified an enormous extension of Germany's power, while the sovereignty and integrity of China were further endangered. The other Powers became jealous of this German gain and demanded 'compensation' which started a 'scramble for concession'.

By two agreements in 1898, the Russians were granted lease of Port Arthur and Dairen for twenty-five years, the right to extend the Chinese Eastern Railway southward to Dairen and mining right in Manchuria. It was also agreed by Russia that these important harbours should be opened only to the warships of Russia and China. France too pressed for fresh privileges. In 1898, as Russia advanced against the north gates of China, France obtained a ninety-nine years' lease of Kwang-chouan. China agreed to a non-alienation agreement covering the Chinese provinces bordering Tonking and conceded France the right to extend the Indo-Chinese Railway into Yunan as well as right to designate French advisers to the Chinese Post Office. As a compensation against these advances made by France, Russia and Germany, Japan received a declaration of non-alienation regarding Fukien.

These acquisitions of huge portions of China by different Powers, which threatened China with eventual partition, could not but disturb Great Britain. British commercial and financial interests in China, already stabilized and respect-ed, naturally preferred *status quo* in this part of the world. But when it was greatly threatened by the events following China's defeat in the hands of Japan, she also entered into the compensation for concession and began to adopt measures to maintain her dominant position in the Far East. Her efforts were not altogether unsuccessful. She got: 1. lease of Weihaiwei "for as long a period as Port Arthur will remain in Russian occupation"; 2. extension of the lease of the territory on the mainland opposite to Hongkong; 3. a revision of her Burmese boundaries; 4. a declaration of non-alienation of the provinces bordering the Yangtze River; and 5. a promise that the Inspector General of Maritime Customs should be a Briton as long as British trade would predominate.

Even Italy, the weakest among the European great Powers, put in a claim for a naval base in Chekiang. But this time China showed enough courage to resist and Italy's attempts were frustrated.

These several leaseholds could be the beginning of partition. The helpless Chinese government was forced to agree not to 'alienate' certain parts of the country from some foreign Powers by the 'declarations of non-alienation'. By such non-alienation declarations, France obtained special right on the territory bordering Tonking, Britain in Yangtze Valley, Japan in Fukien, Russia in Manchuria, Mongolia and in Chinese Turkestan, and Germany in Shantung. This earmarking of the provinces into 'spheres of special interest' which led to the 'sphere of influence' theory was nothing but the first step towards the eventual partitioning of the country among the Powers. In their respective 'spheres of influence' the different Powers enjoyed special financial and other privileges. The establishment of such rights on a firm basis could lead to the assertion of a 'protectorate' by gradual enlargement of the powers of control.

The foreign penetration in China was not limited to the acquisition of the leaseholds and 'declarations of non-alienation'. An international scramble for constructions of strategic railways followed as these were sure to give some economic, military and financial authority to the Powers receiving such rights. They, too, might from the basis for territorial claims in case China was actually partitioned.

Belgium, with the support of the Dual Alliance, first received the privilege of constructing the Peking-Hankow line. Britain by show of force, secured a number of important mining and railway concessions. America, Russia, France and Germany also claimed and obtained concessions. Thus European encroachments went on in merry-go-round-fashion, and at the turn of the century, the Chinese, were threatened with the financial imperialism of the Western Powers just as an earlier generation had been the victim of foreign aggression for the expansion of commerce.

The different Powers competed with each other for getting some special privileges in some particular areas of China. But once the 'spheres of influence' were definitely earmarked, each agreed not to compete for concessions in the other's sphere. In the later phase of the scramble the Powers also cooperated amongst themselves for safeguarding their interests. Thus France and Britain agreed to share the privilege that either of them might secure in Szechuan provinces and in Yunan. Britain also made some understanding with Russia and Germany about the exploitation of the Yangtze Valley, Shantung and Manchuria.

Thus China was gradually being parcelled out among the Powers. She lost her strongest forts; she could no longer control her external trade and her tariffs; even her finances and internal organizations began to fall into foreign hands. All these were ominous signs and many persons thought at the time that China would also share the fate of Africa in the hands of the Imperialists.

Vinacke has described this process of parcelling out of China into so many spheres of influence as "cutting the Chinese Melon". It was clear that the integrity of China was worth very little to the imperialistic Powers and that an era of special and exclusive privilege was dawning in China. Nevertheless China was not parcelled out among the powers on account of certain developments at the time. The very facts of the international scramble and the strong rivalry among the powers gave rise to three developments which saved the Celestial Empire: the 'open door' doctrine, the Boxer Uprising and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902. Besides, though the Powers were putting strong pressure on China, they could not altogether forget the potential strength of the Chinese dragon.

Open Door Doctrine: In the beginning of the nineteenth century the U.S.A. stood only behind Britain as the major trading power in China. Though she had used force sparingly she too had taken full part in the opening of China to trade. In the mid-sixties, as the USA turn by the Civil War, she could not devote much energy on China. But during the last quarter of the century, the USA felt the impact of the Industrial Revolution. By the nineties, the industrial development became very rapid and the American capitalists began to feel the necessity for extensive foreign markets.

The U.S.A. could not play any active part during the scramble for concessions in China in 1897-98 as she was then busy in war with Spain. But when the war ended in 1898, she once again began to show keen interest on the vast Chinese market. The American public opinion was not in favour of any acquisition of territory in China; but with the development of the conception of 'sphere of influence', the hold of European Powers on certain portions of China increased greatly. The USA realized that if the tendency continued, a Power without a territorial interest like her might speedily be excluded from the Celestial Empire. So she was greatly disturbed by the prospect of the partitioning of China amongst the Imperialist Powers.

The USA decided to act. Her annexation of the Philippines and her presence in that area in considerable strength made it possible for American diplomacy to play an active role in China. She was not very interested in creating her own sphere of influence for the obvious reason that the richest provinces of China had already been given away. The USA's problem was thus to find an effective method to safeguard its own interests, without trying to undo what has already taken place.

The USA's response to the problem was the 'open door' doctrine. The genesis of the 'open door' doctrine can be traced back to the 'most favoured nation' clause in the treaties signed between China and the Western Powers in the forties of the nineteenth century. Since then equal opportunity for trade in China had been generally insisted on by the strong trading nations particularly by Britain and the USA.

Like the Monroe doctrine the 'open door' policy also was perhaps first outlined in the British Foreign Office. Britain viewed with alarm the rapid expansion of other Powers, especially Russia, in China. To maintain her economic supremacy unimpaired in that country, in March 1898 and in J 1899, British government appealed to the U.S.A. for some joint action to maintain an open door there. Taking his cue Britain and to safeguard the rapidly developing commercial interest of the USA in the vast Chinese market, John Hay, the U.S. Secretary of State, initiated in September 1899 the famous 'open policy. As the policy was first propounded by John Hay, it is also known as Hay's doctrine.

In 1899 Hay asked the American ambassadors in London, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Tokyo and Rome to seek clarification assurances on certain points. These were that (i) no Power having a so-called 'sphere of interest' or leased territory in any part of China should interfere with any Treaty Port or any vested interest therein; (ii) the Chinese treaty tariff and the Chinese collection of customs should be guaranteed by all, and that duties so levied shall be collected by the Chinese government; and (iii) no discrimination of harbour dues or railroad charges against other countries should be made by any Power within its 'sphere of influence'. In other words, Hay in his doctrine of 'open door' policy urged all the Powers to guarantee an open Chinese market and an indiscriminating tariff toward, merchants of all nations.

The stress on the responsibility of the Chinese government in the collection of duties, took for granted the authority of that government. Thus in an indirect way the USA assisted in the maintenance of Chinese territorial and administrative integrity.

This 'open door' policy of Hay was heartily supported by Britain which had trade interest throughout the vast Chinese Empire and did not like to acquire new colonial burdens in the Pacific. Though Britain for the sake of commercial interests was desiring the restoration of the 'open door', door', she was not in a good moral position for denouncing the enclosure system as she had laid claim and established a sphere of influence for herself. All the other Powers except Russia agreed in principle to this. But the Russians hedged and remained significantly silent on the question of the uniformity of harbour dues and railroad charges which made the whole acceptance precarious.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Western Powers had tried their best to force open the doors of China. By the end of the century, when they succeeded in opening the doors, these Powers tried to close the areas under their influence to others. Thus the vast areas of the Celestial Empire were once again closed, though not by China this time, but by the imperialist Powers themselves. By the 'open door' was not meant the doors of China, but the doors of the Powers in their respective 'spheres of influence'. This was a remedy against the evils of growing international competition, and by affirming this policy, the Powers once again went back to the cooperative policy of the sixties of the nineteenth century for the exploitation of China. Although Hay's doctrine did not attract much attention at the time, the 'open door' came to be regarded as an accepted policy in almost all the subsequent treaties concerning China beginning with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902.

Many Americans asserted that the enunciation of the 'open door' vindicates the age-long US policy of championing of equal opportunity and protection of the territorial and administrative integrity of Far Eastern countries. The hollowness of their claim is made evident from the fact that just before its initiation the USA conquered and colonized the Philippines in direct violation of the concept of the 'open door'. Indeed the USA was not motivated by a high ideal in championing the 'Open door' policy. What she did she did to safeguard her commercial interest, and not for maintaining the integrity and independence of China. She did not raise any strong objection against the 'spheres of influence' which was inconsistent with equality of commercial opportunity to all.

By the 'open door' policy, she merely emphasized that she too was interested in the vast market of China and was a claimant for equal facilities in trade and enterprise there. But without belittling Hay's Doctrine it may be said that it was inadequate to protect either immediate American commercial interests or the historic American principle of equal opportunity. In this connection, however, one may recall the words of Langer that "in the Far East the Powers were dealing with the fate of an empire of upward of three hundred million souls and no less than five major states were disputing the spoils".

The 'open door' doctrine, though accepted by most of the Powers, did not receive anything approaching international guarantee from them promising the 'territorial or administrative integrity' of China. After becoming the sponsor of this policy the USA, however, began to participate more actively in the affairs of the Far East in general and China in particular. This American interest in China did give the latter power some external support in her fight for self-preservation.

The 'open door' policy, however, saved China from immediate dismemberment. But though, in one sense, it was a guarantee of Chinese integrity, on the other, it was nothing better than a scheme, for the exploitation of China through international cooperation. Though this policy regulated the game which was played out by the powers, it did not confer any immediate commercial benefit on China. In spite of expressions of approval of this policy, most of the powers continued to enlarge their demands and pressed for new concessions.

FORMATION OF THE UNITED FRONT

The formation of the United Front in China came about at the initiative of the Communist International, the CPC and the Kuomintang. The reasons for its formation were partly ideological and had partly to do with practical considerations. The post-World War I years saw a lot of sympathy generated for Soviet Russia in China, a radicalization of the Chinese intelligentsia, and the emergence of Marxism and workers and peasants movements. There was an overall disillusionment with the Western powers. The Communists of USSR had taken the initiative to renounce all privileges and claims to territories, and also over the Manchurian railway in China which the previous Tsarist government controlled. Therefore, it was natural that the major political groups in China should establish friendly ties with the Soviet Government as well as the Communist Party there.

The Kuomintang also, therefore, apart from the CPC, had direct and friendly ties with the Soviet Union. On the other hand, it was a firm opinion of the Soviet Government, the CPSU, and the Communist International that not only the CPC but also the Kuomintang in China was a progressive and revolutionary political formation. This understanding was based on the analysis that all the political and social forces in colonial and semi-colonial countries that were struggling for national liberation had a positive role to play in world politics. They considered all political groups which were against imperialism to be playing an important role in the worldwide struggle against a common enemy of the newly emerged socialist country Russia. These groups included the workers and communist movements in the rest of Europe, as well as of the colonial and semi-colonial countries like India and China. Therefore, there was a strong case, in the opinion of the Soviets and the Communist International, that they should collaborate as and when they could against the common enemy.

The Communist International, which based itself on the ideas of Marxism, also had a stake in promoting revolutions in other countries, as these revolutions would necessarily represent the interests of large sections of the people in opposition to those of the vested interests there. In China they saw that not only the workers and the peasants, but also tile bourgeoisie and the middle classes were opposed to warlordism. This opposition to warlordism was there because the warlords were the mainstay of feudalism in China. The social and political hold of the warlords not only represented the interests of the landlords as opposed to the peasants, it also hampered the development of capitalism and modernization in China. Since the class interests of the bourgeoisie lay in the development of a modem China, they were opposed to the warlords. Their interests were represented by the Kuomintang which struggled against warlordism. The interests of the Chinese bourgeoisie also lay in opposing imperialism, because imperialism too was an obstacle to the growth of advanced capitalism in China. The Western powers conveyed all the profits and the Chinese bourgeoisie could not compete with them. Therefore, the Kuomintang opposed the Western powers.

The Communist International also realized this to be the situation and established friendly relations with the Kuomintang, apart from the CPC. This friendly collaboration with both, the Kuomintang and the CPC, enabled the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) to act as an intermediary in initiating the formation of the United Front of the CPC and the Kuomintang.

The CPC

There were some differences within the CPC over the formation of United Front. However, the emphasis on the world politics as well of the social and political forces in China was by and large accepted by the CPC. The Communist movement had, in fact, emerged in China in the context of the growth of nationalism and the movement for democracy. National liberation was, therefore, a primary goal of the CPC. The leaders of the CPC realized that there could be no democracy and no improvement in the lives of the people without first freeing China from the strangle hold of the imperialist powers. Moreover, at times there was a political understanding between these powers and, the warlords. Therefore, national liberation was inseparable from a struggle for, social emancipation in China.

The CPC saw that Kuomintang was opposed to both – imperialism and warlordism. Its leaders also realized that the Kuomintang in 1924 was a much stronger force in China than the CPC was. It had a much larger mass base and support among the Chinese people, more intellectuals and professionals as members, more influence within the armed forces and greater finances and military equipment at its disposal. It could, therefore, be a useful ally in a struggle against the common enemy, even if it did not represent the everyday demands of the workers and peasants. The CPC leaders had moreover a good opinion of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the Kuomintang leader. In the context of the immediate political tasks before them they agreed that there was greater scope for collaboration than differences. They also felt that this collaboration need not mean that the CPC confine its activities to the common tasks. Therefore, they decided, on the United Front with the express understanding that the CPC would continue with its independent demands even as they fought together with the Kuomintang for national liberation and against the warlords. The United Front was, therefore, the only way to unite large sections of the Chinese people in order to isolate the enemies.

The Kuomintang

The experiment with republicanism in the decade after the Revolution of 1911 brought neither economic nor political stability in China. The political ineffectiveness of the Republican government made Sun Yat Sen think in terms of evolving new ways of fighting the imperialists and the warlords. The rising tide of the left and the workers' movement added new diversions to the struggle for national liberation. It meant that the nationalist

forces could be enlarged in their social base to include the workers and peasants of China. Sun Yat Sen's own effectiveness coupled with the growing Communist movement and its influence in the workers' movement made him realize two things:

1. It was imperative that the Kuomintang should be reorganized,
2. It was no longer possible to fight the imperialists and warlords alone.

The answer to him seemed to be a reorganized Kuomintang which should incorporate within itself the support of all sections of the Chinese population. This could only be achieved through a United Front with the Communists, and the friendly help of the Soviet Russia.

The Negotiations

In the spring of 192I, the Dutch agent H. Maring, as representative of the Communist International, met Sun Yat Sen. This proved to be the starting point of the negotiations for the United Front. After that, the problem was considered at a Congress of the Communist Parties in Moscow in January 1922, and then by the Central Committee of the CPC in August 1922. In the same month another representative from the International, Adolf Joffe, came to China to workout the basis of Soviet-Kuomintang-CPC co-operation. After lengthy negotiations he persuaded Sun Yat Sen to adopt a policy of alliance with Soviet Russia and admission of the communists into the Kuomintang. This policy, approved by fifty three nationalist leaders at a conference in Shanghai on September 4, 1922, became the blueprint for the United Front policy as well as for the reorganization of the Kuomintang. On the other hand the Third National Congress of the CPC (held in Canton in June 1923) took a formal decision to form a United Front with the Kuomintang.

In June 1924 the Kuomintang held its First National Congress in Canton. Li ta Chao, Mao tse Tung and other Communist leaders also attended the meeting. This Congress passed a resolution to admit members of the Communist Party in their individual capacity into the Kuomintang. A new party programme and constitution were adopted. It also decided on some concrete measures regarding the reorganization of the Kuomintang. The Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in China was adopted here. Sun Yat Sen gave a new interpretation to his Three Principles in the Manifesto. The Congress declared its three policies to be:

1. friendly relations with the Soviet Union,
2. the development bf the workers and peasants movements in China, and
3. co-operation with the Communist Party of China.

Hence, the United Front for national liberation and democracy came into being in this First National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1924. Maring had played an important role throughout the negotiations from 1921 to 1924.

Nature of the United Front

The first and most important feature of the United Front policy was the emergence of the Kuomintang as a revolutionary organization capable of leading the struggle for national liberation and against warlordism in China. The entry of the Communists into Kuomintang meant that the capabilities and experience of a great number of very dedicated revolutionaries was harnessed in the nationalist struggle. Among the five members elected to the Presidium of the KMT was also Li ta Chao, a Communist. Among the 24 members elected to the Central Committee there were 5 leftists and 3 communists. Although not in a majority, the leftists and communists were more influential in making policy decisions. As a result there emerged a strong left wing within the Kuomintang. This meant that the Kuomintang as a whole became far more radical in its politics and support to the workers and peasants movement than it had ever been in the years prior to 1924.

The new interpretation given to the Three Principles also suggests the same:

1. *Nationalism* had now a much stronger anti-imperialist content which laid emphasis on an independent struggle and also advocated full equality for all the nationalists within China;
2. The new principle of *Democracy* stressed on the democratic rights of not only the privileged and the educated, but of all the working people as well as of all the individuals and organizations that opposed feudalism and imperialism. In practices this entailed the right to free speech, to organize and struggle for better living;
3. In relation to *Livelihood for All* it included anti-feudal demands such as "equalization of landownership", "land to the tillers", "control of capital" and improvement of the living conditions of the workers. This in practice meant opposing the control of national wealth by a small section of capitalists and landlords.

The United Front led by Kuomintang called for a coalition of the national bourgeoisie and the workers and the peasants to work towards the establishment of a democratic coalition government. This, in fact, was carrying out precisely the immediate tasks underlined in the CPC programme. This also meant that the most radical programme put forward by any political grouping in China was being implemented within the framework of the United Front policies.

Trace the process of Commercialisation of Indian agriculture in the second half of the 19th Century. What were its consequences? (12+8)

Commercialisation of agriculture refers to the process of production of crops for the market to be sold for cash rather than for family use or subsistence which dominated Indian agriculture from times immemorial until the arrival of the British in India. The process of commercialisation of Indian agriculture commenced sometimes in the beginning of the 19th Cen and gained momentum after the middle of the 19th cen.

Railways led to the increased agricultural output, export of food grains, raw materials, widening of the markets, commercialisation of agriculture and hence cropping patterns. As railways widened the markets for the agricultural sector Indian agriculture became linked to the world trade cycles. Farmers now became price responsive while determining their cropping patterns. Prices set in the international markets and reduced transport costs induced the Indian farmers to cultivate commercial crops such as jute, cotton, oilseeds, nuts etc. thus agriculture became commercialised.

The reasons for the transit of Indian agriculture from the basis of production for the family sufficiency to the basis of production for the sale for cash in the market and for commercial gains can be explained as follows.

1. Need for cash: farmers were feeling the need for money or cash to pay land revenues which under the British rule came to be assessed in cash. Thus the farmers had to switch on to production of agricultural commodities for market rather than for the sake of meeting the need of the family.
2. Activities of new class of commercial men: the growing class of commercial people flocking villages to collect different agricultural products for trade induced farmers to grow commercial crops for sales. Very often the middlemen advanced money to the farmers who thus were bond to grow particular commercial crops in the year to come. The farmers found that it was more advantageous to grow commercial crops for the market rather than for just meeting family needs. Farmers found it easier to purchase food grains with cash rather than producing all the food grains by themselves.
3. Village market linked with world market: since villages were brought into contact with the outside world especially after the construction of roads and railways after 1850 prices of agricultural commodities in India came to be linked with world prices. The farmers started taking into consideration fluctuations in the prices of the cash crops and food grains and started producing those crops which was most profitable provided they could produce the crops.
4. Agricultural policy of the Government: the policy of the British govt also gave encouragement to the production of raw materials like cotton needed by the expanding textile industry in England.
5. Development of roads and railways: after 1850 gave a great boost to the process of commercialisation of Indian agriculture. Even perishable commodities could be carried over long distances in short time. The construction of Suez Canal in 1869 and the American Civil was also helped the cause.

Between 1814-1850 four commodities dominated exports Indigo, raw silk, opium and cotton. These amounted to 56% to 64% of total value. However the second half of the century saw the emergence of new items.

Effects: a) It resulted in the production of cash crops. b)It also led to the specialisation of a region to produce specific crops. For example Tea in Assam, Sugarcane in UP, Jute in Bengal etc. c) Widening of the market for Indian agricultural crops. d) Increase income of agriculturists e) Growing of new and unconventional crops like coffee, tea, groundnut, potato,

fruits, oilseeds etc. f) Irrigation increased and more investment in manure, better seeds. g) More and more land was brought under cultivation h) village self sufficiency disappeared as Indian markets merged with the world marked. Agricultural prices linked with the world prices.

Commercialisation of agriculture has been sometimes hailed as sign of modernisation. Tendency towards capitalist farming could also be seen. Plantation crops were directly managed by the whites. The bulk of the profits was appropriated by foreign firms and went out of the country as foreign leakages. Substantial amount went to Indian traders, mahjans and middlemen. The final burden fell on the poor peasants as commercialisation was often forced. Growing dependence on the moneylenders was another inevitable consequence which led to rural indebtedness, famines and agrarian riots.

By the 1840's as the result of the British land revenue settlements and other economic factors Indian was transformed from being a substantial exporter of non agricultural products primarily handloom textiles into a producer and exporter of primary goods.

Communalism

History Paper: XIII

Communalism is basically an ideology on which communal politics is based. Communalism believes that the people of different religions have different interests in political and economic matters. It is sometimes said to put the interests of the community above the interests of the individual. Communalism, in a broad sense means a strong attachment to one's own community. In popular discourse in India, it is understood as unhealthy attachment to one's own religion.

However it has turned to take a negative meaning where people start promoting the interests of one community over another. It has been used as a political propaganda tool to create divide, differences and tensions between the communities on the basis of religious and ethnic identity leading to communal hatred and violence.

In ancient Indian society, people of different faith coexisted peacefully. While, religion was an important part of people's lives but there was no communal ideology or communal politics. Along with the rise of nationalism, communalism too made its appearance around the end of the nineteenth century and posed the biggest threat to the unity of the Indian people and the national movement. It is not true that communalism was a remnant of, or survival from, the medieval period. Though religion was an important part of people's lives and they did sometimes quarrel over religion, there was hardly any communal ideology or communal politics before the 1870s.

Some believe that a major factor in the growth of communalism was the existence of several religions in India. This is not so. It is not true that communalism must arise inevitably in a multi-religious society. Here we must distinguish between religion as a belief system, which people follow as a part of their personal belief, and the ideology of a religion-based socio-political identity, that is communalism. Religion is not the cause of communalism, nor is communalism inspired by religion. Religion comes into communalism to the extent that it serves politics arising in non-religious spheres. Communalism has been rightly described as political trade in religion. As a modern phenomenon it has arose as a result of British colonial impact and the response of Indian social strata.

Stages of Communalism

Bipan Chandra in his book *India's Struggle for Independence* says that communalism or communal ideology consists of three basic elements or stages one following the other.

Communal Nationalism: The first stage of communalism, according to Bipan Chandra, originated mainly in the second half of the 19th Century, due to the social religious reform movement. It is the belief that people who follow the same religion have common secular interests, which is a common political, economic, social and cultural interest. These religious units are seen as the fundamental units of Indian society.

Liberal Communalism: The second element of communal ideology rests on the notion that the secular interests of one community are divergent and dissimilar to the interests of the followers of the other community. The second stage is called liberal communalism. The liberal communalist was basically a believer in and practitioner of communal politics; but he still upheld certain liberal, democratic and nationalist values.

Extreme Communalism: The third stage of communalism is reached when interests of different communities are seen as mutually incompatible, antagonistic and hostile. So communalism is basically an ideology on which communal politics is based. Extreme communalism is the third or the last stage of communalism. It was based on the theory that fear and hatred has a tendency to use violence of language, deed or behaviour, the language of war and enmity against political opponents. It was at this stage that both the Hindus and Muslim communalists put forward the theory that Muslims and Hindus constitute separate nations whose mutual antagonism was permanent and irresolvable.

Reasons for the growth of Communalism in India

One must understand that the differences between Hindus and Muslims were actually not the reason for communalism because these differences were there during the medieval times itself. Hindus and Muslims were living with their own distinct identities, but they had a common, unifying culture. The difference of faith alone wasn't a reason for conflict. The differences arose only during the colonial period (mainly after 1857 revolt), when many

developments were seen and they were responsible for the rise and growth of communalism in modern India. The major factors that contributed towards the emergence and growth of communalism in modern India involves:

Divide and Rule Policy of British: The British government used communalism to counter and weaken the growing national movement and the welding of the Indian people into a nation. It was presented by the colonial rulers as the problem of the defence of the minorities. Hindu-Muslim disunity was sighted as the reason for the continuation of the British rule. They favoured one community against the other in services and promotions. Communal demands like separate electorates were accepted and thus, they helped in politically strengthening communal organizations. The colonial rulers showed extreme tolerance towards communal organizations and leaders and did not care to crush the communal riots.

Communal Appeal of Political Parties and Organization: Another factor for the rise of communalism in India was that in the 19th Century, several religious organizations were formed by the Hindu and Muslim communities whose goals were poles apart by now. These were organizations that began to play communal politics. It is important to note that on the surface, their declared agenda was different, but deep within, their agenda and activities were contradictory to what they were claiming. Issues like cow slaughter, Urdu-Hindi conflict, Dussehra and Muharram falling in the same month, clashes for procession, etc. often led to clashes. Petty issues were taken up and were used in such a manner which demonized the other community.

At the time of elections, the political parties and organizations make an appeal to the people on communal lines to garner their support and keep their communal feelings alive. They find the appeal in terms of communal lines more paying in terms of votes. In many instances, the communal riots are often politically motivated. These are pre-planned and most of the times are preceded by almost identical incidents which rouse religious sentiments among the people. This would lead to a chain of events that would ultimately lead to the partition of India.

Communal View of Indian History: A communal and distorted view of Indian history, particularly of the ancient and medieval period, was also responsible for its growth. A

beginning in this regard was made by the British historian, James Mill in the early 19th century, who described the ancient period of Indian history as the Hindu period and the medieval period as the Muslim period. Other British and Indian historians followed him in this respect. This divided the historians also in two categories:

- Historians with Hindu communal tinge claimed that Indian society and culture in ancient times under Hindu rulers had reached ideal heights but fell into permanent decay under the Muslim rulers.
- Historians influenced with Muslim communalism labelled the rule of Muslim rulers as the 'golden age of Islamic achievement' in West Asia and hailed their cultural achievements. They glorified the Muslim rulers including the religious bigots like Aurangzeb.

British historians and, following them, Indian historians failed to bring out the fact that ancient and medieval politics in India, as politics everywhere else, were based on economic and political interests and not on religious considerations. Rulers as well as rebels used religious appeals as an outer colouring to disguise the play of material interests and ambitions. Moreover, the British and communal historians attacked the notion of a composite culture in India.

Economic and Educational Backwardness of Indian Muslims: Muslim upper classes consisted mostly of zamindars and aristocrats. Because the upper- class Muslims during the first 70 years of the nineteenth century was very anti-British, conservative and hostile to modern education, the number of educated Muslims in the country remained very small. Consequently, modern Western thought with its emphasis on science, democracy and nationalism did not spread among Muslim intellectuals, who remained traditional and backward.

The relative backwardness of the Muslims and their failure to benefit from the socio-cultural reforms of 19th century made them to view Hindus as competitors and aspire for political dominance. In these circumstances, it was easy for the British officials and the loyalist Muslim leaders to incite the educated Muslims against the educated Hindus. Sayyid Ahmad Khan and others raised the demand for special treatment for the Muslims in the matter of government service. They declared that if the educated Muslims remained loyal to the British, the latter would reward them with government jobs and other special favours.

Therefore, the religious distinction between communities coincided with social and class distinctions resulting in communal disharmony.

Stagnant Economy: The stagnant economy of India devoid of any development was also an important factor in the growth of communalism in India. It was deeply rooted in and was an expression of the interests and aspirations of the middle classes in a social set up in which opportunities for them were inadequate. The communal question was, therefore a middle class question par excellence. It is, however, important to note that a large number of middle class individuals remained, on the whole, free of communalism even in the 1930s and 1940s. According to Bipan Chandra communal politics till 1937 was organised around government jobs, educational concessions and the like as also political positions - seats in legislative councils, municipal bodies, etc - which enabled control over these and other economic opportunities.

According to him communalism developed as a weapon of economically and politically reactionary social classes and political forces. Communal leaders and parties were in general allied with these classes and forces. The vested interests deliberately encouraged communalism because of its capacity to distort and divert popular struggle, to prevent the masses from understanding the real issues.

Hindu Tinge in Nationalist Propaganda: During the national movement, a strong religious element was introduced in nationalist thought and propaganda. They tended to emphasis ancient Indian culture to the exclusion of medieval Indian culture. Hindu idiom was introduced to its day-to-day political agitation. For instance, Bal Gangadha Tilak used the Ganesh pooja and Shivaji Mahaotsav to propagate nationalism. Incidentally, association with god Ganesh and Shivaji was used as a tool by the communal Muslims to alert Muslims. This was also a reason behind non-participation of Muslims in large numbers in Indian National Congress till 1919.

In fact, in the early decades, only about 8-9% of the members of the Indian National Congress were Muslims. Similarly, the agitation against partition of Bengal began with people taking dips in the Ganges. Also, prominent personalities like Bankim Chandra Chatterjee often cited Muslims as foreigners in their writings. All these incidents played with the emotions of the Muslims and alienated them from the Hindus.

This proved to be particularly harmful as clever British and pro- British propagandists took advantage of the Hindu colouring to poison the minds of the Muslims. The result was that a large number of educated Muslims either remained aloof from the rising nationalist movement or became hostile to it, thus falling an easy prey to a separatist outlook.

Side-effects of Socio-Religious Reform Movements: Reform movements such as Wahabi Movement among Muslims and Shuddhi among Hindus with their militant overtones made the role of religion more vulnerable to communalism. Reforms, at times, were seen as a process of insulating one community from the influence of another religious community.

Growth of Communalism in India

Hindus and Muslims had fought shoulder to shoulder during the Revolt of 1857. Till 1870 the British oppressed the Muslims greatly for they held them responsible for the revolt. After 1870 the British changed colors and instead started favoring the Muslim community. The rise of nationalism had threatened the British power in India and their efforts obviously were directed to suppress it.

To check the growth of a united national feeling in the country, they decided to follow more actively the policy of 'divide and rule' and to divide the people along religious lines, in other words, to encourage communal and separatist tendencies in Indian politics. For this purpose they decided to come out as 'champions' of the Muslims and to win over to their side Muslim zamindars, landlords and the newly educated. They also fostered other divisions in Indian society. It readily accepted communal leaders as authentic representatives of all their co-religionists.

In the rise of the separatist tendency along communal lines, Sayyid Ahmad Khan played an important role. Though a great educationist and social reformer, Sayyid Ahmad Khan became towards the end of his life a conservative in politics. He laid the foundations of Muslim communalism when in the 1880s he gave up his earlier views and declared that the political interests of Hindus and Muslims were not the same but different and even divergent. He also preached complete obedience to British rule. He also began to preach that, since the Hindus formed the larger part of the Indian withdrawal of British rule. He

urged the Muslims not to listen to Badruddin Tyabji's appeal to them to join the National Congress.

The separatist and loyalist tendencies among a section of the educated Muslims and the big Muslim nawabs and landlords reached a climax in 1906 when the All India Muslim League was founded under the leadership of Aga Khan, the Nawab of Dhaka, and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. Founded as a loyalist, communal and conservative political organisation, the Muslim League made no critique of colonialism, supported the partition of Bengal and demanded special safeguards for the Muslims in government services.

Later, with the help of Lord Minto, the Viceroy, it put forward and secured the acceptance of the demand for separate electorates. Separate electorates meant grouping of constituencies, voters and elected candidates on the basis of religion. In practical terms it meant introducing Muslims constituencies, Muslim voters and Muslim candidates. It also meant that non-Muslim voter could vote for a Muslim candidate. All this was to have disastrous consequences.

Initially Muslim League was only confined to the educated class of Muslims. At around the same time the Indian National Congress began garnering mass support from its members and also consisted of young Muslims. Mohammed Ali Jinnah one of the major forces behind the creation of Pakistan was in fact a member of the Indian National Congress till 1920.

Thus, while the National Congress was taking up anti-imperialist economic and political issues, the Muslim League and its reactionary leaders preached that the interests of Muslims were different from those of Hindus. The Muslim League's political activities were directed not against the foreign rulers, but against Hindus and the National Congress. The League soon became one of the main instruments with which the British hoped to fight the rising nationalist movement and to keep the emerging intelligentsia among Muslims from joining the national movement.

The Khilafat agitation was a product of a particular political climate where Indian nationalism and Pan-Islamism went hand in hand. This was first the religious political movement in India involving common Muslims. The Khilafat Movement received the support of Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru, who related his Non Cooperation Movement with it. It witnessed Muslims' participation in the national movement at an unprecedented level. However, communalism started making inroads into Indian politics and society, just after the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation Movement.

The arrival of the Simon Commission and its near unanimous boycott by all sections of political opinion, once again provided an opportunity for unity. A section of the Muslim League, under the leadership of Jinnah was willing to give up separate-electorates in favour of joint-electorates, if certain conditions were met. Their demands were accepted by the Congress. But its rejection in uncompromising terms by the Hindu Mahasabha in the All Party Conference (1928) complicated the matter. The Nehru Report was rejected by the Muslim League as it did not incorporate all their demands. It led to the estrangement of Jinnah who called it a 'Parting of the Ways' with the Congress. He went back to the separate-electorates and formulated his famous fourteen points which became the text of the communal demands.

The mass popularity that the Indian National Congress was enjoying led to The Muslim League feeling increasingly sidelined. This got worse in 1938 when the congress prohibited communalists from functioning within the Congress organization. Thus the congress was criticized for preaching that Hindus were the only Nation living in India. This led to the Hindu fundamentalists' version of 'two nation theory'. The 'two nation theory' included Hindu Mahasabha wherein it states that the country belongs to only Hindus and the Muslims should find their own home or should remain obedient to Hindus. And other 'the Muslim League' wherein it states that Pakistan is the only option to protect the interest of Muslims as it has the maximum population of Muslims.

Soon this drifting apart was to reach a point of no return. This was the starting point of communalism transforming into an irresistible mass force. Post-1937 election and dismal performance of Muslim League, a massive campaign for the popularization of the League was launched by Jinnah. The Muslim League actually broke out of its elite shell and began to acquire a mass character. By 1940, all the communal demands were to pale into insignificance in front of the new demand-the demand for Pakistan, as a separate homeland for Muslims.

In 1940, at the Lahore session, Jinnah came up with the two-nation theory. It said that Muslims were not a minority, they were a nation. Hindus and Muslims, consisted of two nations, as they were different people economically, politically, socially, culturally and historically.

After the outbreak of World War II, Viceroy Linlithgow constantly promoted the Muslim League and the Pakistan power was used to contradict the Congress command that the British should promise to liberate India after the war and as evidence of honesty, shift

actual power of Government to Indians immediately. Before promising or coming to a concrete solution the British wanted an agreement between the Muslims League and the Congress organization which stated that no political settlement should be made which was offensive to the Muslims League. This agreement would give Jinnah a type of a 'veto' power which he would use in future.

As the Muslims were not united during the pre partition days, the aim of the Muslim League was to provoke religious passions to dedicated path. Communalism soon became one of the biggest threats to national movement and the unity of the people in India. It was also at this stage that both the Muslim and Hindu communalists put forward the theory that Muslims and Hindus constituted separate nations whose mutual antagonism was permanent and irresolvable. Therefore, the Muslims of India should have a sovereign state for themselves. Hence lay proposal for Pakistan as a separate homeland for Muslims. This demand was finally achieved in 1947 with the partition of India.

Cultural Effects of the Industrial Revolution

During the Industrial Revolution, artistic expression evolved in response to the changes from agrarian to industrial societies. There were both the direct and indirect ways that art was changed, interacting with Romanticism, Realism, and Impressionism. **The Industrial Revolution** was a period between 1760-1840 in which society transitioned from **agrarian** (or mostly focused on farming and working the land) to **industrial** (or mostly focused around using machines to produce goods). New kinds of machines, steam engines in particular, facilitated the growth of factories. Weaving innovations made it easier to mass-produce clothing and textiles. New chemical processes brought about the invention of photography.

These advances in science and industry changed the way that people lived their daily lives. It became easier to travel long distances (thanks to railroads) and to communicate with people far away (thanks to telegraphs). The changes came in waves, and by the middle of the 19th century, a **second industrial revolution** was underway. Artists were affected by these changes and felt moved to respond by developing new ways of expressing and representing the world.

Direct and Indirect Impact on Art

Artists benefited both directly and indirectly from the effects of the Industrial Revolution. The new availability of manufactured products like tube paint made artists more mobile. Previously, artists usually worked in studios where they painted from memory or imagination. New materials, like collapsible metal paint tubes, gave them an alternative to mixing oil-based paint from scratch.

It's impossible to understate the impact that photography had on the role of the artist. When it was invented in the 1830s, photography gave people the unprecedented ability to instantly capture scenes. In a way, this made painters irrelevant. Imagine having trained for years to develop a practiced hand and style, and then, suddenly, your art is threatened by new technology that might just take over the market. For some artists, it was a wake-up call, forcing painters out of the studio and into the streets to find new subjects. And the expanding railroad network carried artists into the countryside to paint landscapes.

The Industrial Revolution also impacted the life and works of artists in several indirect ways. As railroads made long-distance travel more accessible, and cities became more and more overcrowded, the impact of technology and machines on everyday life became impossible to ignore. Life seemed to be moving at a faster pace, and artists sought to catch the fleeting moments that seemed to pass by too quickly.

There were many artistic movements during the period of industrialization, each of which was a reaction to the feelings of the time, as well as to the movement which had preceded it.

The first period of under the influence of Industrial revolution was the Neoclassical from the 1750's to 1820's. It was the rediscovery of classical Greek and Roman art. Main artists of the era were, Jacques-Louis David, Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres.

The parallel period with Neoclassical was the Romanticism from the late 17th century to the mid-18th century. Imagination, individualism, freedom, emotional intensity describes the movement.

Great Romantic artist were Francisco de Goya, Theodore Gericault, Eugene Delacroix, Joseph Mallor William Turner.

The Realism emerged from the Romanticism from 1840's to 1900's. Realist artist captured figures and objectives as they appear in real life. Gustave Courbet, Jean Francois Millet, Honore Daumier.

The Industrial Revolution had a great effect on the Impressionists and Post-Impressionists in the late 19th century. Artists of these movements were observing nature directly. They captured the momentarily changing effect of the lighting. Some of the many artists of the period are Edgar Degas, Claude Monet, Mary Stevenson Cassatt, Paul Cézanne, Georges Seurat, Vincent Van Gogh, Paul Gauguin.

The first Industrial Revolution effected Romanticism. Realism became a cultural movement, a reaction to the idealism of Romanticism in the late 18th to mid-19th century. It was the second Industrial Revolution in the 1850s that had its impact on the Realistic phenomenon. Truthful vision of modern life, everyday figures and object are rendered in a realistic manner. Realism rejects the ideals of classical art, and the emotional drama, imagination of Romanticism. Realism based on direct observation of the real and existing world.

Parallel to the naturalist literature of Emile Zola, Honore de Balzac, and Gustave Flaubert, the subject matter came from the everyday people, everyday life. Writers and artist elevated the working class into the high arts and literature. Courbet exhibited A Burial at Ornans and the Stonebreakers at the Salon-portraying ordinary people in a large-scale painting that was reserved for historical painting. The Stonebreaker was an irony against industrialization, showing the monotony and dehumanizing task of groundbreaking.

Like Courbet, Jean Francois Millet painted the poor people and was socially aware of them. Millet's modest background had a great influence on the subject matter of his works. "I was born as a peasant and shall die as a peasant", Millet once said. He was a member of the Barbizon School, a group of French painters, who painted country life, settled down near Barbizon, a little village. His most famous work is the Gleaners, rendering three women bend down, searching for the last wheat scraps. This work created a scandal at its exhibition at the Salon in 1957, because of the true depiction of poverty which was politically frightening to the bourgeois viewers.

Another work that emphasizes the life and work and poorness of the peasant is the Woman with Rake. This is a small (15 5/8 x 13 1/2 in.) oil painting from 1857. The subject is a peasant woman raking a pile of hay. There are some other farmers in the background, and elements of the natural countryside, trees, grass, and a farm-wagon. The most attention is on the full-size woman, who quietly doing her work. She is placed in the foreground, against the sky. The honesty of the work, the suggesting sympathy of poor fills up with emotions. This was Millet's nostalgic approach, distinct from the other Realists like Courbet, Daumier. Van Gogh was a great admirer of Millet and studied his work and made copies of them, such he copied the Woman with Rake.

Literature

When a society finds that it must become an industrialized one, to build factories bigger, with higher production value, to replace the connection they had with Mother Nature with machines, it is also expected that society's authors and scholars will seek to define new philosophical ideals. For example, while novelists like Charles Dickens warned society of the consequences associated with abandoning human emotion and adopting the way of the machine in novels like *Hard Times*, poets like William Wordsworth wondered where the introspective artist belongs in a time known as the "Mechanical Age." Surely, just as the Watts steam engine sought to redefine expectations of an industrialized society, the British literati searched for a new perspective inside Romanticism that would explain the switch between appreciation of man and a newfound reliance on the machine.

The most intellectual scholars and authors of England expressed an early interest in the rationality and preciseness of science. This quickly changed, however, when Romantics came to view this evolution of machine as a threat to the individual. In "Preface to the Second Edition of 'Lyrical Ballads'", Wordsworth proclaimed that as technology moves ever closer to being at the forefront of culture, the mind is reduced "to a state of almost savage torpor." Similarly, Dickens's *Hard Times* presented the reader with a very valid portrayal of industrial towns that appear as wastelands inhabited by the working class.

Debates on Indian Feudalism

B.D Chattopadhyay has talked about Early Medieval Period (C. 600 CE-C. 1300 CE) as a much maligned period in Indian history because of the fact that, Marxist historians have regarded this period as a breakdown of the civilization matrix of the society. The existing historiography of this period may broadly be classified into two sets of proposition: 'Changeless' and 'Change'. The pre-British period of Indian history has been viewed as 'changeless', 'static', 'traditional', 'oriental despotic'. Even Marx postulated 'Asiatic Mode of production' for pre-modern Asia including India and denied to assign the normal course of social evolution. However, such Eurocentric views have been dismissed as 'occidental prejudice against an alleged oriental despotism'.

Scholars of the post-independence period viewed the early medieval state as unitary-centrally organized and territorially defined kingdom with a strong bureaucracy – a continuation of the previous period. They conceived and understood change only in terms of territory and dynastic changes which fail to explain the process of state formation in the said period.

The dominant paradigm based upon the assumption of dynamism and change is the 'Indian Feudalism' model. B N Datta first referred to it in 1944 and 1952. D.D. Kosambi for the first time provided with the conceptual definition of Indian feudalism as 'feudalism from above' and 'feudalism from below'. By the first, he meant that by granting an amount of land to a Brahmin or to a religious institution the ruler created a landed intermediary and so it is 'feudalism from above'. 'Feudalism from below' meant that there were local/ village level persons who were important and rose to the standard of the lord from below.

R.S Sharma for the first time made a comprehensive study in his Indian Feudalism: 300-1200 AD (1965). His formulations are as follows:

1. Origins of feudalism in the post-Gupta period (4th century AD);
2. Land Grants to Brāhmaṇas, Religious Institutions and government officials;
3. More and more concessions (*parihāra*) extended to the grantees;
4. Encroachment of the grantees on 'communal' village land leading to 'exploitation of the peasantry' through forced labour (*Viṣṭi/Begār*);
5. Peasantry reduced to the position of 'serf' (*Baddhala/Āśritahālika*)
6. Hereditary land-holders' assuming many of the functions of the state: collection of revenue, right of awarding punishment, exaction of fines, right to sublet their land;
7. 'Fragmentation' of authority and 'Decentralization' of administration;
8. Situation aggravated by decline of trade, 'monetary anemia' and 'urban shrinkage';
9. Bhakti as feudal ideology and culture.

Politically, this development was characterized by a continuous process of fragmentation and decentralization caused by the widespread practice of granting territories to vassals and officials who established themselves as independent rulers. Socially, this period was characterized by a proliferation of castes and the gradual decay of the economic and social status of the Vaiśyas and Śūdras. These two Varṇas

eventually became indistinguishable from each other, while the Kshatriyas and Brahmins became akin to the feudal lords of Europe.

B N S Yadav traced Barbarian invasion in the Indian context, particularly the Hūṇa invasion, leading to the breakdown of the centralized state under the Guptas, increasing practice of land-grants made to military officers and the consequent imposition of added restrictions on peasant mobility and the rise of the Sāmantas to prominence (around 600 AD);

D. C. Sircar dismissed Indian Feudalism as mere 'landlordism' by arguing that while land was given to the military class in Europe, there is only references available of land being donated to the Brahmins in India. However, the proponents of the Indian Feudalism defended its argument that the Brahmins performed the same tasks as the military officials in Europe but only with a different approach. Thus, Brahmins provided legitimization to their rulers in several ways.

Harbans Mukhia Critiqued Indian Feudalism on both theoretical and empirical level in his 'Was there Feudalism in Indian History?' (*Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1979). According to him, feudalism cannot be conceived as a universal system. Moreover, Feudalism emerged in Europe as a result of socio-economic crisis. But in India, the establishment of feudalism is attributed to state action. The contract between the Lord-Vassal is absent. He pointed to the ecological differences of India and Europe. According to him, Indian peasantry has always been free and forced labour was an exception rather than a rule. However, his work is again critiqued by D.N. Jha who proposed that Mukhia was imposing the Asiatic Mode of Production.

Meanwhile the Marxist historians debated over the AMP and the Indian Feudalism, Burton Stein introduced a new theory known as The Segmentary State which he applied to South Indian polity under the Cholas and Pallavas. He signifies the South Indian states as states where the spheres of ritual suzerainty and political sovereignty do not coincide. The former extends widely towards a flexible changing periphery. The latter is confined to the central core domain. Initially, argued in favour of a clear distinction between these two spheres of authority, Stein is now convinced that the lordship for Hindus had combined ritual and political authority. Critiquing, R.S. Sharma states that this model is unable to explain changes within the state structure, as it analyses the state system from the Pallavas to the Vijayanagara kingdoms as almost changeless.

B.D. Chattopadhyaya has proposed another model called the Integrative State Model. The integrative model of the period involves three processes:
    a) the expansion of state society through the process of state formation;
    b) the 'peasantization' of tribes and caste formation through 'kshatriyaization' of peasants;
    c) cult appropriation and integration
These processes indicate how historical regions emerged with distinct personalities - not by being submerged into single, predetermined cultural pattern but by responding to a broad range of variations.

Chattopadhyaya further argues that while land grants were important in country, they did not represent a complete breakdown of imperial authority. He further argued that land-grants have been given too much importance under the Indian Feudalism model

while other factors such as the frequent invasions and continuing authority of the kings had been ignored. B. D. Chattopadhyaya negates the most important argument of the Indian feudalism model, i.e., the argument of land grants. Thus, according to B. D. Chattopadhyaya, it can be said that the early medieval period was a period of state formation and not of fragmentation and disintegration.

Again, R S Sharma's view of urban decay and paucity of coins have been criticized by scholars like B D Chattopadhyay, B N Mukherjee, Ranabir Chakraborty and others. They think that while many urban settlements of the previous period declined, there was the emergence of new towns as a result of new state formation. Long distance trade with Indo-Roman Empire declined, but trade with South-East Asia continued. Periodic markets characterized inland commercial activities. Cowries were widely used and available coins were capable to carry on trade and commerce.

Historians, now, recognize post-Gupta period as different from previous historical period but the dispute is on how they look upon those difference. One can conclude that the new historiographies have successfully attempted to highlight the regional specificities. Although several scholars assert that there has never been a model comparable to 'Indian feudalism', one may say that the recent researches have affirmed new interests.

Study the freedom movements of Vietnam, Algeria, Zimbabwe and Namibia.
How the political developments in Asia/ emergence of Afro-Asian nationalism affect the world balance of power?
Write an essay on the national movement of Asia and Africa.
Discuss the policies of Western powers towards national movements in Asia and Africa.
Write a short essay on Africa awakening in the 1960's.

Colonialism
Britain: India, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, territories in Africa, Cyprus, Hongkong, West Indies, Falklands, Gibralter, Ghana (Gold coast), Malaysia. (Jordan and Palestine mandated)
France: parts of Africa,Indo-China, West Indies, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria. (Syria mandated)
Holland: Indonesia
Belgium: Conga, Ruanda, Urundi.
Portugal: Angola, Mozambique and Guinea.
Spain: Spanish Sahara, Ifni, Spanish Morocco and Spanish Guinea.
Italy: Libya, Somalia and Eritrea.

Causes of decolonization:
 Bankruptcy of Imperial powers, Policy of USA (right of self determination) and USSR (rise of communism), Nationalism and nationalist struggle, Role of UN (Article 73 of the UN charter states- the colonial powers.. to develop self government... and to assist them... development of their free political institution) and third world countries.
The Bandung conferences 1955 strengthen the Afro-Asian solidarity.
1960: General Assembly's Declaration on the Granting of Independence to colonial countries and people.
The British were the first to concede responsibility for the self government of the colonies but the other powers were tightening their grip on the colonies. (Brazzaville doctrine of France 1944).

The main problem in Africa was that there were large white settlements. North Africa was inhabited by mostly Arabs except Algeria.
4 states in Africa during the end of WWII,
1960- 17 states and in 1981- 52 states.

Africa was known as the Dark Continent but the awakening of the Africans in the 1960's has been a significant event in the history of modern world. The wind of change was bound to come to Africa. Rise of nationalism was a reaction against foreign domination, colonialism, imperialism and contact with modernity.

Nnamadi Azikiwe: African nationalism can be described as a mental emancipation from a servile colonial mentality.

1950's – Libya (1951), Eritrea (1952), Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia (1956), [Arab inhibited North)

Late 1950's – Ghana (1957), Guinea (1958), 17 African nations emerged.

1960-75- 38 new African stated were born. The independence of Namibia 1990 ended the European colonialism in 1990. Apartheid also ended in S. Africa.

Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)- 1953 Churchill's government set up a union of three colonies Nyasaland, N and S Rhodesia known as Central African Federation to protect the white supremacy.

The Africans Dr Hastings Banda (Nyasaland), Kenneth Kaunda (North) and Joshua Nkomo(South) campaigned for a black majority rule. The Monckton Commission recommended votes for Africans, end the racial discrimination, right of territories to leave the federation. New constitution was introduced in Nyasaland and North. Both left the federation and Nyasaland and North Rhodesia became fully independent in 1964 known as Malawi and Zambia.

In N-Rhodesia the white settlers fought more ferociously never to surrender the control of the country to the blacks. African National democratic party and Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) founded by Nkoma was banned.

  The whites requested for independence to the British government which on their part put a condition saying that independence would be granted only if *the constitution was changed to allow black Africans at least of third of seats in the parliament.*

Ian Smith (PM 1964) rejected the idea. A *unilateral declaration of independence (UDI)* was declared by Smith in November 1965.

Economic sanction was put by Britain. UNO condemned the UDI and put an embargo on Rhodesia. But the embargo was not successful and the commonwealth was shaken utterly.

1970- Rhodesia was declared a republic.

The guerrilla campaigns of the blacks escalated and controlled large areas by 1978.

ZAPU under Nkomo, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), United African National Council (UANC) and Robert Mugabe leader of guerrilla wing of ZANU.

Smith wanted a compromise between the whites and UNAC but ZAPU and ZANU had mass support. Free elections were held and Mugabe a self proclaimed Marxist won a comfortable victory to be the PM of Rhodesia in April 1980. ZAPU and ZANU merged in 1987 and Mugabe became the first President.

Algeria- Over a million French settlers controlled 1/3rd of the fertile lands of Algeria. An active peaceful movement was led by Messali Hadj but achieved nothing. Algeria was not treated as a colony or a protectorate but as an extension of France. Algerians had no say in the government.

Brazzaville doctrine 1944: Impossible to accept any idea of autonomy for the colonies or any possibility of development outside the French empire. Even at a distant date there will be no self government in the colonies.

A more militant nationalist group was formed by Ben Bella, National Liberation Front (FLN) which started guerrilla war from 1954. More French troops were poured in. 70000 troops were engaged by 1960.

Public opinion was gathering even in France as the FLN had support of most of the Algerians.

Some generals in the French army refused to accept defeat so much so that they wanted to remove the government as well. Fourth republic (1944- 1958) came to an end with the downfall of French govt. General de Gaulle was made the PM who was against giving freedom to Algeria. He produced a new constitution in which President was empowered and he himself became the President. The fighting continued and Gaulle showed willingness to negotiate. The army led by General Salan set up *Organisation de l'Armee Secrete* in 1961which attacked the nationalist and terrorists both in Algeria and France including an assassination attempt on Gaulle. De Gaulle denounced the Organisation on TV which led to the collapse of the rebellion. Ben Bella who was in prison since 1956 was released to attend peace talks. Algeria was to become independent in 1962 and Ben Bella was elected the President.

Other colonial powers were more determined than France not to give independence to the colonies. Italy had to lose its colonies as she had helped the Nazis during the war.

Most of the colonies were not prepared properly for independence. In many areas Civil war situation was there. The govt. was monopolised by the political elites.

<div align="center">Dharma</div>

Dharma is equated with religion many of the times but the term dharma as religion is very misleading. It was actually the Orientalists and the Indologists during the colonial times that distorted the term dharma. This interpretation has been discarded by the Indian and modern scholars. The word dharma is derived from the root *dhri* which means 'to uphold or to sustain or to secure'. Dharma in ancient Indian literature has been defined as meaning virtue, right action, the law of nature, universal truth, a code of customs and traditions, righteousness, unchanging order etc.

According to Dharmasutras of Gautama and Baudhayana dharma comes from the Vedas along with the customs of castes, families, occupation and country. Thus Jati dharma, Kula dharma, Rajadharma etc.Dharmasutras represent brahmanical normative literature and in it the maintenance of *varnaashramadharma* is highly recommended. The customary laws of castes, regions, occupations differed from place to place, group to group. These laws were binary and limited to the people of the same lineage, caste, religion and so forth. Localised laws were also there which was even acknowledged by the king as well. They were generally not codified and were transmitted orally from generation to generation.

In some cases even the king did not interfere in the functioning of a particular group. For example in the guilds, *shreni* dharma was followed by the guild authorities and the king remained aloof from it. But in conflicting situation the King took the decision. Royal decrees and laws were also there but it was always in a flux as it depended on the kings who were also impermanent.

Thus dharma can be defined in pluralistic and varied ways and was noticeably flexible of its practice and local (village, caste, occupation etc) as well as higher level of socio judicial functioning (royal court).

Varnaashramadharma: As we all know that the brahmanical society was stratified according to the colour the term varnaashramadharma was to perform one's duty according to the four fold division of the society and also the four divisions of life know as ashramas (brahmacharya, grihastha, vanaprastha and sanyasa). According to Romila Thapar Varna dharma was the theory of ordering the society while ashrama dharma was the theory of the ordering of the individual life-cycle.

As more and more indigenous population like the tribes and foreigners were being incorporated into the brahmanical fold it became necessary to preserve the sanctity of the brahmanical social order by preservation of the Varna hierarchy and Varna assigned occupation. Even the Bhagavat Gita mentions the duty of the Kshatriya (Rajadharma) to establish the social order (varnaashramadharma) according to the rules laid down in the brahmanical normative literature.

The four varnas are based on the division of work intimately linked with the birth of individuals and a strict prohibition on the movement from one Varna to another. The idea of pollution and purity was also attached and thus social mobility was restricted. Brahmanas were associated with learning and performance of Vedic rituals and became the custodians of the religion, Kshatriyas with administration and polity, Vasihyas with trade, agriculture and production and Shudras with the service of other Varnas. The performance of one's Varna assigned duty was emphasized in various brahmanical literatures and transgression of it was propagated as a greatest sin. Foreigners as Shakas, Kushanas, Indo-Greeks etc were assigned the status of *vrata kshatriya* or degenerated kshatriyas by Manusmriti as they had given up the performance of Vedic sacrifices and rituals. On the other hand large number of tribal population was assigned the status of shudras in brahmanical varna system.

The ashrama system was a prerogative of the *dvija* (twice born) and he could take up any one of the ashrama and live entire life accordingly. Of the four ashramas the Dharmasutras laid great emphasis upon the *grihastha ashrama* as it was the stage linked with

the production and procreation. Ashrama system too was not open for shudras and they were denied the right to renounce the world but they were required to observe the *Varna* dharma. Thus it can be said that it was through the varnaashramadharma that Aryan culture was expanded in the subcontinent and the higher castes especially and the brahmanas and kshtriyas managed to dominate and hegemonize the society. The power structure in the brahmanical religion was maintained through the varnaashramadharma.

Greek literature

The Greeks not only produced many of the earliest and greatest works of the Western literature but also established the basic forms of that literature such as poetry, drama, satire and rhetoric. Classical Greek literature developed out of the oral storytelling tradition by which the wandering poets would disseminate stories on history, legends and religion. The poems were to be recited or sung, often to the accompaniment of a musical instrument. The Greeks had different types of poetry such as epic, didactic and lyric.

The first great epic poet in western literature was the Greek Homer who lived in the 9th century BC. His Iliad and Odyssey are the earliest examples of Greek epic. While Iliad describes the Trojan War, Odyssey a sequel to Iliad recounts the adventure of the hero Ulysses (Odysseus) on his way back home. Didactic poetry which explains and teaches was exemplified by the works of Hesiod who wrote Theogony on the genealogy of the gods and Works and Days consisting of advice and observations concerning various aspects of life. The 7th and 6th century is also known as lyrical age. Lyric poetry was to express feeling and it got its name from the fact that it was originally accompanied by a lyre. Solo and Choral were the two main genre of lyric poetry. The solo was a shorter poem presented in front of a large or a private gathering having themes like friendship, betrayal, war, politics, morality etc. Chorus was a longer one sung during public functions having themes like patriotism, myths etc. The first eminent name in Greek lyric poetry was Sappho, 'pure sweet-smiling weaver of violets'. Pindar is noted for his odes in honour of the winners of the Olympic game. Simonides of Cos was the author of the famous couplet 'on the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae' and 'Lament of Danae'. In prose rhetoric was developed in connection with speechmaking and lawsuits.

Drama

Drama as an art form apparently developed out of presentations at religious festivals, celebrations of seasonal events such as the first harvest and summer rains. Myths, legends and other stories were complemented by the chorus from which actors and several actors took part. The Greeks were very proud of their dramatic productions which were presented at large, open air theatres. The festival of Dionysia held in springtime to honour the Great Dionysus (god of wine) was very important as formal competitions for poets, playwriters, dances. The two main forms of drama were tragedy and comedy. The Greek drama reached its zenith in the period from 525 to 400 BC. Aeschylus (525-426 BC) was the greatest among the tragedians. His The Persians explained the Persian war with Xerxes. In Prometheus Bound he dealt with the punishment inflicted by Zeus upon Prometheus the Titan who had stolen fire as a gift to mankind and who now lay chained to a rock while a vulture pecked at his liver. In his Agamemnon, he tells of the return of the hero from Troy and his murder by his wife Clytemnestra and her lover. He is still remembered as the Father of Tragedy. He introduced the idea of having multiple actors on the stage, using costumes and visual effects in scenery and paintings. Sophocles was more interested in ordinary human activities than in heroic deeds. His finest work is Oedipus Tyrannus. Antigone, Oedipus at Colonus plays of his are worth remembering. Euripides focused more on human psychology and was realistic. His plays are Hippolytus, Medea, Alcestis, The Trojan Women, The Bacchae etc.

Greek comedy was primarily political commentary with heavy satire on contemporary politics, politicians, and thinkers and on tragedies. Aristophanes is regarded as the best of the classic comic playwriters. In The Forgs, he brought onto the stage actors playing part of the two tragedians Aeschylus and Euripides. In The Clouds he ridiculed the philosopher Socrates. He was against war and opposed in his Lysistrata and The Birds. His plays were a great mix of comedy with honest and sincere ideas. His plays though comical discussed serious concerns of his time.

Greek Philosophy

Greek rationalism found its fullest and most significant expression in philosophy and sciences. The Greek philosophy is divided into pre-Socrates and those who followed him. In the beginning there was no clear distinction between philosophy, mathematics and science. The earliest Greek philosophers were the so-called Cosmologists of the 6th century BC who essayed to discover a single physical element constituting the nature. Thales sought the original element in water. He is also reported to have successfully predicted a solar eclipse in 585 BC, calculated the distance of ships at sea and also experimented with the magnetic properties of a rock near the city of Magnesia. He also observed that all triangles within a semicircle contain a right angle. Aneximines sought that element in air or vapour. Anaximander proposed the theory of opposite elements such as wet and dry, hot and cold.

Pythagoras of Samos (582-500) holds an important position among the early philosophers. He even believed in the transmigration of soul as the Orphics. He and his followers tried to link music with mathematics and found that intervals between musical notes can be expressed in numerical terms. Pythagoras is famous for his theorem about right angles: a2 +b2=c2.

Another pre-Socrates thinker was Heraclitus who observed that everything is in flux, in constant change. "We cannot even step twice into the same river, for the water forever changes". He considered fire to be the basic element. Parmenides and Zeno talked about the dialectic principle of reasoning. Democritus is known for his concept of atoms which are indestructible and moved in empty space where it collided with other atoms which led to the formation of new things. Anaxagoras suggested that matters are not born or destroyed instead there are commixtures and decompositions of the existing things.

The Sophists were an influential group which included Protagoras, Gorgias, Hippias and Prodicus. They were teachers who taught for fee. They were specialised in oratory and rhetoric. According to them there were no universal absolute values and laid emphasis on the ability of men. Protagoras famous dictum 'Man is the measure of all things' seems to have asserted the above Sophist view.

The Big three of Greek philosophy were Socrates, Plato and Aristotle who lived in 5th and 4th century BC and are still regarded as perhaps the greatest philosophers the world has seen. Socrates wrote no books and held no professional chair but we know him mainly from his pupil Plato. He challenged everything anybody said to him and urging people not to take their preconceptions and prejudices as truths. Only a never-ending debate, a process of question and answer- the celebrated "Socratic method" could lead human beings to truth. Reasoning led Socrates to conclude that man was more than an animal, that he had a mind. Unjustly accused and condemned by his fellow Athenians for impiety he refused to defend himself or plead for mercy and died by drinking the fatal hemlock permitted to prisoners as a form of execution.

Plato was the most famous disciple of Socrates. Plato founded a school in Athens, the Academy and wrote a large number of notable dialogues. He believed that there was a certain perfect reality above us which was abstract and eternal. In their higher forms ideas are spiritual substances as in the case of human soul. The ultimate source of all ideas is the Supreme Idea(the Good), eternal, immutable pure spirit. As we are born with this knowledge the experience through our senses is not the perfect reality. Thus we need to rely on our mind to experience this. He also advocated a political system in which decision making was given to the philosophers. Important Platonic works are the Phaedo, the Symposium and the Republic.

Plato's most celebrated pupil was Aristotle. He was interested in everything and his philosophy was more empirical. According to Aristotle our generalised knowledge originally proceeds from experience and ideas are mental representations of reality rather than

subsistent reality. Therefore we must rely on our senses and experiment to discover the truth. While Plato considered politics as means to an end, Aristotle considered it as an end in itself where collective exercise is done to achieve good life. He considered the best form of polity is the mix of monarchy, oligarchy and democratic elements. His main works are Logic, Poetics and Politics.

Greek religion

Early Greek religion was animistic. We get the references of the early Greek religion from the Homeric epics Iliad and Odyssey as well as Theogony by Hesiod. The Olympian gods were worshipped at the Olympian pantheon and it was believed that they lived on Mount Olympus. The gods were represented as humans with human preferences, sentiments and rivalries except that they were immortal and had super human powers. There were twelve main deities revered by the Greeks. *Zeus*, father of the gods and hurler of thunderbolts was the supreme god seen as the protector, saviour and guardian. Goddess *Athena* was the protector of Athens and goddess of the virgin. *Apollo* the son of Zeus was associated with archery, song and art. *Poseidon* was the god of sea, *Hera* the wife of Zeus was the mother goddess, *Ares* the god of war, *Demeter* the god mother and the goddess of fertility, *Dionysius* the god of suffering and wine, *Aphrodite*, goddess of love, *Artemis* goddess of the moon and hunters, *Hermes* the messenger of the gods, *Hephaestus*, god of blacksmiths, artisans and craftsmen, *Hestia* the virgin goddess of the hearth.

Dionysus was not Greek in origin but later added to the Olympian deities. The festival of Dionysia was held in springtime to honour the Great Dionysus. Rituals were important for the Greeks which were there in every sphere of life form birth to death. For example to mark transition from adolescence to adulthood young men offered hair to Artemis and young women served Artemis for a year. Anthesteria the feast of flowers was held in February to remember the dead. The rituals were performed by the magistrates and the priests. Sanctuaries were made for the deities. Pericles built the Parthenon dedicated to Olympian deities. Prophecy and oracles were given importance by the Greeks for private and public matters. The temple at Delphi was the prominent one. There seems to have been certain scepticism among the Greeks with regards to the mythologies. The mystic philosopher groups like the Orphics rejected the rituals and adopted ascetic mode of life and Pythagoreans refused to eat meat.

Art and architecture

The Greek art was influenced by the Egyptians and Babylonians but revealed evidence of genius and independence of Greeks. Since limestone and marble were to be found in abundance the Greeks freely used them though private houses were also made of sun dried bricks. In art the Greeks manifested unity, simplicity, moderation, balance, originality and idealism.

Classic examples of Greek architecture are provided by the Parthenon, Erechtheum, Theseum, and Temple of the Winged Victory constructed on the Acropolis of Athens in the 5th century BC. A typical Greek temple was made up of a rectangular hall, at the end of which were placed one or two rows of columns, while sometimes columns were also placed along the sides of the building. Occasionally porches were also there. The hall and porches were covered with a roof made of wooden beams and protected by tiles.

There are mainly three main styles of orders with regards to columns. Doric was the most simple and austere. The Ionic type was marked by a more slender column with spiral volutes on the top. The third style was the Corinthian which is complex and elaborate than the other two styles.

Greek sculpture illustrates high qualities even more than architecture. Their favourite sculptural subject was the human form which they considered the most beautiful thing in existence and which enabled them to express their intellectual idealism. They gave human form to gods themselves. Sculpture was marked by naturalism and idealism. Its naturalism is seen in its accurate depiction of the human figure, muscles and anatomy and its idealism is portrayal of ideal physical proportions and qualities and in its communication of ideal character traits and intellectuality. Stones, gold, silver, bronze were used for sculpture. They combined simple lines with proper proportions and were true to nature, patient and full of joy free from restraint and void of superstition. Their greatest sculptor Phidias perfected the huge statue of the Goddess Athena placed before the Parthenon. He also made a colossal statue of Zeus located at Olympia. Praxiteles sculpted the beautiful statue of Hermes holding the infant Dionysius.

We know from the contemporary records that Greeks were expert painters although we have no surviving major examples of this art form. Moreover painting in the pottery vases, plates, cups, and bowls shows the best examples of Greek painting.

Organization of Production
of the Subsistence Economy of Europe: c. 7TH to 12TH century CE

The English term 'feudalism' has been derived from *fief and* other contemporary synonyms of the term *fief* are *feudum,* benefice and *lehn* that refer to a grant made on condition of (military) services to the lord whenever required. Different scholars have construed differently the nature of feudalism. Where some scholars associate it with purely military services, others with economic or social obligations required to be fulfilled by the vassals. Scholars who support military character of feudalism lay great emphasis upon the military obligations of the vassals in return of the *fief* (landed property) yielded to them by their lord. In this way feudal social structure was essentially founded on military services. But the problem with this argument is that it narrows down the scope of historical studies to only one specific view of feudalism i.e., military services; thereby leaves out a vast area of socio-economic relations which were gradually interwoven in the course of time to the system created under military obligations (Bloch, 2011 [2006]: XVII--XVIII). Marx describes feudalism in terms of social hierarchy and exploitation. The peasantry in feudal mode of production was exploited by the landowning aristocracy through the appropriation of surplus beyond subsistence of peasantry in the form of rents and other dues. Rodney Hilton emphasizes the rural and agrarian character of the feudal mode of production in which peasant family and village community played a crucial role. Hilton (1995 [1985]: 121) argues that '…it was the product of peasant economy, or rather that part of the product which the peasant household was not able to retain within the household (whether in labour, kind or cash), which provided the necessary support for the whole social and political structure of nobles, clergy, town and state.' Perry Anderson (1974: 14 7) on the other hand characterizes the feudal mode of production as prevailed by land and natural economy in which the specific social, political, and legal relations bind the producer i.e., peasant to the means of production i.e., soil. Hence, neither labour nor produce of peasantry were considered commodities bought and sold in open markets.

Feudal Mode of Production

The frequent invasions and warfare during the early medieval period had devastating impact upon particularly the western European society and economy. The overseas trade had virtually disappeared and the internal trade and commerce attained to its minimal level. In such a situation the main source of income was land, which gradually emerged as the central point in the formation of feudal mode of production. At the same time the frequent warfare created a demand of large armed forces but the rulers of the period lacked the resources to maintain extensive armies. Therefore, the socio- economic necessities of the early medieval period made the background for the growth of feudal relations based on the control of landed property and social hierarchy.

Vassal

The vassal (who was also a lord in his estate) was a *man* of someone with superior status. In this way every vassal was a *man* of someone else's *man* or vassal. The relation between the lord and the vassal depended on a mutual reciprocity, in which vassal swore commitment to his lord. The lord in return promised to protect the vassal and take care of him by providing land for subsistence as well as maintenance for arm entourages. The protection extended by the lord to a weaker neighbour or subordinate vassal was called *maimbour* in medieval French (Bloch, 2011 [2006]: 208, 214). In the ancient Germanic tribes, the chief was accompanied by close companions who were highly trained loyal warriors who shared a very close bond with him. These private fighting men were different from rest of the army as being attached to the chief specifically. These close companions were called *gisind* in old German language that literally entails 'companion for an expedition'. The Latin term *comitatus* referred to a warrior-band as a whole. Hence, it appears that from these private warrior-bands known as *gisind* and *comitatus* the institution of vassalage step by step emerged (Farooqui, 2002 [2001]: 429-430).

Homage

The grant of landed property to vassal was ritualized and accompanied by the extensive ceremonies came to be known as **homage**, (in Germany *mannschaft*). The chief kneels or stands before the king expressing his submission to the king's authority and acceptance to become vassal of the king. It was followed by a kiss by the king on the mouth of the chief as a symbolic expression of their friendship and accord. This ceremony probably was derived from remote Germanic practices symbolizing the tribal egalitarianism. From the Carolingian period another rite was combined with the homage ceremony, and now vassal was required to place his hand on the Gospels or relics to affirm loyalty to his master. The act of swearing came to be known as **fealty**, *foi* in French and *treue* in Germany. In the beginning the vassalage was not hereditary and with the death of the vassal, it was terminated. It was only in subsequent centuries that it became hereditary and the son of the deceased was permitted to inherit it. But the transfer of vassalage was not automatic; the son of the deceased vassal was required to perform homage to the lord of his father. In a similar way the vassals who had performed the homage to their lord, were required to perform it again to the heir of the lord. It is also noticeable that not everyone was accepted as a vassal and it was only granted to the upper classes of the society particularly to those who were associated with the profession of arms (Bloch, 2011[2006]: 208-210).

Feudal Hierarchy

The *fief* was granted to the big lords (counts, dukes i.e., the nobility) directly by the king, in return of which they were required to maintain army as well as look after the regional administration. The big lords in turn granted *fief* (parts of their *fief*) to lesser lords (known as knights) below them, who had their own

subordinate below them; and this procedure continued to be replicated downward to the level of peasantry.

Every lord, except king, at the same time was the vassal of someone else's vassal. Hence, each lord at each level was a supreme authority in his area. The development of this hierarchical structure led to sub-infeudation and fragmentation of sovereignty according to Perry Anderson as the political authority now lacked focus at a single centre. By the 12th century the term *fief* meant a heritable estate, which could have been sold or granted almost without restriction; hence fealty by now became an object of sale.

Manor

The manor, according to Perry Anderson (1974: 130) was derived 'from the Gallo-Roman *fundus* or *villas*' which referred to huge, self-contained estates tilled by dependent peasant *coloni* (plural *colonus)*, delivering produce in kind to their magnate landowners'. At a time when in comparison to available land the number of people was far less, it was not possible for lords to hire a large number of labourers to work on their entire farm. In such a situation an alternative system *was* germinated in which labour force was attached to the land. The system came to be known as manorial system. The manorial system clearly emerged for the first time in Carolingian period, and continued to be the prevalent form of agrarian social and economic organization until about the 13th century CE in most of north-western Europe. The manor (also called *seigneurie)* was a lord's estate inhabited by lord's subjects, and was fractioned into two parts. One part was called *demesne* referring to the parts of manor, reserved for the lord. It was directly managed by the lord and all produce from it went to the lord. Rest of the part of manor constituted small landholdings given to peasants for their subsistence. In return of which peasant were required to pay rent in the form of service and other accustomed dues.

Serfdom

The term *serf* has been derived from the Latin word *servus* which was in use for slaves in the Roman Empire. It appears from the sources that serfdom possibly had descended from both a) Classical statute of the *colonus* (singular *coloni)* who were the free-born serf in later Roman Empire. Though sometime they possessed private property but were bound to the land and obliged to pay rent often in the form of a share in agricultural produce; and b) Free Germanic peasants who were demeaned to the level of subjected peasantry when Germanic clan warriors began to emerge as land holders (Anderson, 1974: 131). The rent, in return of plot of land, was appropriated in the form of mandatory labour service. According to these labour services peasants were required to work on *demesne* on fixed days of the week (perhaps three days in a week). It meant that they had to work on the lord's land without any remuneration. In France, this unpaid labour came to be known as *corvee*. The *corvee* comprised not only agricultural work but also

required the peasant to construct roads, hew or cut the firewood, etc. whenever needed by the lord. Rest of the days the peasants worked on their own land to produce for their family consumption. These dependent peasants were considered tenants of the lord, and were called *serfs* (or *villeins)* who were tied to the land. Slavery was not completely deserted and slave labour was in use on the *demesnes*.

Feudal Taxes (*Banalities, Taille & Tithe*)

The lards in almost all cases kept the most fertile land under their direct control while the peasants were given less fertile plots tor sustenance in return of compulsory labour and other dues. The grazing grounds were called **common** possibly because communally possessed herds grazed there. It was also made compulsory for all the peasant inhabitants to use wine press to make wine, water mill to grind corn, oven to bake bread, etc., all owned by the lord. In return, the peasants were made to pay certain dues to the lord, called *banalities* or monopolies. Besides this another tyrannical tax was *taille* (*tallage*), introduced towards the end of 11th century CE, paid by the peasants in return for protection provided to them by the lord (Anderson, 1974: 184-185). Another tax paid by the peasantry was *tithe* to the Church. It began as a tax gathered from all the Christians out of a moral or religious responsibility in the service of God. But it was rigorously imposed by the first Carolingian in France and by the Anglo-Saxon kings in Britain (Bloch, 2011/2006]: 356).

In this way during the period from 7th to 12th century CE the Western Europe witnessed the emergence of feudal mode of production which in fact was the result of the long-term political developments of preceding centuries. These political developments created the situation in which socio-economic systems were metamorphosed as a result of a synthesis of Roman and Germanic elements. The result was the emergence of feudal mode of production intimately linked with the new types of social and economic relations between the monarchy and the subordinate chiefs on the one hand, and between chiefs/lords and subjected peasantry. The feudal mode of production was profoundly agrarian as well as based on subsistence economy as the agricultural production meant mainly for household consumption not for markets.

The Growth of Towns and Trade
in the 12th-13th Century Europe

During the early medieval period, Europe lacked trading relations with the east as well as internal trading networks. The Arabs with the emergence of Islam emerged as the most dominating political as well as trading community in Western Asia. The constant warfare and Germanic as well as Arab invasions produced hostile conditions for any kind of large scale economic and trading activity leading to increasing dependence upon land as a source of livelihood and income. It was the stage in which feudal mode of production developed. There gradually developed a whole system of socio-political relations intimately linked with the feudal mode of production and control over landed property. Due to the low population land was in abundant for cultivation, which raised the labour earnings. At the same time in the absence of money economy the lords were not in a position to pay higher wages to the labourers. As a result, they began to grant pieces of land to them, and in return the peas- ants were needed to pay their rent in the form of labour services. Other customary dues were paid in kind. The subsistence economy persisted as most of the produce was consumed within peasant household and there hardly left anything to sell in the market. Except salt and minerals like iron which were not locally available, the villages were able to produce most of the commodities of daily necessities locally which made them self-sufficient. But such situation did not last long and in fact furnished the background within which emerged towns and trade in 12th and 13th century CE in Europe. Following are the reasons creditworthy for the growth of towns and trade.

Population Growth

The peaceful circumstances of the 10th century onwards led to a considerable population growth which solved the labour problem. The total population of Western Europe more than doubled according to some estimates between 950 and 1348 CE and it rose from 20,000,000 to 54,000,000 (Anderson, 1974: 190). Not only this, life expectancy was also increased from about as low as an average of thirty years for the poor of Carolingian times to somewhat between forty and fifty years by about 13th century CE (Burns, 1991: 410). Now there was adequate labour supply for the expansion of agriculture. The clearing and reclaiming the waste or forest land for cultivation not only expanded the cultivable land but also increased the number of lord's tenants subjected to lord's authorities. The increased number of tenants and agricultural production corresponded to the increased income of the lord through various dues and services. In this way, increased population made available cheap labour to till the land hence produced enough surplus to sustain the people engaged in non-agricultural sector. Moreover, now labour also became available for non-agricultural actions like artisanal and craft works as many people failed to secure a piece of land to cultivate.

Technological Changes

The 7th and 8th centuries CE marked substantial technological changes in the field of agriculture which in subsequent centuries further developed. As already mentioned, there was a scarcity of labour supply which gave impetus to technological development and their widespread use to increase productivity.

*Use of Heavy Plough***:** In northern and north-western Europe the soil was heavy and moist. It could not be ploughed with older techniques of Greco-Romans which were suitable only for light soil and dry climate of the Mediterranean world. The excess water and harsh winter with mild summers of north required new techniques of cultivation. Hence, there was formulated a heavy wheeled plough (named *charrue*) which made possible to expand agriculture in north and north-western Europe. To plough stiff and heavy soil wheels were added to the plough which made pulling a heavy plough easier. The new plough (*charrue*) was firmly demonstrated by 10th century CE in northern France. In some of the drier areas of Europe a wheel-less plough *(araire)* was in use.

*Use of Horse as a Draught Animal***:** Another important development was the invention of a new type of harness suitable to the anatomical system of horse during the time of Carolingian Empire. The yoke was now replaced with a rigid collar placed around the neck of the horse just above its shoulders. This collar now shifted the weight from the neck of the horse to the shoulders, due to which horse now was capable to draw heavier objects faster and speedily. The iron horseshoes also came into use to protect hooves. Perhaps around 1050 CE, tandem harnessing was introduced to allow horses to pull behind each other. Now horse also began to be used for drawing the heavy plough and gradually substituted the oxen as a draught animal.

*Use of Mills***:** By around 1050-1070 CE the use of mills both water mills and wind mills increased in Northern Europe to drive saws, process cloth, press oil, brew beer, provide power for iron forges, and crush pulp for manufacturing paper. It was an important labour-saving innovation which not only reduced the number of people involved in grinding corns, or brewing beer for example, but also cut down the time consumed in these processes.

Expansion of Agriculture

As the population sprang up more and more land were also brought under cultivation between 1000 to 1300 CE with the initiatives of both the peas- ants as well as lords. More land under cultivation meant more production. The average yields from grains of seed sown increased from at best twofold in Carolingian period to three or four-fold by about 1300 CE. The agricultural management also ameliorated and many

new crops also began to be cultivated. Three crop-field system of crop rotation was adopted. In this system, in a given year one-third of the land was left fallow (uncultivated), while one-third was cultivated (cereals like wheat or rye were sown) in the fall and harvested in early summer. Rest one-third land was planted with new crops like oats, barley or legumes in the late spring and harvested in August or September. In this way the fields were circumvolved over a three-year cycle. The new system helped to maintain the fertility of the soil over the years, and plantation of new crops improved human diet, Moreover, oats was suitable for the consumption of both humans and horses, thereby; it provided healthy fodder for horses that progressively began to be used as a draught animal. Recent studies have also highlighted the favourable climatic conditions during the period from about 700 to 1200 CE. This period witnessed a somewhat warmer climate due to a rise of 1°C in temperature. The warmer climate was accommodative in the expansion of agriculture particularly in northern Europe where land was too wet for good farming (Burns, 1991: 405). The growth in agriculture also stimulated the growth of certain industries like cloth making, wine making and so forth.

Towns and Trade in High Middle Ages

The increase in agricultural production increased the financial gain of the lords who began to spend extravagantly on their comforts and luxuries. Increased population made available cheap labour force at the disposal of the lords. They now found collection of rent more profitable in the form of money rather than in the form of services as there were now more hands to work on the *demesne*. The *demesne* now could be cultivated by the wage labourers or given to the peasants for cultivation. Now the peasants were required to pay rent in money or kind (i.e., portion of the produce) instead of labour services (i.e., working on *demesne* without wages) in order to increase the income of the lords. More and more land was reclaimed and given to the peasants in return of money-rent (Farooqui, 2002 [2001]: 460-462). As a result, feudal lords were able to amass huge wealth which permitted them to live better and luxuriously. Within this background of agricultural expansion and population growth developed the conditions friendly for the growth of towns and trade in post 10th century CE. It is detectable that these urban centres were not separated from their rural hinterland rather they reckoned on the countryside for raw material and labour for manufacture, besides food. By the 12th century CE several new towns like Freiburg, Lubeck, Munich, and Berlin emerged in Germany, while earlier towns like Paris, London and Cologne roughly doubled in size. At the same time Italy particularly experienced the concentration of largest cities like Venice, Genoa, Milan, Bologna, Palermo, Florence, and Naples. Towns not only provided markets for the agricultural and artisanal products but also went forth as safe enclaves for runaway serfs or peasants seeking better life. In fact, escaped serfs were guaranteed freedom as well as work in several manufacturing units like cloth

making) which were also in need of cheap labour. The emergence of towns in different parts of Europe was closely linked with the expansion of trading networks both overland and overseas. The trade in the Mediterranean which had come under the control of the Arabs in the early Middle Ages (prior to 1000 CE) was again brought the hands of the European merchants of Italian city states of Genoa, Pisa and Venice between 1050 and 1300 CE. It was in fact the sea power of Genoa and Venice that ascertained a constant trade between Western Europe and Asia. Along with trade money economy was also revived and by 13th century gold coins began to be minted by Italian city states like Florence, Venice and others.

The significant feature of these towns was the emergence of guilds and banking system. The greater profit earned by the medieval merchants was from trade and usury. Merchants earned greater profits by lending money on high interest rates to several princes and feudal lords who increasingly sought their help to maintain their lush life style and to meet the expenses on luxuries. For protection, control over markets and production and mutual interests, merchants as well as artisans gradually came together to form organizations which came to be known as guilds. The guild was an economic as well as social organization in the medieval towns which exerted greater influence upon the urban society and polity. On the one hand, they regulated the trade and manufacturing of goods and on the other, they also performed charitable activities. The cities had become the centre of industries and manufacturing. Such guilds of merchants as well as artisans had generally emerged by the 12th century CE, and once established began to regulate commodity pricing, the quality and quantity of goods, means of production, and the labour wages. The necessities to maintain records and accounts of merchants led to the foundation of various primary schools and universities which brought education out of the control of clergy (Burns, 1991: 417-423; Backman, 2003: 329-333).

Initially the towns were commanded by *seigniorial* agents in England, and by resident petty nobles in Italy. These towns subsequently came under the dominance of successful feudal intermediaries, or merchants or manufacturers forming the urban *patriciates*, i.e., urban nobility (Anderson, 1974: 191). The Italian city-states handled to establish their political authority in which the role of merchants and artisans had been crucially significant. The first precondition for the political ascendancy of Italian towns was their naval supremacy in the Western Mediterranean which they achieved as early as 11th century CE. The north Italian cities gradually came under the control of merchant communes which systematically conquered the surrounding countryside also. In this way they created territorial *contado* (i.e., countryside surrounding a city) to raise taxes, troops and grain to increase their power against their rivals. As a consequence, serfdom was ended and contractual share-cropping was introduced to encourage semi-commercialized farming in much of the northern and central Italy by 1300 CE. The city government in Italy also tried out with new systems of taxation, record keeping, and public participation in decision making. Though the communes based on Italian model never became universalized the towns managed to gain a basic

corporate municipal existence in most of the parts of Europe. Thus, it is evident from above discussion that absence of frequent warfare, peaceful conditions, population growth, prosperous climatic conditions, expansion of agriculture and several technical developments produced the conditions for the emergence of trade and towns in 12th and 13th centuries in the several parts of the Europe.

Important Ports and Trade Routes

Barbarycum – It was situated on the mouth of Indus River. Taxila was connected to Barbaricum via Patala through a trade route that ran parallel to the river Indus.

Barygaza (Bharukachchha or Bhrigukachchha) – It was situated on the mouth of Narmada River. It was linked to Ujjain and Vidisha in central India, from there to Pataliputra via Kaushambi.

Sopara (Suparaka) – It was situated a few mile north of present Bombay. It was connected with Paithan via Kalyan.

Kalayana (Kalliene) – On the southern bank of Ulhas River, twenty miles inside from the open sea. Kalyan was linked to ancient Nasik through the Thal pass, to Poona through the Bhor Pass and to Junar through the Nana Pass. These passes are situated on the Western Ghats.

Chaul (Semylla) – It is located at the south of present day Mumbai, in Maharashtra.

Muziris (Muchiri) – On Malabar Coast. It was the most famous and important port of Chera Kingdom. The Greco-Roman sources mention about a force of two cohorts at Muziris to protect their trade and building of a temple for Augustus by the Romans.

Kaveripattinam (Puhar) – It was the most important Chola port, also known from Sangam literature and two famous Tamil epics—*Silappadikaram* and *Manimekhalai*.

Masulipatinam (in Andhra Pradesh) – Ptolemy mentions it as a Maisolia.

Tamluk or Tamralipta (in Midanapur dist. West Bengal) – It was situated on the river Rupnarayan.

Chandraketugarh (in West Bengal) – It was situated in the Ganga delta and consists a cluster of 24 parganas district of West Bengal. The terracotta sealings found here have impressions of ships or sea crafts. It was situated on the bank of the Vidyadhari River and was a riverine port with the facilities of both coastal as well as high high-sea voyages (Chakrabarti, 2002: 130).

SHORT NOTES

1. **Indian Traders in Overseas Trade:** In fact several colonial scholars—Vincent A. Smith, H. G. Rawlinson, E. H. Warmington, Mortimer Wheeler and others for long argued the supremacy of Greco-Roman traders in the Indian Ocean trade while the Indians were seen uninterested or passive participant. Earlier it was also believed that it was some Greco-Roman sailor named Hippalos/Hippalus who

Tripuri

Narmada Maheshwar

Bharuch

Tapti Prakash

Kaundinyapura
Paunar
Pauni

Ajanta
Pitalkhora
Ellora
Bhokardan
Nasik
Thalghat Aurangabad
Sopara Palthan
Kalyan Nanaghat Nevasa
Kanheri Bhorghat Junnar
Karle
Chaul Bhaja Bedsa
Kuda Pune
Bankot Parghat Ter
Dabhol
Jaigarh Karad
Godavari
Bhima
Vijayadurg Kolhapur Dharanikota
Krishna

▲ CAVES
■ SETTLEMENTS
● PORTS

Banavasi

Scanned with CamScanner

INDIA TRADE ROUTES
(200 BC to 300 AD)

▲ Main Cities
- - - Inland Trade Routes

Kapisi
Puskalavati
Purusapura
Taksasila
Sakala
Alexandropolis
U T T A R A P A T H A
Sibipura
Srughna
Rohitaka
Hastinapur
Indraprastha
Sambalaka
Ahicchatra
Vairata
Mathura
Sravasti
Kapilavastu
Roruka
Uvasisa
MADHYADESA
Kanyakubja
Kusinagara
Vaisali
to China
Patala
Puskara
Seketa
Pataliputra
Barbaricum
Padmavati
Prayaga
Campa
Pundra
A P A R A N T A
Madhyamika
Kausambi
Varanasi
Rajagrha
Kajangala
Bharhut
Vidisa
Ujjaiyini
Tripuri
Chandraketugarh
Girinagara
Mahismati
D A K S I N A P A T H A
Ramagiri
Tamralipti
Bharukaccha
Prabhasa
Ajanta
Nandhivardana
Sripura
Kalinganagara
Nasikya
Palura
Surparaka
Kalyana
Tagara
Dantapura
Vengi
Amaravati
Brahmagiri
Arkkadu
Kancipuram
Mavilankai
Karavur
Tond
Uraiyur
Muciri
Kumari

Scanned with CamScanner

After Buddhism (originated in 6th century BCE) and Christianity (originated in 1st century CE), the third and last world religion is Islam that originated in 7th century CE. Interestingly, unlike its other two counterparts which took longer time to spread, Islam within few centuries following its origin spread across the Asia, Africa and Europe. Several interpretations have been proposed to explain the rapid rise of Islam. For a long time scholars have attributed the militant zeal of Islam as the major factor leading to the rapid rise and expansion of Islam. Recent studies, on the other hand, criticizes

such view and locate the rise of Islam in the peculiar socio-economic as well as geographical conditions of the Arabian peninsula playing a crucial role in the outgrowth and spread of Islam in the middle of first millennium CE.

Pre-Islamic Period

The birth place of Islam, Arabian Peninsula, comprises some 1,250,000 square miles of area at present is divided into six countries Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Oman. The entire peninsula was a sparsely populated arid zone largely embraced by desert and steppe. The peninsula was divided into Najd (centre of Arabian Peninsula), Al-Hijaz (Western Arabian Peninsula), Yemen (South-western corner of Arabian Peninsula) and Oman (South-eastern Arabian Peninsula). Two of the important places linked up with early Islam Mecca and Medina were situated in Al-Hijaz which is also known as the birth place of Islam. The isolated oases in Al-Hijaz were the only places where sedentary life was possible due to the availability of water. The availability of water, hence, made possible some cultivation and animal husbandry in oases. Dates, some grains like wheat and fruits were grown here.

In pre-Islamic times, the Arabian population was divided into two main groups, one, nomadic tribes (*qabilah*) known as beduins and second, settled communities. The beduins were constantly on move from one place to another. They were organized into different independent and autonomous tribes formed on the basis of common ancestor. The beduin tribe was further divided into clans or extended families (*qawm*). Pastoralism and raids were the chief means to generate resources of nomadic beduins. All the members considered each other as of same blood and obeyed the commands of one chief (*sheikh or shaykh*) who invariably was the senior most member of the tribe. But, the chief was not the inviolable authority; he had to consult other senior members (head of families) in judicial, military and other important issues of common concern. The conception of private property was absent as they considered water, pasturage and cultivable land as the common property of the tribe (Hitti, 2002 [1937]: 25–28). Camel was an substantive part of beduin life as was the only vehicle of transportation and medium of exchange. The camel was not only used as a vehicle to travel across the inhospitable Arabian desert but also was the source of milk to drink, flesh to eat, hair to make tent and dung for fuel. The settled communities engaged in cultivation, were often raided by them to augment their meagre available resources. In some cases tributes were also collected from settled communities in return for protection by beduins. They spoke a form of Semitic language which was a variation of Aramaic. Though there were different dialects but by the fifth-century CE a distinct Arabic linguistic identity had emerged which found expression in oral poetry called qasida or ode (Farooqui, 2002 [2001]: 321).

The beduin religion, in pre-Islamic times was centred on paganism. The various rituals, temples, idol-worship, and sacrifices were the important features of the indigenous cults famous among Arabian tribes. The beduin religion was basically animistic as several of natural phenomenon were conceived by them as divine or sacred. They also worshiped divine goddesses, solar and stellar cults, trees and stones. For example, the water of the Zamzam well, in Mecca, which is still considered sacred among Muslims, has roots in pre-Islamic pagan cults. Beduin's belief in demons (*jinn*) hostile to human life continued even after the advent of Islam. So is the case with the Ka 'bah in Mecca which is believed to be originally built by Adam, and later rebuilt by Abraham and Ishmael. The Ka 'bah in Mecca was the most famous pilgrimage site in pre-Islamic times in Al-Hijaz (Hitti, 2002 [1937]: 96–98). The Ka 'bah housed the Black Stone, a meteorite which was worshiped by the several beduin tribes who visited the Ka 'bah shrine regularly. Besides being a religious centre Mecca was also involved in trade and commerce. Noticeable is the point that some of the tribes during 6th century had taken up trade; and abandoned nomadic life. Quraish tribe of Mecca was one of such tribes which had adopted sedentary life style, and were engaged in trade.

In fact, the lengthy wars between Byzantine and Persians Empires made the western and Central Asian trading routes unsafe for trade and commerce. Earlier the trading route through Iraq and Persian Gulf dominated the scene but due the Byzantine-Persian conflicts it was deserted. Thereby, there took place a shift in long distance trading network; and now Arabia emerged as a safer transit route for caravans between Africa and Asia. Some of the trade was directed towards Red Sea and some trade began on an overland trade route from Yemen to Syria via Mecca and Medina (Farooqui, 2002 [2002]: 323–324). Already famous as a religious centre the beginning of caravan trade via Mecca further increased its prosperity and fame. The Quraish tribe, which was an aristocracy of traders and entrepreneurs, predominated the affairs of Mecca's religious as well as economic life. The prophet Muhammad, founder of Islam, was born in a family, belonging to Quraish tribe, in Mecca about 570 CE (Burns, 1991: 374). Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian groups were also present were did not enjoy much influence among beduin tribes. The Jewish people were present in Medina, also known as Yathrib, and were engaged in agriculture. Medina was also situated on a trading route between Yemen and Syria. Yemen was another place where Judaism was well established.

Emergence of Islam

The credit for the emergence of Islam goes to Muhammad, whose father Abdullah and mother Aminah. Abu-Talib, paternal uncle of Muhammad, looked after him as his parents died early. Muhammad at the age of twenty

... married to a rich widow, named Khadijah which brought financial surety to him. Along with his wife, Muhammad worked as a successful trader till around 610 CE when he first time went through divine revelation. It is believed that angle Gabriel revealed the message of Allah to Muhammad which made him staunch monotheist and thereafter not only changed the course of Muhammad's life but also of the entire world. Muhammad began to preach among his people and soon gained a considerable following in Mecca. The earlier converts included his wife Khadijah, Cousin Ali, and Abu-Bakr besides others. Muhammad criticized the polytheism prevailing in the Quraish society of Mecca. The Quraish tribesmen soon became hostile as they thought that the teachings of Muhammad would deprive Ka 'bah thereby Mecca, of its status of religious centre. The end of religious status would mean an end of economic prosperity due to pilgrimage and related commerce. On the other hand, the people of Medina had no such concern and they invited him to stay in Medina. Hence, Muhammad finally moved from Mecca to Medina in 622 CE along with his followers, and the event is known as the Hijrah. Later this event also became the starting point of Islamic dating system (It was caliph Umar, who instituted the year of Hijrah as the starting point of the Islamic era based on a lunar calendar). Soon Muhammad established himself as the de facto ruler of Medina and began to lead the raids on Quraish caravans. After several raids Muhammad was fortunate in capturing Mecca in 630 CE, after which the Quraish accepted his authority (Burns, 1991: 374–376).

Following this the Ka 'bah was declared as the sacred shrine of Islam and gradually other beduin tribes also accepted the authority of Muhammad. Not all the tribes which submitted to the authority of Muhammad converted to Islam. Such tribes accepted to pay a tribute in return of protection. Muhammad was declared as a prophet and the new faith was called Islam. The term Islam means submission, and the doctrine of Islam preached complete submission to Allah, the supreme God. Muhammad declared the territory around Ka 'bah *haram* (forbidden) and the entry of non-Muslims were prohibited in this territory (Hitti, 2002 [1937]: 118). The religion advocated by Muhammad clearly displays Christian and Jewish influences which also were supplemented by pre-Islamic pagan traditions. The new religion consented the existence of demons and angles as well as the idea of last Judgement day when individuals will be judged according to their merits and de-merits (Weit, 1975: 540–541) possibly due to the influence of Christianity. The holy book Koran was declared as the supreme source of religion as contained the revelation of Allah. Muhammad did not decline the Bible and held that Jesus Christ was one of the greatest of a long line of prophets though he denied divinity of Christ. The absence of clergy in Islam designates to a possible influence of Judaism which also lacks institution of clergy.

Spread of Islam

The biggest accomplishment of Muhammad was his ability to replace the tribe kinship as the basis of Arab social organization with a new bond of brotherhood based on faith. The tribal affiliations and older loyalties were now ceased and Arabs now united under the banner of Islam as brothers. There was no priesthood and no hierarchy. Wine and gambling were abolished. Hence Islam marked the end of paganism and beginning of an Arab unity which soon spread Islam beyond Arabian Peninsula. The death of Muhammad on June 8, 632 CE brought Abu-Bakr, father-in-law of Muhammad, at the forefront who was now appointed caliph entailing i.e., 'deputy of the Prophet.' It marked the beginning of the institution of caliphate that continued to dominate the Islamic politics for about next three hundred years. The caliph was held as the political as well as religious leader of all Muslims. The first four orthodox caliphs (*rashidun*)—Abu-Bakr (632–634 CE), Umar (634–644 CE), Uthman (644–656 CE) and Ali (656–661 CE) were relatives as well as closely affiliated with Muhammad. The short caliphate of Abu-Bakr witnessed frequent battles with Arab tribes which had become autonomous after the death of Muhammad. He was able to subdue the resistance and brought them under his authority; then, followed a period of continuous wars and major conquests. Due to continuous struggles both Byzantine and Persians had exhausted to an extent that when Arab began their raids they failed to put any serious challenge. The Arabs conquered Byzantine Syria in 636 CE, entire Persia by 651 CE and Egypt by 646 CE Interestingly, the local population of Byzantine and Persia was so over burdened with taxes that in the Byzantine lands of Syria and Egypt the inhabitants often welcomed Arabs in against of the old rulers as the Arabs demanded fewer taxes. In the beginning Arabs did not force conquered population to convert and remained satisfied with the income in the form of taxes and tributes (Burns, 1991: 378–379).

It is wrongly thought that the military characteristic of Islam motivated the Arabs to invade and establish their authority beyond Arabian Peninsula. In fact, it was the economic needs which drove the nomadic beduin tribes to conquer the land beyond the confines of their arid and unproductive land. In pre-Islamic stage the beduins divided into several tribes kept on fighting with each others for meagre resources, but once they were united under a common authority of caliph search of new resources became essential. The very concept of Islamic brotherhood prompted them to unite for a common cause as it prohibited fratricidal combats. Initially their campaigns started as raids in the search of booty. But, when they found weak resistance on the part of Byzantine and Persian armies, they were motivated to capture the new fertile lands and demonstrate their authority. It resulted in the more

systematic campaigns and ultimately in the establishment of Arab Empire (Hitti, 2002 [1937]: 144–145). Therefore, it was the socio-economic conditions of seventh-century CE Arabia which created a favourable condition for the emergence of a new faith i.e., Islam, under the Prophet Muhammad. The dispersed beduin tribes were now unified under the banner of Islam and the leadership of caliph that constituted the army of faithfuls destined to rule a vast empire going around across Asia, Africa, and Europe.

SHORT NOTES

1. **Ummah:** All the Arabs who had embraced Islam formed a religious community or an Islamic nation; and this vast Islamic community came to be called as *ummah*. The credit for the emergence and consolidation of *ummah* or Islamic community goes to Prophet Muhammad. In the year 622 CE, Prophet Muhammad moved from Mecca to Medina along with his followers who came to be called as the *muhajirun* (emigrants). This event is known as the Hijrah. In Medina Muhammad received support from local inhabitants which enabled him to launch prosperous raids against other neighbouring tribes. These local Madinese supporters came to be known as the *ansar* (helpers). Soon Muhammad established himself as the *de facto* ruler of Medina, and engineered a new political structure there. From a religious leader, in Medina he became a statesman and began to lay down new norms for governance. Several of other tribes either submitted to the authority of Muhammad voluntarily or were forced to do so. Moreover, after several raids Mecca in 630 CE was also captured and the Quraish tribe was made to accept Muhammad's authority. All the adult male followers were organized and an Islamic army was constituted. Military service was made compulsory for all the able-bodied male adults. The military was organized into units, and each unit corresponded to the respective tribe. The biggest achievement of Muhammad was his ability to replace the tribe kinship as the basis of Arab social organization with a new bond of brotherhood based on faith. All the Muslims were held equals as well as brothers. The tribal affiliations and older loyalties were now ended and Arabs now united under the banner of Islam. All the Muslims had to pay a tax, *zakat* (poor rate) which was intended to be redistributed mainly among the less privileged members of the Islamic community. The raids were also an important source of income besides agriculture. After depositing one-fifth of the booty (collected through raids) in the state treasury to meet the expenditure on state machinery and army, the income from raids was distributed among the *ummah* (Islamic community).

JAGIRDARI SYSTEM

Revenue assignments were made by the Delhi Sultans which was termed *Iqta* and its holder *Iqtadar*. The system was developed to appropriate the surplus from the peasantry and distribute it among the nobles. This also included the administration of the area by the assignee. The Mughal emperors did the same. These assignments were given in lieu of cash salaries. The areas assigned were generally called *Jagirs* and its holders *Jagirdars*. It must be made clear that it was not land that was assigned, but the income/revenue from the land/area was given to the *Jagirdars*. This system developed over a period and underwent many changes before stabilizing. However, the basic framework was developed during Akbar's reign.

The Early Phase

Babar, after his conquest, restored to former Afghan chieftains or conferred upon them assignment of approximately more than one-third of the conquered territories. The holders of such assignments (*Wajh*) were known as *Wajhdars*. A fixed sum was assigned as *wajh* out of the total revenue of the area. The rest of the revenue of the territories was deemed to be the part of the *Khalisa*. The *zamindars* continued in their respective areas. But in other conquered areas Babar ruled through *Hakims* (governors). The same pattern continued under Humayun.

During Akbar's period, all the territory was broadly divided into two categories: *Khalisa* and *Jagir*. The revenue from the first went to the imperial treasury, and that from *Jagir* was assigned to *Jagirdars* in lieu of their salary in cash (*naqd*) according to their rank. Some *Mansabdars* got cash salary. They were called *naqdi*. Some got both *Jagir* and cash. The bulk of the territory was assigned to *Mansabdars* according to their rank. The estimated revenue was called *Jama* or *Jamadami* as it was calculated in *dam* (a small copper coin, 1/40th of the silver rupaya). The *Jama* included land revenue, inland transit duties, port customs, and other taxes which were known as *sair Jihat*. Another term used by the revenue officials was *hasil*. That is, the amount of revenue actually collected.

In the 31st year of Akbar's, reign, the *Jama* of the *Khalisa* in the province of Delhi, Awadh and Allahabad amounted to less than 5% of the total revenue. Under Jahangir, almost 9/10 of the territory was assigned as *Jagir* and only 1/10 was available for the *khalisa*. The ratio of *Jagir* and *Khalisa* kept fluctuating. Under Shah Jahan, it rose to one-eleventh and by the 20th year, it was nearly one-seventh. The trend continued in the next reign. In the 10th year of Aurangzeb's reign, the *Jama* of the *Khalisa* amounted to almost one-fifth of the total. However, in the later part of Aurangzeb's reign, there was a great pressure on the *Khalisa* as the number of claimants for *Jagir* increased with the increase of the number of *Mansabdars*.

Another important feature of the *Jagir* system was the shifting of *Jagir*-holders from one *Jagir* to another for administrative reasons. This system of transfers checked the *Jagirdars* from developing local roots. At the same time, its disadvantage was that it discouraged the *Jagirdars* from taking long-term measures for the development of their areas. They were merely interested as much revenue as possible in a short time.

Various Types of *Jagirs*

There were generally four types of revenue assignments:

1. *Jagirs*, which were given in lieu of pay, were known as *Tankha Jagir*;
2. *Jagirs* given to a person on certain conditions were called *Mashrut Jagirs*;
3. *Jagirs*, which involved no obligation of service and were independent of rank were called

Inam Jagirs; and

4. *Jagirs*, which were assigned to *Zamindars* (chieftains) in their homelands, were called *Watan Jagirs*.

Tankha Jagirs are transferable every three or four years, *Watan Jagirs* remained hereditary and non-transferable. Sometimes *Watan Jagir* was converted into *Khalisa* for a certain period as Aurangzeb did in case of Jodhpur in 1679.

Management of *Jagirs*

The *Jagirdar* was allowed to collect only authorized revenue (*mal wajib*) in accordance with the imperial regulations. He employed his own officials (*karkun*) like *amil* (*amalguzar*), *fotadar* (treasurer), etc. who acted on his behalf. The imperial officials kept watch on the *Jagirdars*. The *Diwan* of the *subah* was supposed to prevent the oppression on the peasants by the *Jagirdars*.

Singapore mutinied. Another unsuccessful war-time plot was the 'Silk Letters Conspiracy.' This was a plan for a general Muslim uprising against the British.

The Muslim League, which had been loyal to the British Government, was disenchanted on account of the declaration of war against Turkey, the premier Islamic State which had allied with Germany and Italy in the First World War. The repeated defeats of Turkey and talk of dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War, further alienated the League from the Government and brought it closer to the Congress. The leaders of the *Ehrar League*, such as Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mohammad Ali, Hasan Imam and others, very strongly proposed that Muslims should not remain subservient to the British Government, but should participate in the national movement. The events of the First World War and the prevalent sentiments were responsible for the Lucknow Pact and the Khilafat Movement.

The Lucknow Pact (1916)

The Lucknow session of the INC in 1916 was a memorable event on account of two important developments. The first was the readmission of the Extremists, who had been expelled from the INC nine years earlier. Thus the Lucknow session was the first meeting of the united Congress. The second development was the bond of alliance between the Congress and the Muslim League. The League, which was disenchanted with the British Government on account of the reasons listed earlier, at its annual session in Bombay in 1915 — which a number of Congress leaders also attended — appointed a Committee to draw up a scheme of political reforms in consultation with other communities. It was decided to hold the annual sessions of the League and Congress at the same place and during the same week.

During the simultaneous annual sessions of the League and the Congress held at Lucknow in December 1916, both passed resolutions separately for a joint scheme of constitutional reforms and reached an agreement to cooperate in the political field on the basis of a common programme. This agreement is generally known as the *Lucknow Pact* or the *Congress-League Scheme*.

The Lucknow Pact exhorted the British Government to confer self-government on India at an early date, to expand the Provincial Legislative Councils and the Governor-General's Legislative Council and to provide for greater representation of the elected members on the expanded Councils. It further demanded that the powers of making appointments to the Indian Civil Service should vest in the Government of India and that the commissioned and non-commissioned ranks in the military and naval services should be thrown open to Indians. The Lucknow Pact also marked the formal acceptance of Separate Electorate for Muslims by the Congress, which was a positive gain for the Muslims, because the Congress had so far opposed it.

It was but a temporary truce. The Muslim League still remained a separate entity, with a communal outlook, advocating for the Muslims political interests separate from those of the Hindus. The Congress and the League both worked together under the spirit of the Pact till the suspension of the Non-Cooperation movement after the Chauri Chaura incident in 1922. They parted ways and the League again became the sworn enemy of the Congress as well as the national movement. Dr. R.C. Mazumdar, who is very critical of the Lucknow Pact, is of the view : "For no one can doubt in the light of subsequent events, that the Congress action in 1916 well and truly laid the foundation on which Pakistan was built thirty years later." The Lucknow Pact opened the way to future resurgence of communalism in Indian politics.

The Home Rule Movement

The outbreak of the First World War and release of Tilak in 1914 after the completion of his prison term, accelerated the launching of the Home Rule Movement by Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant, both of whom decided to work in close cooperation to launch the movement.

The idea of starting a Home Rule League originated with Mrs. Besant. Realising that no real progress could be achieved without securing self-government, she plunged herself into political

Age of Mahmud Gawan (1463-1482)

The second half of the fifteenth century saw the gradual rise of the Bahmani kingdom as the leading power in the south. This had been presaged by the conquest of Warangal by Ahmad Shah which showed that the balance of power was shifting in favour of the Bahmanids following the death of Deva Raya II. The Bahmanids used the opportunity to consolidate their position in the south, and to expand northwards towards Berar and Khandesh and westwards towards the Konkan. This brought them into conflict with the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat. During this period, struggle between the *Afaqis* (Newcomers), and the Deccanis (Old comers) created confusion in the internal affairs of the Bahmani kingdom till Mahmud Gawan rose to power and prominence. Not much is known about the early life of Mahmud Gawan. An Iranian by birth he comes first to our notice in 1456 when he was put at the head of a force to deal with a pretender who had risen against the reigning sultan. Mahmud Gawan was introduced to the ruler, and steadily gained in influence so that in 1461 when the sultan died, and a minor succeeded him, Mahmud Gawan was appointed a member of the council of regency, set up to look after the affairs of the state. Following a series of invasions by the ruler of Malwa, the council of regency was dissolved, and in 1463 a new prince was seated on the throne who appointed Mahmud Gawan as *wakil-i-sultanat* (prime minister), with the title of *Khwaja-i-Jahan* and *Malik-ut-Tajjar*. Although Mahmud Gawan had never been a trader (*tajjar*), this title had been awarded by some preceding rulers upon leading nobles.

Mahmud Gawan dominated the affairs of the state for twenty years. Though possessed of wide powers, Gawan never abused his authority. By virtue of his conspicuous ability, he served the Bahmani state with unstinted loyalty. By skillful diplomacy and successful military operations, he brought the dominions of the Bahmani kingdom to an extent never achieved before. During the period, Mahmud Gawan tried to extend the frontiers of the kingdom towards the east and the west. In the east, he came into conflict with the Gajapati rulers of Orissa, and joined hands with Vijayanagar to oust him from the Caromondal coast. He also made further conquest at the cost of Orissa.

Mahmud Gawan's major military contribution, however, was the over-running of the western coastal areas, including Dabhol and Goa. The loss of these ports was a heavy blow to Vijayanagar. Control of Goa and Dabhol led to further expansion of the overseas trade with Iran, Iraq, etc. Internal trade and manufactures also grew. Mahmud Gawan also tried to settle the northern frontiers of the kingdom. Since the time of Ahmad Shah I, the kingdom of Malwa ruled by the Khalji rulers had been contending for the mastery of Gondwana, Berar and the Konkan. In this struggle, the Bahmani sultans had sought and secured the help of the rulers of Gujarat. After a great deal of conflict, it had been agreed that Kherla in Gondwana would go to Malwa and Berar to the Bahmani sultan. However, the rulers of Malwa were always on the lookout for seizing Berar. Mahmud Gawan had to wage a series of bitter battles against Mahmud Khalji of Malwa over Berar. He was able to prevail due to the active help given to him by the ruler of Gujarat.

The expansion of the Bahmani kingdom towards the east and the west led to a resurgence of the conflict with Vijayanagar. But by this time Vijayanagar was no match for the Bahmani kingdom. Mahmud Gawan not only annexed the Tungabhadra doab, but made a deep raid into the Vijayanagar territories, reaching as for south as Kanchi.

Mahmud Gawan carried out a number of internal reforms. Some of these were aimed at limiting the power of the nobles. Thus, the old provinces (*Tarafs*) were further sub-divided from four into eight, and the governor of each fort was to be appointed directly by the sultan. The salaries and obligations of each noble were fixed. For maintaining a contingent of 500 horses, a noble received a salary of 1,00,000 huns per year. The salary could be paid in cash or by assigning a jagir. Those who were paid by means of jagir were allowed expenses for the collection of land revenue. In every province, a tract of land (*khalisa*) was set apart for the expenses of the Sultan. Efforts were made to measure the land and to fix the amount to be paid by each cultivator to the state.

Mahmud Gawan ordered the systematic measurement of land fixing the boundaries of the villages and towns. Thus, in this regard, he was the forerunner of Raja Todarmal. All these greatly helped the exchequer. First, the income of the empire was ensured and became known in advance. Secondly, it also curbed the corruption of the nobles to the minimum, thereby increasing the state's income.

Mahmud Gawan was a great patron of the arts. He built a magnificent *madrasa* or college in the capital, Bidar. This fine building, which was decorated with coloured tiles, was three storeys high; and had accommodation for one thousand teachers and students who were given clothes and food free. Some of the most famous scholars of the time belonging to Iran and Iraq came to the *madrasa* at the instance of Mahmud Gawan.

One of the most difficult problems which faced the Bahmani kingdom was strife among the nobles. The nobles were divided into old-comers and new-comers or Deccanis and *Afaqis.* As a newcomer, Mahmud Gawan was hard put to win the confidence of the Deccanis. Though he adopted a broad policy of conciliation, the party strife could not be stopped. His opponents managed to poison the ears of the young Sultan who had him executed in 1482. With the unjust execution of the old minister, writes Medows Taylor, 'departed all the cohesion and power of the Bahmani kingdom'. The party strife now became even more intense. The various governors became independent. Soon, the Bahmani kingdom was divided into five principalities; Golconda, Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Berar and Bidar.

MARITIME TRADE IN THE 17TH CENTURY: ROLE OF THE RULING CLASS IN IT

Trade and commerce expanded in India during the 17th century due to a number of factors the most important being the political integration of the country and the establishment of law and order over extensive areas. The improved roads made communication easy, and uniform tax system and standardization of currency helped India's trade. Moreover, the Mughal policy of commercialization of the economy led to the growth of urbanization. There were a number of ports and towns from which brisk trade between India and the other world was carried on. The Mughal ability to collect a high share of the rural produce, which was commuted into money, and its concentration in the hands of the nobility, stimulated the demand for all kinds of luxury goods, including building materials for residential houses, sarais, *baolis* etc. The growth of arms manufactures, guns of all types — cannons, armour, etc. and of shipping — are two primary examples of the result of direct government intervention in the matter. Both Akbar and Aurangzeb were deeply interested in the manufacture of guns of all types, including mobile guns, and took steps to improve their production. Indian steel swords were also in demand outside India. In 1651, Shahjahan initiated a programme of building sea-going vessels, and four to six ships were built for voyages to West Asia. In the following year, six ships were put into commission. This was part of a ship-building programme of many wealthy merchants and nobles. In consequence, Indian shipyards were soon in a position to produce ships based on European models, and freight rates to West Asia were reduced. The development of internal trading activity led to the growth of foreign trade.

India not only supplied foodstuffs, such as sugar, rice, etc., to many countries of Southeast and West Asia, Indian textiles played a very important role in the trade of the region. As an English agent observed, "From Aden to Achin (in Malaya) from head to foot, everyone was clothed in Indian textiles." It was this, which made India the virtual manufactory of the Asian world. The only articles, which India needed to import, were certain metals, such as tin and copper, production of which was insufficient, certain spices for food and medicinal purposes, warhorses and luxury items such as ivory. The favourable balance of trade was met by import of gold and silver. As a result of the expansion of India's foreign trade, the import of silver and gold into India increased during the 17th century; so much so that Bernier says that "gold and silver, after circulating over every part of the world, is finally buried in India which is the sink of gold and silver."

The Portuguese came to India towards the end of the 15th century. During the 17th century, many other European traders, specially the Dutch, the English and later the French came to India for purposes of trade. This enterprise was a direct result of the growth of the European economy consequent upon a rapid expansion in the fields of agriculture and manufactures.

The Portuguese power had begun to decline during the second half of the 16th century. Despite vehement Portuguese Oppositions, the Dutch established themselves at Masulipatam, obtaining a *farman* from the ruler of Golconda in 1606. They also established themselves in the Spice Islands (Java and Sumatra) so that by 1610 they predominated in the spice trade. The Dutch had originally come to the coast for the sake of the spice trade. However, they quickly realized that spices could be obtained most easily against Indian textiles. The cloth produced on the Coromandal coast was the most acceptable in South-East Asia, and also cheapest to carry. Hence, the Dutch spread south from Masulipatam to the Coromandal coast, obtaining Pulicat from the local ruler and making it a base of their operations.

Like the Dutch, the English also had come to the east for the spice trade, but the hostility of the Dutch who had more resources and had already established themselves in the Spice Islands forced the English to concentrate on India. After defeating a Portuguese fleet outside Surat they were able to set up a factory there in 1612. This was confirmed in 1618 by a *farman* from Jahangir, obtained with the help of Sir Tomas Roe. The Dutch followed, and soon established a factory at Surat.

The English quickly realized the importance of Gujarat as a centre for India's export trade in textiles. They tried to break into India's trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. In 1622, with the help of the Persian forces, they captured Ormuz, the Portuguese base at the head of the Persian Gulf. Thus, by the first quarter of the 17th century, both the Dutch and the English were well set in the Indian trade.

Recent research has shown that despite their domination of the seas, the Europeans were never able to oust the Indian traders altogether from the Asian trade. In fact, the share of the European trading companies from any part of India - Gujarat, Coromandel or Bengal, remained a fraction of India's foreign trade.

Apart from sharing in the Asian trade, the English and Dutch searched for articles which could be exported from India to Europe. At first, "the prime trade" was indigo which was used to colour the woollens. The indigo found most suitable was that produced at Sarkhej in Gujarat and Bayana near Agra. Soon the English developed the export of Indian textiles, called "calicoes", to Europe. At first, the produce of Gujarat was sufficient for the purpose. As the demand grew, the English sought the cloth produced in Agra and its neighbourhood. Even this was not enough. Hence, the Coromandel was developed as an alternate source of supply. By 1640, export of cloth from the Coromandel equalled that from Gujarat, and by 1660 it was three times that from Gujarat. Masulipatam and Fort St. George which later developed into Madras were the chief centres of this trade. The Dutch joined the English in their new venture, exporting both calico and indigo from the Coromandel.

However, by 1650, the English had set themselves up at Hooghly and at Balasore in Orissa, exporting from there raw silk and sugar in addition to textiles. Another item which was developed was the export of *saltpetre* which supplemented the European sources for gunpowder and which was also used as a ballast for ships going to Europe. The best quality *saltpetre* was found in Bihar. Exports from the eastern areas grew rapidly, and were equal in value to the exports from the Coromandel by the end of the century.

Thus, the English and the Dutch companies opened up new markets and articles of export for India. Indian textiles became a rage in England by the last quarter of the 17th century. As a result of agitations in England in 1701, "all calicoes painted, dyed, printed or stained" from Persia, China or the East Indies (i.e., India) were banned. But these and other laws imposing severe penalties had little effect. In place of printed cloth, the export of white Indian calicoes which had risen to 9.5 lakh pieces in 1701, jumped to 20 lakhs in 1719.

The growth of India's foreign trade, the influx gold and silver into the country, and the linking India more closely with the rapidly expanding European markets had a number of important consequences. While the Indian economy grew, influx of silver and gold into the country was faster. As a result, during the first half of the 17th century, prices almost doubled which had its impact on different sections of society. It probably weakened the old, traditional ties in the villages, and made the nobility more money-minded, greedy and demanding. Again,

the Europeans, to monopolize the spice trade and the Indian trade in textiles, competed for the conquest of India. But they could not succeed as long as India remained strong and united, first under the Mughal rule and then under able provincial governors. They could only succeed when internal and external factors weakened even these states.

ROLE OF THE RULING CLASS

Although Moreland was not unaware of the fact, but he bypassed the positive trading ventures of the ruling classes and focused attention only on their failure to stem piracy and protect India's trade. He opines that the Indian states were continental or land powers, benefiting from foreign commerce and its revenue, but doing nothing to protect it. But this is half true.

All Mughal emperors from Akbar were interested in sea trade. Monsarrate has referred to Akbar's trading activities and his eagerness for commercial profits. But he never challenged the Portuguese control of the sea and his ships from Gujarat to the Red Sea sailed with Portuguese passes. Akbar's wife had a ship which was plundered by the Portuguese. Nurjahan and Khurram were not only interested in trade but actively participated in it. Prince Shuja, son of Shahjahan, had wide ranging trade interests.

About the role of the nobles in the economic life of the Mughal Empire the current view is that, scared by the spectre of escheat of their property at their death, they wasted their wealth in luxury and extravagance and did not contribute to the economic development of the country by investing their wealth. A close study of the European factory records and foreign travellers' accounts would make it clear that many nobles did engage in trading activities. Mir Jumla, a high noble, tried to establish his monopoly in Bengal. The British first tried to resist it but finally surrendered agreeing to procure all *saltpeter* supply through him. Shaista Khan, another prominent noble, also forced the English to sell all their goods and silver to him in return of which they were assured free supply of saltpeter. Shaista Khan's daily income was estimated around Rs. Two Lakh. His son Buzrug Umed Khan, also had extensive overseas trade.

Thus, while among European powers, naval force was an inseparable adjunct and ally of commerce, in India, the commerce of her nationals was not backed by power and so became a helpless and easy victim of piracy. The erstwhile peaceful organization of trade of pre-European age was 'rent asunder in a welter of chaos'.

2. Trace the changes that took place in the organization of feudal production from 8th to 12th century CE in Europe.

Or

Discuss the organization of production of the subsistence economy of the Europe between 7th to 12th centuries CE.

The English term 'feudalism' has been derived from *fief*, and other contemporary synonyms of the term *fief* are *feudum*, benefice and *lehn* that refer to a grant made on condition of (military) services to the lord whenever required. Different scholars have construed differently the nature of feudalism. Where some scholars associate it with purely military services, others with economic or social obligations required to be fulfilled by the vassals. Scholars who support military character of feudalism lay great emphasis upon the military obligations of the vassals in return of the *fief* (landed property) yielded to them by their lord. In this way feudal social structure was essentially founded on military services. But the problem with this argument is that it narrows down the scope of historical studies to only one specific view of feudalism i.e., military services; thereby leaves out a vast area of socio-economic relations which were gradually interwoven in the course of time to the system created under military obligations (Bloch, 2011 [2006]: XVII–XVIII). Marx describes feudalism in terms of social hierarchy and exploitation. The peasantry in feudal mode of production was exploited by the landowning aristocracy through the appropriation of surplus beyond subsistence of peasantry in the form of rents and other dues. Rodeny Hilton emphasises the rural and

agrarian character of the feudal mode of production in which peasant family and village community played a crucial role. Hilton (1995 [1985]: 121) argues that '...it was the product of peasant economy, or rather that part of the product which the peasant household was not able to retain within the household (whether in labour, kind or cash), which provided the necessary support for the whole social and political structure of nobles, clergy, town and state.' Perry Anderson (1974: 147) on the other hand characterises the feudal mode of production as prevailed by land and natural economy in which the specific social, political, and legal relations bind the producer i.e., peasant to the means of production i.e., soil. Hence, neither labour nor produce of peasantry were considered commodities bought and sold in open markets.

Feudal Mode of Production

The frequent invasions and warfare during the early medieval period had devastating impact upon particularly the western European society and economy. The overseas trade had virtually disappeared and the internal trade and commerce attained to its minimal level. In such a situation the main sources of income was land, which gradually emerged as the central point in the formation of feudal mode of production. At the same time the frequent warfare created a demand of large armed forces but the rulers of the period lacked the resources to maintain extensive armies. Therefore, the socio-economic necessities of the early medieval period made the background for the growth of feudal relations based on the control of landed property and social hierarchy.

Vassal

The vassal (who was also a lord in his estate) was a *man* of someone with superior status. In this way every vassal was a *man* of someone else's *man* or vassal. The relation between the lord and the vassal depended on a mutual reciprocity, in which vassal swore commitment to his lord. The lord in return promised to protect the vassal and take care of him by providing land for subsistence as well as maintenance for arm entourages. The protection extended by the lord to a weaker neighbour or subordinate vassal was called *maimbour* in medieval French (Bloch, 2011 [2006]: 208, 214). In the ancient Germanic tribes the chief was accompanied by close companions who were highly trained loyal warriors who shared a very close bond with him. These private fighting men were different from rest of the army as being attached to the chief specifically. These close companions were called '*gisind*' in old German language that literally entails 'companion for an expedition'. The Latin term '*comitatus*' referred to a warrior-band as a whole. Hence, it appears that from these private warrior-bands known as '*gisind*' and '*comitatus*' the institution of vassalage step by step emerged (ibid, 2011 [2006]: 219–220; Farooqui, 2002 [2001]: 429–430).

Homage

The grant of landed property to vassal was ritualized and accompanied by the extensive ceremonies came to be known as 'homage' (in Germany *mannschaft*). The chief kneels or stands before the king expressing his submission to the king's authority and acceptance to become vassal of the king. It was followed by a kiss by the king on the mouth of chief as a symbolic expression of their friendship and accord. This ceremony probably was derived from remote Germanic practices symbolizing the tribal egalitarianism. From the Carolingian period another rite was combined with the homage ceremony, and now vassal was required to place his hand on the Gospels or relics to affirm loyalty to his master. The act of swearing came to be known as fealty, *foi* in French and *treue* in Germany. In the beginning the vassalage was not hereditary and with the death of the vassal, it was terminated. It was only in subsequent centuries that it became hereditary and the son of the deceased was permitted to inherit it. But the transfer of vassalage was not automatic; the son of the deceased vassal was required to perform homage to the lord of his father. In a similar way the vassals who had performed the homage to their lord, were required to perform it again to the heir of the deceased lord. It is also noticeable that not everyone was accepted as a vassal and it was only granted to the upper classes of the society particularly to those who were associated with the profession of arms (Bloch, 2011[2006]: 208–210).

Feudal Hierarchy

The *fief* was granted to the big lords (counts, dukes i.e., the nobility) directly by the king, in return of which they were required to maintain army as well as look after the regional administration. The big lords in turn granted *fief* (parts of their *fief*) to lesser lords (known as knights) below them, who had their own subordinate below them; and this procedure continued to be replicated downward to the level of peasantry (Feudal Hierarchy).
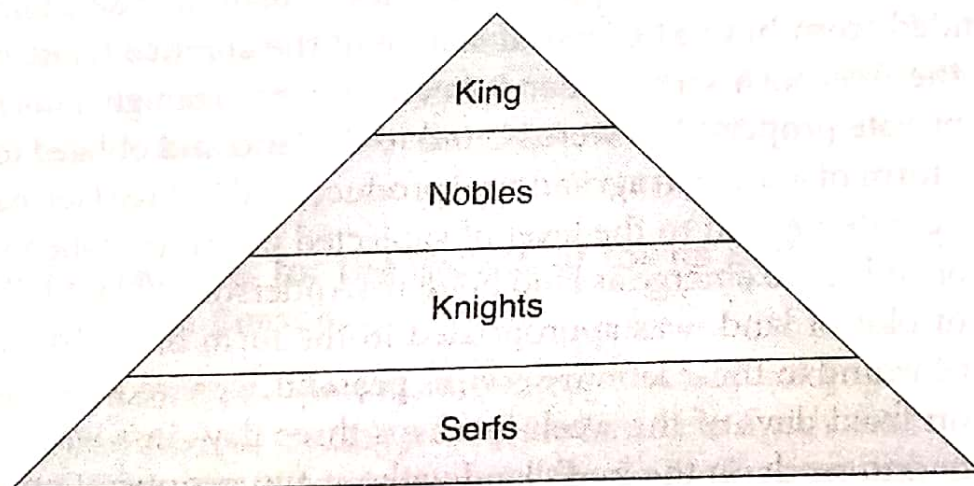
King

Nobles

Knights

Serfs

Every lord, except king, at the same time was the vassal of someone else's vassal. Hence, each lord at each level was a supreme authority in his area. The development of this hierarchical structure led to subinfeudization and parcelization of sovereignty according to Perry Anderson (1974: 148) as the political authority now lacked focus at a single centre. By the 12th century the term *fief* meant a heritable estate, which could have been sold or granted almost without restriction; hence fealty by now became an object of sale (Bloch, 2011 [2006]: 297).

Manor

The manor, according to Perry Anderson (1974: 130) was derived 'from the Gallo-Roman *fundus* or *villas*' which referred to 'huge, self-contained estates tilled by dependent peasant *coloni* (plural *colonus*), delivering produce in kind to their magnate landowners'. At a time when in comparison to available land the number of people was far less, it was not possible for lords to hire a large number of labourers to work on their entire farm. In such a situation an alternative system was germinated in which labour force was attached to the land. The system came to be known as manorial system. The manorial system clearly emerged for the first time in Carolingian period, and continued to be the prevalent form of agrarian social and economic organization until about the 13th century CE in most of north-western Europe. The manor (also called *seigneurie*) was a lord's estate inhabited by lord's subjects, and was fractioned into two parts. One part was called '*demesne*' referring to the parts of manor, reserved for the lord. It was directly managed by the lord and all produce from it went to the lord. Rest of the part of manor constituted small landholdings given to peasants for their subsistence. In return of which peasant were required to pay rent in the form of service and other accustomed dues.

Serfdom

The term '*serf*' has been derived from the Latin word servus which was in use for slaves in the Roman Empire. It appears from the sources that serfdom possibly had descended from both a) Classical statute of the colonus (singular *coloni*) who were the free-born serf in later Roman Empire. Though sometime they possessed private property but were bound to the land and obliged to pay rent often in the form of a share in agricultural produce; and b) Free Germanic peasants who were demeaned to the level of subjected peasantry when Germanic clan warriors began to emerge as land holders (Anderson, 1974: 131). The rent, in return of plot of land, was appropriated in the form of mandatory labour service. According to these labour services peasants were required to work on demesne on fixed days of the week (perhaps three days in a week). It meant that they had to work on the lord's land without any remuneration. In France this unpaid labour came to be known as *corvee*. The *corvee* comprised not only

...agricultural work but also required the peasant to construct roads, hew or cut the ...wood, etc., whenever needed by the lord. Rest of the days the peasants worked on their own land to produce for their family consumption. These dependent peasants were considered tenants of the lord, and were called 'serfs' (sometime also called villeins) who were tied to the land. Slavery was not completely deserted and slave labour was in use on the demesnes.

Other Taxes (Banalities, Taille, and Tithe)

The lords in almost all cases kept the best fertile land under their direct control while the peasant were given less fertile plots for sustenance in return of compulsory labour and other dues. The grazing grounds were called 'commons' possibly because communally possessed herds grazed there in concert (Burns, [2001]: 411–412; Farooqui, 2002 [2001]: 441–445). It was also made compulsory for all the peasant inhabitants to use wine press to make wine, water-mill to grind corn, oven to bake bread, etc., all owned by the lord. In return of which peasants were made to pay certain dues to the lord, called *banalities* or *monopolies*. Besides this another tyrannical tax was *taille* (tallage), introduced towards the end of 11th century CE, paid by the peasants in return of a protection provided to them by the lord (Anderson, 1974: 184–185). Another tax paid by the peasantry was *tithe* to the Church. It began as a tax gathered from all the Christians out of a moral or religious responsibility in the service of god. But it was rigorously imposed by the first Carolingian in France and by the Anglo-Saxon kings in Britain (Bloch, 2011 [2006]: 356).

In this way during the period from 7th to 12th century CE the Western Europe witnessed the emergence of feudal mode of production which in fact was the result of the long term political developments of preceding centuries. These political developments created the situation in which socio-economic systems were metamorphosed as a result of a synthesis of Roman and Germanic elements. The result was the emergence of feudal mode of production intimately linked with the new types of social and economic relations between the monarchy and the subordinate chiefs on the one hand, and between chiefs/lords and subjected peasantry. The feudal mode of production was profoundly agrarian as well as based on subsistence economy as the agricultural production meant mainly for household consumption not for markets.

3. Discuss the reasons for the growth of towns and trade in the 12th and 13th century in Europe.

During the early medieval period, the Europe lacked trading relations with the east as well as internal trading networks. The Arabs with the emergence of Islam emerged as the most dominating political as well as trading community in western Asia. The constant warfare and Germanic as well as Arab invasions

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produced hostile conditions for any kind of large scale economic and trading activity leading to increasing dependence upon land as a source of livelihood and income. It was the stage in which feudal mode of production developed. There gradually developed a whole system of socio-political relations intimately linked with the feudal mode of production and control over landed property. Due to the low population land was in abundant for cultivation, which raised the labour earningses. At the same time in the absence of money economy the lords were not in a position to pay higher wages to the labourers. As a result they began to grant pieces of land to them, and in return the peasants were needed to pay their rent in the form of labour services. Other customary dues were paid in kind. The subsistence economy persisted as most of the produce was consumed within peasant household and there hardly left anything to sell in the market. Except salt and minerals like iron which were not locally available, the villages were able to produce most of the commodities of daily necessities locally which made them self-sufficient. But such situation did not last long and in fact furnished the background within which emerged towns and trade in 12th and 13th century CE in Europe. Following are the reasons creditworthy for the Growth of Towns and Trade.

Population Growth

The peaceful circumstances of the 10th century onwards led to a considerable population growth which solved the labour problem. The total population of Western Europe more than doubled according to some estimates between 950 and 1348 CE and it rose from 20,000,000 to 54,000,000 (Anderson, 1974: 190). Not only this, life expectancy was also increased from about as low as an average of thirty years for the poor of Carolingian times to somewhat between forty and fifty years by about 13th century CE (Burns, 1991: 410). Now there was adequate labour supply for the expansion of agriculture. The clearing and reclaiming the waste or forest land for cultivation not only expanded the cultivable land but also increased the number of lord's tenants subjected to lord's authorities. The increased number of tenants and agricultural production corresponded to the increased income of the lord through various dues and services. In this way, increased population made available cheap labour to till the land hence produced enough surplus to sustain the people engaged in non-agricultural sector. Moreover, now labour also became available for non-agricultural actions like artisanal and craft works as many people failed to secure a piece of land to cultivate.

Technological Changes

The 7th and 8th centuries CE marked substantial technological changes in the field of agriculture which in subsequent centuries further developed.

As already mentioned above, there was a scarcity of labour supply which gave impetus to technological development and their widespread use to increase productivity.

1. **Use of Heavy Plough:** In northern and north-western Europe the soil was heavy and moist. It could not be ploughed with older techniques of Greco–Romans which were suitable only for light soil and dry climate of Mediterranean world. The excess water and harsh winter with mild summers of north required new techniques of cultivation. Hence, there was formulated a heavy wheeled plough (named *charrue*) which made possible to expand agriculture in north and north-western Europe. To plough stiff and heavy soil wheels were added to the plough which made pulling a heavy plough easier. The new plough (*charrue*) was firmly demonstrated by 10th century CE in northern France. In some of the drier areas of Europe a wheel-less plough (*araire*) was in use.

2. **Use of Horse as a Draught Animal:** Another important development was the invention of a new type of harness suitable to the anatomical system of horse during the time of Carolingian Empire. The yoke was now replaced with a rigid collar placed around the neck of the horse just above its shoulders. This collar now shifted the weight from the neck of the horse to the shoulders, due to which horse now was capable to draw heavier objects faster and speedily. The iron horseshoes also came into use to protect hooves. Perhaps around 1050 CE, tandem harnessing was introduced to allow horses to pull behind each other. Now horse also began to be used for drawing the heavy plough and gradually substituted the oxen as a draught animal.

3. **Use of Mills:** By around 1050–1070 CE the use of mills both water mills and wind mills increased in Northern Europe to drive saws, process cloth, press oil, brew beer, provide power for iron forges, and crush pulp for manufacturing paper. It was an important labour saving innovation which not only reduced the number of people involved in grinding corns, or brewing beer for example, but also cut down the time consumed in these processes.

Expansion of Agriculture

As the population sprang up more and more land was also brought under cultivation between 1000 to 1300 CE with the initiatives of both the peasants as well as lords. More land under cultivation meant more production. The average yields from grains of seed sown increased from at best twofold in Carolingian period to three or four fold by about 1300 CE. The agricultural management also ameliorated and many new crops also began to be cultivated. Three crop-field system of crop rotation was adopted. In this sys-

tem, in a given year one-third of the land was left fallow (uncultivated), while one-third was cultivated (cereals like wheat or rye were sown) in the fall and harvested in early summer. Rest one-third land was planted with new crops like oats, barley or legumes in the late spring and harvested in August or September. In this way the fields were circumvolved over a three-year cycle. The new system helped to maintain the fertility of the soil over the years, and plantation of new crops improved human diet. Moreover, oats was suitable for the consumption of both humans and horses, thereby; it provided healthy fodder for horses that progressively began to be used as a draught animal. Recent studies have also highlighted the favourable climatic conditions during the period from about 700 to 1200 CE. This period witnessed a somewhat warmer climate due to a rise of 1°C in temperature. The warmer climate was accommodative in the expansion of agriculture particularly in northern Europe were land were too wet for good farming (Burns, 1991: 405). The growth in agriculture also stimulated the growth of certain industries like cloth making, wine making and so forth.

Towns and Trade in High Middle Ages

The increase in agricultural production increased the financial gain of the lords who began to spend extravagantly on their comforts and luxuries. Increased population made available cheap labour force at the disposal of the lords. They now found collection of rent more profitable in the form of money rather than in the form of services as there were now more hands to work on the *demesne* i.e., lord's land. The *demesne* i.e., lord's land now could be cultivated by the wage labourers or given to the peasants for cultivation. Now the peasants were required to pay rent in money or kind (i.e., portion of the produce) instead of labour services (i.e., working on lord's demesne without wages) in order to increase the income of the lords. More and more land was reclaimed and given to the peasants in return of money-rent (Farooqui, 2002 [2001]: 460–462). As a result feudal lords were able to amass huge wealth which permitted them to live better and luxuriously. Within this background of agricultural expansion and population growth developed the conditions friendly for the growth of towns and trade in post 10th century CE. It is detectable that these urban centres were not separated from their rural hinterland rather they reckoned on the countryside for raw material and labour for manufacture, besides food. By the 12th century CE several new towns like Freiburg, Lubeck, Munich, and Berlin emerged in Germany, while earlier towns like Paris, London and Cologne roughly doubled in size. At the same time Italy particularly experienced the concentration of largest cities like Venice, Genoa, Milan, Bologna, Palermo, Florence, and Naples. Towns not only provided markets for the agricultural and artisanal products but also went forth as safe enclaves for runaway serfs or peasants seeking better life. In fact escaped serfs were

guaranteed freedom as well as work in several manufacturing units (like cloth making) which were also in need of cheap labour. The emergence of towns in different parts of the Europe was closely linked with the expansion of trading networks both overland as well as overseas. The trade in Mediterranean Sea which had come under the control of Arabs in early Middle Ages (i.e., prior to 1000 CE) was again brought into the hands of European merchants of Italian city-states of Genoa, Pisa and Venice between 1050 and 1300 CE. It was, in fact, the sea-power of Genoa and Venice that ascertained a constant trade between Western Europe and Asia. Along with trade money economy was also revived and by 13th century CE gold coins began to be minted by Italian city-states (e.g., Florence, Venice, and others).

The significant feature of these towns was the emergence of guilds and banking system. The greater profit earned by the medieval merchants was from trade and usury. Merchants earned greater profits by lending money on high interest rates to several princes and feudal lords who increasingly sought their help to maintain their lush life style and to meet the expenses on luxuries. For protection, control over markets and production, and mutual interests merchants as well as artisans gradually came together to form organizations which came to be known as guilds. The guild was an economic as well as social organization in the medieval towns which exerted greater influence upon the urban society and polity. On the one hand where they regulated the trade and manufacturing of goods on the other they also performed charitable activities. The cities had become the centre of industries and manufacturing. Such guilds of merchants as well as artisans had generally emerged by the 12th century CE, and once established began to regulate commodity pricing, the quality and quantity of goods, means of production, and the labour wages. The necessities to maintain records and accounts of merchants led to the foundation of various primary schools and universities which brought education out of the control of clergy (Burns, 1991: 417–423; Backman, 2003: 329–333).

The Italian City-state

Initially the towns were commanded by *seigniorial* agents in England, and by resident petty nobles in Italy. These towns subsequently came under the dominance of successful feudal intermediaries, or merchants or manufac-turers forming the urban *patriciates* i.e., urban nobility (Anderson, 1974: 191). The Italian city-states handled to establish their political authority in which the role of merchants and artisans had been crucially signifi-cant. The first precondition for the political ascendancy of Italian towns was their naval supremacy in the Western Mediterranean sea which they achieved as early as 11th century CE. The north Italian cities gradually came under the control of merchant communes which systematically conquer the surrounding countryside also. In this way they created territorial

contado (i.e., countryside surrounding a city) to raise taxes, troops and grain to increase their power against their rivals. As a consequence serfdom was ended and contractual share-cropping was introduced to encourage semi-commercialized farming in much of the northern and central Italy by 1300 CE (ibid, 1974: 166). The city government in Italy also tried out with new systems of taxation, record keeping, and public participation in decision making. Though the communes based on Italian model never became universalized the towns managed to gain a basic corporate municipal existence in most of the parts of Europe. In this way, it becomes evident from above discussion, that an absence of frequent warfare, peaceful conditions, population growth, prosperous climatic conditions, expansion of agriculture and several technical developments produced the conditions for the emergence of trade and towns in 12th and 13th centuries in the several parts of the Europe.

FEATURES OF MERCANTILISM AND ITS IMPACT ON EUROPEAN ECONOMY

What were the chief features of mercantilism? Evaluate its impact on the European economy during the 17th and 18th centuries.

From the end of the 15th century to the beginning of the 18th century, the discovery of the New World and the opening of the Atlantic to exploration and colonization changed the economy of Europe. Mercantilism – medieval manorial self-sufficiency on a national side – became the prevailing economic system of growing nation states. It is an economic nationalism for building a wealthy and powerful state.

Adam Smith coined the term "mercantile system" to describe the system of political economy that sought to enrich the country by restraining imports and encouraging exports. This system dominated Western European economic thought and policies from the 16th to the late 18th centuries. The goal of these policies was to achieve a "favourable" balance of trade that would bring gold and silver into the country and to maintain domestic employment. For Karl Marx, it was the ideology of monopoly trading companies. Maurice Dobb describes it as a system of state-regulated exploitation through trade and considered it essentially an economic policy of an age of primitive accumulation.

The mercantilists adopted policies of economic nationalism in many European states. These policies had their roots in the

scattered acts and beliefs of feudal and municipal authorities in the medieval period. With the expansion of trade and the declining revenues of the feudal states, with the emergence of centralized monarchies and larger and more luxurious courts, the emerging states realized the value of trade that brought wealth and greater revenue for the state. This led to active government intervention in economic and political matters and became the central feature of all mercantilist ideas. The mercantilist policies and practices could only be adopted in states that had strong governments and a reasonably well-developed trade. It was aimed at strengthening the centralized state structure by weakening and regulating the semi-independent local authorities.

The mercantilist ideas emphasized government stimulation, supervision and protection of the state's economy. The mercantilist ideas held that a state's power depended on the actual and calculable wealth, which could be described only in terms of gold and silver bullion. The mercantilists aimed at protecting the merchants and manufactures against foreign competition.

Every mercantilist state had its own brand of mercantilism – the Portuguese mercantilism was based on spice trade, Spanish mercantilism was directly related to the bullion trade of America, the Dutch concentrated on shipping and cargo trade, the English focused on manufacturing and colonial regulation while the French paid great attention to their industries, commerce, colonies and navy.

Bullionism was one of the most important tenets of European mercantilism. The importance of gold and silver

increased with the discovery of new lands. A nation's wealth is measured by the gold and silver (bullion) it possesses. An important idea emphasized by the mercantilist states was the balance of trade. As gold and silver were the chief wealth for the mercantilists, the European states tried to retain it in their own territories by controlling the import-export exchanges. A nation must export more goods than its imports. There must be a favourable balance of trade for a nation to build up its supply of gold and silver. There was a constant pressure on the state to adopt legislation to regulate the flow of goods outside and inside the state. Emphasis on mines, manufacturing and industry was universal among the European mercantilist states.

The mercantilists also laid great stress on the role of colonies. Mercantilism, to a large extent, developed because of the colonial empires. Colonies supplied raw materials not available in Europe for manufacture and trade, and served as a market for the mother country's manufactured goods. The mercantilists had discovered the South American silver and Caribbean sugar industry as the chief source for new wealth. For a mercantilist, colonies were important for several reasons:

- They provided market for the manufacture products of the country and produced raw materials that could not be produced at home.
- Colonies also became a source of employment and an important basis for trade
- Mercantilist ideas and practices resulted in a series of colonial wars among European powers. The three naval wars between England and Holland and another three wars between France and Holland were primarily caused by mercantilist ideas.

The regulation of trade strengthened the nation's economy because, in addition to provide gold and silver, the colonies could not set up industries to manufacture goods nor buy goods from foreign countries. This strict regulation ensured that all revenue went to the government. The government must promote and protect local industries by taxing imported goods. Governments can increase revenue by imposing a single national currency and selling monopolies to large producers in certain industries as well as big overseas trading companies. Self-sufficiency must be promoted. A country had to use everything it needed within its own borders and not depend on other countries for goods.

Mercantilism prevailed in the 17th as well as into the 18th century as an economic policy because it seemed to offer a way for the monarchs of Europe to consolidate their centralized authority.

Mercantilism in the European states

Every European state had its own concept of mercantilism and followed a mercantilist policy in accordance with its own economic strengths and needs.

Italy

Effective mercantilist practice began in the Italian states, especially Venice and Genoa. The Italian mercantilists were interested in money, credits and banks. The Venetians had established powerful control over trade which came through the eastern land route. The Venetian government placed strict control over the luxury products passing through the Mediterranean Sea. The Venetians also developed a vast fleet of small ships and no European power could challenge their supremacy.

Portugal & Spain

By the early 16th century the Portuguese and Spanish were applying mercantilist policies in their foreign colonies. The Spanish colonies were rich in gold and silver. 1/5th of the precious metals mined in Spanish South America were claimed by the crown. One quarter of the Spanish crown's income was derived from American gold and silver. American wealth helped to finance Spanish wars in Europe. Spain exported manufactured goods to its colonies, and discouraged local industries that might compete with the mother country. Portugal governed its colonies in a similar manner. The Portuguese mercantilism remained exclusively commercial in which the state played a crucial role in formulating trade policy and the king became the symbol of the nation.

France

France's King Louis XIV wanted to centralize the state and reduce the power of the nobility. However, France faced serious financial difficulties during Louis' reign. To solve France's monetary problems, Louis appointed Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683) as minister of finance. To strengthen the state and get national finances in order, Colbert vigorously applied mercantilist policies. Colbert hoped to make France completely self-sufficient so that it would not require any imports. If the country did not buy anything from abroad, then it would no longer lose gold. At the same time, by exporting products abroad, France could acquire gold from other countries. As the country became wealthier, its power and prestige would increase.

Colbert used government resources to support the establishment and growth of domestic industries. The French government founded and subsidized a variety of industries across the country. Textile industries were established in various parts of the country. Factories were built so that specific goods could be manufactured locally instead of being imported. To ensure that French-made goods were high quality, Colbert set up a system of state inspections and regulations.

Other measures taken by Colbert to achieve self-sufficiency were encouraging skilled foreign craftsmen to immigrate to France, the improvement of domestic transportation networks, the abolishment of many domestic tariffs, and the implementation of high tariffs against imported

goods. Colbert built a large French merchant marine and encouraged the settlement of North America.

Colbert's mercantilist policies had mixed success. He helped to foster the growth of a wealthy merchant class in France. His policies also managed to turn France into one of Europe's leading manufacturing nations by the late 17th century. But Colbert failed to fix the underlying weakness of France's finances, which lay in its unequal taxation policies. Despite the growth of industry, most of France's income still came from agriculture, and peasants shouldered the bulk of the tax burden. High taxes and poor yields drove many French peasants to emigrate, thereby decreasing the income of the state.

England

English mercantilists shared the beliefs of their French counterparts. The English felt that it was possible to serve the interests of the state and still allow private individuals and organizations to make profits. The 17th century Navigation Acts gave British ships and crews a monopoly over trade in Britain and the colonies. Under these laws, all commerce between Britain and continental Europe had to be carried on British ships by British crews, since these laws would benefit private British merchants, workers, farmers, and colonial planters, as well as the state. The main target of the Navigation Acts was the Netherlands, one of Britain's main competitors in shipping, and colonial expansion in the 17th century.

In England, the Navigation Act of 1651 prohibited foreign vessels from engaging in coastal trade in England and required that all goods imported from the continent of Europe be carried on either an English vessel or a vessel registered in the country of origin of the goods. Finally, all trade between England and its colonies had to be carried in either English or colonial vessels. The Staple Act of 1663 extended the Navigation Act by requiring that all colonial exports to Europe be landed through an English port before being re-exported to Europe. Navigation policies by France, England, and other powers were directed primarily against the Dutch, who dominated commercial marine activity in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Mercantilist policies were very beneficial to people in both Britain and in British colonists. Commerce between different British colonies, and between the colonies and the Britain, was profitable. Foodstuffs grown in New England were exported to

the more southerly British colonies, where much of the agricultural land was used to produce cash crops like tobacco and sugar. Plantation owners enjoyed a monopoly on supplying their products to the British Isles. Mercantilist restrictions benefited England as well because American colonies provided the country with a market for its manufactured goods. The growing colonial market was useful because by the 18th century English exports to continental European markets were diminishing because of protectionist policies in Europe.

The fall of mercantilism

The success of mercantilist policies, in creating prosperous merchant classes, and thriving colonies, paradoxically helped to ensure their demise. The merchant class who had emerged because of mercantilist policies had begun to resent mercantilist restrictions by the late 18th century. Independent English merchants resented government-backed trading monopolies such as the English East India Company and began to call for free trade. One of the best-known proponents of laissez faire economics was Scottish professor Adam Smith (1723-1790), who's best known work, *The Wealth of Nations* is considered the starting point of modern economic theory.

There was also a backlash against mercantilist restrictions in the colonies. In British and Spanish American colonies resentment against mercantilist restrictions imposed by the mother country helped to spark independence movements. In British American colonies, the Boston Tea Party dramatized colonists' anger over being forced to buy goods from a government backed monopoly. In Spanish America Creole colonists resented the fact that the colonial power restricted their trade with foreign nations. In the late 18th and early 19th century, mercantilism had begun to fall into disfavour and was replaced by free trade policies in nations like England.

What do you mean by the term Messianic movements? How did it influence the Santhali uprising of 1855?
How did religion influence the 19th century tribal movements?

Scholars have in the past been of the opinion that belief in a Saviour or Messiah is a late phenomenon in the history of religious development. But recent studies have convincingly proved that the belief in a saviour is not at all restricted to religions of highly civilized peoples, it can also be found in primitive religions. In some tribes such belief seems to be very ancient and to form an integral part of their religion, while in others such "saviours" rise up even in our times.

The Messiah was often intensified and greatly strengthened by Christian teaching. The Christian Missions It is also due to these Christian messianic ideas preached by all Christian Missions that messianic movements arise among primitive peoples exposed to economic exploitation, social oppression and cultural interference. Thus we find messianic movements mainly among primitive groups that for some time have been exposed to Christian missionary influence. This is true also in India, though also Hinduism has its traditions of Messianism ~the so-called avatars (incarnations) and the divine figures of the various Bhakti cults. Some messianic movements among Indian primitives may owe their origin to Christian influence, but others found their inspiration in Hindu messianism.

The 19th century in Indian witnessed a long series of tribal rebellions. The tribal communities distinguished from the peasantry were also basically peasants who earned their livelihood through shifting cultivation or working as agricultural labourers. The tribal's lived a somewhat isolated life without much interference from outside. The tribal rebelled when their political and control over the local resources were threatened by the British rule and its agents. For example the Bhils of the hills of Khandesh rebelled in 1819, Kolis of Ahmadnagar in 1829, Kols in 1832 etc.

Some characteristic features of Messianic movements according to Stephen Fuchs are: 1) a society intensively dissatisfied with the social and economic conditions which this society is forced to accept; 2) the existence of emotional unrest in this society displaying certain hysterical symptoms; 3) the appearance of a charismatic leader; 4) this leader demanding implicit faith and obedience from his followers; 5) the test of this unquestioned faith and obedience consisting either in a radical change of life (cessation of cultivation of their land, change of employment, etc.), even destruction of their property (furniture, houses, livestock); 6) rejection of the established authority and call for rebellion against it; 7) threat of severe punishment for opponents and traitors of the movement; 8) "Revivalism", i.e., the attempt at reviving certain important elements of the ancient traditional culture which have disappeared under the influence of the alien civilization; 9) "Nativism", i.e., the attempt of a primitive people to restore its whole pristine culture and to reject all alien elements assimilated from foreign cultures;10) "Vitalism", i.e., the desire of the members in the movement for alien goods, especially spiritual ones, from "heaven", through superhuman powers or through magic.

The most effective tribal movement of this period was however the Santhal Hool(rebellion) of 1855-86. The Santhal lived scattered in various districts of Cuttack, Dhalbhum, Birbhum, Bankura etc. Driven from their homeland they cleared the area around the Rajmahal Hills and called it Damin-i- Koh. Oppression was fiercest in Damin-i-koh where the Santal had settled only a few decades earlier. They were gradually driven to a desperate situation by the non Santali zamindars and moneylenders. To this was added the oppression of the local police and European officers engaged in railways construction. The penetration of the *Dikus/* outsiders completely destroyed their world and forced them into action to take back their lost territory. The ssanthals wanted to restore and revive according to Kherwari sentiment, their golden pre-historic age named *Champa.*

They were the two brothers Sido and Kanhu, who were later joined by their younger brothers Chandu and Bhairal. They claimed that the Supreme God had appeared to them in various disguises, as a white man, as a bright flame, as a red-hot knife, as a pierced slab of Sal wood and had given them a sacred book in which all his precepts were noted down. But the book had fallen in pieces from heaven into several Santal villages. This, they proclaimed, was a sure sign that they should soon begin their rising. The two leaders appointed themselves Subah (leaders) of the Santal and installed their closest followers as lieutenants whom the Santal should obey promptly and blindly. About 30.000 Santal, obeyed the summons and assembled at the home village of the two leaders to march in a body to Calcutta and to place a petition of their grievances before the Governor General himself. But when

on the long way towards Calcutta their provisions gave out they were forced to plunder some markets. This of course provoked police action. Thus on July 7, 1855, the rebellion broke loose. Other Santal chiefs and headmen joined the rebel group, sent the Sal branch, their traditional sign for war, through their villages, raised their own private armies, killed a number of their worst oppressors and looted the markets. But British troops, with their superior arms and strategy, were sent against them to put down the rebellion. The Santal were killed in great numbers as they fought with reckless courage and veracity. Many Santal villages were burned down in retaliatory expeditions. Finally, the rebels fled into the jungles where many more perished from hunger and exposure. Sido died in battle; his three brothers and many other leaders of the rebellion were captured, summarily tried and hanged.

Henceforth the British government became more cautious about them and the Santhal inhabited area were constituted into a separate administrative unit called the Santhal Parganas which recognised distinctiveness of their tribal culture and identity.

The Munda are an important aboriginal race in Chotanagpur, in north-eastern Central India. They were also exploited and encroached by all the agents. The Munda rebelled against their oppressors seven times between 1789 and 1832. But the pressure of the victorious landlords under the cover and protection of British administration became more and more stifling. In 1895 Birsa, of the village Chalkad in Thama thana (police district) emerged as a charismatic leader. He had received some education, as he had attended for some time the Lutheran mission school at Chaibassa. Then he had for some time lived with a Hindu monk and later with a devotee of the Vaishnava sect. Though finally Birsa reverted to his old Munda faith, he had received much inspiration from his Christian and Hindu teachers.

Birsa began his mission by spreading the rumour that God had appointed him to save his people and to deliver them from the slavery of the Diku (foreigners). He claimed to have received his vocation when a flash of lightning struck him during a storm, but instead of killing him illumined and transfigured his face. Birsa found soon a large following and pilgrimages were started to the "Dharti Aba" (Father of the World) as he had himself called. He was credited with miraculous powers; he could multiply grain and cure diseases. Later Birsa claimed to be God himself (Bhagwan) and threatened with death all those who did not believe in him. His teachings were a strange mixture of religion and politics. He propagated the Hindu ideals of ritual purity and asceticism, while at the same time he encouraged his disciples to defy the Government and to disobey the officials. He forbade the worship of idols and spirits which play such a prominent role in Munda religion. He taught that there was only one God to whom alone worship was due. This doctrine appealed to the Munda also because they had grown tired of the heavy expenses for numerous sacrifices to the spirits, advocated in their distress by their own priests.

Birsa had no definite ritual of worship, but arranged prayer meetings after the fashion of the Lutherans. Thursday was set aside for the worship of God. Work was forbidden on that day. Birsa's followers had to wear the sacred thread of the high-caste Hindus. Birsa conceived a code of morals which followed the Ten Commandments. He preached that theft, deception, murder, drunkenness and polygamy were wrong, though he himself exempted himself from this last command, keeping two wives. He ordained hat pigs and fowls of a white colour were unclean and should be destroyed. This order was carried out promptly by all Munda in the districts affected by the movement.

Birsa prophesied that a deluge would flood the whole country leaving only one dry spot on top of the hill where he resided with his lieutenants. Fire and brimstone would descend from heaven and those who stayed with him would be saved the rest would all perish. Government money would turn into water and it was useless to keep it. Birsa announced that he would call fire from heaven to destroy the hated invaders of their country and that also all Munda who had failed to join him would perish. He promised that the bullets of the soldiers sent against his followers would turn into water and in the eventuality that he was taken captive he would render himself invisible and return to them.

As a result of such teaching the gathering of armed Munda increased to about 6.000 around Birsa who in 1895 finally decided on open rebellion. The situation became very critical. Police were sent out to arrest him. Birsa was tried by a British judge and condemned to 2 1/2 years of jail, also some of his lieutenants received jail sentences. In 1897, however, Birsa was pardoned and released on occasion of a general amnesty. For some time he kept quiet, but then he began to plot another rising which was mainly directed against the Christian Munda and their missionaries. The Government had to send a military expedition against the rebels. Birsa was captured and thrown into jail at Ranchi.

While awaiting trial he fell ill of cholera and died. But many Munda still refuse to believe that Birsa is dead and they entertain the secret hope that one day he will return to lead them the way to final deliverance from all evils.

Another important tribe in Chota Nagpur is that of the Oraon. Their social and economic situation was very similar to that of the Munda with whom the Oraon live in close geographical contact. No wonder that messianic movements occurred also among the Oraon, the more so as Christian missionaries were since early times very active among them and spread the message of a Messiah also among the Oraon. The Oraon originators and followers of the messianic movement called theirs the "Kurukh Dharam" or the real and original religion of the Kurukh or Oraon. The individual who first expressed in words these ideas was a young man, Jatra by name.

In April 1914 he proclaimed to his fellow tribesmen that in a dream the Supreme God Dharmes had told him to give up exorcism and spirit worship, to abjure all animal sacrifice, animal food and liquor, and to give up ploughing their fields because it entailed cruelty to oxen and cows. Moreover, it failed to save the tribe from famine and poverty. The Oraon should revert to their ancient traditional form of cultivation, to "shifting cultivation". Nor should they further work as coolies and labourers for men of other castes and tribes. He further proclaimed that he had been ordered by Dharmes to gather together as many disciples as he could, teach them songs and incantations which came to him through divine inspiration and thereby to cure fever, sore eyes and other diseases. He soon collected a following of one to two thousand Oraon. There were other leaders who also emerged among the Oroans.

The Tana Bhagat movement followers believe that God would send a most powerful and beneficent delegate down to earth to redeem the Oraon from their misery. Sometimes this Messiah was identified with Birsa or with the German Kaiser William II. The Gond of Orissa also had messianic character in their rebellions and the Gond leaders claimed that they saw Mother Goddess kali and some even claimed to have seen Mahatma Gandhi in their dream as a saviour of the Gonds. Thus we can conclude by saying that the 19th century tribal movements in colonial India was essentially messianic in character aimed at restoration and revivalism.

<div align="center">Middle East Crisis (Arab-Israel)</div>

Middle East: Bridge between Eurasia and Africa. Converging point of three continents.
It contains 60% of the world oil deposits.
Centre of all the Semitic religions.
Palestine was historically under Roman Empire and later under Turkish rule.
Late 19th century Zionist movement started for an independent Jewish state which led to the immigration of Jews into Palestine.
Antagonism started between the Jews and Arabs which was based on economic grounds.
The status of Jerusalem was yet to be determined.

During the WWI the British government made a declaration (Balfour) by which a Jewish home was to be created in which the consent of the Arabs was also to be taken.
 After the WWI the mandate of Palestine was given to Britain. The Jews influx increased especially with the Great depression of 1929. By 1934 the number of Jews in Palestine reached 30000. Immigration increased more with the policy of the Nazis on the Jews and the IIWW.

Attempts were made to solve the problem through many Commissions. In 1937 the Royal commission under Peel put forward a plan for the partition of Palestine which was rejected by the Arabs.
Arab nationalism, Zionism and western imperialism were the three main factors of the Middle Eastern politics.
The British tried to appease the Arabs by recognising independence of Syria and Lebanon in 1941.

In 1947 Britain took the issue to the UNO. A special committee was set up which recommended the partition of the Holy lands into Jewish and Arab with an international zone for Jerusalem. The plan was accepted by UN and a new state of Israel was born on May 14, 1948 and was recognised by USA and Israel was received in the UN.

Israel was immediately attacked by Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Lebanon. Israel defeated them and captured about three quarters of Palestine and the Egyptian port of Eliat. Jerusalem was divided b/w Israel and Jordan.
The UN intervened and truce was made but the Arabs declared that they would never agree to the presence of the Jewish in Palestine and to continue to struggle.

  The Suez Canal crisis 1956:
The working of Col. Nasser had outraged the western countries. He had organised fedayeen (fighters) against Israel. Gulf of Aqaba was blocked which lead to Israel. Nasser refused to renew the agreement of 1936 with the British to station the British army in Suez. He brought arms from Czechoslovakia and was helping the Algerians against France.
American refused to finance the construction of the Aswan Dam. Nasser retaliated with the nationalisation of the Suez Canal. Britain, France and Israel made a secret plan to attack Egypt. Sinai Peninsula passed under Israeli control. With the pressure of the world opinion war ended.
PLO formed in 1964 Six days war 1967. The Munich Olympic incident 1972.
The Yom Kippur War 1973

PLO- Yasir Arafat (Syrian wing became more extreme). In 1974 at a meeting in Rabat of all Arab states PLO assumed the full responsibility of all the Palestinians at national and international level. March 22nd 1976 PLO representatives were admitted to UN to debate.
1978 Arafat recognised as the leader of PLO.

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Miḥnah (From *Encyclopedia Britannica*)

Miḥnah, any of the Islāmic courts of inquiry established about AD 833 by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn (reigned 813–833) to impose the Muʿtazilite doctrine of a created Qurʾān (Islāmic sacred scripture) on his subjects.

The Muʿtazilites, a Muslim theological sect influenced by the rationalist methods of Hellenistic philosophy, taught that God was an absolute unity admitting of no parts. This rationale was brought to bear on the problem of God's Word, the Qurʾān: because the Word is God and not a part of Him, the Qurʾān, as a verbal expression and thus a material thing removed from God, had to be created by God in order to be accessible to man. In contrast, the traditionalist view held that the Qurʾān was uncreated and external, essentially, that it had existed along with God since the beginning of time.

Al-Maʾmūn adopted the Muʿtazilite view and demanded that all judges and legal scholars in the empire submit to questioning to determine the soundness of their positions. Most acquiesced, utilizing the principle of taqiya (concealment of one's beliefs under duress) to avoid imprisonment. When al-Maʾmūn died, the new caliph, al-Muʿtaṣim (reigned 833–842), continued the policies of his brother. The caliph al-Wāthiq (reigned 842–847) also vigorously enforced the *miḥnah*, in one case trying himself to execute a man he considered a heretic. The inquisition continued until about 848, when al-Mutawakkil (reigned 847–861) made the profession of the Muʿtazilite view of a created Qurʾān punishable by death.

Mihna (From *Oxford Dictionary of Islam*)

Mihna literally means "trial, ordeal, test"; it is the term coined by medieval Arabic chroniclers to describe events that took place between 833 and 847 CE, initiated by the seventh Abbasid caliph al-Maʾmun (r. 813–833). In this context, it is usually translated as "inquisition," though it only vaguely resembles the Spanish Inquisition, which started in 1478 and lasted until the beginning of the 19th century. The *mihna* is foundational for Islam because it constitutes the watershed in which the relationship between the state and the ulama (religious scholars) regarding authority in religious matters was defined in Islam, irrespective of how this is explained in the studies below. Additionally, the events of the *mihna* contributed to the further crystallization of Islamic religious thought. Eventually, the Sunnite schools of law (*madhahib*) came to profess the uncreatedness of the Qurʾan, with Ashʿarism providing a standard Sunnite formulation of this theological stance. Succinctly stated, this standard Sunnite stance is that the Qurʾan is God's eternal uncreated Word; proponents of the createdness of the Qurʾan, on the other hand, also believe that the Qurʾan is God's Word, but that it was created in time and formulated such that 7th-century Arabs could understand its eternal message. To understand the implications of the two stances, recall that historical events are mentioned in the Qurʾan, like the battle of Badr (624 CE). Belief in the Qurʾan as God's eternal Word suggests that the battle of Badr and its outcome were predetermined, whereas the latter position implies indeterminism—a debate known in Christianity as predestination versus free will. The chronology of events that, taken together, constitute the *mihna*, is generally clear. In 826, al-Maʾmun had a herald announce that there would

be no protection for anyone who spoke positively about the first Umayyad caliph Muʿawiya. One year later, in 827, al-Maʾmun declared ʿAli ibn Abi Talib to be the best of all Companions of the Prophet (*tafdil ʿAli*), and he announced that the Qurʾan was created (*khalq al-qurʾan*). Some six years later, and four months before his sudden death, the caliph introduced by way of a number of letters the *mihna* proper to enforce the createdness of the Qurʾan doctrine. Initially, al-Maʾmun personally interrogated seven leading jurisconsults (*fuqahaʾ*). Continuing a systematic approach, al-Maʾmun then ordered his governor in Baghdad to interrogate larger groupings of ulama. To further broaden the scope of acceptance, al-Maʾmun ordered all court officials (judges, witnesses) throughout the empire to first declare the createdness of the Qurʾan before performing their duties; those who refused disqualified themselves. However, al-Maʾmun suddenly died four months after the beginning of the *mihna*. The two succeeding caliphs, al-Muʿtasim (r. 833–842) and al-Wathiq (r. 842–847), continued the policy with varying degrees of intensity, threatening at times opponents to the doctrine with whipping or execution. All told, the *mihna* lasted about fifteen years and was ended in either 849 or 851/2 by the caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–861), who officially proclaimed the exact opposite doctrine—the uncreatedness of the Qurʾan—which, as noted before, remains up to today an integral part of Sunnite Islam.

Is there a Crisis of the 'Nation states' in the last quarter of the 20th century? Discuss the economic background of the crisis.

- Emergence of nation state: Treaty of Westphalia 1648 after the end of Thirty years war. Roman Empire could no longer command the allegiance of the states.
- French and American Revolution, Unification of Germany and Italy, World wars (aggressive nationalism), strengthen nation state further. (Rise of nationalism)
- The concept of nation state which was Euro centric travelled to other parts of the world.
- International system became state centric.

In contemporary times the role of nation state has undergone a drastic change. (demise of the nation state system).

Weakening of the nation state system:
a) Increased interdependency
b) Nationalistic Universalism: age of internationalism in which state formulates policies looking at the international objectives. (peace and security)
c) International and regional integration.
d) Impact of nuclear age.
e) Limitations of national power: Importance of International laws, world opinion.
f) Erosion of sovereignty
g) Rise of powerful non state actors. (Globalisation)
h) Religious fundamentalism

Nation state inefficient to meets the needs and challenges of the contemporary times.
Concept of sovereignty, nationalism changing with time.
 Trans-nationalism, internationalism gaining importance.

Nation state system is bound to survive.
Trans- nationalism cannot replace state centric international system.
Forces of Ethnicity (ethnic movements and demands), loyalty of citizens.
Brexit a very recent examples.

Non Alignment Movement

- Foreign policy of newly independent nations to oppose any alliance with the two super powers after the World War II.
- It was a movement based on sovereignty of nations and equality for all.
- It was not an (ism), or an alternative bloc and it recognised no leader.
- It was not neutrality or passivity or isolationism.

Factors responsible for non-alignment:
Nationalism; anti Colonialism; economic underdevelopment; rise of great leaders.

 Features of Non alignment:
Opposition to Cold War; Opposition to alliances; non involvement in power politics; peaceful coexistence and non interference; independent foreign policy; policy of action; peaceful coexistence and independent foreign policy; opposition to colonialism; Economic equality (New International Economic Order); Cultural equality.

Based on Panchasheel:
1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
2. Mutual non-aggression.
3. Mutual non-interference in internal affairs.
4. Equality and cooperation for mutual benefit
5. Peaceful coexistence.

Conferences:
Bandung (Indonesia) 1955, Belgrade (Yugoslavia) 1961, Cairo (Egypt) 1964, Lusaka (Zambia) 1970), Algiers (Algeria) 1973, Colombo 1976, Havana (Cuba) 1979, New Delhi 1983 etc...

Relevance: Is NAM relevant with the end of the cold war.

- Defect lies with linking NAM with Cold War.
- Still developed world intervenes on humanitarian grounds.
- Economic inequalities still persist.
- South- South Cooperation.
- Peace, struggle against dominations, cooperation needed.
- Problems on human rights, social justice, environmental degradation, trafficking, terrorism etc.

A rejuvenated NAM is the need of the hour.

Position of Women in the Early Historical Period

Sources

In the early historical period we have a wide range of sources which throw light on the declining position of women in society. Apart from the Buddhist texts which began to take shape from 3rd century BCE we can extract relevant information on the position of women from the Arthasastra (3rd century BCE-1st/2nd century CE), the early Dharmasutra literature(c. 3rd-2nd century BCE), The Smriti text of Manu (c. 1st-2nd century CE) and the Kamasutra (c. 3rd/4th century CE).

Genaral Picture

A woman as a social inferior is apparent right at the moment of her birth and is sought to be justified by a piece of pseudo – logic. The rule regarding 'the mother of girl children only' being punished severely, brings out only too glaringly the position of girls in society. In marriage also, she begins her conjugal life as an inferior. We notice that she is required to submerge her personality entirely in her husband's. She is treated as an inert mindless object whose object in life is to please her husband. A woman is protected by her father in childhood, by her husband in youth and by her sons in old age; she is not entitled to any freedom. The venerable Yajnavalkya says, 'when a wife refuse to satisfy her husband's sexual desire he should first speak soft words, then try to purchase her with gifts, and if she still refuses he should thrash her with his hand or with a stick and force her into subjugation.

Material Resources:

Our understanding of the gendered nature of rural economic networks is extremely tenuous. While there are occasional representation of women agricultural labours and women within rural household, these have not, as yet, been integrated into a larger picture. Textual traditions, generated more than not by the urban elite, suggest that the women who stayed at home was an index of male status. At the same time, women who worked outdoors are mentioned. These would indicate that sexual divisions of labour were by no means constant or uniform.

Within these constrains, Brahmanical normative texts offer one perspective on the theme. If we turn to texts such as the Manusmriti, we find that the legitimate means of acquiring resources open to women were amazingly few: these were effectively

confined to gifts made by kinsmen, and did not include access to resources such as land and cattle, which, apart from the wealth generated from trade and crafts, would have been extremely valuable.

Yet, this scenario is rendered more complex by at least two other kinds of evidence: one, that of votive inscriptions, which indicate that at least from the second century BCE, women were making donations to a variety of religious institutions. These grants were made to Buddhist, Jain, and, to a lesser extent, Brahmanical institutions. Many of these gifts were used to finance architectural elements such as pillars and railings used to embellish religious monuments, while some were used for the construction of caves, stupas, and monasteries. Others went into the endowment of images.

It is possible to argue that women supportive of 'heterodox' traditions were probably in a position to exercise greater control over resources than those who were located within a more overtly Brahmanical context. At virtually every site from where votive inscriptions have been recovered, male donors tend to outnumber women. While most men and women probably made small donations, the proportion of men who made substantial donation was perhaps higher than that of women. The text Therigatha presumably composed by the senior nuns of the Buddhist Samgha also articulates women's engagements with spiritual questions and a communicative space, however small, taking shape.

The Position of the Courtesans

As the above instance pertaining to a specific region indicates, translating access to material resources into social status was by no means uncomplicated. These complications and ambivalences are perhaps most clearly articulated in the case of courtesans or sex-workers. The Arthasastra relates that the household of the Ganika could be regulated by the state, and could be under close supervision. They would pay taxes to the state which in return protected them from abusers and swindlers. It is uncertain whether this degree of regulation was ever achieved in practice. Anyway, most of the women who provided sexual services were several notches lower on the social scale and could not expect state protection. An examination of texts relating to the early historic period suggests that the presence of sex- workers was intrinsic to urban culture. They figure in Sanskrit texts, of which the Mricchakatika, a Sanskrit play composed in the early historic period, is perhaps the best known. Perhaps the most illuminating and discussion on sex work occurs in the Kamasutra. This indicates that sexual service could be expressed from a range of women. These included domestic servants and slaves,

women engaged in craft production, entertainer, women who were considered guilty of sexual transgressions, those who had been subjected to sexual assault, as well as those who explicitly earned a living by their looks and accomplishment. Most of these women especially the slave girls and Kumbhadasis mentioned in the Buddhist texts had no control whatsoever over their own bodies and labour.

Emergence of Temple Women

One of the most significant developments in the beginning of the early medieval period was the growth of temples as ritual centers, most notably in the area of present-day Tamil Nadu, but in other regions as well. The roots of this development may be traced to the early centuries of the first millennium. A distinct category of women, known as the tevaratiyar or temple women, emerged during this period. Women's claims to status were somewhat circumscribed in comparison to those of man. The inscriptions of the tevaratiyar, for instance, do not contain the meykkirity (equivalent of the Sanskrit prasasti), indicating that there were domains of ritual and political power that were out of bounds for them. Also, women were excluded from prestigious ritual roles, including that of priest and drummer. Incidentally, dancing was not regarded as a particularly prestigious performance at this stage.

Women and Work

Scholars who have sieved through textual traditions such as the Jatakas for north India and Sangam literature for the southern areas, have documented the presence of women in a wide range of occupations – as agricultural labourers, pastoralists, and those engaged in a variety of crafts, including basket-making, weaving, and in some instance, pottery. What is more remarkable is that when the women donors construct their identity in votive inscriptions, they rarely mention their occupations.

Attitudes towards the reproduction and sexuality:

It was at this point in history, that a sharp distinction needed to be made between motherhood and female sexuality, with the latter being channelized only into legitimate motherhood within a tightly controlled structure of reproduction that ensured caste purity. This was the general context in which women's 'essential nature' came to be identified with their sexuality, although it was not directly or explicitly associated as such. According to one text, women have been sinful right from the beginning when the creator first made the five gross elements, the three words, and then gave shape to men and

women. Women are the edge of a razor, poison, snakes and fire, all rolled into one. At the time of creation, the original Manu allocated to women the habit of living, sitting around, an indiscriminate love of ornaments, anger, meanness, treachery and bad conduct. As early as the Satapatha Brahmana, we are told that a women, a shudra, a dog and a crow are the embodiments of untruth, sin and darkness. The view that women's innate nature is lascivious and evil was so pervasive that if features even in Buddhist literature. A Jataka story states that women are a sex composed of wickedness and guile; womankind holds for falsehood and falsehood for truth. They are unstable as the sand and as cruel as the snake.

Even Ramayana associates most women with being essentially weak and sinful. According to Kaushalya, women do not care for a good family, good deeds or wisdom, and their hearts are ever inconstant. The sage Agastya states that it has been women's nature ever since creation to cling to a man when he prospers and to desert him in difficulty; her fickle nature is modeled on the flashes of lightning. According to Tryambaka's version of Manu's Stripumdharma, women are innately promiscuous, fickle-minded, lacking in life and unfaithful to their husbands even when they closely guarded. Menstruation, according to myth, is associated with women's participation in brahmana murder. It is a mark of a women's impurity and, at the same time of her sexuality. The congenital fickleness of women's nature is especially pertinent to the problem of dealing with the innately overflowing and uncontrollable sexuality of women. The Mahabharata states that they are difficult to control: the cunning tricks of demon are known to be unique to women.

Close Links between Patriarchy and the Class-Structure

This projection of the fear of women's uncontrolled sexuality was the backdrop to the obsession with creating an effective system of control and the need to guard them constantly; when the controls are relaxed, or cannot be effectively mounted, women's inordinate sexual appetite will lead them to adulterous liaisons. A striking aspect of the obsessive need for control over women in the narrative literature of the Buddhists is that it has a close link with women of the upper strata, particularly with the wives of kings and brahmanas and occasionally of gahapatis, who were among the dominant sections of society and closely associated with land.

State and Patriarchy

The patriarchal state of early india viewed adultery as one of the major 'crimes' in society. In the Buddhist literature, only two functions are associated with kingship in early India:

punishing those who commit crimes against the family, that is adulterers, and those who commit crimes against property, that is robbers. Even before the state emerged, we have evidence of the notion that control over women's sexuality is the concern of the community of men that constitutes the clan in whom political authority is vested. An ancient record in the Vinaya Pitaka describes how a woman who had committed adultery flees from her husband who has been authorized by the clan to kill her, and seeks shelter in the Buddhist sangha to escape this punishment.

After the emergence of the state, the Brahmanical normative literature and the semi-secular Arthasastra laid down punishments for violation of the sexual code, which the king was expected to enforce. These texts reflect the more general anxiety about the husband's need for progeny to complete the religious requirements of men and the need to ensure 'legitimate' succession to pass on property, but there is also a deep concern about the maintenance of the hierarchical social order based on caste which must be reproduced without diluting the purity principle. Manu states this explicitly while discussing adultery. According to him, 'By adultery is caused the mixture of castes among men; hence follows sin, which cuts up even the roots and causes the destruction of everything.

Conclusion

It was the recognition that men were dependent upon women to perpetuate the social and moral order of their making that led them to confront the problem of women's sexuality. Reproductive power was the one power that women still held in the new structure of relations in which they were subordinated, and one way of dealing with it was to simultaneously exaggerate and treat women's 'innate' nature as terribly dangerous. Their uncontrolled sexuality was perceived as posing a threat, and the narrative and normative literature of ancient India is full of reference to the wickedness of women and their 'insatiable' lust.

Summary

In Early India the Brahmanical Patriarchy developed in collusion with other hegemonic institutions like the state, class structure, caste system and organized religion. The scanty evidences from the prehistoric period allow us to assume a period of recognition of women's worth in the society both in terms of production and reproduction. Men and women were separate but more or less equal. With the coming of the advanced class society of Harappan urbanism we see that the sexuality of women became ritualized and

the cult of the mother-goddess proliferated. During the early Vedic period women apparently enjoyed a measure of freedom in the domains of learning and rituals but the real value of women lay in their reproductive capacities, as mothers of male children. With the coming of the nascent state and private property the position of women deteriorated and they were gradually being confined within the domestic sphere. From the early Historical period a range of prescriptive texts appeared and sought to control women's sexuality as well as their access to resources. The literary texts of the early Historic and Early Medieval period are also replete with references to the innate nature of women – their greed and insatiable sexual lust and the need to subjugate women under the yoke of the king, the Brahmana and the patriarchal family. However, we have alternative narrative especially from creative literature and Buddhist texts which uphold to a certain extent the agency of women within various contexts.

Agriculture and Irrigation

Sources ranging from epigraphical to archaeological to literary indicate the expansion of agriculture for the first time in Deccan and peninsular India. In Andhra Pradesh, the place called *dhanyakataka* (in ancient literature it literally means a rice bowl) was a famous Buddhist centre. It appears from its name that it was a sedentary agricultural settlement famous for rice cultivation. The text, *Gathasaptasati* written by Satavahana King Hala, mentions about rice and mango cultivation and plantation of betel-leaf. Sources also indicate the cultivation of major cash crops like coconut in northern Konkon, pepper in Malabar, and cotton in the black soil of the Deccan. The inscriptions of Ushavadata, a Saka-Kshatrapa prince, record the donation of a large number of coconut trees, and Pliny informs us about the production of sugarcane and cotton. The high demand of Indian textile most likely stimulated the cotton cultivation in Deccan. The large-scale coconut plantation was possibly for its fruit, wine, oil, and coir. In ancient India, the planks were not nailed rather fasten to build ancient Indian ships which required large quantity of coir to fasten the wooden planks. The black pepper was highly in demand in Rome and has been referred to as *yavana-priya* (loved by foreigners). Hence, its plantation in Kerala became widespread. The *Milinda Pañho*, a Buddhist text, informs about eight levels of agricultural operation ranging from removal of the weeds from fields to harvesting and to crop winnowing. Finding of agricultural tools like sickle, iron ploughshare, axes, spade, etc., have been reported from Taxila and Sanchi. The excavation at Nevasa has brought to light grains of wheat, barley, rice and millets, sorghum, gram, pea, and Indian jejube from the Satavahana levels. The wheat, rice, lentil, and jejube are also reported from another ancient site, Ter. There are inscriptions from Junar, western Deccan, which record the donation of fields for the plantation of mango trees, *jambu* trees, Palmyra trees, *sala* trees, *karanja* trees, and banyan trees.

Crucial for the expansion of agriculture is the **irrigation** facilities like canals, tanks, and wells. The sources indicate the initiatives coming from both political authorities and individuals in this direction. It is suggested that symbols on some of the early Andhra coins represent the water wheel used for irrigation. The text, *Gathasaptasati*, also talks about a water-lifting device called *rahattaghadiya*. The guild of *odayantrikas*, i.e., makers

of water machine, is also mentioned in one of the Nasik inscription of Satavahana times. Another inscription from Amaravati refers to the superintendent of water houses (*paniyagharika*), possibly this class of officers controlled the distribution of water. An inscription from Kanheri also mentions the donation of water tank by a merchant. There are several inscriptions which mention the donation or digging up of tanks and wells, for example a Nasik inscription records digging of wells and tanks by Ushavadata. The Gauda stone inscription (181 CE) from Gujarat records that a well (*vapi*) was dug and embanked by a Saka-Kshatrapa general (*senapati*) at a village for the welfare of all. The Junagarh rock inscription of Rudradaman (150 CE) provides an important evidence of state-sponsored irrigation facility. It mentions about the **Sudarshana Lake**, which was built during the reign of King Chandragupta Maurya. It is mentioned that the conduits (water channels) were added, during the Mauryan time, to the embankment of lake possibly to provide water for irrigation and other activities. Due to some reason the embankment was breached at later period, which was repaired at the command of the Saka-Kshatrapa king Rudradaman I to protect the people. This inscription shows the presence of a state-built irrigation facility, in the form of Sudarshana Lake with water conduits, which continued to be in effective use for more than two hundred years, up to the rule of Saka-Kshatrapas. The Bandhogarh Cave inscriptions record the donation of wells and tanks by the merchants (*vanijaka*, *negama*), as well as by a minister (*amatya*).

Therefore, it appears that both State as well as individuals played an important role in the expansion of agriculture and irrigation facilities during the period between 300 BCE to CE 300 beyond Ganga Valley. In fact, as appears from epigraphical sources, agriculture spread in parts of Deccan, western and peninsular India with the efforts of both state as well as individuals. In these regions several inscriptions record the construction of wells and tanks that possibly indicate to the expanding use of wells and tanks for irrigation purpose.

Production Relations: Ownership Rights

The most important development of the period was the expansion of agriculture beyond Ganga valley along with the emergence of new state-polities like Satavahanas in the Deccan. During this period, for the first time, epigraphic records mention the donation of land to the monasteries and individual Brahmanas by the Satavahana ruling house. These

land grants, made to monasteries, temples and individuals, in subsequent period, increasingly became common in various parts of the subcontinent. The ability of the ruler to grant land has been interpreted by some scholars as implying to the complete land-ownership of the king over the entire kingdom. The argument is supported by the scholars by adding on the information gleaned from Manu, *Arthashastra*, and Megasthenes. Manu considers the king as a human god, responsible for the protection of the people and as the owner of all land. Similar is the view of Megasthenes who mentions that the entire land was the private property of the king. Similarly prescribes the *Arthashastra* that the king had a right to confiscate land from those who fail to cultivate it and allot to others.

This view has been questioned by several scholars who have provided alternative interpretation of the same sources. Manu though assigned a king the complete ownership over all land but he himself had prescribed various norms regarding the private ownership. It was prescribed that land belonged to the person who brought it under cultivation and continued to till it. For example, Manu mentions that if a person continued to cultivate and enjoy the land for at least ten years, he would become the owner of it. The similar view is proposed by other lawgivers like Gautama (10 years), Yajnavalkya (12 years), Brihaspati (6 years), Vishnu (6 years), Katayana (6 years), and Narada (6 years). Manu's list of private property comprises field besides a house, a tank and a garden. Moreover, Manu and Narada both prescribe that house as well as land could be pledged if required. Similarly, Manu refers to the merits of land grants. It clearly shows that Manu acknowledged the private ownership. As far as Megasthenes's view regarding the king's ownership right is concerned, it appears that as being a foreigner he was making sense of the Indian society and systems in terms of his own experiences back home. Therefore, his view regarding the sole ownership of king over the land seems to be a misinterpretation or wrong analysis.

The *Arthashastra* does mention that in case a person fails to cultivate the land, the land could be transferred to another person by the king. But Prof Himanshu Prabha Ray suggests that it should be studied in the proper context. She argues that this norm is prescribed in relation to the virgin land which was newly colonized or in relation to the state's land only. The purpose of state to colonize the new virgin territory, which obviously was ownerless, was specifically to extend the cultivation and generate revenue.

Besides this there were lands which were tilled by the peasants as well as owned by them. The Pali texts call the peasant proprietors cultivating the arable land as *khettapati* or *khetasamika*. Brihaspati, a lawgiver of later date, refers that the king had no right to dispossess a rightful owner. The Nasik inscription of Ushavadata records that a field was purchased by Ushavadata which was situated near a town, from a Brahmana in order to donate it to a Buddhist *Sangha*. It shows that the state could not eject a tenant and gave land to any other at its sheer will. Either it required the state land from its rightful owner or donate a forested or waste, virgin land that was ownerless, to the donee. The epigraphical sources further corroborate the private ownership over land as several of them records the donation of fields by the merchants. Inscriptions from Buddhist sites in western India, for example, Kanheri, Nasik, and Junar, record donation of fields and villages by merchant and lay devotees to the Buddhist monasteries. It appears from above that the king was the owner of all land theoretically as he protected the people in return of it received a share from the produce. The land belonged to the People who cultivated it and the king enjoyed ownership only over the state land (sita) and the uncultivated virgin territories. The ancient law texts assigned one-sixth of the produce as the share of the king, though there were other dues also collected by the king. The state normally collected land-tax (*bali*) and part of the produce (*bhaga*) from the peasantry, tolls-taxes (*sulka*) from the traders and craftsmen. The villages were also made to provide forced labour (*visti*) to the army passing by the village, or to construct the roads, etc. Sometime emergency taxes were also collected from the people.

Post-Mauryan Age: Crafts

The age of the Śakas, the Kushanas, the Satavahanas (200 BCE – 200 CE) and the first Tamil states was the most flourishing period in the history of crafts and commerce in ancient India. The *DighaNikaya*, which belongs to the pre-Mauryan times, mentions nearly two dozen occupations but the *Mahavastu*, which belongs to this period, catalogues 36 different kinds of workers living in the town of Rajgir. The *Milinda Pañho* (the questions of Milinda) mentions about 75 occupations, out of which 60 are connected with various kinds of crafts. Craftsmen are mostly associated with towns in literary texts, but some excavations show that they also inhabited in the villages. The field of mining and metallurgy made great advancements and specializations, as many as eight crafts

were associated with the working of gold, silver, lead, tin, copper, brass, iron, precious stones and jewels. The technological advancement in iron manufacturing is evident by the excavations of specialized iron artifacts from the Karimnagar and Nalgonda districts of the Telangana region. Indian iron and steel including cutlery were exported to Abyssinian ports and enjoyed great prestige in western Asia. The inscriptions of this period mention weavers, goldsmith, dyers, workers in metal and ivory, jewellers, sculptors, fishermen, smiths and perfumers, suggesting that these crafts were in flourishing condition. Mathura was famous for the manufacture of a special type of cloth called *shataka* and Vanga (eastern Bengal) was famous for varieties of cotton and silk textiles. The excavations of dyeing vat at Uraiyur (Tamil Nadu) and at Arikamedu indicates that dyeing was a thriving art in these areas during this period. Ujjain was an important bead making centre. The ivory products, glass objects and beads of precious and semi-precious stones were articles of luxury. Coin minting was an important craft and coins were made of gold, silver, copper, bronze, lead and potin. The craftsmen even made fake coins. Beautiful pieces of terracotta have been found in almost all Kushana and Satavahana sites, especially Yelleshwaram in the Nalgonda district. It is generally believed that terracotta was mainly used by the upper classes in towns. There are numerous inscriptions that refer to the donations made by prosperous artisans to the monasteries.

Merchant Guilds

The communities of merchants were organised in groups called *shreni* or guild under the head - *Shreshthi*. Mobile or caravan trading corporations of inter-regional traders formed another type of mercantile group called *sartha* with its leader called *sarthavaha*. Almost all craft occupations were also organised into guilds, under a head called *jetthaka/pamukkha*. The guilds were associations of merchants and craftsmen, having the same profession or dealing in the same commodity. Each guild had its heads and followed its own rules regarding prices and quality to regulate their business on the basis of mutual goodwill. These guilds also served as banks and received public deposits from the public on fixed interest rates. The Nasik Inscription of Usabhadata record a perpetual investment of money in two different weaver-guilds. The interest was to provide to the monks for clothes and other expenses by the guild. The Mathura Pillar Inscription of Huvishka records a perpetual investment (*akshaya nivi*) in the guild of flour maker the

interest of which was to be used for the maintenance of one hundred Brahmanas and to provide food to the poor in the temple complex. On the basis of different texts, it can be said that artisans of this period were organised into at least two dozen guilds. Most of the artisans were confined to the Mathura region and to the western Deccan, which lay on the trade routes leading to the ports on the western coasts. The *Yajñavalkya Smriti* refers to the qualifications and powers of the head of the guilds and also hints towards the judicial role of the guilds. According to Buddhist texts, the heads of the guilds had a good rapport with the king and used to accompany the king as part of the official entourage and sometimes were even appointed as *mahamatta*. In *Nyagrodha Jataka*, it is mentioned that certain officials called *bhandagarika* were appointed to keep a record of the transactions and conventions of the guilds. Some guilds even issued coins and seals which reflect the importance of guilds of this period. Some seals with the captions *nigama*, *nigmasya* have been found at the site of Rajghat, seals with the legend of *Gavayaka* (signifying guild of milkmen), Bhita (seals with the legend of *Shulaphalayikanam*, signifying guild of makers of arrowheads) and Ahichchhatra (seals with the legend of *Kumbhakara*, signifying guild of pottery makers).

Trade: Internal & Long Distance (Indo-Roman Trade)

Trade and commerce, both inland and overseas, developed in the post-Mauryan period based on the agricultural development and development in crafts and artisanal products. *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* refers to the colony of the Indian merchants in the island of Socotra and large ships sailed to the Persian port of Oman from the Indian port of Barygaza (Broach) in the pre-Christian era. India had limited indirect trade with the Egyptian ports on coastal lines. Commodities were exchanged through the Arab traders in the ports of Muza (Okelis) and Aden located at the mouth of the Red Sea. The post-Mauryan period witnessed thriving trade relationship between India and the eastern Roman empire.

Factors Promoting Indo-Roman Trade

The political developments taking place in west and central Asia during the period under review had a direct bearing upon the politico-economic life of the people. The rise of the

Kushanas in the central Asia and northern India facilitated the growth and expansion of trading networks linking India with China in the east and Roman empire in the west. Secondly, the accession of Augustus to the Roman throne which ended the decades long civil wars and established peace and stability gave a fillip to the expansion of trade and commerce. Thirdly, the Parthians had won independence from Seleucid rulers by about 250 BCE and established firm control over west Asia. Heavy taxation imposed by them on trade and commerce through overland route created difficulties for Roman traders who were now in search of an alternative route. Fourthly, discovery of the monsoon wind by the Greek sailor Hippalus around 45-6 CE made a direct and faster sea journey to the Indian shores possible. Now ships from the port of Okelis could reach Indian ports in the west coast within 40 or less days. Indian commodities could reach Alexandria in less than three months. Fifthly, the demand for exotic goods from the orient, particularly the Chinese silk, Indian Muslin, precious stones, pearls and perfumes etc, gave a great boost to Indo-Roman trade.

Trade Routes & Urban Centres

The *Periplus* refers to the good connectivity of the inland trade routes and the coastal ports. The first route linked Taxila to lower Indus basin from where it moved on to the port of Barbarycum. The second route, called the ***Uttarapatha***, was in more frequent use. From Taxila it passed through modern Punjab up to the eastern bank of the river Yamuna. Following the course of the Yamuna, it went southward to Mathura, from Mathura to Ujjain in Malwa, and again from Ujjain to Broach on the west coast. Ujjain was the nodal point of another route which started from Kaushambi near Prayagraj. Thus, Ujjain was a city of considerable importance. Ujjain was also connected to the ***Dakshinapath*** connecting various towns and ports of the peninsular and southern India.

Among the towns and cities that flourished in connection with the Indo-Roman trade mention may be made of Pushkalavati (modern Charsada), Sirkap (Taxila), Sagala/Sakala (Sialkot) [in modern Pakistan], Sunet [in modern Punjab], Hastinapur, Mathura, Kaushambi [in modern Uttar Pradesh], Vaishali [in Bihar], Pundranagara [in Bangladesh], Sishupalgarh [in Orissa], Ujjain [in Madhya Pradesh], Paithan, Ter, Pedabankur, Bhokardan, Adam [in Maharashtra], Nagarjunikonda, Satanikota, Amaravati [in Andhra Pradesh], Vanji/Karur [in Kerala], Madurai, Uraiyur [in Tamilnadu].

Ports

Following ports took important part in the Indo-Roman trade as it is evident from the contemporary literature, both indigenous and foreign:

1. Barbarycum: Situated on the mouth of the Indus. Taxila was connected via Patala through a trade route that ran parallel to the Indus.
2. Barygaza (Bharukachcha/Bhrigukachcha): Situated on the mouth of Narmada, it was linked to Ujjain and Vidisha in central India and from there to Pataliputra via Kaushambi.
3. Sopara (Suparaka): Situated a few miles north of present Bombay and connected with Paithan via Kalyan.
4. Kalayana (Kalliene): On the southern bank of Ulhas River and connected with Paithan and Sopara.
5. Chaul (Semylla): Located at the south of present-day Mumbai.
6. Muziris (Muchiri): Famous port of the Chera kingdom on Malabar Coast. The Greco-Roman sources mention about a force of two cohorts at Muziris to protect their trade and building of a temple for Augustus by the Romans.
7. Kaveripattinam (Puhar): It was the most important Chola port, also known from the Sangam literature and two famous Tamil epics, namely, *Silappadikaram* and *Manimekhalai*.
8. Masulipatinam (in Andhra Pradesh): Ptolemy mentions it as a Maisolia.
9. Tamluk or Tamralipta (in Midanapur dist. West Bengal): It was situated on the river Rupnarayan.
10. Chandraketugarh (in 24 Parganas district, West Bengal): Riverine port on the bank of the river Vidyadhari in the Ganga delta. The terracotta sealings found here have impressions of ships or sea crafts indicating high sea voyages.

Items of Export & Import

Besides silk the commodities exported from India to Rome comprised:

1. Spices like black pepper, cinnamon, ginger, turmeric, and cardamom;
2. Incenses and perfumes;

3. Animals like rhinoceros, elephants, tiger, leopard, huge serpents and monkeys;
4. Ivory and Tortoise shells;
5. Textiles like *Muslin*, woollen cloths; and
6. Precious stones like diamond, emerald, turquoise, and so forth.

India imported fewer commodities from Rome which comprised wine, olive oil, corals, glass objects and beads. Two types of Roman pottery—amphorae jars and Arretine wares—have been found in India. Lead was imported in the form of coiled strips from Rome to be used for making coins, by the Satavahanas.

The balance of trade was in favour of India. Pliny complaints that every year 50 million sesterces were being drained on account of payment for trade with India.

Evidence & Date of the Indo Roman Trade

The discovery of Roman gold and silver coins in different parts of northern as well as southern India bear testimony to thriving Indo-Roman trade. Most of the Roman coin hoards out of a total of 129 have been found in Tamilnadu. Most of the coins can be dated between the reign period of Augustus and Nero, i.e. between 29 BCE and 68 CE. It has been inferred by historians that Indo-Roman trade flourished in the first century CE. Decline was seen from the second century CE and that continued till the reign period of Caracalla in the beginning of the third century CE. Some historians believe that it continued till the third century CE although with a slow pace.

Urbanization

Literature and archaeology amply indicate that the period between 200 BC and 300 AD was one of urban prosperity all over the subcontinent. Indeed, it can be said to represent the climax of early historic urbanism. Not only did cities that arose in the sixth century BC, primarily in the Gangetic valley and the Malwa region, flourish but new towns came into being and city life spread to new regions as well, such as Kashmir, Sindh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Orissa, Andhra, Karnataka and the deep south. This went hand in hand with the expansion of agriculture, crafts production and trade, on the one hand, and the

establishment of new ruling dynasties (namely, Kushanas, Saka-Kshatrapas, Satavahanas) and power centers, on the other.

Archaeological excavations have unearthed a considerable number of cities dated between first and third centuries CE in northern India, Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan and central Asia. The *Mahabhasya* of Patanjali (150 BCE) refers to many towns like Ahichchhatra, Avanti, Ujjain, Kanchipura, Kanyakubja, Kasi, Kaushambi, Mathura, Saketa, Sankisya, Nasikya, Pataliputra etc. The *Brihatkalpabhasya* (1st -2nd century CE) refers to kingdoms along with the capitals. From *Milinda Pañho*, *Lalitavistara* and Asvaghosha's *Buddhacharita* and *Saundarananda* it is known that towns and cities were places for luxurious living, centres of trade and commerce, centres of learning and also centres for discussions on religion attended by people coming from various places.

Cities in this period not only show extensive construction activity, complex burnt brick buildings, well laid out streets and drains, and fortification walls but the adoption of new techniques like the use of tiles in flooring and roofing. There is also abundant evidence from the urban centers of the presence of coinage, a range of sophisticated artifacts like fine pottery, beads and terracottas, and of a population that engaged in a variety of urban occupations.

A list of the thriving cities of this period includes Pushkalavati (modern Charsada), Sirkap (Taxila), Sagala/Sakala (Sialkot) [in modern Pakistan], Sunet [in modern Punjab], Hastinapur, Mathura, Kaushambi [in modern Uttar Pradesh], Vaishali [in Bihar], Pundranagara [in Bangladesh], Sishupalgarh [in Orissa], Ujjain [in Madhya Pradesh], Paithan, Ter, Pedabankur, Bhokardan, Adam [in Maharashtra], Nagarjunikonda, Satanikota, Amaravati [in Andhra Pradesh], Vanji/Karur [in Kerala], Madurai, Uraiyur [in Tamilnadu] besides those of the mid-Gangetic towns of the Maurya period which were also in a flourishing condition.

POSTMODERNISM

Postmodernism denotes the philosophy which has now arisen after and in opposition to the philosophy of modernity. Frederick Jameson, a critic of Postmodernism, thinks that Postmodernism is a cultural process initiated by a radical change in the nature of capitalism. He has characterized Postmodernism as the 'cultural logic of late capitalism'. Jean Francois Lyotard, who popularized the term 'Postmodernism', states that 'the status of knowledge is altered as societies enter what is known as the post-industrial age and cultures enter what is known as postmodern age.'

The major ideologues whose works constitute the corpus from which Postmodernism is formulated are Foucault, Derrida, Lyotard, Baudrillard, Deleuze, Guattari, White and Rorty. Their works posed a major challenge to the narratives of modernity and their theories attacked the basic foundations of knowledge created by modernity with Reason and its centre. The targets of their criticism have been capitalism, historicism, humanism, scientism and rationalism which constitute the modern world.

Firstly, Postmodernism questioned the claims of the Enlightenment philosophers for universal knowledge. It also criticized the search for foundations of knowledge. Modernity gave rise to grand narratives, that is, overarching theories purporting to explain each and everything within its compass. Postmodernism rejects the very idea of such grand narratives and attacks the all-encompassing overarching ideologies.

Secondly, Postmodernism debunks the claims of the science to achieve truth. Postmodernism takes nothing as absolute and leans towards relativism, sometimes total relativism. It, moreover, rejects the claims of human and social sciences for representing the facts and the world. In the opinion of Post-modern theorists, there is no truth which is beyond or prior to linguistic intervention; it is language which constructs the reality and the world for the humans. It is, therefore, futile to search for truth beyond language which, in turn, conditioned by the individual and local cultures.

Thirdly, Postmodernism also attacks the modernist organization of world and knowledge in binaries. According to the post-modernists, the modernist tradition tried to arrange knowledge around certain major binaries in which science was the core common element – science vs. rhetoric, science vs. literature, science vs. narrative. Here science represented the true knowledge, while the other side of the binary belonged to imagination and false consciousness. It also generated other sets of binaries. Fact vs. fiction, truth vs. imagination, science vs. magic, masculine vs. feminine, etc. are the binary oppositions conventionalized by the theorists of modernity. In these binaries, the second term almost always occupies an inferior position. Postmodernism challenges this knowledge based on binaries and instead emphasizes on multiplicities, varieties and differences.

POSTMODERNISM AND HISTORY-WRITING

Postmodernism offers a fundamental critique of the conventional mode of history writing. Sometimes the critique becomes so radical that it almost becomes anti-history. The main ingredient of history-writing, such as facts, sources, documents, archival records, etc., all come under severe scrutiny under the microscope of postmodernist vision. The certainty and continuity attached to historical writing are thoroughly debunked, the inner working of historiography is put under scanner and its proclaimed nearness to 'truth' is attacked. The history-writing itself is historicized, and its rootedness in the western culture is highlighted by the postmodern thinkers. Postmodernism rejects the 'objectivist' tradition of history writing starting with Ranke which strove to recover the past 'as it actually was'. It has attacked history both in its grander versions as well as in its relatively modest versions. It challenges the proclaimed objectivity and neutrality of the historians and claims that the process of interpretation transforms the past in radically different ways.

Postmodernism questions the very basis of conventional historiography by locating its origins in the modern Europe's encounter with the other. It began with the European Renaissance which prompted the Europeans to 'discover' other lands and people. In this quest the 'history' served as a tool for posing the modern western self in opposition to the other whose history was supposed to be just beginning as a result of its encounter with Europe. Thus the practice of history was employed not just to study the past but to fashion it in terms of the criteria set by modern Europe. History, therefore, evolved a western quest for power over the colonized territories and its desire to appropriate their pasts.

There are basically two types of history in conventional sense. One is the grand narrative of history which visualizes that the human society is moving in a certain direction, towards an ultimate goal – global capitalist society or a global communist one. There is another, more modest version of history which claims to rely only on facts and to eschew any ideological orientation. It claims neutrality and objectivity for itself and is the most accepted version of history writing. This is also known as the 'lower case history' which is 'realist, objectivist, documentarist and liberal-pluralist'. At the centre of professional history writing is the notion of objectivity, of facts, of being able to represent reality, to recover the past. Historical facts are seen to exist independent of and prior to interpretation. Historian's job is thus said to be able to discover the truth, to be neutral and dispassionate.

Postmodernism rejects all these notions. It not only attacks the attribution of any essence to the past, but also criticizes the attempts to study the past for 'its own sake'. Both versions of history writing are considered as ideological and situated in particular cultural formation. Both kinds of history is said to be 'just theories about the past', without any claim to represent the truth. Both are the products of western modernity and represent the ways in which it 'conceptualized the past'. According to postmodernism, there is no historical truth but what the historians make it out to be, no facts except what the historians interpret, no representable past except what the historians construct.

In postmodernist view, the history can be accepted as genuine knowledge only if it sheds its claims to truth and hence to power, and accepts its fragmentary character. The only history possible is micro-history. The ambiguities and gaps in historical narration are inherent and essential to it and should be retained. All quests for continuity, coherence and consistency should be dropped. It should be accepted that all documents and facts are nothing but texts and are ideologically constructed.

There are even more extreme views within postmodernism with regard to historiography. Keith Jenkins, therefore, declares that 'we are now at a postmodern moment when we can forget history completely.' Here he differs somewhat from his earlier position where he felt the need for anti-modernist 'reflexive histories'. Recently, however, he has taken the position that 'thanks to the "non-historical imaginaries" that can be gleaned from postmodernism we can now wave goodbye to history'. He justifies his position on the ground that the history we know is entirely a modem western product which never earlier existed anywhere in the world. This extreme position questions the very existence of any kind of professional history writing.

CRITIQUE OF POSTMODERNISM

As postmodernist critique of modernity ranges from total rejection to partial acceptance, so does the criticism of postmodernism varies from virulent attack and complete rejection to some level of its acceptance. The critiques have pointed out that in some extreme form of postmodern relativism, the implication may be that 'anything goes'. However, such a stance may justify the *status quo* where 'everything

stays'. Total relativism and nihilism denies the transformative praxis and does nothing to change the repressive socio-economic and political order. By segmenting the knowledge and by demarcating the socio-cultural boundaries to extreme micro levels, it makes it impossible to create a broad solidarity of the oppressed. Moreover, the postmodern analysis of society and culture is lop-sided because it emphasizes the tendencies towards fragmentation while completely ignoring the equally important movements towards synthesization and broader organization. At another level, by conceptualizing power as distributed into countless small and big systems, practices and organizations at various levels of society, postmodernism obscures the selective concentration of power, the basic relations of domination and subordination, of repression and resistance. It also tends to ignore the roles of state and capital as much more potent tools of domination and repression.

Some critics also charge postmodernism with being historicist as it accepts the inevitability of the present and its supposedly postmodernist character. If the world is now postmodern, it is our fine to be living in it. But such postmodernity which the western world bas created now is no more positive than the earlier social formation it is supposed to have superseded. Moreover, it is not very sure that whether the modernity has actually come to an end. In fact, large parts of the world in the erstwhile colonial and semi-colonial societies and East European countries are now busy modernizing themselves. Even in the west, the chief characteristics of modernity are still there – industrial economy, political parties and factions, markets, unions, state regulations, discipline-based knowledge, etc. The concept of postmodernity, therefore, remains mostly at an academic and intellectual level.

Critics also argue that many postmodernists, deriving from poststructuralism, deny the possibility of knowing facts and reality. As a result, no event can be given any weightage over another. All happenings in the past are of the same value. Thus, theoretically, the Holocaust or any brutality of a similar nature can be equated with any other event, whether tragic or comic, because, in postmodernist view, it is the language which creates events and histories for us.

Reformation

The Protestant Movement and Catholic Reform are the central movements of the 16th century. The Church was in need of reform. Reform was an open dissatisfaction with the abuses of the Catholic Church, priesthood and ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Causes: Degeneration of clerical behavior and morals. Priests had mistresses and illegitimate children. Abuses of Simony and sale of indulgences, nepotism and pluralism were also rampant in the church.

Simony: Simon Magus endeavored to buy from the Apostles the power of conferring the gift of the Holy Spirits (Acts 8:18)

Indulgences: A way to reduce the amount of punishment one had to undergo for sins. In lieu of money the priests use of sell the indulgences to lessen the sins of people.

Revenue was collected in exaggerated forms. Papacy sold the post of Cardinals. The General Council of the church had not met since 1430 though it had to meet every 10 years. Pope had become a temporal ruler of Italy.

The Development of Absolute State in Europe also gave a push to reformation because Church was being a hurdle on absolutism. Land hungry nobility was looking to seize the church property.

Rising middle class was against the church morals. Usury was not allowed by the church and the business needed it. It was also very important for ushering in capitalism.

Early protests: Firstly, William of Ockham in 1394 spoke of reform in Franciscan order.

In England, John Wycliffe questioned the Papal power and the medieval church.

In Bohemia, Jan Hus criticized the luxury minded clergy.

Lorenzo Valla (1407-57) exposed forgeries of the Papacy.

In Germany, Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522) questioned the traditional claims of the Church. Erasmus too criticized the church.

Renaissance as an age of revolt against medieval standards as well as from theo-centric and homocentric outlook also influenced the reformation movement.

Martin Luther

The first successful break from the Catholic Church occurred in Germany under Martin Luther. He believed that faith alone would bring salvation and faith was a bridge between man and God and for that a correct understanding of the scripture was necessary. His theory of salvation contrasted sharply with Catholic teachings which said that God wills salvation of all without exception. The conflict was heightened with the Indulgence controversy of 1517 by which the Papacy was raising money by selling indulgences. John Tetzel was also selling indulgences in Saxony which added to Luther's fury.

On October 31, 1517 Luther posted his famous ninety five theses on the church door at Wittenberg written in Latin and offered to defend them against anyone. The theses challenged the authority of the Pope over purgatory and that he could not transfer the 'surplus' of the good works accumulated by the past saints to the 'credits' of present sinners through his indulgences. The ninety five theses was translated in German and widely circulated. In 1520 Luther was excommunicated from the church by a Bull (exsurge domine) which he publicly burnt. After that he wrote a series of pamphlets. On August 1520 he wrote, "An Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation on the Reformation of the Christian Church". This was followed by "The Babylonian Captivity of the Christian Church". In that he reduced the seven sacraments to only three.

(7 sacraments- Baptism, mass, penance, confirmation, ordination, marriage and extreme unaction.)

(3 sacraments of Luther Baptism, Communion and Confession.)

On November 1520 he published "On the Freedom of the Christian" which was a positive statement of the code of behavior.

The Diet of Worms 1521 called by Charles V was ordered by the Pope to excommunicate Luther. Luther was called upon but was defended by Duke Fredrick of Saxony and Chancellor Brueck. Luther agreed to come on two condition of safe conduct and protection of 100 German

knights. The local elements supported Luther the Bible was translated in German. In 1524 the Great Peasant War started but Luther condemned it defending the social order and the prince's rights. After that a phase of religious war broke out in Germany. Charles V called the Diet of Augsberg in 1530 to reconcile the Catholics and Protestants but all in vain. In 1555 the Peace of Augsberg was agreed upon where the Princes were to decide whether to adopt Catholicism or Lutherism. Lutherism expanded to Northern and Central Europe, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, Scandinavian countries like Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland.

Ulrich Zwingli

John the Baptist or Precursor of Calvanism was a pastor at Zurich in 1518. From 1520 he began to preach new religious interpretations which strongly resembled that of Luther's. In his Archeteles, 1522 he argued that the Papacy was an unjustified usurpation. He opined that Bible was the sole source of religious authority and not the Catholic Church. He was also against fasting, sell of indulgences etc. The 67 Conclusions of his was similar to that of Luther and it also reinforced the Archeteles.

The reorganization of the Church- Statues were removed, paintings whitewashed as idolatry. Mass was replaced by simple service revolved around sermons and communion. Zwingli also believed in Luther's idea of salvation by Faith alone.

He tended more to create a theocracy (govt. controlled by the Church officials). The town council, parish board enforced new religion and severe punishments were given. Social habits, dress, amusements, attendance at church was controlled by the church. Swiss religious war between Catholics and Protestants led to his death at Kappel in 1531. The war ended with the Peace of Kappel in 1531 which upheld the claims of Roman Catholicism throughout the controversial areas.

Calvanism

John Calvin gave leadership to Swiss Protestantism after Zwingli. He was a Frenchman but as the French Crown was suppressing anti- Catholic teachings he settled in Geneva. He was influenced by Erasmus, Luther, Zwingli, Melanchthon.

In his Institutes of the Christian Religion 1536 ranks as one of the most important religious tracts in the Reformation era. Everything is found in this tract from scholarship, argument, scripture, proof, invective, denunciation, ridicule and his fundamental religious principles.

His fundamental religious principles were:

1. Bibliocracy: Bible was the sole guide for individual's religious action.
2. Man as helpless creature unable to affect his own salvation.
3. God as tyrannical arbitrary deity.
4. God predestined some men to eternal life and others to eternal damnation.

Catholicism.

Calvin remarks, "The Will of the God is the highest rule of justice". Man just accepts his fate.

He retained only Baptism and Communion as sacraments.

Calvin's new code: A good Calvinist was to abhor all forms of pleasure and frivolity – dancing, songs, drinking, gambling, flirtation, bright clothes, vivacious gestures etc. He was to follow sobriety, self- restraint, hard work and godliness. Usury was also allowed unlike Lutherans.

In 1559 he founded the academy in Geneva for instruction and training.

Calvinism expanded to many European Countries. In France they were known as Huguenots. A continuous conflict was there which led to war, eventually ending with Edict of Nantes 1598 which gave religious freedom to the Calvinists.

In Scotland John Knox fostered Calvinism.

In England Calvinism had a powerful impact on the parliament and it even attacked Stuart despotism. It was also associated with Puritanism.

Later Calvinism also expanded to Netherlands and Poland.

The 1857 Revolt

Revolt of 1857 also known as First War of Indian Independence played a major role in the shifting of powers from East India Company to British Crown. It was a major anti-colonial movement against the aggressive imperialist policies of the British. In fact, it was an economic, political and social struggle against the British rule.

Oppressive character and policies of Colonial rule in India:

Political policies:

The nature of colonial expansion through annexation became a major source of discontent among the Indian rulers. Their policy of annexation called Doctrine of Lapse led to a number of independent kingdoms being annexed to the British Empire. These were states that were enjoying British protection but their rulers had died without leaving a natural heir to the throne. In this manner Lord Dalhousie annexed the Maratha States of Satara, Nagpur, Jhansi and several other minor kingdoms. This interference by the East India Company was disliked by many Indian rulers. The policy of annexation also affected soldiers, crafts people and even the nobles. Even the traditional scholarly and priestly classes lost the patronage which they were getting from these rulers.

Economic policies:

It caused the disruption of the traditional Indian economy and its subordination to the British economy. Indian economy now suffered under the British policies. Since they worked against the interests of Indian trade and industry, Indian handicrafts completely collapsed. The British sold cheap, machine made clothes in India which destroyed the Indian cottage industry. It also left millions of craftsmen unemployed. The British also imposed heavy duties on Indian made goods. Now they could reap huge profits as there was no competition for their goods. Thus, the British drained India of her wealth and her natural resources. The colonial policy of intensifying land revenue demand led to a large number of peasants losing their land. Permanent Settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa did not recognise the hereditary rights of the peasants on land and if they failed to pay 10/11th of the entire produce, their property could be sold off.

Social and Religious interference:

Social reforms against sati, female infanticide, widow re-marriage and education of woman, made many people unhappy. The missionary work instilled apprehensions in masses. The religious sentiments of the sepoys were hurt in 1806 in the Madras presidency. The Hindus were asked to remove their caste marks from their foreheads and the Muslims were asked to trim their beards.

Discontent in the Army:

Indian soldiers were not given posts above that of subedars. Some sepoys wanted special allowance if sent on oversea duty. Sometimes they were paid, but most of the time they

were not. They were paid salaries less than their English counterparts. As a result, the morale of the Indian sepoy was very low.

Administrative character:
Rampant corruption in the Company's administration, especially among the police, petty officials and lower law courts, was a major cause of the discontent.

British foreign policy:
The revolt succeeded with certain outside events in which the British suffered serious losses-the First Afghan War (1838-42), Punjab Wars (1845-49), and the Crimean wars (1854-56). The British were seen to be not so strong and it was felt that they could be defeated.

Immediate policies:
The government decided to replace the old-fashioned musket, 'Brown Bags' by the 'Enfield rifle. The loading process of the Enfield rifle involved bringing the cartridge to the mouth and biting off the top. There was a rumour among the Sepoys in January 1857 that the greased cartridge contained the fat of cow and pig. This sparked off the revolt of sepoys on 29th March 1857.

Results of the 1857 Revolt:
The 1857 revolt though failed and crushed by the superior military force of the British was a significant event of far-reaching consequences in the history of British rule in India. It marks the end of an era of mercantile capitalism and early colonial rule and the beginning of direct imperial hegemony of the British crown. While in the first century, i.e., from 1757 to 1857, the British crown indirectly ruled India, in the second century, i.e., from 1858 to 1947, the British crown directly ruled India through the Viceroy appointed by the Monarch.

The results of the 1857 revolt may be subdivided as:
(i) Constitutional changes,
(ii) Changes in the army,
(iii) Religious, judicial and diplomatic effects, and
(iv) Social effects.

Constitutional Changes:
The most significant result of the mutiny was the transfer of power from a trading company to a sovereign power of Britain by the Government of India Act of 1858. This Act of 1858 completed the process initiated by the Charter Act of 1853. In the place of the President of the Board of Control, the Secretary of State for India was appointed. The Secretary of State for India was assisted and helped by a 15-member body of India Council. Out of the fifteen, eight were appointed by the crown and the rest were to be appointed by the court of the directors.

The designation of the Governor General of India was changed to Viceroy. In case of the rulers of the Indian states, the crown made categorical announcement that all the treaties and agreements entered into by the East India Company will be honoured and respected and made it clear that no renewal was necessary.

The British crown gave up the policy of subordinate isolation and advocated a policy of subordinate union in respect of native states. The administrative apparatus in India was centralized effectively due to the improvement in communications. The British crown reinstated the Taluqdars of Oudh to their old positions. They gave up the idea of the ruthless expansionist policy of their territorial boundaries in and outside India.

Changes in the Army:

Before the revolt of 1857, the army of the British in India was divided into two major divisions – king's forces and company's troops. As a result of the revolt the two forces were united and called king's forces and one-third of it should consist of the Europeans.

The artillery section was exclusively kept under the British. As a consequence of more European soldiers in the army, the expenditure on the army doubled up. The Bengal Army was virtually abolished. They reduced the Brahmins from the army and recruited Gurkhas, Sikhs, Jats and Rajputs of the Punjab.

Religionist, Judicial and Diplomatic Effects:

Queen Victoria's proclamation of 1 November, 1858 guaranteed freedom of faith and equal treatment to all Indians. The Queen made it clear that there was to be no distinction between one individual and another on the pretext of race, religion, sex and creed.

The British crown agreed to provide employment to the Indians in the bureaucratic structure of the times, which was denied previously. In the sphere of judiciary, the Sadar courts and Crown's Supreme Court were amalgamated into High Courts which were established in the presidency towns of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. In the sphere of diplomatic ties between India and Britain, now there was a change and the British began to show greater interest in the internal development of India than in foreign affairs.

Social Effects:

In the sphere of social relations, the gulf between the Europeans and the Indians not only widened but animosity and hatred between the two social groups became marked, and there was definite social estrangement between Indians and Europeans.

Detestation, contempt, ferocity and vengeance became marked features of the British in India in the post-mutiny period. The Indians too did not lag behind in maintaining social distance. What we notice in this period was abandonment of social and educational welfare measures by the British purposefully and willingly.

As if it is not sufficient, orthodoxy, religious superstitions, communal, caste and religious discrimination began to be practiced by the Indians. The British who were quite aloof in the beginning realized their mistake and changed their policy with 1861 Indian Council Act.

A very disturbing feature of post-mutiny period in India was the growth of social distance between the Hindus and Muslims which ultimately led to communalization of social life and partition of India on communal lines.

The post-mutiny period also witnessed setback to Muslim renaissance and efforts of modernity. At the end, we may conclude by agreeing with Tarachand: "imperialist Britain treated India as a satellite whose main function was to sweat and labour for the master, to sub-serve its economy and to enhance the glory and prestige of the empire".

Causes of Failure

All-India participation was absent

Limited territorial spread was one factor; there was no all-India veneer about the revolt. The eastern, southern and western parts of India remained more or less unaffected. This was probably because the earlier uprisings in those regions had been brutally suppressed by the Company.

All classes did not join

Certain classes and groups did not join and, in fact, worked against the revolt. Big zamindars acted as "break-waters to storm"; even Awadh taluqdars backed off once promises of land restitution were spelt out. Money-lenders and merchants suffered the wrath of the mutineers badly and anyway saw their class interests better protected under British patronage.

Educated Indians viewed this revolt as backward looking, supportive of the feudal order and as a reaction of traditional conservative forces to modernity; these people had high hopes that the British would usher in an era of modernisation.

Most Indian rulers refused to join, and often gave active help to the British. Rulers who did not participate included the Sindhia of Gwalior, the Holkar of Indore, the rulers of Patiala, Sindh and other Sikh chieftains and the Maharaja of Kashmir. Indeed, by one estimate, not more than one-fourth of the total area and not more than one-tenth of the total population was affected.

Poor Arms and Equipment

The Indian soldiers were poorly equipped materially, fighting generally with swords and spears and very few guns and muskets. On the other hand, the European soldiers were equipped with the latest weapons of war like the Enfield rifle. The electric telegraph kept the commander-in-chief informed about the movements and strategy of the rebels.

Uncoordinated and Poorly Organised

The revolt was poorly organised with no coordination or central leadership. The principal rebel leaders—Nana Saheb, Tantia Tope, Kunwar Singh, Laxmibai—were no match to their British opponents in generalship. On the other hand, the East India Company was fortunate in having the services of men of exceptional abilities in the Lawrence brothers, John Nicholson, James Outram, Henry Havelock, etc.

No Unified Ideology

The mutineers lacked a clear understanding of colonial rule; nor did they have a forward looking programme, a coherent ideology, a political perspective or a societal alternative. The rebels represented diverse elements with differing grievances and concepts of current politics. The lack of unity among Indians was perhaps unavoidable at this stage of Indian history. Modern nationalism was as yet unknown in India. In fact, the revolt of 1857 played an important role in bringing the Indian people together and imparting to them the consciousness of belonging to one country.

Hindu-Muslim Unity Factor

During the entire revolt, there was complete cooperation between Hindus and Muslims at all levels—people, soldiers, leaders. All rebels acknowledged Bahadur Shah Zafar, a Muslim, as the emperor and the first impulse of the Hindu sepoys at Meerut was to march to Delhi, the Mughal imperial capital. According to Maulana Azad, "Two facts stand out clearly in the midst of the tangled story of the Rising of 1857. The first is the remarkable sense of unity among the Hindus and the Muslims of India in this period. The other is the deep loyalty which the people felt for the Mughal Crown." Rebels and sepoys, both Hindu and Muslim, respected each other's sentiments. Immediate banning of cow slaughter was ordered once the revolt was successful in a particular area. Both Hindus and Muslims were well represented in leadership, for instance Nana Saheb had Azimullah, a Muslim and an expert in political propaganda, as an aide, while Laxmibai had the solid support of Afghan soldiers. Thus, the events of 1857 demonstrated that the people and politics of India were not basically communal or sectarian before 1858.

Nature of the Revolt

Views differ on the nature of the 1857 revolt. It was a mere 'Sepoy Mutiny' to some British historians—"a wholly unpatriotic and selfish Sepoy Mutiny with no native leadership and no popular support", said Sir John Seeley. However, that is not a complete picture of the event as it involved many sections of the civilian population and not just the sepoys. The discontent of the sepoys was just one cause of the disturbance.

Dr K. Datta considers the revolt of 1857 to have been "in the main a military outbreak, which was taken advantage of by certain discontented princes and landlords, whose interests had been affected by the new political order". The last mentioned factor gave it an aura of a popular uprising in certain areas. It was "never all-Indian in character, but was localised, restricted and poorly organised". Further, says Datta, the movement was marked by absence of cohesion and unity of purpose among the various sections of the rebels.

It was at the beginning of the twentieth century that the 1857 revolt came to be interpreted as a "planned war of national independence", by V.D. Savarkar in his book, *The Indian War of Independence, 1857*. Savarkar called the revolt the first war of Indian independence. He said it was inspired by the lofty ideal of self rule by Indians through a nationalist upsurge. Dr S.N. Sen in his *Eighteen Fifty-Seven* considers the revolt as having begun as a fight for religion but ending as a war of independence.

Dr R.C. Majumdar, however, considers it as neither the first, nor national, nor a war of independence as large parts of the country remained unaffected and many sections of the people took no part in the upsurge. According to some Marxist historians, the 1857 revolt was "the struggle of the soldier-peasant democratic combine against foreign as well as feudal bondage". However, this view can be questioned in the light of the fact that the leaders of the revolt themselves came from a feudal background.

Jawaharlal Nehru considered the revolt of 1857 as essentially a feudal uprising though there were some nationalistic elements in it (*Discovery of India*). M.N. Roy felt the revolt was a last ditch stand of feudalism against commercial capitalism. R.P. Dutt also saw the significance of the revolt of the peasantry against foreign domination even as he acknowledged it to be a defence of the old feudal order.

The revolt of 1857 is not easy to categorise. While one can easily dismiss some views such as those of L.E.R. Rees who considered it to be a war of fanatic religionists against Christians or T.R. Holmes who saw in it a conflict between civilisation and barbarism, one cannot quite go so far as to accept it as a war for independence. It had seeds of nationalism and anti-imperialism but the concept of common nationality and nationhood was not inherent to the revolt of 1857. It is doubtful if the separate communities that participated in the revolt did so because they felt a common nationhood. Furthermore, what of the southern section which was not a part of the revolt? Each of the leaders had a personal cause for revolting; each had a personal interest to protect. However, as Dr Sen points out, national revolutions are mostly the work of a minority, with or without the active support of the masses. From that point of view, the 1857 rebellion can claim a national character.

One may say that the revolt of 1857 was the first great struggle of Indians to throw off British rule. Even this view has been questioned by some historians who feel that some of the earlier uprisings had been equally serious efforts at throwing off the foreign yoke, but have not got the same kind of attention. However, S.B. Chaudhuri observes, the revolt was "the first combined attempt of many classes of people to challenge a foreign power. This is a real, if remote, approach to the freedom movement of India of a later age".

SANGAM AGE

Introduction

The region of modern Tamil Nadu and Kerala are supposed to be the area of focus during the Sangam age, and this was known as 'Tamilakam'. The three principal chiefdoms which ruled this region in Sangam period were the Cheras, the Cholas and the *Pandyas*. The Sangam age is regarded as the 'classical age' of south India. In literal sense, the term 'Sangam' means 'confluence'. However, in the context of south Indian history, it means college of Tamil poets, who flourished under the royal patronage of the *Pandyan* kings. These poets churned out literature of high quality. According to the legend written by Iraiyanar Agapporul, three Sangams were held which covered the total period of 9,990 years and altogether 8,598 poets took part in it patronized by 197 the Pandyan kings. Sage Agastyar is supposed to be the founding father of this college. The names of some kings and poets like Kadungon and Ugrapperuvaludi are found in inscriptions and other records which mean

1. (A grammar of letters and life in 3 parts) by Sage Agattiyar
2. and eleven other scholars (supposed to be disciple of Sage Agattiyar
3. Earliest Tamil literary work extant today and fountain of all literary conventions.

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facts got mixed with fiction so any conclusion based on it would be difficult to accept (Sastri, 2000 [1955]: 105). The chronology of the Sangam age is another matter of controversy, because there is no unanimity among the scholars over Sangam literature. Where K. A. N. Sastri assigns the time period of 100–250 AD, M. *Arokiaswami* suggests the 4th–3rd century BC, on the basis of the time period assigned to the oldest text *Tolkappiyam*. The literary sources along with the material findings place the chronology of the Sangam age between c. 300 BC to 300 AD Champakalakshmi, however, identifies it to be the last phase of the megalithic culture (Singh, 2009: 425).

SANGAM LITERATURE

Three Sangams were held during which large corpus of literature was collected. The first Sangam was held at Madurai, in which 4499 scholars presented their writings and was patronized by 89 *Pandya* kings. This Sangam continued for 4400 years and important texts such as Agattiyam and Paripadal etc. were written. The second Sangam was organized at Kapatapuram and was attended by 49 scholars. It was patronized by 59 *Pandya* rulers and *Tolkappiyam* was written by Tolkappiyar. The third Sangam was again organized at Madurai in around the 1st–2nd century AD. The earliest evidence for Sangam literature comes from the Tamil brahmi inscriptions in the Jain and Buddhist caves. 'There are 2, 279 poems of varying lengths from 3 lines to about 800 lines with notes at the end of the poem giving the details of the author and occasion of the composition and other details' (Sastri, 1975: 105). The tradition which the corpus of Sangam literature follows is the culture of war and love poems. They brought out the close relationship between the kings and the bards. *Puram* were the poems in which the poet praised the valour and generosity of the kings whereas the *akam* poems talks about the love relationship between man and woman. These love poems associated the themes with different landscapes called *tinai*.

On the basis of subject matter the scholars have divided the corpus of poems into two varieties—the short ode and the long poem. The odes and long poems are collected in *Ettutogai* and *Pattupattu* respectively. The earlier origin is of verses in the period of 150–250 AD which were comprised in the *Ettutogai* (Eight collections), and it ran from three to thirty one lines. Next were the *Pattupattu* (Ten songs), which ran from 103 lines to 782 lines sometimes; and then, followed the *Patinenkilkanakku* (The Eighteen Minor Works) consisted of ethical and didactic literature, and the most famous of this literature was *Tirukkural*. *Tirukkural* was mostly in the stanzaic form having two to five lines in each stanza.

There are five epics written during the Sangam age and constitutes as an important part of the Sangam literature. These epics were *Jivakachintamani*,

Silappadikaram, Manimekalai, Valayapathi and *Kundalakesi*. The most famous of them are *Silappadikaram* and *Manimekalai*, which are referred to as 'twin epics', because they continue the narration of the story of Kovalan (the rich merchant prince of Puhar), Kannagi (the chaste wife of Kovalan) and Madhavi (the dancer with whom Kovalan lived in wedlock) and Manimekalai (the child of this wedlock). The author of *Silappadikaram* was Ilango Adigal who was the brother of the Chera king Senguttuvan. Manimekalai was written by Sathanar, who wanted to propagate Buddhist doctrines among the Tamils.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF SANGAM AGE

The ruling monarchs of three chiefdoms of the *Cheras, Cholas* and *Pandyas* together were called *muventars*. The *Cholas* ruled over the fertile Kaveri basin with Uraiyur as its capital and the important port was Puhar or Kaveripattinam. The most important ruler of this kingdom was Karikal. The *Pandyas* ruled over the pastoral and littoral parts with Madurai as capital and Korkai as important port. Nedunjeliyan was the most famous king. The *Cheras* controlled the hilly region in the west with Vanji or Karur as its capital and Muciris as the well known port. The important ruler of the kingdom was Udeyinjiral. The king was called the *ventan*, and this was not only the time of great kings but also great chieftains who were subordinates of the kings. These chieftains were divided into two—*velir* and non-*velir*. There were three kinds of chiefdoms in Tamilakam—*Velir* or bigger chiefs, Vedar or the biggest chiefs and *Kizar* who were headman of a small village (*ur*) bound by the kingship. Ashokan edicts also mention the muventars.

The kingdom was divided into state or *mandalam* which was followed by suba or *nadu*, then city or *ur* which was further divided into small village called *sirur* and big village called *perur*. The local units were administered by local assemblies called *avai* (council of elders) and *manram* (people's assembly). The kingdoms also maintained large standing army consisting of various branches such as—the chariot, the elephants, the cavalry and the infantry. People of Tamilakam had a great respect for the warriors particularly the heroes, who died fighting; and so, they erected a commemorative stone on their burials in the form of herostones.

SANGAM ECONOMY

The Tamilakam has been divided into five eco-zones or *aintinai*. They are as following:

1. **Kurinji or Hilly Backwoods:** Here people took to hunting and gathering for their livelihood. The people in this region are called *karuvar* and *vetar*. They were engaged in slash and burn cultivation on hill

slopes and produced millets and pulses. Pepper and spices were grown in plenty.

2. **Palai or Arid Zones:** Here people were engaged into cattle lifting and plundering. It was because during summer there was scarcity of water, hence no cultivation could be done. These people are called *maravars*.

3. **Mullai or Pastoral Tracts:** Here the main economic activities were animal husbandry and shifting cultivation. They produced millets, pulses and lentils and exchanged dairy products. People of the region were called *kurumbars*.

4. **Marutam or Wet-lands:** Here plough agriculture was the main occupation. *Ujhavar* or *ulavur* was the name given to the people of this region which meant ploughmen. They produced paddy and sugarcane in plenty.

5. **Neytal or Sea-coast:** It was the region where people were called *paradavar*. They were occupied with fishing and salt-making.

Agriculture was one of the most important occupations of the Sangam people. We have many references to people attached to the cultivation. Kaveripattinam in Tamilakam have ancient reservoir remains and *Maduraikkanji* speaks about the king Karikala building embankment on river Kaveri and getting tanks dug up for irrigation. Paddy and sugarcane were the most important crops grown in this region and *uzhavar* were the ploughmen who produced them. *Vellalar* were the masters of soil and *atiyor* (slaves) and *vinaivalar* (workers earning wage) worked in the fields. Irrigation was done through tanks and wells and water-wheels were used for lifting water. People had the knowledge of paddy transplantation, and cotton was grown in the black soil around Andhra Pradesh.

The industrial and trading activities during the Sangam age were quite developed. The poems refer to craftsmen like goldsmith, the blacksmith, the coppersmith, the sculptor, the potter, the weaver and the painter etc. The occupation was generally hereditary; and according to *Silappadikaram*, men of different profession lived in different streets.

The long distance trade was maintained with Greece and Rome, Egypt, China, South East Asia and Sri Lanka. The Greek text, *Periplus of Erythrean Sea* written by an unknown sailor, mentions the names of products of import and export in details. Romans brought in copper, tin, lead, coral and topaz etc. and paid in gold for the commodities they took from India. With Sri Lanka and S. E. Asia the trading was done in spices, camphor and sandalwood. The names of prominent ports have been mentioned in Sangam texts as well as in *Periplus of Erythrean Sea* i.e. Muziris, Puhar (Kaveripattinam), Korkai, Tondi, Poduke (Arikamedu) and Sopatama etc. In the local trade, barter was the most common mode of transaction. Items of immediate consumption like salt, fish and paddy etc. were exchanged among each other.

Land was the main source of income for the kingdom. *Irai* and *tirai* were the two types of contributions received by the chieftains. Transit duties were collected from the merchants who travelled from one place to another. Spoils of war were another mode of adding income to the royal treasury. Other taxes collected were called *deya, meya, kara* and *bhaga* etc. Gift was the most common mode of revenue circulation.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PATTERN OF SANGAM AGE

The society was divided according to the five landscapes or *tinai* divisions. It was tribal in character. The totem worship was prevalent and tribal cults and practices prevailed. There was introduction of *varna* classifications as mentioned in Sangam poems. 'There is mention of the *Arashar* (kings), *Vaishiyar* (traders) and *Velalar* (farmers). The Brahmanas are also mentioned, some of them closely associated with the courts of kings and patronized by ruling elites' (Singh, 2009: 423–24). Social stratification was based on the agricultural production and on craft specialization only in its rudimentary form like blacksmiths (*kollan*), carpenters (*techan*) etc. Religious worship and cult practice needed the presence of groups, who were involved with ritual practices like *velan, venttuvan* etc. Society was not priest dominated as in north India and surplus led to prosperity of trading groups. This trading group was generally known after the commodity in which they traded such as *Umanan* (Salt merchant), *Konglavanikan* (Corn merchant), *Aruvaivanikan* (Textile merchant) and *Ponvanikan* (Gold merchant) etc. *Kuti* was the more relevant basis of social division. They were clan-based descent groups and were related to agricultural production. They followed lineage and hereditary norms, but inter-dining was not restricted (Singh, 2009: 424).

Women had certain freedom in the society and could move around freely in the town and also joined in temple festivals. However, the status of women was one of subordination; but there are references to educated women and poetess. Sati was prevalent and marriage was a sacrament and not a contract. Prostitution was a recognized institution and has been given prominence in the Sangam poems too, which means their position in the society was not as downgraded as in the modern times.

The dress of the people also differed according to their class such as the women of rich class wore fine muslin and silk and used oil, aromatic scents, coloured powders and paints. Men wore two pieces of clothes—one below the waist and the other adorned on head like a turban while women used the cloth to cover below the waist. Ornaments of gold and other precious stones were used by the rich people while the poor section decorated themselves with bracelets made of conch-shell and necklaces made of coloured beads. The tribal women wore leaves and barks to cover themselves. People lived in houses of mud and brick based on their status. The food consisted of variety of milk products, rice, honey and meat etc. For entertainment, they got

involved in dances, musical programmes, religious festivals, bull-fights, cock-fights, hunting, dice and wrestling etc.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

In the Sangam age, various religions such as Jainism, Buddhism and Brahmanism co-existed. Also, the sects of Brahmanism such as Saivism and Vaishnavism too were known. People generally believed in sacred or magical forces called *ananku*. Tolkappiyam refers to four important deities—Murugan, Tirumal, Vendan (Indra) and Varunan. Besides these deities few other were worshipped like Lakshmi (the goddess of prosperity), Mayon (later Vishnu), the moon-god and the sea-god etc. The Sangam people believed in ghosts and spirits and the dead heroes, sati; and other martyrs, too, were sometimes deified. Women were considered impure during menstruation cycle and for some days after the childbirth. Dead were disposed either by cremating, burial or leaving it in open for vultures or jackals. There is also reference to burning ground, where different kinds of spirits dwelled in Manimekalai.

CONCLUSION

What we conclude from the above information is that the concept of state formation was in its incipient stage in south India. The polity was patriarchal and officials were directly controlled by the king. The economy was based on agriculture and trade which led to the collection of revenue for the state treasury. Trading with outside world was also beneficial while local trade was based on barter system. There was social inequality prevailing, but class/caste distinction was not very acute. The beliefs and customs practiced suggest a complex nature however tribal customs were more evident. Both animism and idol worship was practiced, and some of the traditions have still survived. However, the time when the Sangam age was declining in south India, the 'Golden Age' of north India—though the use of the term has been contested—under Gupta dynasty was beginning to take shape. In our next chapter, we are going to look at various aspects of the *Gupta* Empire and their other contemporaries.

Mauryan Economy

1.0 Introduction

The phase from c 325 to 187 BCE is well known to have been dominated by the Mauryan Empire in early Indian history. It was a pan-Indian empire. Such a large empire was supported by the large and permanent Army as well as the large bureaucratic administrative system. These two things naturally necessitated the availability of a huge amount of resources. This led the Mauryan ruler to adopt the economic policy of direct state control over the economic activities of the phase. This was an unprecedented economic scenario in early Indian history. As usually, the economic activities of the period were related to both agricultural and non-agricultural productions which led to trade and commerce also. Let us now turn our attention to these economic developments in the light of the following sources of information. These are as follows

Accounts of Diodorus Siculus (late 2nd century BCE),

Strabo's *Geographikon* (late 1st century BCE)

Arrian's *Indika* (CE 1st/2nd century)

Megasthenes's *Indika* (contemporary to Chandragupta Maurya)

The *Arthasastra* of Kautilya (said not before the 1st or 2nd century CE)

Inscriptions of Asoka Maurya.

2. Agriculture

We have already seen in other modules that agriculture had already developed by the fourth century BCE. We find that the political authority had utilized the agricultural development in augmenting its authority territorially. This we find to have been pursued in the fourth century BCE. The *Sītādhyakṣa* mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya is known to have supervised the entire task of agricultural production of the kingdom. The word *Sītā* signified the crown land. He was to have the requisite knowledge in the *Vṛkṣāyurveda*. He was also to collect the seeds of fruits, creepers, cereals and cash crop like cotton. He was to supply the cattle, the plough and also to employ the agricultural labourer for facilitating the tasks of cultivation. Thus the royal control was exercised over agricultural economy.

2.1. *Janapadaniveśa* (Colonization of New Settlements)

In this connection we find the state to have taken another important step and that was the state policy of creating 'agrarian settlements' (*Janapadaniveśa*) mainly with Śūdra cultivators. In the

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya we find *Janapada* to have been considered as the third element (*tṛtīya prakṛti*) among the seven elements which constituted the state. Moreover the *Arthaśāstra* makes us aware of the fact that the *Janapada* element was a resource (*Janapadasampad*), particularly agrarian resource for the state. We find that it signified agricultural resource. Therefore the Mauryan authority pursued a policy in order to utilizing the agrarian potentialities of the land. The *Janapada* was therefore created in that area which either had no population or was deserted. The *Janapada* was to be settled with people from a crowded area within the kingdom or by bringing people from outside. We learn from scholarly discussions that the Mauryas kept a newly created *Janapada* under their absolute control. At the same time the king according to Kautilya was also to provide the people of a newly created *Janapada* with benefits such as the exemption or decrease of revenue; the distribution of agricultural implements like seeds, cattle, money etc among the peasants on the condition that they would return those according to their convenience. We learn that this was essentially similar to agricultural loan. Possibly this policy was thought of in order to attract people to a new *Janapada*. But it was also economically motivated. We find that this policy of dispensing favour was useful till it was helpful for the enhancement of the treasury (*Kośa*) of the king; if not, then the policy to be rejected. In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya the king has been advised to maintain the old *Janapadas* and to create new *Janapadas*. For, it was very important for agricultural production and therefore no entertainment was allowed in the *Janapada*. The authority to distribute land in such settlements lay with the state. For, the fallow land was prepared for cultivation with the assistance of the state. In these settlements we find two types of land such as the land that yielded revenue (*karada*) and the land that was free of rent (*niskara*). The policy of *Janapadaniveśa* programme was important to the king from the point of economic interest to the royal exchequer.

2.2 Irrigation

It is to be noted that the agrarian development was due to irrigation. The task of irrigation was entrusted to the *Agoranomois,* high-ranking officers. They controlled *udakabandha* (sluice) in order to regularly supply the required amount of water to the field. It is learnt that a water reservoir was caused to be built up during the period of the Mauryan king Chandragupta Maurya. It was called Sudarshan Lake situated at Junagarh in Gujarat. The provincial ruler Pusyagupta under Chandragupta Maurya was involved in the construction of the Lake. This we learn from the Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman (150 CE). Probably the provincial king was involved in the task of irrigation in local areas. Another provision was made for the supply of water for irrigation. The archaeological excavations at Besnagar show that a large irrigation channel (185' x 7' x 5') was constructed at Besnagar. It is dated to c.300 BCE.

2.3 Types of Irrigation Works and Irrigated lands

The *Arthasastra* refers to different types of irrigational works. These are such as river, canal, spring, lake, well, reservoir etc. However in connection with irrigation, according to the text, we find two types of irrigation works (*setukarmma*). These are such as a) the wells, tanks which could be full with natural sources of water (*sahodaka*) and b) the reservoir in which water could be

stored (*aharyodaka*). At the point of irrigation works we also come across variety of the irrigated lands. The land irrigated by manually supplying water and the land which was irrigated by lifting water from a river etc.

2.4 Private Enterprise in Irrigation Works

According to the *Arthasastra*, private individuals were encouraged to carry on irrigation works. The text refers to the fact that those who took up new irrigation works by using tanks etc were given the five-year tax exemption. Those who repaired the destroyed irrigation works were given the four-year tax benefit. Besides, the text points out the fact that if an irrigation project of the private owner was not used for five years, the owner might loose it. The private owner of an irrigation project, according to the text, could sell or mortgage his project.

2.5 Revenues

We find that the cultivator paid certain amount of land produce to the king. According to Diodorus, the peasants paid one-fourth part of the produce and revenue to the king. According to Strabo, the cultivator received one-fourth part of the produce. In other words they paid the three-fourth part of the produce to the ruler. Revenues were also collected from the land under irrigation. According to the *Arthaśāstra*, water-tax was collected from the cultivator. It was called *udakabhāga*. The rate of water-tax depended on how the water for irrigation was taken. The occupational groups connected with the land were also taxed. The Rummindei pillar inscription of Aśoka Maurya points out that the Lumbini village was the Buddha's place of birth and therefore it was royally ordered to pay one-eighth part of the royal share. The royal share in the agricultural production was one-sixth part of the produce. The peasant paid the *pindakara* assessed on the groups of villages.

2.6 Land Types

We have come across the term *Sītādhyakṣa* above. The land of the king or crown land which was supervised by this high-ranking officer was called *Sītā* land. We also find another seven types of land under the king's prerogative. These are such as a) the fallow land, b) the newly settled *janapada*, c) the treasures, d) the mines and mining products, e) the pasture land, f) the irrigation project and g) the forest land. Besides the royal ownership of land we get a reference from Kautilya to the private ownership of land. This is *pranastasvamikam*. If the owner of this type land happened to be absent for a long time he might loose his ownership of the land.

2.7 Crops

We have already seen above that the *Sītādhyakṣa* collected the seeds of the cash crops like cotton, food grains like paddy, fruits, vegetables etc. This indicates that these crops were cultivated by the peasants in the crown land. The Greek accounts refer to the production of sugarcane, wheat, millet etc.

2.8 Agricultural Labourers

We find that different categories of people were employed in order to carry on the task of agricultural production. The *Arthaśāstra* points out the fact that the slaves, paid labourers and those who were unable to repay their fine were employed by the *Sītādhyakṣa* in the works of cultivation in the *Sita* land. The text also brings out the fact that there were two categories of cultivators in the *Sita* land. A group of farmers used to cultivate the *Sita* land with their own agricultural implements. There was another category of peasants who were provided with agricultural implements like plough etc and thus employed to carry on the works of cultivation in the *Sita* land. The peasants of the first category were entitled to get half of the produce. The labourers of the second category were given one-fourth or one-fifth part of the produce. They depended only on their own labour and therefore were called *svavīryopojīvi*.

3. Industries

3.1 Mining Production

During the period under discussion we also notice that the society saw the development of artisanal industries. According to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, mines and mining productions / industries were under the state control. It was exercised by the *Ākaradhyakṣa*. This officer was to have the expertise on metallurgy and mining. Kautilya also advised the king to take up the task of mining which was less expensive. But in the case of expensive mining the king was advised to welcome the private enterprise. But it was conditional. The condition was that a certain part of the mining production was to be given to the royal exchequer. It was called *bhāga*. Thus two benefits were ensured. Firstly, the state was beneficial with investment and secondly, the non-involvement of the state in expensive mining led to less expenditure for the state. However the *Ākaradhyakṣa* sent the mining products to the state-owned workshops for the production of minerals etc. These workshops were under the supervision of the officers called *Lohādhyakṣa*, *Khanyadhyakṣa* etc who were subordinate to the *Ākaradhyakṣa*. At this point we should also take note of the fact the Mauryan state paid attention to the gold and diamond mines. In connection with gold mine we should remember that the Mauryan provincial administration was managed by the prince or Āryaputra at Suvarṇagiri (now in Karnataka). According to Allchin, it is possible to show in the light of archaeological artefacts that metal extraction was regularly done at this place in the past. Probably the Mauryan period witnessed the mining of gold at this place which made it well known as Suvarṇagiri. We further learn from Allchin that the areas adjacent to Karnataka witnessed the existence of diamond mines. In fact Asoka's edicts have also been found from Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. This may provide indication towards the Mauryan state's interest in minerals. Therefore the existence of these gold and diamond mines in the south might have led the Mauryan ruler to take these areas under the direct control of the royal administration there.

3.2 Weaving and Liquor

The state also played its role in the production sectors of weaving and liquor. These two sectors were under the supervision of the *Sūtrādhyakṣa* and *Surādhyakṣa* as found in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. The *Sūtrādhyakṣa* supervised the production of cotton-thread in the state farms. In this task the female labourers were employed in the farms. Their wages were fixed on the basis of how much yarn they could produce within the stipulated time. In these two sectors also the private enterprise was welcomed but with administrative attention thereto. And the production of the industrial goods of lesser importance was under the state control through the imposition of taxes thereon. Thus in the development of industries we notice that the mining activities, ship-building and weapon-making industries were under the control of the state. The private enterprise was however allowed by applying conditions in the mining sector. The weaving and liquor industries were run by the state personnel in the workshops of the state.

4. Trade and Commerce

Closely related to the system of production is the question of the consumption and transportation of the commodities produced. It is to be noted that the commodities produced by the producer go to the consumer through the channels of trade and commerce. Naturally, we wish to pay attention to trade and commerce during the period under discussion.

4.1 The *Astynomoi*

We learn from the Greek accounts that the Mauryan capital Pataliputra was administered by the six Boards each with five members. Thus the administrative body included thirty members in total. They were designated as the *Astynomois*. Now, of these Boards the members of the fourth Board looked after the affairs of trade and commerce. They supervised so that a trader could not mix an old commodity with a new one and thus sell it in the market. The three *Pradeṣṭās* had the responsibility of protecting the public from the malpractices of the seller. The seller could trade only in one item. Trading in more than one item required the trader to pay double the amount of the tax. This thirty-member administrative body looked after the markets. They also looked after ports as some parts of both the east and west coasts of early India were included within the Mauryan Empire. In this context it may be noted that the ship-building industry was under the control of the state. At this point the duties and functions of the *Nāvyādhyakṣa* of Kauṭilya may be taken note of for comparison. It is also to be noted that the sailors and ship-builders were given wages and maintenance from the state.

4.2 The Officer Supervising Trade and Commerce

The responsibility of supervising trade and commerce was entrusted to the high-ranking officer designated as the *Paṇyadhyakṣa* ('Superintendent of Commodities') in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. This officer was to have the expertise on the different commodities brought to the market. In this connection he was also to have the information about the places of their production,

whether the those commodities were brought by water or by land, their demand and supply and their 'price differentials'. On the basis of such information the suitable policy of trade and commerce for the state could be determined by the *Paṇyadhyakṣa*.. Thus the policy he took was applicable both within the country and outside. In this connection it is learnt that he *Paṇyadhyakṣa* used to adopt the policy of *saṁkṣepa* ('consolidation') and *vikṣepa* ('dispersal') in the country by taking the appropriate market condition into consideration. He was also entrusted with the responsibility of selling the commodities produced in the state farms. In this connection he could appoint private traders (*vaidehaka*) who were also bound to sell the commodities of the king (*rājapaṇya*). Otherwise they had to give compensation. According to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the *Paṇyadhyakṣa* would fix the amount of profit for a trader; 5% for an indigenous trader and 10% for a non-indigenous merchant. Kautilya informs us that the market was in charge of the officer called *Saṁsthādhyakṣa*. And the officer in charge of collecting tolls etc was designated as the *Śulkādhyakṣa*. The *Paṇyadhyakṣa* would also take into account the profit for the state in case of import or export trade with foreign countries. The officer was also instructed to send messengers for understanding the foreign market. In this context we should take note of the fact that the Aśoka Maurya maintained connection with Tāmrparṇī or Sri Lanka and the five Greek rulers of West Asia. In this context the propagation of Dhamma may be taken note of. It was difficult to make this cultural connection really successful without having commercial exchanges.

4.3 Dues from Craftsmen and Taxes

The workers, craftsmen, traders and artisans paid a tribute to and worked for the king. The ship-builders, sailors and armour-makers paid taxes.

Some of the *Astynomoi* officers collected one-tenth part as tax from the commodities sold. We find that if a trader could not pay this tax, he was to be adjudged to an offending and therefore sentenced to death. The collection of this type of tax might have been equivalent to that of 'sales tax' from a trader. This indicates the state control on the trading activities of the period. Megathenes informs us that the husbandmen and hunters paid tax to the king. This tax might have been collected under the heads *vraja* and *vana* as mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. The text rules that the trade routes were to be assessed with taxes such as *śulka, vartanī* and toll duties. However, the *Arthaśāstra* entrusts the responsibilities of the supervision and organization of the taxation and resources of the state to the two high- ranking officers designated as the *Samāhartā* and the *Sannidhātā*. The superintending officer *Samāhartā* was the Chief Collector of taxes for the king and the superintending officer *Sannidhātā* was the Chief Treasurer for the king. Kautilya says that the *Samāhartā* was to collect taxes from seven such sources such as fort (*durga*), province (*rāṣṭra*), forest (*vana*), mine (*khani*), irrigation works (*setu*), herd (*vraja*) and trade routes (*vaṇikpatha*).

4.4 Emergency Taxation

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya contains the provisions of collecting resources in different ways during the financial crisis of the state. Therefore emphasis was given on the collection of taxes on the emergency basis in order to avoid financial crisis of the state. These emergency taxes are called *Praṇaya* in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. In this situation the cultivator could be forced to produce more crops. The king had the right to increase the tax-rate more than the normal tax-rate in the case of collecting taxes from the peasants, artisans and merchants and herdsmen. Even the prostitutes were also additionally taxed and in this regard recommendations were also made.

4.5 Communication

The regular trading exchanges require good road communication. We find from the Greek accounts that the *Agoranomoi* officers looked after the maintenance of routes of communication. The Greek author Eratosthenes reports that a road from the Mauryan capital of Pāṭaliputra went to West Asia through the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent. This we find to have been corroborated by the two epigraphic records from Laghman in Afganistan referring to the royal road (*kārapathi*), according to B. N. Mukherjee. The *Arthaśāstra* informs us about the advantages of different routes through water, land, coast and the Himalayan area. At this point we should also take note of the fact that we have Aśoka's two Rock Edicts from Girnar and Sopara. It is to be noted that both the spots were near to the west coast of India. Our attention has been drawn to the recent excavations at Failaka near Kuwait. It appears that the Persian Gulf was an important sea route which connected the west coast of India. May be that the Mauryas were aware of the overseas trade and commerce.

4.6 Coinage

One can understand the development of trade and commerce in the light of the use of coins during the Mauryan rule. The *Kārṣapaṇa* coins were used in the kingdom of the Mauryas during the period from the fourth to the second centuries BCE. Cast coins were also used. The metal standard, weight and purity of the coins were much regulated. The use of the coins was under the control of the Mauryan administration. It is learnt that the coins bearing the symbol of the peacock sitting on the gate have been found from north-western India, central India, northern Deccan, Gangetic valley and north Bengal. It is said that such symbol-bearing coins belonged to the Mauryas. The officer called *Rūpadarśaka* was in charge of making coins for the state. It is not difficult to understand that the use of coins facilitated the development of trade and commerce during the rule of the Mauryas in early India.

4.7 Weights and Measures

Kautilya informs us that the officer in charge of weights and measures was designated as the *Pautavādhyakṣa* ('Superintendent of Standardization'). The text points out that the goldsmiths

have to buy balances and weights from the *Pautavādhyakṣa*. Otherwise if they manufactured it independently or purchased it from somewhere else, they were to give the fine of 12 *paṇas*.

5. Urbanization

The development of agriculture, industries, trade and commerce under the control of the Mauryan state continued the process of urbanization during the period. It is well known that Pāṭaliputra became a large urban centre with a well organized administrative system. The city had an administrative department that looked after the foreigners. We should note that Megasthenes was present in this city. Kausambi (Kosam near Allahabad) was another urban centre of the Mauryas. In this city a royal road was discovered. It is dated to c. 300 BCE. Taksasila (present day Taxila) became an important centre of the Mauryan provincial administration in the northwestern region. Urbanization took place in the east during the time of the Mauryas. This is supported by the epigraphic record from Mahasthan in the Bogra district of northern Bangladesh. The inscription refers to the well fortified city of Puḍanagala or Puṇḍranagara. The archaeological remains of Puṇḍranagara have been brought to light by K. N. Dikshit. The remains include terracotta images of the Mauryan times, semi-precious stone beads, cast coins, Black Polished Ware materials, iron implements etc. In this context mention may be made to the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. The text points out how the administrative area, trading zone and residential area are to be developed in different parts of the *Durga*. Urbanization also reached Odisha and the Deccan. It was possibly because of the administrative purposes of the Mauryas.

6. Summary

It therefore appears that the Mauryan state introduced such an economic system which controlled agriculture, industries and trade and commerce. Thus the control of the state brought about economic development during the period under discussion. But at the same time the Mauryan state also allowed the entry of private enterprises to some extent. The administrative system the Mauryas introduced provided them with a great scope to collect wealth. The Mauryas successfully collected taxes/revenues. Their success in the collection of wealth gave rise to the rich treasury (*Kosa*) of the state. However, the conducive economic environment created by the Mauryas continued the process of urbanization.

Post- Mauryan Economy

1. Introduction

The post-Mauryan period in Indian history which stretches from 200 BCE to 300 CE witnessed the presence of several powers in north and north-western India. There was a shift in the focus of political power away from the Magadha region. Long distance oversea networks along with inland networks helped in circulation of men and commodities. The period witnessed unprecedented growth in the economic life which was visible in all spheres of economy.

2. Agriculture and Irrigation

We possess very little information on the land system during the post Mauryan period in north India. However agriculture was perhaps common place as a purely religious text like Milindapanho contained information about eight different stages of agricultural operations right from removing weeds from the field to the final harvesting and winnowing of crops. Archaeological findings of agricultural tools, mostly iron-like the ploughshare, axes, adzes, spade and sickle from Taxila and Sanchi suggest compatibility with literary image. State initiative in agricultural production is not much evident. Large area of land tilled by the administration is hardly seen in the Kushana realm. However due importance to irrigation for the expansion of agricultural production was given at least in the north-western part of the empire. This was possibly due to the fact that north-west India witnessed less rainfall and so necessary measures had to be taken for conservation of water. The construction of large irrigation canals like the Dargom, Bulungur, Narpai and Shahrud on the Zaravshan river, the Salar canal in the Tashkent oasis have been dated to the time of the Kushana empire. Scholars have located remains of old canals and traces of fields on hill terraces with devices to channelize rain water from fields at the top to those at the bottom in the Peshawar region during the Kushana period. Another source of water for irrigation might have been large wells. Private donative Kharoshti inscriptions are replete with references to digging of wells. Excavation of a tank (*tadaga*) and a well (*kupa*) has been lauded in the normative texts as a highly meritorious act. It may be noted here that from the Bactrian inscription of Surkh-kotal referring to the year 31 of the Kanishka era (109 AD), we learn that the Kanishka-Nikator sanctuary at Surkh-kotal had been abandoned due to scarcity of water. Later a high official renovated the building, dug a well and set up a conduit for flowing of water to the sanctuary and expressed the hope that it would not be abandoned by gods again. This is indicative to the scarcity of water in the region and the steps taken thereby. Some of this large scale irrigation measures must have been quite expensive and so might have been financed by the ruling authorities rather than private individuals. Thus, the Kushanas, though having natural granaries in the fertile valley of the Indus and in a part of the Gangetic valley did their best to boost agricultural production in areas which did not receive the bountiful supply of rainfall.

3. Proliferation of Crafts

A remarkable feature of economic life was proliferation of crafts which is closely related with expanding trade. Sifting through the epigraphic material of the period we get an idea of the occupation and crafts in practice at that time. Various craftsmen figure in inscriptions as donors to the Buddhist and Jaina monasteries. Thus we come across superintending engineers (*navakarmikah*), actors (*sailakah*), carpenters (*vaddhaki*), perfumers (*gamdhika*), goldsmith (*suvarnakara*), clothmakers (*pravarika*), *lohakara* (ironsmith), jewellers (*manikara*) and so on. The archaeological material discovered from the sites of the Kushana period in the form of pottery, terracotta objects, metal, stone, ivory and bone objects, plaques and sculptural pieces, beads etc. betrays the existence of potters, smiths, sculptors, weavers and similar other crafts group in the material milieu of the Kushana period. Glass finger rings, bangles, vessels, glass tiles of 1st-2nd centuries and a large number of beads were found at Taxila. These are also reported from other Kushana sites like Hastinapura, Kausambi, Rajghat, Vaisali, and Chirand. The working of bone and ivory also developed during the Kushana times. These were used for manufacturing luxury goods, domestic objects and weapons. The best specimens of ivory work are found at Begram and Taxila. These craftsmen produced articles of daily necessities and also luxury items. One of the foremost crafts was the manufacture of textiles which earned wide spread fame. The Jataka stories repeatedly highlight the importance of Varanasi and Mathura as leading centres of textile production. It is important to note that crafts production in this period is marked by lessening control of the state and growing private enterprise. However, one sector of industrial production where state control is evident is the mining industry. Wealth of the state was augmented through mining. Epigraphic and literary materials, including the *Geographike Huphegesis* of Ptolemy, may indicate that the Kushanas took initiative to work out diamond mines in eastern Malwa (variously called Dasarna, Akara, Purva Malava and Kosa). It appears that rich diamond mines might have lured the Kushanas into Akara. The Kushana administration must have exercised some control over mining and marketing precious stones, which were important articles of commerce. The diamond mines later seem to have been controlled by Rudradaman I (AD 150). He is described in the Junagadh inscription as the lord of many areas including Akara which came under his possession after the heyday of the Kushanas.

4. Monetization

Such commercial prosperity naturally called for extensive monetization. The Indo-Greeks, Sakas, Parthians and Kushanas issued coins. This was an important aspect of their economy. Provenances of a great number of Kushana coins, including some hoards, may suggest their circulation in parts of India and Central Asia even beyond the limits of the Kushana dominions e.g. a hoard of Kushana gold coins was found in Ethiopia. This is a pointer to the international value of Kushana gold coins. Large influx of Roman gold pieces into India as a result of the trade with the Roman Empire perhaps influenced the decision of the Kushanas to strike gold coins. Roman coins, however, were mostly used as bullion in India. From the *Periplus* we learn that the Indian subcontinent, a greater part of which was in the Kushana Empire, was favourably placed in terms of exchange of goods with the Roman Orient and some other countries of Asia and

Africa. The balance was received among other things in Roman gold. So the Kushana Empire was not required to export her gold coins in any great quantity. This caused Pliny to lament for the drainage of a great number of Roman coins from the empire. Another significant aspect of coinage was the availability of a large number of copper coins. Copper coins and coin moulds are found in large numbers in areas associated with several non-monarchical clans in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan (Malavas, Arjunayanas, Yaudheyas etc.). Copper coins generally used for petty transactions indicate an impact of monetization even on the daily life of the common people.

5. Urbanization

The development in agriculture, proliferation of crafts and expansion of trade gave considerable fillip to the non-agrarian sector of the economy. The most prosperous phase of second urbanization in Indian history was during the period from 200 BCE to 300 CE. Important cities like Bactra, Peucolaotis (Pushkalavati), Taxila, and Modoura (Mathura) which had already been in existence prior to the Kushana rule, blossomed further. Taxila (Sirkap) was a fully planned city. Residential houses were laid out in a well-defined manner. Such planned urban centres are a novelty and the influence of foreigners is quite unmistakable. Taxila was perhaps an important centre of transit trade in the Kushana age. In Ahichchhatra (near Bareilly), a concrete road was found from a layer assignable to about 200 CE. Mathura witnessed a remarkable growth first under the Indo-Scythians and later under the Kushanas. Attention has been drawn to the use of stone in the projected sections of buildings in the street corners. This was perhaps done to ensure protection against damages by vehicles. This is rightly interpreted as a sign of increase in the volume of traffic and consequently that of merchandise and traders. The ground plan at Sonkh shows the most developed and systematic phase of urban lay out. Remains of residential houses made of mud and burnt bricks of diverse sizes have been unearthed. Fortifications at Mathura were revived, enlarged and repaired. Traceable ruins of fortifications indicate that Mathura of the Kushana age was a fairly large city. Thus Mathura emerged as a large and prosperous urban centre in the age of the Kushanas. Mathura's prosperity depended on trade, transit trade in particular, as it emerged as a nodal point where several important overland routes converged. The singular commodity that Mathura could really boast of was its textile products. Major cities in the middle Ganga plains, like Sravasti, Kaushambi, Varanasi, Champa and Pataliputra not only continued, but seemed to have attained their most prosperous phase. The proliferation of cities in this period has logically been seen as 'secondary' cities. The secondary urban formation was the result of close interactions between Ganga valley and the erstwhile peripheral areas.

The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabaharata* graphically describe the cities of Ayodhya in Kosala and Indraprastha, the newly founded capital of the Pandavas by burning the Khandava forest tract. In North Bihar, Vaisali (Muzaffarpur) witnessed three successive fortifications between second century BC and second century AD. Urban development can also be noted in Bengal. While the two earlier urban centres at Mahasthan and Bangarh continued to flourish, new urban centres sprang up in the early centuries of the Christian era the most prominent of which

were Mangalkot, Bharatpur, Chandraketugarh and Tamluk. Of these Tamluk was the same as the ancient port of Tamralipta, while Chndraketugarh, a huge archaeological site, is often identified with the port of Gange in the *Periplus* and Ptolemy's *Geography*. Orissa also experienced a major urban centre in the form of Sisupalgarh, located close to Bhuvaneswar. A massive mud rampart was raised around 200-100 BC and this was further reinforced by brick rivetments. The most important feature of Sisupalgarh was its magnificent gateway complex.

5.1 Ports

Two major ports of north India, namely Barbarikon at the mouth of the river Indus and Barygaza (Bhrigukachchha) on the mouth of the river Narmada in Gujarat figure prominently in the *Periplus* and Ptolemy's *Geography*. The Hou Han-shu stated that after conquering the Lower Indus area the Kushanas became extremely rich and powerful. As Lower Indus area had regular commercial relations with the Oriental possessions of the Roman Empire, this statement of the Hou Han-shu may suggest that the advent of the Kushanas in Shen-tu (lower Indus country) was motivated mainly by the prospects of gain offered by its thriving commerce with the Roman Empire, in which the balance of trade was in favour of India. The *Periplus* (Sec. 64) offers excellent accounts of how commodities, including Chinese silk, were brought to Barbarikon and Barygaza from Kabul, Pushkalavati and Taxila. While the overland route linking the north-west with the Indus delta must have passed through the plains of Punjab, the route to Barygaza passed through Mathura in the Ganga-Yamuna doab. From Mathura, the overland route touched Ujjayini which was closely connected with Barygaza. This gives us an indication to the extensive hinterland of the two ports. Recent petroglyphs, discovered in the Karakoram highway demonstrate the use of a shorter, perhaps more dangerous, Chi-pin (Kashmir) route to reach north India from Central Asian region. There is a strong possibility that Central Asian horses reached north Indian plains through this Karakoram route. This is evident from the fine representation of horses with men wearing Yueh-chih (Kushan) dress in painting and etchings on rock. The cities of Taxila and Pushkalavati, acting as gateways to overland access to Central and West Asia, and the famous city of Mathura, a major political centre of the Kushanas, gained much out of this international commerce.

6. Trade

The period under review witnessed an unprecedented expansion of the trade network of India. Merchants of various types began to figure prominently in textual and epigraphic sources. These sources refer to *vanik* (petty merchant), *sarthavaha* (caravan trader), *vyavahari* (a trader) and *sreshthi* (rich trader and leader of a mercantile guild). In the Pali canonical text and the *Jataka* stories, a *sreshthi* appears as one of the closest friends and associates of the king. Immediately before the reign of the Kushanas, during the time of the Indo-Parthian ruler Gondophares (*c.* AD 20/21-AD 45/46), we find reference to *raja sreshthi* (royal merchant). The various terms used to designate different types of merchant obviously indicate their difference

in economic as well as social status. Some of the merchants were rich enough to make magnificent donations. The itinerant nature of a large number of merchants can be easily guessed from regular references to their presence at cultural and trade centres which they reached from diverse places. A close perusal of donative records at Sanchi, Bharhut, Mathura and Bandhogarh shows that these were convenient points of convergence of merchants and travellers.

Channels of communication connecting far flung regions were many and varied. The *Suttanipata* indicates the existence of channels of communication between many regions. The *Periplus* alludes to transit of articles of commerce from Thina (China) and through Bactria, north India and Ozene (Ujjain), to Barygaza (Bhrigukachchha), the famous port in western India. Besides internal trade, the most significant aspect of commercial activities of this period is the brisk participation of India in long distance international exchange network- both overland and maritime, particularly with the Roman Empire. Roman Empire had trade links with China and there was a great demand for Chinese silk in Roman market which was supplied together with other items along the famous overland Silk Road. The route began from Loyang in China and reached the two Mediterranean ports of Antioch and Alexandria by traversing through Central Asia, West Asia and Eurasia. From Dunhuang in China, the route bifurcated into two, the northern and southern silk routes, located respectively to the north and south of Taklamakan desert. The two branches converged at Kashgarh in Xingchiang or Chinese Turkestan and passed through Afghanistan and Iran to reach the famous marts of Seleucia and Palmyra which were connected to Antioch and Alexandria. The Arsacids or Parthians were an unavoidable commercial and political intermediary between China in the east and Rome in the west with an extortionist attitude. There was a need for an alternative and less extortionate intermediary. This need was fulfilled by the foundation of the empire of the Kushanas who extended their rule over vast territories of north India including the Indus delta and Kathiawar peninsula. A passage in the Hou Han- shu, which gives information datable to *c.* AD 105 or even to *c.* AD 125 refers to commercial communication between Ta-ch'in (Roman Orient) and Shen-tu (the lower Indus area) which was under the Yueh-chih (or the Kushanas). According to Pliny, Indian wares were sold in the Roman Empire 'at fully one hundred times their prime cost'. From the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* and Strabo's *Geographikon* we learn that increasingly better knowledge and the utilization of the monsoon wind system greatly facilitated oversea contacts with India, especially its west coast, through the Red sea channel. A ship sailing from the Red sea port of Berenike or Myos Hormos or Leukos linen could reach the western sea board of India in less than forty days if not in twenty days. This naturally facilitated an alternative and faster communication between India and eastern Mediterranean areas. Thus the establishment of the Kushana power resulted in the movement of commodities through the north-western borderland of the subcontinent to the western coast of India.

At the eastern fringe of the vast north Indian plains is situated the Ganga delta. Bengal in the early centuries of the Christian era experienced a flourishing agriculture. Moreover, the Bengal delta provided the only outlet for the land-locked middle Ganga plains to the sea. The Bengal delta had two major ports, known from a large number of archaeological and literary evidences:

these were Tamralipta (Tamalites and Taluctae in Classical sources) and Chandraketugarh (an impressive archaeological site to the north of Calcutta, often identified with the port of Gange of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy's *Geography*). The *Periplus* speaks very highly of the Gangetic nard and Gangetic muslin as major export items from this area.

6.1 Commodities

The important commodities that were in circulation in the maritime route were pepper, precious stones, nards, fabrics etc. Pepper is the most important of the spices. It is limited in its origin to Indian. Archaeological evidence for its domestic use as a condiment is provided by paper shakers found in various parts of Italy. The black pepper of Malabar was the most sought after and has been aptly labeled as the 'black gold'. In Indian texts it was known as *Yavana priya*. Precious stones were also associated with India. Among the stones that are explicitly marked as Indian are the diamond, emerald, turquoise onyx and some others. From Curtius Rufus we learn that 'the area of India was thought wealthy, not only for its gold but also for its precious stones and pearls, and to aim more for luxurious living than for grandeur.' Spikenard another important item is the same as nard. The word is derived from Greek nardos, referring to oils extracted from certain fragrant grasses, grown in the Himalayan mountainous regions of India. Nard leaves entered the gastronomical world of the rich Romans as these were used for preparing oyster sauce and another sauce for preparing venison. Spikenard is reported to have been kept in alabaster boxes and was also used as drug. The Periplus speaks of three varieties of Indian nard exported from three different ports: from Barbaricum, the port of the Indus delta, from Barygaza, port at the mouth of the river Narmada and Gangetic nard shipped from Muziris in Kerela. The Periplus makes several references to the import of silk from the subcontinent, the major exporting regions being Muziris and Nelkynda on the south west coast (silk cloth), Barbarikon in the Indus delta (Chinese pelts, cloth and yarn), Barygaza (silk cloth and yarn) and the Ganges delta (muslin). There is some evidence that India had a silk industry of its own but silk was also imported from China. We know the existence of a silk route which continued from East Asia to the eastern Mediterranean. India was also a source for cotton. Herodotus associates cotton exclusively with India. Periplus while speaking of the goods, brought to the port of Barygaza from its hinterland, talks about Indian garments of cotton and a considerable amount of cloth of ordinary quality.

6. Guilds

Guilds (mostly called *Srenis*) started gaining importance during the period. Almost every industrial activity and major profession was organized under their respective guilds. The existence of guild of traders in Mathura is suggested by a well known epigraph of the year 28 of the Kanishka era. The guilds' activities were many and varied. They acted as banking corporations. In a number of cases the guilds accepted permanent deposits of money (*akshayanivi*) on condition that the principal would be kept intact and only the interest would be utilized. This ensured supply of capital to expanding craft activities and traders. It is important

to note that the Kushanas never tried to introduce a uniform standard of weights or of measures throughout the Empire.

7. Revenue Earnings

Burgeoning trade and proliferation of crafts and industries offered enough opportunity to the monarchs to fill their exchequer by imposing different form of levies on traders industries and crafts mainly run by private enterprise. In this regard the evidence of the Junagadh inscription (AD149/150) of Rudradaman is of utmost importance. It is stated in the epigraph that his treasury was overflowed 'with an accumulation of gold, silver, diamonds, beryl stones and other precious things' rightfully obtained through (collection of taxes like) *bali* (a kind of tribute from the subjects), *sulka* (ferry dues, tolls, duties on merchandise etc.) and *bhaga* (royal share generally 1/6th of the produce). According to the same inscription, Rudradaman I caused the rebuilding of the dam 'without oppressing the inhabitants of the towns and country' by *kara* (periodical tax or some other kind of tax), *vishti* (forced labour) and *pranaya* (benevolence tax of non-recurring nature). Since Rudradaman's family might have served the Kushanas for a certain period not much earlier than the date referred to in the Junagadh record and since much of his territory might have been earlier in the Kushana Empire, the taxes mentioned in this inscription could have been well-known in the Kushana Empire, at least in its Indian provinces. Testimony of large number of Kushana coins may indicate that taxes were primarily paid in cash. However, archaeological excavations suggest that these were also paid in kind. Excavations at Begram in Eastern Afghanistan have brought to light a store-house of the Kushana period comprising wares from different countries. Wheeler has suggested that this store-house was probably a customs depot for receipt of dues in kind collected from traders participating in international trade. Begram was very much within the Kushana Empire and so this evidence might indicate that the Kushana officials also collected taxes in kind. This is also corroborated by Rudradaman's inscription which speaks about collection of royal dues by accepting different kinds of precious stones and metals. The rich and large-scale entrepreneurs apparently paid the heaviest amount of taxes levied on industrial products, agricultural products and other articles of trade. It is evident that the traders helped the empire in augmenting its financial resources.

8. Summary

It appears from the above discussion that the post Mauryan period experienced flourishing economy. The rulers were oriented towards trade, so there were burgeoning trade contacts with countries beyond India and within territories of India. There was continuity in the presence of many of the urban centres right from the time of the Janapadas and many new centres also grew. We see the presence of port towns too with rich hinterlands. Long distance trade network gained prominence and many commodities of Indian origin were of high demand and in circulation. Emphatic evidence of burgeoning trade comes from coinage and this period saw immense monetization. Revenue terms in the inscriptions suggest extraction of revenue by the rulers both in kind and cash. Thus a thriving economy could be perceived.

Post-Mauryan Economy (*The Satavahanas*)

1. Introduction

The historian attempts to explain the changes which the past human beings have brought about in order to fulfill their different purposes—social, economic, political as well as cultural—in societies through ages. This is apparent from early Indian history from as early as the days of the Stone Age. Thus we find early India to have witnessed the emergence of a number of political powers after the end of the Mauryan rule (c. 325 to 187 BCE) in early India. A number of political powers like the Bactrian Greeks (250 BCE), Śakas (100-75 BCE), Kuṣāṇas (c. CE 1st century to 3rd century) etc. in the north-western borderlands of the Indian subcontinent, the Suṅgas (c. 2nd century to 75 BCE), the Kāṇvas (possibly came to an end by the last part of the 1st century BCE) in Magadha (southern Bihar), the Choḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Cheras in the far south are known to us. Similarly the Deccan witnessed the emergence of the Sātavāhanas (1st **century BCE to 232 CE**) who might have became politically powerful as a particular branch, if acknowledged, of the Andhras/Andhrabhṛtyas in the Deccan. The society during the Sātavāhana phase under discussion also saw certain changes in the economic sector related to agriculture, trade and commerce and coinage.

1.1 Sources of Information

The relevant information about the economic activities of the people during the period of the Satavahanas in the Deccan are available from a) literary texts, b) inscriptions and c) archaeological artefacts.

1.2 Agrarian Products

We learn from the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas that timber (*karanja*), mango, and coconut trees were planted. The coconut because of its fibre, oil, wood has been a valuable agricultural cash crop of the Konkan coast. Probably millets, wheat, rice, gram, pea, sorghum, barley, lentils etc were produced as we have the grains of these crops from the excavations at Nevasa, Bhokardan and Ter. The epigraphic records of the Sātavāhanas refer to the term *hala*. The word *hala* signifies both a land measure and a field that has been cultivated. However we may take the word in the sense of the plough that was used to cultivate the field.

The *Manusamhita* (c. 2nd cent. BCE to 2nd cent. CE) refers to different kinds of paddy, wheat, lentils, beans, sesamum etc. The *Milindapanho* (1st century BCE) mentions that the *Sali* variety of rice is for the king, the *kumudbhandika* variety of paddy was eaten by the people of the Konkan coast. Both the *Mahabharata* (c. 4th cent. BCE to 4th cent. CE) and the *Milindapanho* refer to *yava* and *godhuma*, *jowar*, mustard seeds etc. Periplus and Ptolemy mention Indian spices and fragrant products. The production of cash crops like cotton in the Deccan, spices and pepper in south India and sugarcane in the Gangetic valley are well known.

1.2.1 Agrarian Method

The *Somadatta Jataka* indicates the use of a pair of oxen for ploughing the land. The *Mahabhasya* of Patanjali refers to the fact that the land was five times ploughed. In other words the land was well cultivated. The *Milindapanho* draws our attention to a few stages such as clearing the land, ploughing, sowing seeds, irrigation, fencing the ploughed-up land, watching the tilled-up field as well as cutting the crops. Ranabir Chakravarti refers to a sculpture from the Gandhara region, which shows the cultivator ploughing the field. The excavations from Taxila bring out spade, axe, plough etc which might have been used in carrying on the task of cultivation.

1.2.1.a. The Cultivator

The Deccan witnessed the fact that the task of cultivation was carried on by using the plough. This is understandable from the epigraphic records of the first century BCE. It is learnt that the cultivator was called *halika*. In the Deccan we have also inscriptional references to the *kutumbika*. An epigraphic record from Nasik refers to the excavation by one *kutumbika* of a cave for the Buddhist monks. The *kutumbika* or cultivator got the work done during the 5th or 6th regnal year of the Satavahana king Vasisthiputra Pulumavi (135/6 CE). We have another *kutumbika* named Usabhanaka who was called *halakiya*.

1.2.2 Irrigation

The cultivation of a crop requires irrigation. In this regard the Dharmasastras attach importance The *Manusamhita* mentions that one who would cause damage to irrigation (*setu*) would be sentenced to death. Wells, tanks and canals were used for irrigating the land. Even the task of cultivation was carried on possibly by using the river water. In this regard we have an archaeological evidence of a large water reservoir from Sringaverapura near Allahabad. The water of the Ganges was brought through a channel to this reservoir.

1.2.3 Irrigation Technology

H. P. Ray draws our attention to some coins from Kolhapur bearing the symbols of water wheels. This may allow one to assume that the wheels were used to lift water from wells in order to facilitate the task of cultivation in the field. We find that tanks and wells were used for the purpose of irrigation during the period of the Sātavāhanas. At the point of irrigation we like to propose a reference to the word *rahaṭṭaghaḍiya* in the Prakrit text *Gāhāsattasaī* (Sanskrit *Gāthā-saptaśatī*). The Sanskrit rendering of the word is *arahaṭṭa-ghaṭikā*. We find that the wheel with pots was used to lift water from a well for irrigation. In this connection we have an epigraphic reference to *odayantrikaśreṇyā*. We also learn that *odayantra* is *audayantra* or *udayantra* and thus we come to the meaning 'workers fabricating hydraulic engines' for the word *odayantrikaśreṇyā*. These attempts led to agricultural development in the fertile areas of the region under the Sātavāhanas. We find epigraphic evidences of land donations from the first century onwards. This was the period of prosperity for the Sātavāhanas.

1.3 Crafts and Industries

1.3.1 Crafts

The *Milindapanho*, a large number of inscriptions (200 BCE to 200 CE) from Sanchi, Bharhut, Amaravati, Dhanyakataka, Mathura etc refer to a good number of occupational groups. They were such as carpenter, bamboo-maker, weaver, *rangakara* (dyer), perfumer (*gandhika*), garland-maker, *manikara* (jewelers), *dantakara* (ivory-worker) etc. It appears that the society of the time witnessed the varieties of crafts as well as the fact that many individuals privately took to professions.

1.3.2 Industries

According to B. N. Mukherjee, there was a diamond mine (*kosa* of Ptolemy) in the eastern part of Malava. It was under the control of the king. The Satavahana king Gautamiputra Satakarni's Nasik *Prasasti* refers to this place as *akara*. The *Jatakas* I and II refer to various shapes and forms of bangles. The *Jatakas* (II, III, V, VI) mention the process of producing sandal wood perfume. The *Mahavagga* refers to various textile commodities such as linen, silk, woolen garments etc. The Buddhist texts like the *Anguttara Nikaya* etc and *Jatakas* mention luxurious industrial goods like eyeoinments, mirrors, turbans, rouge, necklaces, bracelets, stone-cutting etc. The *Mahavagga* and *Dhammapada* refer to the practice of the craft of carpentry with specialization in woodwork. The texts like the *Dighanikaya, Ramayana, Manusamhita, Mahabharata* etc refer to the washerman, dyer, garland-maker, sugar-manufacturer, salt-maker etc. The *Milindapanho* points to painting work. The *Ramayana* and *Milindapanho* mention more crafts such as the rope-makers, comb-makers, arms-makers, pottery, leather-work etc. The information are available about shell-made bangle industry from Nevasa, Maheshwar and Bhokardan; ivory from Ter, Bhokardan and Kondapur. The raw material kaolin was used for making potteries, mirror handles etc. It is learnt that kaolin-made objects have been found from Kondapur, Bhokardan, Brahmapuri etc.

1.3.3 Specialization in Crafts

The variety of crafts as mentioned in different textual sources refers to the fact that the people had achieved specialization in industrial skills in the economy during the period of the Satavahanas.

1.3.4 Professional Organizations

The *Jatakas* refer to the villages of the carpenters, karmakaras. In other words they had organized themselves in their professions. The *Jatakas* also mention the *Jetthaka* who was the chief of the *Samgha*. The existence of the *Samgha* in professional activities is supported by the Ksatrapa king Nahapana's epigraphic reference to the weavers' organization (*kaulikanikaya*). The *Manusamhita* and *Yajnavalkyasmrti* refer to the *Karyacintaka* who assisted the *Jetthaka* in the administration of the *Samgha*. This indicates the increase of both the load and extent of the

activities of the organization. Both literary and epigraphic evidences are found in regard to the professional organizations. Thus the *Jātakas* refer to *seṇi*. We have also reference to the head of the professional organization (*seṇipamukha*). Inscriptions mention different professional organizations like the bamboo workers (*vasakara seṇi*), potters (*kulārika*) etc. Epigraphic records refer to some unorganized professionals like goldsmiths (*suvaṇakāra*), blacksmiths (*kamāra*), stone masons (*selavaḍhakī*) etc.

1.3.5 Rules and Regulations of the Professional Organization

In the case of partnership business the Smrtikaras Narada and Vrhaspati have stated that both the partners must bear the expenditures such as purchases and sales, labour wages, necessary travelling, loss and share profit etc related to the business. The wealth the members of the professional organization acquired was distributed equally among the members of the orgasation. The *Manusamhita* prescribes banishment for any member of the professional organization if he is found to have violated the rules of the organization. The *Yajnavalkyasmrti* prescribes to confiscate the wealth of the guilty member of the organization. If any member caused any damage or loss to the organization, he was to compensate the loss. Thus the professional organization had judicial authority to some extent.

1.3.6 Role of the Professional Organization

The organization also played the role of a bank. This is supported by the references from the inscriptions from Nasik in Maharashtra. According to these references, there were two organizations of the weavers at Nasik and the Ksatrapa ruler Nahapana's son-in-law deposited 2000 *karsapanas* with the first organisation. In return the organization annually paid at the rate of 12% interest on the sum endowed and 1000 *karsapanas* were deposited with the second organization. The second organization paid at the rate of 9% interest per annum on the money deposited. The organizations earned the confidence of the people of the day. The interest amount was to be spent on feeding the monks of the nearby Buddhist *Samgha*. This is how the professional organization played its role with the people's confidence in the society of the day.

2. Trade and Commerce

Literary textual sources make us aware of different categories of traders. Generally we have references to *vaṇij* and *seṭṭhi*. Panini draws our attention to different categories of traders such as *vanik*, *krayavikryika* (one whose occupation was buying and selling), *vasnika* (the trader who invested his money in business), *samsthanika* (a member of the professional organization) and *dravyaka* (the trader with goods for sale). We know of another category of merchant called the caravan merchant (*sārthavāha*) who transported either his own goods or those of other traders. The terms like *vaṇij*, *seṭṭhi* (*sresthi*), *sārthavāha* are also found in inscriptions. The *seṭṭhi* possessed huge amount of wealth according to the *Jātakas*. Among the *sresthis* some were described as the *rajasresthi* who participated in trade for the king. The *Rajasresthi* also helped the king financially. According to Pāṇini, we come to know that there were some merchants who earned

their living by sailing boats or ships in the water. Our attention has been drawn to the references to *dvināvadhana* (wealth due to having two boats) and *pañcanāvadhana* (wealth by sailing with five boats or ships). Thus we come to the term *jalapathakammikena* as found in the *Jātakas*. Therefore we may say that there were some merchants who earned their living by sailing in the sea or river.

2.1 Imports

Following the Indo-Roman trade early Indian imports included date palms, wine, embroidered cloth, copper, tin, gold, silver, metal goods, glass goods, jewellery, potteries, textiles etc. The import items included gold and silver coins, vessels of silver, Roman bottle made of glass and terracotta lamps from the site of Ter, a wine jug, a mirror case, Roman metal objects of bronze, copper etc from the Brahmapuri site.

2.2 Exports

The export items included agrarian products like rice, wheat, spices, particularly pepper and cinnamon, ginger-grass, nard, mango, banana, sesameoil, honey, sandal wood, teak, textiles and silk goods, particularly Chinese silk, dyes like indigo, mineral products, precious stones like agate, carnelian, Indian and Chinese pearls, etc. In connection with export trade we learn from H. P. Ray that export items like silk, iron, food, cloth were sent to the Persian Gulf, Southern Arabia and Cape Guardfui and some goods like luxury ones were sent to Alexandria and then to the Roman market.

2.3 Trade Routes

No one can remain in isolation from the other in sociey. This is also true for the professionals who for the interest of their occupations establish communication with others. Thus we come to routes through which traders/professionals carried on their trading/mercantile exchanges with others.

The Buddhist literature makes us aware of the fact that there were five main road systems in early India. These were such as the North-South, South-West to South-East road, East-West road, East-North-West and South-West-North-west road systems. The North-South road started from Paithan and reached Kapilavastu via Ujjayini, Vidisa, Kosambi (Kosam near Allahabad), and then from Kapilavastu the road went up to Pataliputra (Patna and adjoining regions). This road had ancillary roads also which touched the port of Bharugaccha (Broach in Gujarat) and Tagara. The second road system touched Bharugaccha, Kosambi and Tamralipta (Tamluk in Midnapore district, West Bengal). The East-West road connected Pataliputra with Patala (mouth of the Indus). The East-NorthWest road started from Champa (Bhagalpur in Bihar) and reached Puskalavati. The South-West to North-West road system connected Bharugaccha with Puskalavati. The Periplus refers to the road that linked

Bharugaccha with Kabul. The road from Kabul through Puskalavati, Taksasila, Punjab and the Gangetic valley reached Bharugaccha crossing Malava.

Along with internal trade through these routes early India also participated in long distance trade and commerce from the first century BCE. In this matter the most well known route was the Silk Road. The goods which were passed along this road included the costliest silk and it was also the most valuable product. As the silk was carried along this road, the road came to known as the Silk Road.

In the context of the trade routes it also learnt that the Satavahanas employed 'royal boatmen' (*sagarapalagana*) in order to guard the sea routes. This shows the interests of the Satavahanas in the Indo-Roman trade and commerce.

2.3.1 Vehicles

The *Mahabhasya* of Patanjali mentions that caravans were plied along routes.

2.4 Ports

The *Periplus* and the *Geography* of Ptolemy refer to a good number of ports on both the west and east coasts of India.

2.4.1 Ports of the west coast

The ports on this coast were Barbaricum (situated at the mouths of the Indus), Manoglosan (present day Mangrole) on the Gujarat coast, Barygaza (present day Broach), Souppara or Sopara, Kalliene or Kalyana, Semylla or Chaul, Muziris (Pattanam) etc.

2.4.2 Ports of the east coast

On the east coast the ports were such as Alagankulam, Colchi (archaeologically at Korkai), Kaveripattinam (in the Kaveri delta) or Puhar, Poduke (Arikamedu, Pondicherry), Vasavasamudram near Mamallapuram, Kantakassylla or Kantakasola or Ghantasala on the Andhra coast, Gange or Chandraketugarh in the Ganga delta, Tamralipta (present day Tamluk, West Bengal).

2.5 Procurement of Goods and Sales

However, the goods the traders traded in were purchased or obtained in more than one way. Merchants bought the goods from a ship anchored at a port. Another way to procure goods was by mutual agreement with another. And the third way to procure goods was approaching the producer directly. However the goods thus obtained were also sold at retail shops at urban centres. The *Jātakas* draw our attention to the workers' street, perfumers' shops etc. H. P. Ray draws our attention to the hawker also during the period under discussion. We also have a

reference from the *Jātaka* to the hawker who might have handled goods like pots etc for the use of the commoners.

3. Coinage

Trading exchanges were facilitated by the use of coins. We have Roman coins from the districts of Cuddapah, Guntur, Krishna etc. A hoard of eight silver punched-marked coins and thirty-nine Roman coins have been found from the Karimnagar district. However, the interior parts of the western Deccan witnessed the silver coins of the Kṣatrapa kings. We know that the Sātavāhana ruler Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi restroke the Kṣatrapa silver coins and then circulated the coins. This is supported by the coin hoard from Jogalthembi in Nasik in Maharashtra. Our attention has been drawn to a good number of copper cast coins from Nevasa and Bhokardan. We learn that these coins were of the Sātavāhanas. Their coins were of lead, copper and potin (alloy of tin, zink, copper and lead).

3.1 Features of the Satavahana Coins

The Sātavāhana coins mostly bear the elephant symbol on the obverse. The tree motif and Ujjain symbols are found on the reverse and accordingly they are two groups of coins. We have lion type Sātavāhana coins from Gujarat and Maharashtra, the Krishna and Godavari districts. For the Sātavāhanas we have also horse type and ship type coins. These coins were confined respectively to the Krishna and Godavari districts and the Coromandal coast. We have also coin hoards from Wategaon, Brahmapuri, Vanavasi, Vidarbha and Andhra Pradesh. These coins bear the elephant symbol on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. It therefore appears that many coins were used during the period of the Sātavāhanas. We learn that money played its role in the economy under the Sātavāhanas.

4. Urbanisation

Agrarian activities, industrial activities, trade and commerce all together created favourable conditions for urbanization. Therefore now we may have a look at urbanization. The excavations at Nevasa, Satanikota and Ter provide the notions of urbanization. The Satanikota urban centre situated on the right bank of the Tungabhadra river had a boundary wall made of the burnt bricks. It had also huge gate in the south. The urban centre witnessed the excellent jewelleries of precious beads. The epigraphic references to *nagara* and *nigama* testify to the growth of urbanization in the Deccan. The Satavahana inscriptions from Nasik mention *nigama*. The excavations at Amaravati, Shalihundam, Bhattiprolu, Nagarjunakonda show the signs of urbanization. According to H. B. Sarkar, the epigraphic records from Bhattiprolu and Amaravati refer to the word *gosthi* or *gothi*. It included *nigamas*.

5. Summary

The private or individual enterprises found and utilized the scope and thus participated in the economic processes of the day. The society of the day witnessed agrarian developments in the production of diverse crops, and in irrigation. People took to different professions/occupations and led to the development of industrial activities. They built up 'guild-type' organizations. These professional associations also took part in the socio- economic processes during the period of the Satavahanas. Both overland and overseas routes were established and thus communication was ensured. All these factors created favourable conditions which led to the development of trade and commerce. These economic exchanges or 'interactions' were facilitated by introducing/issuing coins in the economic sector of the day.

The Sangam Economy

1. Introduction

The era of Sangam or Sangam Age refers to the Early Historic period in South India, and this spatio-cultural unit covers the regions of Kerala and Tamil Nadu, located in the extreme south, and bounded by the seas on three sides. This period is contemporary to the time of the Mauryas, the Sungas, the Indo-Greeks, Kushanas, and Satavahanas, who ruled in other parts of India. The developments in the Sangam Age cannot be seen in isolation; although the language used in this area was Tamil, the historical and cultural developments show connections with others parts of India and also with the Indian Ocean region, influencing this region. The economy of this period shows diversity and prosperity when compared to the early period and coins and script were introduced for the first time in history. The material cultural wealth revealed by the literature and archaeology do reveal the economic prosperity in some contexts, at least to a certain degree when compared to the preceding cultural period.

The Iron Age in South India was a formative culture period and the Early Historic period succeeded the Iron Age, which is generally placed from ca. 1300 BCE to 300 BCE. The Sangam Age, known so because of the association called Sangam that compiled the texts of this period, is placed between 300 BCE and 300 CE. But, these texts may have been compiled into anthologies in the later period than their original composition.

The polity of the Sangam Age was dominated by the Vendars known as the Cholas, the Pandiyas and the Cheras, and numerous other small political entities or chiefs. The references to these larger political entities in the inscriptions of Asoka, besides the vast corpus of texts known as Sangam literature, mark the beginning of the Early Historic in South India. The Sangam corpus is the main, important source of information for this cultural period. The Sangam literature has references to the ways of life and the economic activities of the people from all walks of life. The evidence from the Sangam literature is corroborated by the Tamil inscriptions, the Asokan inscriptions, the Greco-Roman sources and archaeological evidence.

Several scholars have contributed to the understanding of the Sangam Age. The early studies focussed on the investigation of literature; however, later studies have shifted their attention to the Indo-Roman trade. Archaeological excavations of megalithic burials and the habitation sites have contributed to the understanding of the cultural developments. Rajan Gurukkal has studied the early social formation of the Tamizhagam region (Gurukkal 1989, 1995, 1998, 2009) as well as evaluated the role of the Indo-Roman trade by integrating and scrutinising all kinds of sources (Gurukkal 2015).

2. Sources

The sources available for the study of the Sangam Age economy are many and they are the Sangam Tamil texts, the Greco-Roman and Sanskrit Sources, the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, the Asokan inscriptions and the archaeological sites and materials.

2.1 Sangam Tamil Texts

The Eighteen major works of the Sangam corpus include the Ettutogai, the eight anthologies and the Pattupattu, the ten long poems (Zvelebil 1974; Hart 1979; Ramanujan 1996). The Ettutogai poems are: Aingkurnuru, Ahananuru, Purananuru, Kalittogai, Kuruntogai, Nattrinai, Paripatal and Patitruppattu. The Pattupattu texts are Tirumurukarruppatai, Kurincippattu, Malaipatukatam, Maturaikkanci, Mullaippattu, Netunalvatai, Pattinappalai, Perumpanarruppatai, Porunararruppatai and Cirupanarruppatai. The Eighteen works of the later period and the Five Epics offer information on the early medieval period or Post- Sangam in date. These texts provide data on the landscapes, culture and the eco-cultural contexts.

2.2 The Greco-Roman Texts

Because of the external connectivity of the Tamil region in the Early Historic period, the foreign accounts talk about the maritime activities of the Tamizhagam. Strabo's account, the *Periplus Marei Erythreae* (Casson 1989), and Ptolemy's account are the important sources for the development and the economy in this period (Warmington 1928), in addition to the Sanskrit texts including the *Ramayana*.

2.3 Inscriptions

The Asokan inscriptions, especially the Rock Edict II, mention about the polities and the efforts of Asoka in undertaking welfare activities such as planting of herbs and medical facilities for the benefit of human and animals.

The Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions found along the trade routes on the rockshelters with carved stone beds for the monks (mostly the Jains), and those on pottery reveal the nature and activities of the merchants and their diverse backgrounds and the development of script and literacy (Mahadevan 2003).

2.4 Archaeological Sources

The archaeological sources for this period include the abundant megalithic burials and the rich variety of material culture from these burials including the iron, ceramics, copper, gold, carnelian, quartz artifacts and beads and the rare Roman coins (Gururajan Rao 1972; Leshnik 1974; Rajan 1991, 2014).

Roman Coins and Local Coins

The coins of the Roman origin (Turner 1989) and the Punch marked coins (Vanaja 1983) and the issues of the local rulers, namely, the Chola, Pandya, Chera, Malayaman and other rules reveal about the nature of transactions and the nature of monetization of the early period (Krishnamurty 1997).

Excavated Archaeological Sites

The excavated archaeological sites, both burials and habitation sites, form an important source. The excavation of the port sites such as Arikamedu, Azhagankulam, Kaveripumpattinam, Korkai, Uraiyur, Kanchipuram and Keezhati in Tamil Nadu and Pattanam (Shajan et al. 2004; Cherian et al. 2007; Cherian and Jaya Menon 2015) in Kerala and the numerous burial sites such as Sanur, Kodumanal and Adichanallur (sites of interior region) offer information on the material culture of the Iron Age-Early Historic period (Leshnik 1974). The excavated sites have also revealed evidence for extensive material cultural production. They reveal evidence of trade as well as craft production.

3. Previous Research of the Sangam Age and Its Economy

Previous research attempts on the Sangam Age economy can be divided into the investigations on the megalithic burials, literature and the Indo-Roman trade. The early research on the Sangam Age focussed on the references in the Tamil texts and their interpretations to understand the society, polity and economy. Kanaksabhai Pillai (1904), Subramanian (1966), Singaravelu (1966), Mayilai Seeni Venkatasamy (1970) and Nilakanta Sastri (1974) have studied the economy of the Sangam Age based on the Tamil literary evidence.

Archaeological excavations of the megalithic burials unearthed the diverse varieties of megalithic burials and the variety of material cultural remains suggesting the wealth of the material culture found in the burials (Leshnik 1974; Rajan 1994). Archaeological excavations at the coastal port sites revealed evidence for the various industries such as bead-making industry, shell bangle industry, textile industry and the possible trade activities and urbanization (Wheeler et al. 1946; Raman 1991; Champakalakshmi 1996; Nagaswamy 1991; Begley *et al.* 1996, 2004). The foreign ceramics found at these sites revealed about the overseas connections (Sidebotham 2010, Wendrich *et al.* 2003; Tomber 2008). Champakalakshmi (1996), and K.Rajan (2003) have studied the various aspects of Sangam Age society using archaeological evidence (See also Venkatasubramanian 1988, Ray 1994, 1996, 2003, Tripati 2002, Gupta 2007).

K. Kailasapthy (1968), Sivathamby (1998) and Mathaiyan (2004) have studied the literary concepts of Tinai portrayed in the Sangam literature. These scholars have extensively worked on the concept of the *tinai* as elaborated in the grammar work of *Tolkappiam*. These studied mainly depended on the literary sources and their perspectives are distinctly literary in nature.

The excavation of the overseas sites such as Berenike and Quseir al Qadhim (in Egypt) and Sumurram (Khor Rori, in Oman) too produced evidence for the connections with Tamizhagam and South India (Tomber 2008; Pavan 2017).

Rajan Gurukkal's work focuses on the early social formation and seeks to understand the nature of the early trade (1989, 1995, 1998, 2009). Gurukkal characterises the early polities and societies

at the chiefdom level of political organisation and he argues that there was no state in the Early Historic period. He objects to the use of the term "trade" and concepts such as Balance of Payment with regard to the Indo-Roman trade (Gurukkal 2013, 2015).

Research by K. Rajan has contributed to the understanding of the industrial activities, settlements and their distribution and characteristics. K. Rajan's (2014) work argues for the early beginning of Tamil-Brahmi in the Pre-Asokan context, an argument not supported by Iravatham Mahadevan (2003), R Nagasamy, and Y Subbarayalu (2008). Rajan's recent investigations at the site of Kodumanal and Porunthal have contributed to the proposition supporting the early beginning of the early historic period and the early Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions around fourth century BCE. Y. Subbarayalu argues for the role of merchants in the introduction of script (2008).

These extensive studies have raised several issues and ideas related to the economy of the Sangam Age, such as the nature of the polity, economy, introduction of the script and the nature of the society, and the agencies responsible for the developments in this period.

4. Economic activities

The economic activities of the Sangam Age increased when compared to the Iron Age and this prosperity is very clearly reflected in the archaeological record revealed through the excavations as wells the literature of Indigenous and foreign origins.

The economic activities of the Sangam Age can be divided into:
i)   primary production including hunting-gathering-fishing, agriculture and pastoralism,
ii)   craft production
iii)   as well as exchange and commercial activities.

The polity of the Sangam Age was dominated by the Vendars of the Cholas, the Pandiyas and the Cheras, and numerous other small political entities. There are debates over the existence of state. Rajan Gurukkal points out that the early formations cannot be called as state level organizations (1989, 1995, 1998); an argument supported Y. Subbarayalu who says that they were inchoate political entities. The early formations were a kind of chiefdoms, but these polities cannot be categorised as mere "primitive," "tribal entities without any territorial control. At the same time they cannot be called even as an early form of state. They exercised power over territories by frequently attacking and involving in battles, adopted rituals that sought to legitimize their position.

The Landscapes and the Economic Activities

The economic activities of the landscapes could be seen from the perspectives of the early Tamil texts. According to the classification of the Sangam literature, the territories of Tamil region consisted of the Kurinji, Marutam, Mullai, Neytal and Palai tracts.

The Kurinji (Mountainous) zone was occupied by the hill people who were involved in hunting-gathering and shifting cultivation and gathering of forest produce.

The Mullai landscape covered the forest zone, often scrub forest, had the pastoral groups.

The Marutam territory, the riverine zone, had agriculturalists and farmers and the people were mainly involved in rice cultivation.

The Neytal, the coastal tract, had mainly fishermen who were involved in fishing, salt making, and also participated in trade and commercial activities.

The Palai, Dry arid zone, and often the Mullai territory became Palai in the dry seasons, had hunting, pastoralism and robbery, because of its lack of natural resources.

Kurinji and the Economic Activities

The people of the Kurinji were called Kuravars, Kurattiyars and Vettuvars. The people of the Kurinji lands were involved in hunting and gathering. They gathered roots, fruits and sweet potatoes and the forest produce. They were also involved in hunting of small games and small scale farming of millets such as ragi and tinai and collection of fruits such as jackfruit, and honey. Agriculture was also undertaken during the monsoon (Purananuru 120).

People collected wild varieties of paddy and the various rice crops called aivanam, torai and vennel are mentioned in the literature. Tinai rice was cultivated and its finds reference in the literature (Kalittogai 108, Narrinai 206, 389, Kuruntogai 41). The wild variety of rice was grown (Maturaikkanci 242, Malaipatukatam 180-181). These people also collected the forest produce. Pepper (Padirrupattu 76, Ahananuru 149, Pattinappalai 186), aram (Sandal) and Akil (Pattinappalai 188, Porunararruppatai-238) were collected and perhaps exchanged for the produce from other regions.

Mullai and the Economic Activities

The Mullai region refers to the forested territories. Generally, it is not the dense forested area, but with scrub forests and pastures. This territory mostly lies in the central part of Tamil Nadu and mostly in the upper altitude, not very close to the coast. Animal husbandry was the main activity and mainly cowherds and shepherds were the people involved in these activities. They were known as Ayar and their women's folk were called Aychiyar. Milk related products such as curd and butter were mainly produced. Rain-fed farming was also practiced. Tinai and Varahu were the main crops. A system of barter was in existence between the people of different zones.

Marutam and the Economic Activities

Marutam refers to the wet-land in the riverine delta area. The people were called *Uzhavars* and *Uzhathiyars*. In the fertile, riverine tracts with lush agricultural fields, the main crop was rice

with many varieties, i.e., *sennel* and *putunel*. Perennial water bodies and streams nurtured the fertile lands. The fertile lands were called *vayal, ceru, kazhani,* and *pazhanam* (*Mullaipattu* 32-33, *Perumpanarrupatai* 211-213, *Purananuru* 13, *Cirupanarrupatai* 186, *Malaipatukatam* 454-455).

Neytal and the Economic Activities

Fishing was the main occupation of this land. Salt manufacturing was also widely practiced. Pearl fishery was also undertaken. Trade in various goods took place in the coastal areas. The people were called Valayar and Paratavar. This region also had many ports and Pattanams that became commercial and urban centres.

Palai and the Economic Activities

The Palai region being arid and dry did not provide any major base for economic activities, except hunting-gathering. The people here resorted to robbery of those who were passing the region from the other zones, mostly traders. The people were called Maravar.

Primary Production

Although the above mentioned categories of the text based classification are relevant and they can be considered to represent only the part of the reality, but not all the components of a particular zone. These categorized were idealized, generalized forms that were meant for literary compositions. In reality, there must have been overlap of territories, and communal and social lives of the people and these landscape categories cannot be taken to complete reflection of reality. The real life must have been more complex.

4.1 Agriculture

Agriculture was practiced in different scales across the regions. Vennel (white rice), ivananel, torai, sennel (red rice) and putunel (new rice) are mentioned in the literature, which obviously suggests that several varieties of rice were cultivated. Agriculture was practiced at segmented lands known as vayal, ceru, kalani and pazhanam. Karikalan, the Chola king, is said to have converted the forest for cultivation, dug tanks built an embankment along the river Kaveri (Pattinapalai 283-284). The farmers were called Uzhavars who ploughed the field. The chieftains of the agricultural population were known as Velir. The traditional method of sowing the seeds in the field which is fertilized with animal manure and vegetable waste was followed (Perumpanarrupatai 153-54, Cirupanarrupatai 136-137). The selection of seeds preceded the sowing. In the dry areas, millets were cultivated and in the hills shifting cultivation was undertaken. Thus wide varieties of crops were cultivated and they were exchanged and traded across the region.

4.2 Pastoralism

Pastoralism was common in the forested terrains mostly in the central part of Tamil Nadu. The fight for cattle was also common and sometimes it led to skirmishes among the people. The warriors who were

killed in such fights were honoured by erecting hero stones. The hero stones are frequently mentioned in the literature and they appear in the context of the pastoral region, i.e. Mullai tracts. The goods such as curd and butter and other produce were exchanged.

Sheep-goat pastoralism was also prevalent as revealed by the references in the texts as well as the animal bones from archaeological context. The meat of the goat was relished and the poems offer proof for this.

5. Hunting-gathering-Fishing

Hunting-gathering also contributed to the economy. People hunted animals and they were trade. There is evidence of trade/barter in animal meat and forest produce. Fishing was the main occupation in the coastal area and fish was exchanged for paddy. The people also collected the gems and precious stones found in the territory and even animal products, elephant tusks were also traded. The gathered forest produced was exchanged for various goods. Evidence for the exchange of ivory for toddy is also found in the literature.

6. Salt Making

Salt, an important commodity used in food, also served as a preservative material. The people from the coast produced salt and the salt traders called *Umanars* are frequently mentioned in the Tamil literature.

7. Craft Specialization

Craft specialization is another hallmark of the Sangam Age. Craft specialization must have begun in the Iron Age. In the Sangam texts, blacksmiths were known as *kollans*. Several settlements may have had one *kollan* workshop, *Kuruntogai* 172, 5-6. Archaeological and textual sources shed light on the craft productions and craft specialization in ancient Tamil country. Among the crafts, iron smelting, pottery making and stone-bead making were perhaps well established in the Iron Age itself as fulltime specialized crafts, and these craftspersons were distributed all across the landscapes, because of the widespread demand for these craft products. In the Early Historic period, gem stone cutting, shell and glass bead industries became active, but they were limited to certain centres.

Crafts and Industries

The reference to the craftsmen with specific name and the exclusive ceris (colonies) of shell bangle makers mentioned in the Sangam literature points to their specialized nature and is also suggestive of some kind of organization among the craftsmen, and perhaps full-time occupation in the urban areas. Distinct references to goldsmiths and gold merchants are perhaps an indication that the craftsmen and traders were separate categories specialising in certain commodities. Weaving must have been a major industry as revealed from the evidence of spindle whorls, a piece of woven cloth from Kodumanal, and a structure identified as dyeing vat from Uraiyur, and the references to various types of clothes in Sangam literature

and Greco-Roman literature. Many of the industries were active mainly in the urban areas, industrial centres, raw material source and coastal port towns, while iron and ceramic industries were active across the landscapes.

Iron Industry

Iron industry was the main stay of the economy, and it supported the political fights, pastoral activities, agriculture and hunting and fishing. Thus iron industry served the people in all ecozones and it was produced extensively by the blacksmiths. Iron objects were also traded. While iron smelting sites are limited in number, iron working sites are larger in number. Not all the habitation sites have evidence for iron smelting, but iron working took place at more number of sites. The abundant deposits of iron in the burials especially the swords suggest their large scale production. They were also present with the chiefs and made all types of weapons of war. Regarding the weapons, the common types include swords, axes, daggers, arrowheads, spearheads, knives and tridents. In Tamil Nadu, 40 sites out of the total 97 excavated megalithic sites have yielded iron objects

Iron Furnace Sites

The people had achieved the capability for producing high quality iron objects. Evidence of iron production is found at many sites across Tamil Nadu. Iron was used by various communities according to the need. Evidence of furnaces has been found at Guttur excavated by Madras University, and Kodumanal excavated by Tamil University (Rajan 1994). From disturbed contexts, furnaces have been documented at Melsiruvallur by Sharatha Srinivasan and at Perungalur by Sasisekaran.

The furnace from Guttur measured in size, 2.2 m in length, 0.63 m in width, 0.45 m in depth, and it was capable of producing cast iron. The iron objects from these sites had 2.5 to 5 % of carbon. Kodumanal, TN is another well documented site, where wootz crucible steel was produced. Evidence of magnetite iron Source is found at Chennimalai near Kodumanal area. A circular bowl furnace measuring 115 cm x 65 cm was found and the carbon content of cutting edge of a sword was 0.8 % and the edge is harder than the centre, suggesting good skill in iron metallurgy.

Gold working

Gold working was an important occupation, perhaps with the arrival of Roman gold, it became common. Gold working activities were undertaken at select sites. Traders in gold and goldsmith are evidenced in the literature and evidence of gold working is found at a few sites. Gold objects have been found from many excavations. The megalithic burials have also produced gold jewellery (Leshnik 1974). Gold ornaments and goldsmiths are also described in the literature.

Glass Bead Industry

Glass bead was introduced in this period and bead making industrial evidence is reported from the sites of Arikamedu and Kudikkadu. Glass beads were traded in the interior and also in the far off regions and the demand for the colourful stones and the limited availability of the materials perhaps forced the people to produce glass objects in a large number (Francis 1987, 2004).

Stone Bead and Ornament Working

Evidence for stone bead and ornament manufacture has been found at numerous sites. The archaeological sites such as Kodumanal, Arikamedu, Kudikkadu, Alagankulam and Pattanam in Kerala have produced evidence for working of stone beads and ornaments. The ornaments produced at these sites were sold in the interior markets. The production centres existed near the markets where the raw materials could be easily sourced. The tradition of etched carnelian beads goes back to the Iron Age. The carnelian material was probably acquired from Gujarat region. Not only the stone beads were made for the local market and sometimes the blanks were also exported for the overseas market. Quartz, amethyst, carnelian, garnet, crystal, soapstone, emerald, beryl and various other stones and their waste materials have been found in the archaeological excavations.

Shell Bangle working

Shell bangle working was another important industry that flourished in the coastal area. The excavated sites of Arikamedu, Kudikkadu, Algankulam and Korkai have produced evidence for this industry. Shells of *Turbinella pyrum* variety were recovered from the Pamban sea by the Paravars (Athiyaman 2000) and they were exported and people wore the bangles made by cutting these shells. The shell cutters settlements are mentioned in the Sangam literature as existing near the town of Korkai. Perhaps reference to these shells also occurs in the *Arthasastra* as Pandiya Kavataka.

Textile Industry

The textile industry was in a well developed form and it is revealed by archaeological as well as textual evidence. The urban dwellers attired themselves with cotton and silk clothes (Narrinai 320, 359, Purananuru 61, 248, 340, and 341). The clothes were decorated with floral designs (Purananuru 274). The mountainous and forest people wore the dresses made of flowers and leaves. They also wore the dress made of wool. At the site of Uraiyur, a dyeing vat was found indicating that the ancient Tamils dyed their clothes. There is a reference to Argartic in Ptolemy's work, a fine cloth from ancient Tamizhagam. The inscription at Alagarmalai refers to Aruvai vanigan, a merchant of textile. Clothes from the East Asia and Southeast Asia and Orissa also came to the Tamil region. There is reference to Kalingam as a type of clothe, in the Tamil literature.

8. Trade and Commercial Activities

The commodities produced from the crafts were internally consumed, as revealed from the distribution of gold ornaments, glass beads, shell bangles and stone beads, and in the settlements of interior Tamil Nadu, and the literary references (Ahananuru 125:1).

Internal Exchange System

The internal exchange of was an important component of the Sangam Age economy and the variations in the economic production and diversity of resources of the various landscapes forced this interaction, among other factors. The exchange and redistribution of the resources are discussed by Rajan Gurukkal (1989). We could classify the modes of exchange of goods on the basis of various factors.

Exchange Type I

The first type of exchange could be similar to the sharing of resources in the egalitarian hunter-gatherer societies. A comparable resource distribution happens among certain contemporary fisher groups. The *Kattumaram* fishermen, north of Chennai, share their catch with their fellow men, who do not go for fishing. There is perhaps some reciprocity involved, but it is not very explicit. This could be called an early method of sharing and exchanging and this happens in certain context even today. This kind of sharing must have happened within the specific ecozone.

Exchange Type II

The next kind of exchange could be called reciprocal exchange in which the kin groups offer gifts to each other. This happens even now in the villages where people who gift their garden produce to their kin as well as fellow villagers. Here, commodities are not strictly measured, but exchanged. There is no direct barter involved.

Exchange Type III

The third type of exchange could be called "open barter" (Singaravelu 1966: 46-50), where commodities are measured and exchanged. One finds numerous references to this kind of exchange in the Sangam texts. This could be the method used by most of the traders in the Early Historic period. Probably, this was referred to as noduttal in the Sangam texts which have numerous references to this type of exchange.

Exchange Type IV
The fourth type of exchange or distribution of resources happened at the level of chiefs and vendars who redistributed their resources that were acquired as tributes or tax to their subordinates and bards. The chiefs got name and fame in return. Here intangible service is exchanged for the tangible goods.

All these types of exchanges were much different from the commercial or trade activities and perhaps the exchange type III could be called a commercial exchange. At this level, coins could have been also used as a medium of exchange.

Barter System

Barter system was one of the common forms of exchange that prevailed in the Sangam Age. The barter system allowed people to obtain one type of produce that is not available with them for the other type of good that was available in their possession. This system in a way helped them to overcome the limitations of the environment and to achieve diversity in consumption and comfort. It was easy for the producers to exchange the produce from their own areas directly with the neighbours at the markets called angadis. Noduttal is the Tamil word for barter and it occurs in the Sangam texts. It appears that rice and paddy had equal exchange value and it is exemplified by the reference 'Nellin Nere Venkal Uppu' (Akananuru260). The reference to 'Uppu nodai nellin' in Akananuru 60 suggests the activities around the town of Tondi.

The reference in *Porunararrupatai* says

"Those who have honey and edible roots exchange them for the oil of fish and for deer flesh....

The fisherfolk sing hill men's songs, while the hill men wear garlands of fragrant blooms of the coast....

The pastoral dwellers sing the songs of those who live in fertile lands, they in turn praise forest land where the blue mullai grow..." (Porunararrupatai 214-221, S. Singaravelu 1966: 53). The poets were singing about the economic activities that were remarkable to them at that context.

9. Coinage

Introduction of coins, like the Tamil-Brahmi script, was another innovation of this period. People used coins at least in some contexts. The discovery of coin hoards of both local and foreign issues attests to the trade relations that existed between ancient Tamil country and other regions (Turner, 1989, Krishnamurthy, 1997; Mitchiner, 1998). According to Monica Smith the distribution of coins with different weight standards in different region suggest their use as a standard of values and as a medium of exchange (Smith 2002: 142). Money economy had not yet developed, but the use of copper coins indicates monetization to some degree. The use of coinage could have limited to the urban centres or among certain traders. We could argue that these coins were used as a kind of bullion in the sense that they had fixed a value based on the weight of the metal. It has been argued that the Roman coins were used for bullion value. The Roman coins of Augustus Caesar's time are found more frequently and they may have been picked up at a later time because of the high quality of the metal content. The Roman

coins are concentrated in the Coimbatore of Kongu region suggesting the importance of this region in the trade activities. The later Roman coins are found more in the southern part of India and Sri Lanka. The Roman coins were also probably used as ornaments in this period and this is indicated by the indirect references in the Tamil literature.

Trade based on coins was also prevalent since the traders from faraway regions had to amass the wealth in metal. Although people traded in all kinds of materials, they finally converted their profit in the form of metal wealth. The use of coins could be understood in the context of people travelling long distance and necessity for acquiring the wealth in the form of metals as bullion that could be easily transported. Perhaps we need to visualize the pyramidical mode of exchanges and the coins were used at the top for main transactions by a limited number of people. Perhaps the coins were fixed value units. The traders and the kings could have used the coins predominantly.

Local Coinage of Sangam

Why did the local kings issue coins? The local coins also had some value, perhaps the metal value and the kings could have minted them by smelting the copper and such coins might have been donated. The Punch marked coins, Chera Coins, Chola coins, Pandya Coins, Malayaman Coins, are found all over Tamil Nadu (Vanaja 1983, Suresh 2004). The Sangam literature also speaks about kasu, pon, kanam as various types of coins. Kasu was used as ornament, perhaps not in commercial transactions. The chief Kalankaikkanni Narmuticcheral gave 40,00,000 gold coins to Kappiyarrykappiyanar. Another chief Atukotpattu Cherlathan gave Kakkaippatiniyar 100,000 kanam of coins. These coins perhaps had standard shapes and weight and they helped to legitimize the king's authority.

10. Trade

The commodities produced through various crafts were internally consumed, revealed from the distribution of gold ornaments, glass beads, shell bangles and stone beads, in interior Tamil Nadu, and the literary references (Ahananuru 125:1). These commodities were also exported to other regions. Ptolemy's reference to the clothe variety of Argartic is an evidence for the increased demand for such fine products outside the Tamil country (Warmington 1928). Thus the internal consumption and external trade appears to have facilitated fulltime specialization, especially in the post-1st Century B.C. scenario.

Inland Trade: Specialized Traders of the Early Historic Period

Inland trade and specialized traders are referred to in the Sangam texts. The term used for trade is vanigam and the traders are known as vanikan. This term is not Dravidian in origin. In a sense we could argue that traders from northern part of India may have been the earliest middlemen acting in this area and perhaps they sourced materials from various parts of Tamizhagam and later on this term was freely adopted in Tamil. The specialized traders, salt merchants, ponvanihan (gold merchants) and koolavanihan (merchants of commodities) are also referred to in the literature as well as in the

inscriptions. There were itinerant traders the term cattan and cattu perhaps refers to the trading merchants. It may have been derived from Cartavaha. The umanars who moved across the Tamil Country and they were selling salt for paddy.

References to Specialized Traders

Salt/Umanar/Upuvanikan: Pottery from Uraiyur Alagarmalai Ciripanarrupatai

Jaggery/Panita Vanikan   Alagarmalai Gold/Ponvanikan   Alagarmalai Bead or Gem/ManiVannakkan   Alagarmalai Textile/Aruvaivanikan   Alagarmalai

Indian Ocean trade

The extensive development of Indian Ocean trade is attested in this period. Although trade connections might have been established before 400 BCE in this region, the main evidence is found only from 1st century BCE and definitely it reveals the peak of activities. The references in the Sangam texts, at least some of the poems point out the efflorescence of the Indian Ocean and Indo Roman trade. This can be one chronological marker for the some of the poems of the Sangam texts to be composed after 1st century BCE. The Indian Ocean trade saw the movement of all the communities across the landscapes, craftpersons, as well as traders from local and Indian Ocean regions.

Apart from the inland network that supported the intensive exchange, the overseas network was also important. The overseas network was a factor that led to the development of the coastal towns. If the interactions were only within inland there was no necessity to develop the port towns along the coast.

Ancient port sites of South India

The development of ports is another important feature in the Indian Ocean region. The ports obviously emerged on the coastal region and thus they became the centre of activities of various merchants and traders from the faraway regions. These port centres became markets as well as industries centres because of the easy access to raw materials and the markets. Arikamedu, Vasavasamudram, Kaveripumpattinam, Alagankulam, Korkai and Muchiri (Muziris of the *Periplus*) and Pattanam on the west coast were some of the important ports. The literature beautifully describes the activities in the ports of the Early Historic period. The port of Muchiri is spoken as rich and that the ships of Yavanas came with gold and left with pepper, mentions the reference in the poem 149 of *Ahananuru*. The development of the ports was due to the external trade and also due to the internal trade activities and diverse resources available in the interior. Demand and supply from interior as well exterior across the Indian Ocean. In the Roman and Indian Ocean trade both Indian and the overseas merchants played equally important role. The Roman traders and the demand in the Roman Empire could be called one main agency giving fillip to the trade. The ports of Tamizhagam not only exported the local produce and they also served as the catchment for North India, Southeast Asia and East Asia.

The ports and towns became objects of poems and exclusive poems existed on major towns, Pattinappalai on *Kaveripumpattinam* and *Maduraikanci* on Madurai. The description of the urban landscape was dealt with in the literature. *Cilappatikaram* gives an excellent narration of the town of Pumpuhar or Kaveripumpattinam.

Ceramics and Trade activities

The ceramic evidence does point out the intensive trade connections. The ceramics were mostly containers and only some of the varieties were items of trade. The amphora jars, terra sigillata dishes and cups, torpedo jars, and other varieties suggest the brisk movement of goods in the Indian Ocean regions more particularly from the Red sea coast. The literature too suggested the intensive commercial activities. The texts mention about Yavanas and Yavana guards.

Rouletted Ware

Rouletted Ware and the related fine wares are a class of Indian ceramics that were exported to various areas of the Indian Ocean. This ceramic was thought to be Roman origin, but later research proved that it was produced in the area of Tamluk-Bengal delta. Several ceramics such as fine grey ware and the fine Type 10 bowls/cups were used across the region. The objects of Roman affiliation appearing at several sites do point that the Roman connections did influence the material cultural production in the regions. Rouletted ware is distributed from Vietnam to Egypt in the Indian Ocean.

The occurrence of materials and the stray occurrence of potsherds with inscriptions of Tamil-Brahmi does point out that the Indian merchants were also active partners to the trade if not the prime mover of the trade. The Indian participation may not be seen as passive, as it was assumed during the Wheelerian era.

Berenike
Berenike on the Red Sea coast in Egypt has produced 7.5 kg of pepper along with Indian roulette ware, textile, pieces of teak and a pottery with inscription reading *Korrapuman* (Sidebotham 2010).
Quseir al Qadhim
Quseir al Qadhim on the Red Sea coast in Egypt has revealed pepper and also potsherds with Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions reading *kanan* and *catan*.
Sumurram
Sumurram known as Khor Rori in Oman has produced Indian rouletted ware and a potsherd with Tamil Brahmi inscription reading "…nanthai kiran."
Kuan Luk Pat

A goldsmiths' touchstone has been found in Thailand and it reveals the movement of Goldsmiths and traders in the Indian Ocean region (Shanmugam 2009).

Alliance between local and foreign traders
The internal trade and the overseas trade were both linked and it was not possible to get into the territory and sell without the help and support of the local people. The commercial activities were through interactions and alliances.

Trade Routes

The trade routes existed all along the Yavana guards were employed by the merchants to protect themselves from the robbers. Perhaps the robbers attacked the merchants who travelled across the dry regions and they travelled in groups and employed guards to protect themselves from the robbers.

11. Summary and Conclusions

The Sangam Age had different modes of production: agriculture existed in the riverine tracts; pastoralism existed in the Mullai /limited tracts regions and hunting-gathering existed in many of the landscapes in different scale. Fishing, salt-making and overseas commercial activities were common in the coastal/Neytal areas. The dry land, Palai region had hunting-gathering, and also waylaying as the occupation of some of the people. Overall, the economic forms included diversity suggesting uneven development over the landscape. What could be called as urbanization in a rudimentary form is evident.

Craft production was predominant across the landscapes and certain crafts were dominant across the landscape. Iron smelting and iron working evidence is common in various landscapes, and ceramic production is evidenced at several sites. These two crafts were dominant, because of the demand for these goods and they must have begun in the Iron Age. Copper working is attested in the major centres and similarly gold working is also attested. Similarly, shell-bangle making, textile production, bead making did exist in the major centres which served as special economic zones, mainly in the Early Historic context. Inland and overseas trade (Indian Ocean Trade) activities were well known. The Indian Ocean and Indo Roman trade was a powerful factor and it contributed to the local economy. However to talk of Balance of Payment being in favour of India, is not appropriate since the trade activities were in among the communities and traders, besides the modern economic concepts cannot be applied to the Early Historic period. Evidence of coins is also seen and these coins were actually had monetary value and some time had symbolic value and were perhaps used only by certain sections of the society. Thus we notice a vast diversity, waves of prosperity, uneven development and pockets of poverty in the Sangam period.

THE NAYANKARA SYSTEM

The power of the territorial assembly (*nadu*) as well as village assemblies (*sabha* and *ur*) were weakened during the time of the later Cholas. During the Vijayanagar period, these institutions did not completely disappear when the *Nayaka* and *Ayagar* systems came into prominence.

The Nayankara system was an important characteristic of the Vijayanagar political organization. The military chiefs or warriors held the title of *nayaka* or *amaranayaka*. It is difficult to classify these warriors on the basis of definite office, ethnic identity, set of duties or rights and privileges.

The institution of *Nayaka* was studied in detail by two Portuguese – Fernao Nuniz and Domingo Paes, who visited India during the reigns of Krishnadeva Raya and Achyuta Raya of Tuluva dynasty during the sixteenth century. They regard the *nayakas* simply as agents of Raya (central government). The evidence of Nuniz for the payments made by the *nayakas* to the Rayas brings up the question of feudal obligations. The Vijayanagar inscriptions and the later Mackenzie manuscripts refer to the *nayakas* as territorial magnates with political aspirations which at times conflicted with the aims of the rulers. N.K. Sastri (in 1946) drew a distinction between the *nayakas* before 1565 and those after 1565. The former were totally dependent upon the ruler while the latter were semi-independent. However, later he modified his views by pointing out that the *nayakas* before 1565 were military leaders holding military fiefs. In a more recent work (*Sources of Indian History*), he views the Vijayanagar Empire as a military confederacy of many chieftains cooperating under the leadership of the biggest among them. He emphasized that the growing threat from Islam led the Vijayanagar rulers to adopt a military and religious stance. Krishnaswami considers the *Nayaka* system as feudal. But Venkataramanayya feels that important features of European feudalism such as fealty, homage and sub-infeudation were absent in the *Nayaka* system. D.C. Sircar similarly refutes the feudal theory; instead he explains it as a kind of landlordism, a variant of feudalism in which land was allotted to the *amaranayakas* for military services rendered by them to the king.

Thus, D.C. Sircar, and T.V. Mahalingam consider the *nayakas* of Vijayanagar as warriors holding an office (*kara*) bestowed on them by the central government on condition of rendering military service. *Amaranayaka* was a designation conferred on a military officer or chief (*nayaka*) who had under his control a specified number of troops. These *nayakas* possessed revenue rights over land or territory called *amaram* (*amaramkara* or *amaramahali*). In the Tamil country and also in the Vijayanagar Empire the area of land thus alienated under this tenure was about 3/4th. The obligations and activities of the *nayakas* were among others, giving gifts to temples, repair and building of tanks, reclamation of wasteland and collection of dues from temples. The Tamil inscriptions, however, do not refer to dues given to the king or his officials by the *nayakas*.

Krishnaswami, on the basis of Mackenzie manuscripts, opines that the commanders of Vijayanagar army (formerly under Krishnadeva Raya) later established independent *nayaka* kingdoms. To guard against such dangers, the Vijayanagar kings tried to establish greater control over coastal markets dealing in horse trade. They attempted to monopolize the purchase of horses of good quality by paying a high price for them. They also built strong garrisons fortified with trustworthy soldiers. Thus, on the one hand, the Telugu *Nayakas* were a source of strength for the Vijayanagar Empire and, on the other, they became its rivals.

THE AYAGAR SYSTEM

During the Vijayanagar rule, autonomous local institutions, especially in the Tamil country, suffered a set-back. In pre-Vijayanagar day, in Karnataka and Andhra local institutions possessed lesser autonomy as compared to Tamil country. During Vijayanagar period in Karnataka too local territorial divisions underwent a change but the *Ayagar* System continued and became widely prevalent throughout the macro-region. It spread in the Tamil country during 15-16th century as a result of the declining power of *nadu* and *nattar*. The *Ayagar*s were village servants or functionaries and constituted of groups of families. These were headmen (*reddi* or *gauda*, *maniyam*), accountant (*karnam senabhova*) and watchmen (*talaiyari*). They were given a portion of or plot in a village. Sometimes they had to pay a fixed rent, but generally these plots were *manya* or tax-free as no regular customary tax was imposed on their agricultural income. In exceptional cases direct payments in kind were made for services performed by village functionaries. Other village servants who performed essential services and skills for the village community were also paid by assigning plots of land (like washerman and priest). The village servants who provided ordinary goods and services were leather workers whole products included leather bag used in lift-irrigation devices (*kiapila* or *mohte*), potter, blacksmith, carpenter, waterman (*niranikkar*: who looked after the maintenance of irrigation channels and supervised banker and money-lenders). The distinguishing feature of the *Ayagar* system is that special allocation of income from land and specific cash payments were for the first time provided to village servants holding particular office.

SOCIETY UNDER THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

The social structure of the South Indian macro-region (Vijayanagar Empire) is a unique variant of the Indian society. The uniqueness of the social structure was three-fold:

1. secular functions of the South Indian Brahmanas;
2. dual division of lower social groups;
3. territorial segmentation of the society.

The Brahmanas lived in localities where they controlled land, and their prestige and power was also derived from their control over those dependent on land. They also enjoyed prestige due to their sacral functions as a priestly class. The emergence of a large number of Vedic temples endowed with villages (*devadanas*) gave the Brahmanas as temple functionaries the power to exercise ritual control over all other castes and religious institutions. As managers of these religious centers, the Brahmanas enjoyed great secular authority.

Territorial segmentation of society implies that social groups in the Tamil country were divided on the basis of natural sub-region and occupational patterns associated with them. Social groups in South India had less interaction with groups at some distance from their locality. They gave preference to cross-cousin and maternal uncle-niece marriages.

Another characteristic of the social structure was the dual division of lower castes referred to by the right and left-hand designations (Vaishnavas corresponding to the right hand division and the Saivites corresponding to the left hand castes). In most cases, the right-hand castes were involved primarily in agricultural production and local trade in agricultural commodities whereas left-hand castes were engaged in mobile artisan production and extensive trade in non-agricultural products.

During the Vijayanagar period, the peasant was the basis of the social order on whom all other sections of the society depended. The *satkams*, the Tamil poetic genre, regard the leading peasantry as pure *sat-sudras*. They claimed ritual purity and respectable secular rank for them.

Temples played an important role in delineating or determining social space of groupings who were the participants in the worship of a particular deity. An important characteristic of lineage in the South Indian kingship is marked by the common devotion to the lineage tutelary. The non-Brahmana priests of the peasants' tutelary shrines (e.g. *Amman*) also participated in the management of great shrines of Siva and Vishnu where the Brahmana priests predominated. The *matha*, the seat of sectarian organization located at great shrines, consisted of persons of both the Brahmana and non-Brahmana orders. Thus, the social organization of this period comprised of the Brahmanas, the left and right-hand castes which included respectable agricultural castes, namely vellals and lower castes like the weavers.

VIJAYANAGAR ECONOMY

Land and Income Rights

Rice was the staple crop. Both black and white variety of rice was produced from Coromandel to Pulicat. Besides, cereals like gram and pulses were also cultivated. Spices (specially black pepper), coconut and betel-nuts were other important items of production. Land-revenue was the major source of state's income. Rate of revenue demand varied in different parts of the empire and in the same locality itself according to the fertility and regional location of the land. It was generally 1/6th of the produce, but in some cases it was even more ranging up to 1/4th. But on Brahmanas and temples it was 1/20th to 1/30th respectively. It was payable both in cash and kind. We find references to three major categories of land tenure: *amara*, *bhandaravada* and *manya*. These indicate the way in which the village income was distributed. The *bhandaravada* was a crown village comprising the smallest category. A part of its income was utilized to maintain the Vijayanagar forts. Income from the *manya* (tax-free) villages was used to maintain the Brahmanas, temples, and mathas. The largest category was of the *amara* villages given by the Vijayanagar rulers to the *amaranayakas*. Their holders did not possess proprietary rights in land but enjoyed the privileges over its income only. The *amara* tenure was primarily residual in the sense that its income was distributed after deductions had been made for support of the Bnahmanas and forts. Three-quarters of all the villages came under this category. The term *amaramakni* is considered by most historians as referring to an 'estate' or a 'fief', but it literally means one-sixteenth share (*makani*). Thus, it points to the fact that the *amaranayakas* could claim only a limited share of village income. The *manya* rights underwent a transformation during this period. Land tenures continued to be given by the state to individual (*ekabhogan*) Brahmans and groups of Brahmanas as well as to mathas including the non-Brahman Saiva Siddhanta and Vaishnava gurus. But there was a great increase in *devadana* grants (conferred on temples) made by the state as compared to other grants.

Besides land-tax, many professional taxes also were imposed. These were on shopkeepers, farm-servants, shepherds, washermen, potters, shoemakers, musicians etc. There was also tax on property, grazing and house. Villagers were also supposed to pay for the maintenance of the village officers. Besides, *sthala dayam*, *marga dayam* and *manula dayam* were three major transit dues.

Another category of land right through which income was derived was a result of investment in irrigation. It was called *dasavanda* in Tamil country, and *Kattu-Kodage* in Andhra and Karnataka. This kind of agrarian activity concerning irrigation was undertaken in semi-dry areas where hydrographic and topographic features were conducive for carrying out

developmental projects. The *dasavanda* or *Kattu-Kodage* was a share in the increased productivity of the land earned by the person who undertook such developmental work (e.g. construction of a tank or channel). This right to income was personal and transferable. A portion of income occurring from the increased productivity also went to the cultivation of the village where the developmental work was undertaken.

Economic Role of Temples

During the Vijayanagar period, temples emerged as important landholders. Hundreds of villages were granted to the deities which were worshipped in the large temples. Temple officers managed the *deyadana* villages to ensure that the grant was utilized properly. The income from *deyadana* villages provided sustenance to the ritual functionaries. It was also utilized to provide food offerings or to purchase goods (mostly aromatic substances and cloth) essential for carrying out the ritual rites. Cash endowments were also made by the state to the temples for providing ritual service.

Temples took up irrigational work also. Large temples holding *deyadana* lands had under them irrigation department for properly channelizing money grants made to the temples. Those who gave cash grants to temples also received a share of the food offering (*prasadam*) derived from the increased productivity.

In fact, temples in South India were important centres of economic activity. They were not only great landholders but also carried on banking activities. They employed a number of persons. Mahalingam refers to an inscription which mentions a temple which employed 370 servants. Temples purchased local goods for performance of ritual services. They gave loans to individuals and village assemblies for economic purposes. The loans were given against lands whose income went to the temples. Cash endowments made by the state to the Tirupati temple were ploughed back in irrigation. The income thus attained was used to carry out and maintain ritual services. At Srirangam Temple, cash grants were used to advance commercial loans to business farms in Trichinopoly. Temples had their trusts which utilized its funds for various purposes. Thus, the temples functioned almost as an independent economic system encompassing persons and institutions that were bound together by economic links.

Foreign Trade

We get information about foreign trade from the *Amuktamalyada* of Krishnadeva Raya, Paes and Nuniz. They give vivid description of horse trade. The role of the Indians in the overseas carrying trade was minimal. Barbosa mentions that Indian overseas trade was completely controlled by Muslim merchants. They used to get special treatment from the rulers. He says that on returning from the Red Sea the king assigned them a *Nayar* bodyguard, a *Chetti* accountant and a broker for help in local transactions. Such was their status that, at Kayal, even royal monopoly of pearl-fisheries was given to a Muslim merchant. The Arabs and later the Portuguese controlled horse trade. Horses were brought from Arabia, Syria and Turkey to the west-coast ports. Goa supplied horses to Vijayanagar as well as the Deccani Sultanates. Importation of horses was of great military importance for the southern states as good horses were not bred in India. Besides, Vijayanagar's conflict with the northern Deccan Muslim states restricted the supply of horses from north India that were imported from Central Asia. Besides horses, ivory, pearls, spices, precious stones, coconuts, palm-sugar, Salt, etc. were also imported. Pearls were brought from the Persian Gulf and Ceylon and precious stones from Pegu. Velvet was imported from Mecca and satin, silk, damask and brocade from China. White rice, sugarcane (other than palm-sugarcane) and iron were the major exports. Diamonds were exported from Vijayanagar. Nuniz states that its diamond mines were the richest in the world. The principal mines were on the banks of the Krishna River and in Kurnool and Anantapur. This led to the development of a great industry for cutting and polishing precious stones like diamonds, sapphires and rubies in Vijayanagar and Malabar.

Internal Trade and Urban Life

The contemporary foreign account show that local and long distance trade increased under the Vijayanagar rule. Road sand roadside facilities for travelling between towns were excellent. Carts were used for the transport of grains over short distances. Riverine shipping especially the backwater-system on the west-coast has also been referred to. Pack-animals were used for long distance transport. In some places armed guards for long distance transport were employed. Local magnates realized the importance of trade and gave encouragement to town based trade and auxiliary trade in regular and periodic fairs. These fairs were conducted by trade association of nearby town and under the supervision of the leader of trade association called *pattanaswami*. Fairs which gave impetus to urban trade were also held at the order of the local magnates, e.g. *gauda* or chief of a *nadu*. The literary and inscriptional evidences of the 14th to 16th centuries reveal the existence of 80 major trade centers. Some towns were religious; others were commercial and administrative centers. Inside these towns were many *bazars* where business was carried on by merchants. They paid rents to the towns. There were separate markets for particular commodities. Markets for agricultural and non- agricultural products were separate in accordance with the left and right hand caste affiliations. Trade in consecrated food for pilgrims and the sale of the right of ritual functions and offices were important aspects of temple-related urban commerce.

The merchants and artisan organizations in Andhra got identified with certain cities, e.g. the Telugu oil-pressers and merchants were associated with the city of Berwada in Krishna district. In these towns, the transit duties, shop and house-rents provided income to the towns. The temple records refer to the prosperity and prestige of merchants and artisans. The Vijayanagar state possessed an urban quality which is not witnessed in any other South Indian state of the time. The capital city integrated within its precincts markets, palaces, temples, mosques, etc. This urban quality was, however, completely destroyed by the mid-16th century.

Sumerian Civilization

Mesopotamia derived from Greek words *'mesos'* (middle) and ' potamos' (rivers). Actually Mesopotamia is a flat country between the Tigris and Euphrates in Middle East. Mesopotamia broadly corresponds to present day Iraq. Mesopotamia can broadly be divided into two regions- Northern Mesopotamia and Southern Mesopotamia. These two regions have very different environments. Northern Mesopotamia had plenty of rainfall to support cultivation of wheat , barley and other crops. Hence the beginning of agriculture in the Zagros mountain foothills of Northern Mesopotamia goes back to nearly 10000 B.C. Later the important Neolithic settlement of Jarmo came up in this area. Between 8000 B.C. to 6000 B.C. a number of Neolithic villages came up in Northern Mesopotamia.

But Southern Mesopotamia , on the other hand, was an arid zone with less rainfall but constituted the alluvial plains(Delta) of the two rivers and was therefore highly fertile. Absence of rainfall in the valley was made up for by great amounts of water brought down from the Eastern and Northern mountains. Actually Tigris, Euphrates and their tributaries overflowed during spring and summer due to melting of snow in mountainous areas and they carried silt containing organic elements and solutions of inorganic compounds from rock minerals which fertiled the fields. Hence the soil of southern Mesopotamia was fertile. But irrigation, melioration and canals were needed all through the year to raise good crops. Because of this fertility here flourished the first Civilization of the world- Sumerian Civilization between 4000 B.C. to 3000 B.C.

The growth of Sumerian Civilization was preceded by three transitional cultures-Ubaid (5500 to 4000 B.C.), Uruk and Jemdet Nasr.

Sumerian Civilization is known as Civilization since it possess the Civilizational features such as urbanization, surplus production, metallurgy, organised religion, class stratified society, state formation, monumental architecture, long distance trade, art of writing and predictive sciences.

Urbanization:

Anyway, at the beginning of the third millennium B.C. , the southern part of Mesopotamia was not yet unified, rather several settlements had grown into cities. Gordon Childe called this phenomenon 'urban revolution'. This cities built on natural hills , were surrounded by walls. They had a population of 20000 to 80000 each.

Situated in the extreme south west of Mesopotamia was the city of **Eridu**, which according to Sumerian legend developed a high Culture. Close to Eridu lay the city of **Ur**. North of Ur the city of **Larsa** stood. **Uruk** lying on the bank of Euphrates played a prominent role in the unification of the country. Other important city States were **Nippur** and **Kish**.

Surplus production**:**

The rapid growth of city has been attributed to migration from the nearby rural settlements. Maintenance of such a large population presupposes the availability of enough surplus that was made possible mainly by the highly fertile soil of southern Mesopotamia. Canals were dug and dikes were constructed along the banks of the streams. Besides an extensive agricultural method adopted by the Sumerian farmers which included the use of metal plough and draught oxen, which also contributed to increase the agricultural production that supported a large population.

State formation:

The origin of state in Mesopotamia can be traced to the political and economic requirements of the Mesopotamian society. In the formative phase of Sumerian Civilization temples played a key role in

promoting agriculture through organizing labour for putting irrigation system in order, through allocation of irrigation water as well as in erecting defensive walls of the city for protection. Thus temples in Mesopotamia assumed the role of such an authority before the development of state institution. But since the temple had no state organ such as an army to support them they could only coerce the peasants to produce surplus by an ideology and a value system emboldened by suitable legends, myths or by instilling the fear of God. A part of the surplus produce was collected by the temples in the form of offering made to the deities. Gradually temple became a centre of collection, storage and redistribution of surplus produce including crafts production. Most of the temples of big cities such as Ur, Uruk, Eridu and Nippur contained large granaries and warehouses along with quarters of craftsmen. This further strengthened the authority of temple and temple officials. In this manner temples prior to dynastic period in Mesopotamia assumed the status of a state. Based on her study of the temple of Lagash Anna Schneider has termed the status of Mesopotamian States as 'temple state'. Based on archaeological findings and Sumerian written texts the political history of Mesopotamia is divided into - early dynastic period(3000 to 2350 BCE), Akkadian dynasty(2350 to 2150 BCE) and the Third dynasty(2150 to 2000 BCE). But our syllabus is confined until the Akkadian dynasty.

The Sumerian king list suggests that beginning with 3000 BC the Sumerian city States were ruled by chiefs and kings who also performed the role of priests. Titles such as En(spouse of the city deity), sanga(temple administrator) and ishakgu (tenant farmer of deity) titles were adopted by the kings . The competition to control natural resources manifested into inter city state warfare and each city raised it's army not only to protect it's irrigation and water rights, trade routes and city walls but also to acquire more from the other states. Kings provided leadership in this wars and success in wars enhanced their prestige. This brought about a change in the nature of kings as priests were replaced by selected/nominated kings with their organised army, bureaucracy and well defined laws. Temple was replaced by palace as centre of political authority. Thus title such as lugal (big man) , Ensi (city ruler) was used for the kings.

Metallurgy:

Development of metallurgy was an important feature of the Sumerian Bronze Age Civilization. Gordon Childe traced a link between urbanization, metallurgy and bronze age Civilization. Few evidences of the use of copper has been found from Uruk Culture. But copper being a soft material, it had limited utility as tools. Bronze , on the other hand, had several advantages over copper as metal. Bronze was very useful as plough hoe and weapons such as daggers and axes. Hence the people of Sumeria developed the bronze metallurgy which essentially involved alloying/ mixing of copper and tin. Accordingly a full-time specialized group was emerged to manufacture bronze objects. But in Southern Mesopotamia there was problem that it did not possess copper and tin. Sumerians had to bring copper and tin from Iran and Anatolia. But since the Southern Mesopotamia was producing enough surplus, it could sustain the specialist metal workers and use the surplus to get raw materials from far off places.

Religion:

Sumerian religion was not a single or unified religion. There was a clear distinction between religion at the state level and at the popular level. Each city had its own respective gods and goddess. State promoted the worship of the chief city deity in a big temple dedicated to the deity, which was termed as ziggurat. But at the popular level several deities were worshipped in smaller shrines. Deities at these shrines were worshipped by a particular group of people- certain professional groups, clans or tribes.

However owing to the cultural exchanges between several regions and due to systemization of rituals, myths and religious ideas by Sumerian priests, gradually a common tradition or Pantheon was developed. By this process of assimilation many deities became the members of a single family. As Sumerian society had become stratified, the deities were also ranked in an order. The prominent deities were **An** (Sovereign God), **Enlil** (controller of universe or king of kings), **Enki** (Lord of earth or god of sweet water). Among the female deities the popular was **Inanna** (goddess of fertility). After the unification of Akkad and Sumer , Nippur became the religious centre of unified Sumeria and a temple was dedicated to the most worshipped deity Enlil in this city. As the Sumerian society became patriarchal , a number of female deities lost their importance. The religious texts also inform us about a major harvest festival symbolizing the marriage between Inanna and Dumuzi, the god of vegetation and cattle.

Society :

The evidences of simple social differentiation in Mesopotamia can be found from the Uruk transitional phase. But with the beginning of Sumerian Civilization Mesopotamian society was clearly stratified. With the origin of state economic, religious and military power came into the hands of priest king. Leadership in warfare and ability to manage food and other resources created trust of the common people to the elite king and his officials. This enabled the elite to grab the surplus from the producers. Thus wealth generated in the hands of the elite. The available surplus was distributed in an inequitable manner while the larger share was given to the king, priest and warriors whereas actual producers were denied legitimate share of the surplus. Thus society was divided among elite and commoners. The earlier clans or tribes came to be stratified on class lines.

Robert Adams in his analysis of early Mesopotamian society uses the growing differentiation in artifacts as an index of growing class stratification. His study shows that in the ubaid culture there was no such social differentiation according to the evidences of burials. But the burials from the early dynastic period indicates clear class stratification. The Royal burials of early dynastic period contains copper, gold objects and objects of precious stones. Some burials contain few copper objects and occasionally precious stones. But most of the burials contain only pottery or nothing at all. It is no need to mention that metal being costly, could be used as burial objects only by the elite or wealthy.

Gradually Sumerian society became more rigid as described by Hammurabi's Code. Society became divided into three classes- Awelu(nobility), Muskhenu (tenant) & Wardu (slaves). Since Sumerian society became patriarchal, woman was treated as a thing. She lost equal status with her counterparts man. She lost a number of rights.

Writing:

Sumerian Civilization was the first Civilization to develop the art of writing. In the beginning Sumerians employed pictographic symbols. But afterwards they changed these symbols into conventional signs which represented syllables. They had about 300 signs. They impressed their writing upon soft clay tablets, making use stylus that was provided with tip or wedge. For that reason the system of writing was called cuneiform. Many thousands of business letters left by the Sumerians. Besides business letters, religious literature like epic poem and love poem were also left by the Sumerians.

Monumental Architecture:

Monumental architecture is considered as one of the important features of any Civilization. Archaeological excavations revealed that public buildings such as temples, palaces and other large

buildings had prominent position in Sumerian Civilization. Most of the buildings were made of sun-dried bricks. But in the buildings of the later phase some burnt bricks were used along with sun-dried bricks. From the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C. to 2000 B.C. a number of square and pyramidal temple towers(Ziggurat) were constructed. They were built upon a raised platform. Each city had a such Ziggurat. Ur had one Ziggurat constructed with usual sun-dried bricks upon a lower level of burnt bricks, that was 200 feet long , 150 feet wide and 70 feet high. Although Ziggurat were the dominant features of Sumerian architecture, there were several other large buildings such as palaces. One of the impressive one remnants of palace is the Royal palace of Kish , constructed about 3500 B.C. It was built of brick provided with huge staircases, large columns and panelled walls. It is surprising that the prior to 300 B.C. Sumerians knew how to construct not only vault and arch , but also the dome.

Long Distance Trade:

Sumerian trade was also thriving. So expensive of Sumerian trade that their merchants had agents in places as far away as Asia Minor. Salesmen travelled from one city to another for hundreds of miles. The long distance trade increased in the 3rd millennium B.C. Although there is reference of finished goods such as vessels(from Iranian site Tepe Yahya), the largest proportion of imports consisted of raw materials. Copper came from Magan (Oman) , Iran and Anatolia. Silver came from Taurus mountains. Timber and lapis lazuli came from Northern Mesopotamia and Badakhshan . Timber also came from Meluha (Indus Valley). Besides, ivory and ivory objects also came from Meluha. Sumerian used to export perfumes, textiles, and agricultural goods. Long-distance trade was carried through Persian Gulf. It is to be noted that trade was basically carried through barter. However gold and silver were also used as medium of exchange.

Science and technology :

In the field of science and technology Sumerians made some contributions. The construction of several large buildings such as ziggurat(temple) ,or palaces could not have been possible without the knowledge of some system of measurement and mathematics. Similarly long distance trade could not have been possible without some knowledge of astronomy. Hence Sumerians developed some system of mathematics and astronomy. They had the knowledge of measurement of fields, debit and credit calculation. Their unit of counting was 60 and still we use this for the division of hour. They divided the circle into 6×60=360 parts or degrees. They also developed the idea of movement of sun, moon . They divided the year into lunar months of 29 to 30 days, each year contains only 354 days.

TRADE DURING THE DELHI SULTANATE

Internal Trade: There emerged some considerably big flourishing towns as well as numerous townships during the 13th - 14th centuries. Those towns naturally needed to be fed and supplied with raw material for craft production. At the same time, there was growing practice of land revenue realization in cash. By the time of Alauddin Khilji, the **cash-nexus** came to be well-developed and the ruling class tended to claim almost the entire peasant surplus by attempting to reduce the share of the rural intermediaries. Both these factors were conducive to the development of inland trade. To pay the land revenue in cash, the peasantry was forced to sell its surplus produce while the merchants had a market in newly emerging towns for agricultural products. This trade resulting from the compulsions of land revenue system is termed as 'induced trade' by Professor Md. Habib.

The inland trade developed at two levels:
A) the short distance village-town trade in commodities of bulk, and B) long distance inter-town trade in high value goods. The village-town trade was a natural consequence of the emergence of towns and realization of land revenue in cash. The urban centres were dependent for supply of food grains and raw material for manufactures from the surrounding villages whereas the villages had to sell the agricultural products to receive cash for meeting the land revenue demand. The peculiar nature of this trade was the one-way flow of commodities. While the towns received food grains and raw material from the villages in the vicinity, they had no need to send their products in exchange to the villages which were by and large self-sufficient. This one way trade was owing to the land revenue demand imposed upon the villages which naturally led to a continuous drain on rural sector and made the towns dependent on the villages. The turnover of this trade was high in terms of volume but was low in terms of value. The commodities were food grains, that is, wheat, rice, gram, sugarcane etc. and raw material like cotton for urban manufactures.

The inter-town trade was mainly in luxury articles and was thus a high value trade. The manufactures of one town were taken to another. Barani reports that Delhi, the capital itself, received distilled wines from Kol (Aligarh) and Meerut, *Muslin* from Devagiri and striped cloth from Lakhnauti. Ibn Battuta reports that ordinary cloth came from Ayodhya and betel leaf from Malwa. Candy sugar was supplied to Multan from Delhi and Lahore and *Ghee* fro Sirsa in Haryana.

The long distance inter-town trade also carried goods coming from other countries from entry point towns to the urban centres as well as the export goods to the exit points. Multan was perhaps the great *entrepot* for overland foreign trade and served as a centre of re-export, while Gujarat port towns such as Broach and Cambay were exchange centres for overseas trade.

Overland Trade: Multan was the major trading centre for overland trade. India was connected to Central Asia, Afghanistan and Persia through Multan-Quetta route. But on account of repeated Mongol turmoil in Central Asia and Persia, this route was less preferred by the merchants.

Overseas Trade: The Khilji annexation of Gujarat must have enlarged trade relations between the Delhi Sultanate and the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Hormuz and Basra were the chief ports for the ships passing through the Persian Gulf, while the ports of

Aden, Mocha and Zedda along the Red Sea were important for Gujarat. Through these ports commodities moved on to Damascus and Aleppo, on the one hand, and Alexandria on the other. Alexandria and Aleppo opened upto the Mediterranean Sea with linkages to Europe. Tome Pires, a European traveller, reports that merchandise of Gujarat were also carried towards the East. To the port of Malacca situated at the Malacca Straits and Bantam and Achin in the Indonesian archipelago. The coloured cloths of Cambay and other Gujarat towns were exported to Malacca and spices were imported.

The Italian traveller Barthema (first decade of the 16th century) reports that about 300 ships (annually?) of different countries come and go from Cambay. He adds that about 400 Turkish merchants resided at Diu.

The Il Khanid court historian Wassaf reports that 10,000 horses were annually exported to Mabar (Malabar) and Cambay from Persia. The Broach coin hoards containing the coins of the Delhi Sultanate along with the gold and silver coins of Egypt, Syria, Yemen, Persia, Genoa, Armenia and Venice further testifies to large-scale overseas trade.

The ports of Bengal had trading relation with China, Malacca and the Far East. Textiles, sugar and silk fabrics were the most important commodities exported from Bengal. Bengal imported salt from Hormuz and sea-shells from Maldive Islands. The latter were used as coins in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

Sind was another region from where seaborne trade was carried on. Its most well-known port was Daibul. Sind exported special cloths, dairy products and smoked fish.

The coastal trade touching Gujarat, Malabar and Coromandal coasts in between provided an opportunity for exchange of regional products along the coastal line distinct from inland inter-regional trade.

TRANSITION FROM FEUDALISM TO CAPITALISM

The debate on the transition from feudal mode of production to industrial mode of production is fascinating and has given birth to a rich and thought provoking literature. Because by now we know that commercial capitalism existed within the framework of feudalism since the Middle Ages.

The significance of commercial capitalism and its role in the transition becomes all the more striking in the transition debate, which ensued among scholars and historians. Two stages of the debate can be identified. 1) The Dobb-Sweezy controversy (mentioned above), turned mainly on what would be the correct Marxist explanation of the transition from feudalism to capitalism in the light of European experience. 2) The second stage of the debate is less bound by such limitations. Robert Brenner's critiques of the 'demographic model', supported by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie of the *Annales School*, Michael Postan and Habakuk of the Liberal School and Marxist Guy Bois, the 'commercialization model' of Pirenne, Sweezy, 'the falling rent rate' of Perry Anderson, Rodney Hilton and 'World System' model of Immanuel Wallerstein, are not only rich in fresh insights and developments of Marxist analysis, but also utilize a mass of new and meaningful evidence on agrarian history, industrial and commercial evolution and demographic changes. The debate was mainly about two points – whether the exchange relations or external trade demolished the feudal mode of production; or whether inner contradictions like exploitation of the peasant by the nobility and unproductive use of economic surplus like expenditure on war and luxury were responsible for the break-down of feudalism.

There was a long time-gap between the decline of feudalism in Western Europe during the 14th century and the beginning of the capitalist period in the second half of the 16th century at the earliest. Sweezy does not agree with Dobb's characterization of the intervening period as feudal. Rather he considers it as a traditional form in which the predominant elements were neither feudal nor capitalist.

According to Dobb, feudalism had its own dynamic phase (10th-12th centuries) of expanding production based on the extension of cultivation, some technical improvements and extraction of surplus and its use in unproductive ways. Dobb indicated how the economic effects of trade and merchant capital were themselves shaped by feudal class relations and rather reinforced feudal obligations. Further, merchant or commercial capital is not directly involved in production and hence its source of profit lies in the ability to turn the terms and conditions of trade against petty producers in agriculture and industry.

Dobb made the following points regarding the emergence of capitalism: i) supersession of serfdom by contractual relations or rise of peasant property. This was the result of the inner contradictions in the feudal relations between the nobility and the peasantry. The very misery of the peasantry created the danger of depopulation of manors. The effects of the nobility's expenditure on unproductive activities like war were equally disastrous. Overexploitation of labour, unproductive use of economic surplus and

exhaustion of power and opportunities to increase lord's revenue made the feudal mode increasingly untenable. ii) Dobb attached considerable importance to the growth of capitalist elements from the ranks of direct producers released from feudal constraints and engaged in the petty mode of production. iii) Dobb sees the English Revolution of 1640 as one in which artisans and yeomen seized political power from landlords and merchants.

Le Roy Ladurie stressed the importance of the demographic model implying that the long-term trends of the feudal economy conformed to the Malthusian sequence of population growth outstripping food supply and then demographic decline due to calamities like famine, starvation etc. A population upswing would then be associated with falling wages, rising food prices and rising rents. According to Le Roy Ladurie, there was a distinct upward surge of population during the 16th century, followed by a sharp decline in the 17th century. Abundance of labour in the 16th century due to population growth gave a boost to feudalism. Conversely, feudalism received a blow in the 17th century with a sharp fall in population. This was, in the view of Ladurie, the decisive role of the demographic factor in shaping the nature and sequence of transition.

Brenner criticizes both the demographic model as well as the trade-centred approach. The main thrust of Brenner's argument placed the development of class structure and state power and its effects at the centre of analysis. According to Brenner, the two fundamental problems regarding the transition related to : i) the decline versus persistence of serfdom and its effects, and ii) the emergence and predominance of secure small peasant property versus the rise of landlord-large tenant farmer relations on the land. The class-structure, according to Brenner, had three layers— the state or the monarchy at the top, the gentry and feudal landlords at the middle and the peasants and serfs at the lowest base. In the 14th and 15th centuries the perpetual class conflict between the second and third social groups resulted in the triumph of the peasantry and serfdom came to an end. In England, however, since the monarchy was dependent on the gentry for taxes, it could not protect the peasantry against the oppression of the gentry and the feudal lords. As a result, the peasantry were ultimately again suppressed by feudalism, leading to their deprivation of land which were subsequently enclosed by the landlords. The successful enclosure movement in England laid the foundations of agrarian capitalism in the 16th century and this facilitated the process of her early industrialization. In France, however, the monarchy was directly dependent upon the peasants for taxes. So the landlords could not enclose the lands successfully as the peasants resisted the move vehemently and the monarchy could not afford to impose it upon them against their will. As a result, agrarian capitalism could not develop in France. It was all the more delayed in Eastern Europe where monarchy was extremely weak, feudal lords were powerful and consequently feudalism continued in its strongest form.

Perry Anderson, a Marxist, stressed like Dobb, Hilton and Brenner that changes in social relations must precede development of productive forces. The nobility was unable to maintain serfdom after the feudal crisis because the towns gave peasants a shelter when

they fled from their masters. In this manner, the political contradictions were first heightened and then resolved by its disintegration. But unlike them, he rejected the view that class struggle plays a decisive role in the germination as well as in the resolution of social crisis. Like Sweezy and Wallerstein, on the other hand, Anderson stressed the importance of towns and international trade to the process of capitalist development. His theory is also known as 'eclectic Marxism.'

On the other hand, prominent scholars like Sweezy, Wallerstein, Perry Anderson recognized commerce and the capital accumulated thereby to be the most crucial link between the decline of feudalism and the rise of capitalism. Capitalist manufactories (i.e. large handicrafts employing wage labour) which competed with and ousted the old craft guilds, were the crucial link – the form in which the metamorphosis of merchant capital into industrial capital was achieved.

Paul Sweezy saw the Verlagssystem or the 'putting out system', in which large merchants of the town employed craftsmen scattered in domestic workshops in the villages or suburbs as the most significant point from which process of transition to the matured factory system of the Industrial Revolution started. Sweezy's view that merchant capital, which developed and blossomed within the construct of the feudal society, evolved directly into industrial capital, has, however, been considered by others as misconception in the sense that only if merchant capital was invested in industrial production, could it be responsible for the transition to capitalism.

In this connection, the distinction between investment in commercial production and that in industrial production needs to be clarified and the question why the latter only could put an end to feudalism and simultaneously paved the path for the rise of industrial capitalism needs to be answered. These were: 1) Under commercial production the earlier method of manufacture through guilds in towns underwent crucial organizational changes as production of goods came to be dominated by the merchant capitalists under the putting-out system. The putting-out system was much more elaborately developed and manufactories were created when merchant capital was invested in industrial mode of production. 2) The change of investment from commercial to industrial production was accentuated by the shift in the economic centre from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. While earlier commerce was confined to the Mediterranean and Baltic region, a geographical shift took place to the north-western region of the Atlantic during the late 15th and 16th centuries. The reasons were many, like, the soil conditions in the Mediterranean Europe were inferior to those of North- Western Europe. Discovery of precious metals in America was another reason. It brought with it enormous international liquidity and marked the growth of international trade. Between 1500-1700 at least in Holland and England a commercial revolution took place. Moreover, piracy deterred the merchants in the Mediterranean. Discovery of new trade routes through geographical exploration further accelerated the process of shifting the economic centre. Technological breakthrough was another reason. 3) Under industrial production, a much wider range of choice of goods than before was made available for the purpose of international trade, including a larger number of non-luxury goods; 4) the volume of articles of common consumption for both

international and domestic markets was substantially increased by industrial mode of production It can be said, therefore, that capitalism prevalent till the end of the 17th century was commercial capitalism, that is, capitalism dominated by commercial activity. A large part of the goods in trade was obtained from the traditional sector—agriculture, domestic work and craftwork. This growing volume of trade accentuated the commercial aspect of the still expanding capitalism. However, the demand on the manufactures multiplied bringing about in the end a fundamental technological breakthrough—Industrial Revolution. A new economy was ushered in by the Industrial Revolution—famous in the history of Europe as industrial capitalism. The metamorphosis of commercial capital into industrial capital was completed basically by two primary factors—the deployment of commercial capital increasingly into industries, thereby transforming it into industrial capital and a significant increase in the number of factories or manufactories, a typical feature of the industrial age which in its turn completed the decline of the 'putting out' system.

ZABTI SYSTEM UNDER AKBAR

During the reign of Akbar and his successors four main systems of revenue assessment were prevalent: 1. *Zabti* or *Dahsala* system; 2. *Batai, Ghallabakshi* or *Bhaoli;* 3. *Kankut* and 4. *Nasaq*.

1. **Zabti or Dahsala system**: The *Dahsala* was an improvement on the *Zabti* system. For the purpose of assessment the land was classified in Akbar's reign in four categories: *Polaj* (land which was cultivated every year and never left fallow); *Parauti* (land which had to be left fallow for a time to enable it to recover fertility); *Chachar* (land which had to be left fallow for three or four years); and *Banjar* (land which remained uncultivated for five years or more). *Polaj* and *Parauti* lands were classified into three categories – good, medium and bad – and the average produce per *bigha* of these three categories was taken as the normal produce of a *bigha*. *Parauti* land, when cultivated, paid the same revenue as *Polaj* land. The *Chachar* and *Banjar* lands were charged a concessional rate which was progressively increased to full or *Polaj* rate (i.e. one-third of the produce) by the fifth or the eighth year. Under the *Dahsala* system an attempt was made to work out the revenue rates. The state demand was given in *maunds*; but for the conversion of the state demand from kind to cash, a separate schedule of cash revenue rates *(dasturu'l amals)* for various crops was fixed. For a period of the past ten years, 1570-71 to 1579-80, information on yields, prices, and area cultivated was collected for each locality. On the basis of the average prices of different crops in each locality over the past ten years the state demand was fixed in rupees per *bigha*. Each revenue circle had a separate schedule of cash revenue rates *(dasturu'l amal)* for various crops. Thus the peasant was required to pay on the basis of local produce as well as local prices. The *Dahsala* was neither a ten-year nor a permanent settlement, and the state had the right to modify it. Since this system was associated with Raja Todarmal, it is also known as Todarmal's *bandabust* or settlement. This system prevailed from Lahore to Allahabad and in the provinces of Malwa and Gujarat. A major extension of it occurred in the later years of Shah Jahan's reign, when it was introduced in the Deccan by Murshid Quli Khan.

This system greatly simplified the process of assessment. The cash rates *(dasturu'l amals)* were not fixed by a "rule of thumb", but were based on enquiries into the yields and prices of each crop in different localities.

2. **Batai,Ghallabakhshi or Bhaoli:** This was a very old system which continued during the Mughal period. This was a simple method of crop-sharing in which the produce was arranged into heaps and divided into three shares, one of which was taken by the state. Under this system the peasant had the choice to pay in cash or kind, but in the case of cash crops the state demand was mostly in cash.

3. **Kankut**: This system was already in use in the fourteenth century. Under this method, instead of actually dividing the grain *(kan),* an estimate *(kut)* Was made on the basis of an actual inspection on the spot. One-third of the estimated produce was fixed as the state demand. In simple terms, it was a rough estimate of produce on the basis of actual inspection and past experience.

4. **Nasaq**: This was widely prevalent in the Mughal Empire, particularly in Bengal. In this system a rough calculation was made on the basis of the past revenue receipts of the peasants. It required no actual measurement, but the area was ascertained from the records.

The *Zabti* system was the standard system, but other methods of assessment were prevalent in different parts of the empire. In the *subahs* of Ajmer, Kashmir and southern Sind, crop-sharing and in Bengal *nasaq* were prevalent. There was, however, a contradiction in the Mughal revenue system. Although the assessment was made by the state of the individual cultivator, the collection of revenue was made through intermediaries like *Zamindars, Taluqdars, Muqaddams, Patils* etc.