



- After decline of Mughals , emergence of regional powers was the most significant political development .
 - Rise of three different types of states : –
- 1) The successor states, Hyderabad, Awadh & Bengal were erstwhile provinces of the Mughal empire which broke away to become independent.
 - 2) The ‘new states’ of the Marathas, Sikhs, Jats & Afghans; in this process in some of these states, an important role was played by popular peasant movements against imperial demands
 - 3) The independent kingdoms of Mysore, the Rajputs & Kerala.
- The disintegration of provinces under Mughal control, took place in three stages – 1) The revolt of individuals 2) Revolt of the social groups 3) Revolt of communities & finally regions.
 - Zamindari revolts in the provinces against imperial demands triggered off the breakaway.
 - Governors did not get support from the centre & tried to secure support of the local elites
 - The ‘new states’ or ‘insurgent states’ set up by rebels against the Mughals– the Marathas, Sikhs, Jats & Afghans.
 - Marathas, Sikhs & Jats began as popular movements of peasant insurgency.
 - The leadership was not with the nobility but with ‘new men’ often from lower orders.
 - In Mysore & Hyderabad despite of the continuity of the earlier political institutions certain basic changes occur in the nature of the polities formed.
 - While in Hyderabad the Mughal political institutions were weakened & used for regional consolidation
 - In Mysore, the Wodeyar dynasty was overthrown to form a stronger overhauled administration
 - It led to the consolidation of autonomy in the 18th century. However, links with the centre were maintained & Mughal tradition continued

RISE OF MYSORE

- In the 18th century the rulers of Mysore, from the Wodeyars to Tipu Sultan, were to face the expansionist threat of 1) the Marathas 2) Hyderabad & 3)Carnatic
- While the English were to exploit the situation to their advantage.
- Mysore was transformed from a viceroyalty of the Vijaynagar Empire into an autonomous state by the Wodeyar dynasty.
- It was left to Haidar Ali & his son Tipu Sultan to establish Mysore as a major military power in the south of India.
- Haidar was of unaristocratic origin & hostile English contemporaries often termed him an usurper.

- But he was an usurper in same sense as the dalwai or the prime minister, he replaced in Mysore as an usurper
- The dalwai had reduced the titular Wodeyar king to a cipher & , Haidar began as an official serving the state
- He displayed his military genius in strengthening the army, in bringing under control the fiercely independent local chiefs or poligars, & in subjugating Bednove, Sunda, Seva, Canara & Guti.
- His greatest triumph was his chase of English troops within five miles of Madras & dictated a treaty in 1769.

MILITARIZATION OF MYSORE

- The significance of war & its companion militarization seems to go back further in the Mysore history.
- Burton Stein, traces it back to the times of the historic Vijaynagar Empire in 16th century.
- The Vijaynagar state was the first in South India to use firearms in establishing its control over the local rajas & other external powers.

THE LOCAL CHIEF

- The local chiefs, mainly poligars, were descendants of the hunter-gatherers of the forests who had acquired military skills and local political leadership in the military service of the Vijaynagar Empire.
 - By the 18th century : –
- (a) the control of revenue & tribute from agriculture on their lands &
 - (b) through the support of priests of the temples of their own community.
- Temples were also centres of trading activity made the local chiefs powerful forces who could affect the growth of any centralized state in Mysore.

18TH CENTURY UPHEAVALS

- A tussle of force & military might between Mysore & the poligars would be the determining factor in establishing a polity at Mysore.
- This tussle in 18th century was initiated by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar (1672- 1704). Under him Mysore moved towards an unprecedented militarization
- To sustain this militarization he increased the general revenue collection by the state official & exempted lands held by his soldiers from revenue demands.
- Haidar Ali, auctioned off large territories to ambitious warriors, who as tax farmers, pressed revenue demands upon the local chiefs.
- Haidar Ali refused these chiefs any claim to independence & if they resisted they were driven off their lands.

- By limiting the scope of these chiefs' activities, Haidar further eroded their local base.
- Tipu Sultan, his son, subjugated the poligars. After expelling them he rented out their lands to either private individuals or govt officials.
- Tipu by paying regular salary to army, instead of paying the spoil of war, ensured his ultimate control over the army.
- Haidar & Tipu also tried to overcome certain weaknesses in the organization of the army
- There was an attempt to induce organizational discipline more strongly along European lines.
- For this French soldiers were recruited & used for training special troops.
- According to the French general, De La Tour, who worked under Hidar – by 1761 the French personnel in the Mysore army had considerably increased.
- According to Sanjay Subramaniam, European discipline attempted to conquer attitudes of hostility & ambivalence towards modern firearms & cannons.

ADMINISTRATION OF MYSORE

- Another achievement of Haidar & later Tipu was the consolidation of the apparatus of administration.
- In effect the older administration of the Wodeyars was retained intact by Haidar & Tipu.
- The 18 departments of the administration ranging from military & revenue, to information were retained.
- Among the top officials individuals like Khande Rao, Venkatappa or Mir Sadik who had demonstrated their competence were retained in spite of political fluctuations.
- Changes were made only when the top officials were caught in cases of financial frauds.
- Thomas Munro opined that, "it was the scope offered by native ruler for personal wealth & ambition which made the 'higher orders' prefer the native rulers rather than the 'humble mediocrity' of the company's service."

REVENUE RESOURCES OF MYSORE

REVENUE FROM LAND

- A unique feature of the Mysore administration under Haidar & Tipu lay in :- building the base of their military-political authority by augmenting their financial resources for running the state.
- For this, ruler needed ultimate control over both the merchant & the peasant, as they were the twin movers of finance & production
- Land was classified into various categories & the mode of assessment.
 - Ijara land was leased on fixed rents to the peasants.
 - Hissa land rent was assessed as a share of the produce.
- Further rent on irrigated land was paid in the form of kinds & on dry land in terms of money.

- There was a system of survey & control combined with measures to encourage tillers by adequate relief & protection.
- An amildar controlled the revenue administration & a sudfar looked after the legalities of rent disputes.
- Intermediaries were sought to be removed
- A direct link between the interests of the state & the interests of the peasantry was sought to be established to maximise revenue for the state.
- Tipu denied revenue farming rights to main govt officials to protect peasants against the revenue farmers.
- Tipu even envisaged independent individual initiative to develop facilities for agriculture
- Rent free land was gifted to individuals for the construction of irrigation & other infrastructure.
- Thus a class of people sought to be created who could support agricultural development independently.
- These measures were offset to a practice of farming off lands & the jagir system whereby jagir was granted in perpetuity to a particular family
- The agricultural produce was by force of custom shared by entire village community.
- Nikhilesh Guha shows the majority of the share of produce was going to the dominant or upper castes that mostly performed ritual functions.
- So there was no way the agricultural surplus could be used to initiate development within the farming community.
- The cultivator was left without much resource for agricultural development.
- The state accorded priority to war – Sultan had to tackle, Marathas, Hyderabad, Carnatic & the English - led to a disproportionate rise in military expense & consequent rise in the revenue demand.
- Tipu raised his land revenue by 30% at the height of his defeats – No sustained agricultural development thus could be possible

REVENUE FROM TRADE

- Merchants played important role in the Mysore economy since, last couple of centuries.
- Linking the inland, external trade & revenue farming – held a portfolio of these diverse investments in trade & land.
- According to Sanjay Subramaniam, some of them being big revenue farmers the area under their cultivation prospered rather than declined.
- This indicated the importance they attached to land & the significance of the trickling in of trade profits towards land.
- The prosperous merchants were the important actors in Mysore scene.
- Tipu appointed asufs to train officials to run trade centres established by him for keeping trade in control.

- Trade capital was to be provided for these trade centres from the revenue collected by the state officials.
- Provision was made for accepting deposits of private persons as investment in the state trade with returns fixed around 35%.
- Regular inspection of financial records of these centres was undertaken. Further, currency was strictly regulated.
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- Due to the domination of the British on the sea trade & alliance between native & English merchants, a perception of threat to trade developed
- In 1785 he declared an embargo at his ports on the export of pepper, sandalwood & cardamoms.
- In 1788 he explicitly forbade trade with the English.

HYDERABAD

- Mughal influence in the earlier days was more prominent in Hyderabad
- Mughal appointed Subadar of Deccan was posted at Hyderabad.
- An attempt was made to introduce the Mughal administrative system.
- In spite of continual Mughal-Maratha conflict, this system served to highlight the order of Mughal Empire in Deccan.
- However, in the wake of the decline of the Mughal Empire this system seems to have come into crisis.
- Nizam Asaf Jah was first appointed a subadar (in charge of province) by the Mughal emperor in 1713.
- But only after defeating his rival Mughal appointee in 1724, he could take effective charge of the Deccan.
- Subsequently, he removed the Mughal officials in Hyderabad & installed his own men.
- He also assumed the right of making treaties, wars & granting mansabs & titles.
- Gradually the Mughal authority was reduced to a symbolic reading of Khutba etc.
- By the time of Nizam Ali Khan (1762-1803) Carnatic, Marathas & Mysore had all settled their territorial

claims & some kind of a stable political pattern emerged in Hyderabad.

ARMY & WELFARE

- The army was an important component of the polity that emerged in Hyderabad.
- The Nizam-ul-Mulk essentially followed a policy of allowing the existing jagirdari holdings.
- The military commanders & their troops were tied to the political system through their individual employer, mainly the nobles.
- Unlike Mysore, the local chief's authority in Hyderabad was allowed to remain intact.
- Like in the Mughal army, the Hyderabad army too was maintained from the cash allowances drawn by the nobles from the Nizam's treasury.
- The army was important to contain the Marathas, the Carnatic Nawab, Mysore or the English.
- However thrust to gear up state finances directly for war, seem to be definitely weaker than Mysore.

LAND REVENUE SYSTEM

- Mysore rulers, Tipu & Haidar , made attempts to directly control revenue through a huge bureaucracy
- However, the rulers of Hyderabad allowed intermediaries to function.
- According to M.A. Nayeem, the existence of ijara or revenue farming land.
- Peshkush zamindars –whose lands were not officially assessed but required to give an annual tribute or peshkush on the basis of their own assessment records – were present in large number
- According to, Nayeem , zamindars & deshpandes (village chiefs) had to pay the land revenue assessed by the state, their consent was obtained.
- While the revenue was supposed to be 50% of the produce, it was very rarely that this proportion was collected.
- The importance of intermediaries is established from the fact that the state's collection, i.e., Jamabandi was always lower than Kamil i.e., the assessment figure for revenue arrived at with the landlord's consent.
- As Nayeem shows, the difference between the two, i.e. Kamil and Jama, was the 'zamindar's share'.
- According to the documents on revenue of the Nizam period , it can be concluded that, the actual revenue too declined"
- In Hyderabad jagirs or land grants for service to the state tended to become hereditary.
- While in Mysore there was an attempt to check this, in Hyderabad no serious measure to do so seems to have been taken.
- Moreover, the jagirdars became strong due to hereditary succession, so that even in the context of declining actual revenue "the question of jagirdars receiving lesser revenue receipts, does not arise at all".

- The land revenue administration in Hyderabad had officers under amils (provincial heads).
- Measures for regular assessment & survey were taken.
- Encouragement was given to the cultivator by the state policy of loans & reprieves.
- However, all these features were undermined by the power & importance of intermediaries.
- Role of intermediaries was decisive in the assessment & collection of revenue.
- It influenced the shaping of Hyderabad polity under the Nizams.
- A network of intermediary interests on land seem to have existed which could be the political base for the competition to power & influence at the top.

PATRONS & CLIENTS

- Karen Leonard identifies loose “patron-client relationships” in the Hyderabad political system – between the Nizam & the powerful nobles.
- The circle of nobles around Nizam changed from time to time, to hold his control
- The nobility had no uniform criteria for career advancement under the Mughals.
- Personal relations with Nizam or military skills were becoming important.
- So to become powerful in Hyderabad, the mansab rank did not prevent the rise of the noble.
- Zamindars or Jagirdars along with their intermediaries, could with a little military skill & diplomacy become powerful.
- Earlier the administrative hierarchy or land revenue regulations of the Mughals had restricted the scope of accumulating power & wealth
- However now the institutional set up was weak enough to easily grab the power.

VAKIL

- This process of grabbing wealth & power was a network of intermediate clients called the vakils.
- These vakils acted as agents between Nizam & nobles, nobles & nobles and Nizam & outside powers.
- The vakils provided opportunities for individuals within the huge & affluent establishments maintained by the Hyderabad nobles.
- The vakils acted on the basis of interests of individuals
- Vakils represented forces of individual initiative in the competition for power & wealth.

THE LOCAL CHIEFS

- Unlike Mysore, the local chiefs under the Nizam continued to control their inherited land on the payment of tribute to the Nizam.
- Though they played the role of patrons like Nizams & his nobles, they were never fully integrated within the Hyderabad political system.
- The local chiefs did not even follow the life style of Hyderabad court & seemed content to remain out of the sphere of the court politics.

- However, they could become decisive individual factors when the Hyderabad court was weak.

FINANCIAL & MILITARY GROUPS

- Bankers; money-lenders & military commanders (usually mercenaries) played important role in the political system of Hyderabad
- Their strength derived mainly from the community they belong & in contrast to the vakils they functioned as caste or community groups.
- The main caste groups amongst the financial groups were the Agarwal & Marwaris
- While Afghans & Arabs were prominent military groups.
- By threatening to withdraw support & services these individuals & groups could at their level play an important role in the balance of the polity.

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

- The earlier Mughal institutions continued but now allowing the consolidation of the vested interests, in the process allowing individuals to profit.
- Diwan, conducted most of the day-to-day affairs of the kingdom.
- However, instead of the diwan, the subordinate hereditary office of daftardars or the record keepers became more important in the absence of salaried officials to conduct matters like revenue.
- These record keepers were able to exercise real control by deciding the amount of revenue by local deshpande or taluqdar & putting it on records.

SIKHISM : RELIGIOUS TO POLITICAL IDENTITY

- The Punjab, In the 15th & 16th century a series of reformist movements revitalised the Indian religious belief systems.
- In the midst of these movements, a new order of Sikhism was born in the Punjab.
- The founder of this newly emerging sect was Guru Nanak who named his followers as Sikhs, which literally means the learner or disciple.
- In course of time as the new cult spread, the name Sikh became the descriptive title of the people, a designation not ethnic but religious.
- Guru Nanak’s religious movement was peaceful, non-sectarian & motivated towards reconciliation with secular life.
- Guru Nanak was succeeded by nine different Gurus, in a period of about 200 years
- They organized & strengthened the Sikh brotherhood – made it a powerful fighting force to face the challenges of the Mughal rulers.
- Thus, Guru Angad developed the script Gurmukhi, Guru Ram Das laid the foundations of Amritsar temple.
- Guru Arjun Dev compiled the Adi Granth.
- Guru Hargobind trained the Sikhs in military art & warfare tactics.
- Guru Gobind Singh organized the Sikhs into a well organized fighting force, with Khalsa as its organizational focus.

- After Guru Gobind Singh, the institution of Guruship ended
- The leadership of the Sikh brotherhood passed to Banda Bairagi, popularly known as Banda Bahadur.
- He carried a vigorous struggle against the Mughal forces for nearly 8 years.
- In 1715 he was captured and executed.
- After Banda's execution for more than a decade the Mughal authorities tried to bring the rebellious Sikhs under control.
- Factors responsible for rise of Sikhs : –
 - 1) Weakening of the Mughals
 - 2) Invasions of Nadir Shah(1736–1747) & Ahmad Shah Abdali (1748 to 1767)
 - 3)The Maratha incursion
 - 4)Lack of cohesion & coordination in the provincial administration,
 - 5) Defiance of imperial authority by various local chiefs & Zamindars.
 - 6)The death of Ahmad Shah Abdali & decline of Afghan hegemony in Northern India.
- Sikhs organized themselves into numerous small & highly mobile bands called jathas, each commanded by a Jathedar – as a defiance to Mughal repression
- Jathedars tried to form a confederation & they met on the occasion of the Baisakhi & Diwali festivals. It promoted solidarity among the various groups.
- The defeat of the Mughals & the Marathas by the Afghans – gave chance to Sikhs to consolidate their base in the Punjab.
- In the 18th century the numerous small Sikh groups had regrouped themselves into 12 larger regional confederacies or Misls under the leadership of various local chiefs.
- Bhangis controlled territories between Jhelum & Indus and on Lahore and Amritsar
- Ramgarhias had command over the Jalandhar Doab
- Kanhayas had control over the Raikiri tract
- Singhpurias controlled east and west of the river Sutlej.
- The Ahluwalias had command over Raikot & Kapurthala
- Sulkerchakias had control over Gujranwala, Wazirabad
- The Phalkias controlled Malwa and Sirhind.
- These Misls were based originally on the principle of equality
- Each member had an equal say in deciding the affairs of the respective Misls and electing the Chief and other officers of the organization.
- The unity and the democratic character that the Misls had at the initial stage gradually withered away with the removal of the threat of the Afghan invasion.
- In course of time this democratic character ended with the emergence of powerful chiefs, their mutual bickerings & warfare.

- Ultimately Ranjit Singh, the leader of the Sukerchakia Misl, emerged as the most powerful among other chiefs and by force of army he brought unity among the Sikhs.

RISE OF SIKH STATE

- The establishment of an autonomous state in the Punjab by Ranjit Singh in the first half of the 19th century.
- Ranjit Singh was the son of the Sukerchakia Misl Chief, Mahan Singh. He was only 12 years of age when his father died in 1792.
- He inherited a small kingdom comprising Gujranwala, Wazirabad and some area in Sialkot, Rohtas and Pind Dadan Khan.
- The internal fighting of the Sikh chiefs and the Afghan invasions under Zaman Shah in 1795, 1796 & 1798 helped Ranjit Singh in consolidating his power in the Punjab.
- Ranjit Singh was able to curb the power of the independent Sikh principalities and brought them under single political authority.
- Ranjit Singh's had two problems to deal with : – 1) Growing power of his Diwan Lakhpat Rai & 2)Attempts of his mother, Mai Malwai, to control the administration.
- Diwan Lakhpat Rai was sent to expedition to Kaithal, where he was assassinated.
- Mai Malwai was also murdered 'under mysterious circumstances.
- Ranjit Singh launched expeditions against the various chiefs of the Sikh confederacies. With the active support of his mother-in-law Rani Sada Kaur, the Kanhaya chief
- After Ramgarhias were defeated - he focused on Lahore - Afghan leader, Zaman Shah established his control over Lahore in 1797.
- But due to conspiracies against him, Zaman Shah gave Ranjit Singh an ideal opportunity to establish his control over Lahore in 1799.
- After Lahore Ranjit Singh annexed Amritsar from the Bhangis along with all their other territories.
- Kashmir was conquered in 1819 and by 1820– Ranjit Singh was acknowledged as the ruler of the whole of the Punjab, from the Sutlej to the Indus, with the territories of Kashmir and the hill tract to the borders of Tibet.
- The Trans-Indus regions of Dera Ismail, Dera Ghazi Khan, Khairabad and finally Peshawar (1834) were all subjected to the Sikh monarchy. Ranjit Singh's successors were able to maintain the territorial integrity established by ' Ranjit Singh till 1845.
- Sikh dominion was subjugated to the British imperial system and it was a fully annexed to the British Empire in 1849.

NATURE OF POLITY OF PUNJAB STATE

- Teachings of the Sikh Gurus provided the basic foundation for the Sikh polity.

- The movement that had developed amongst the Sikhs to fight against the socio-economic and religious injustices in the medieval period ultimately got transformed into a political movement in the course of the 18th century
- So the basis of the Sikh polity was laid down by the moral ethos and the democratic traditions of the Sikh Gurus.
- The reflection of this democratic tradition is found in the Sikh polity of the Misl period with its various features like the Gurmata, the Dal Khalsa, ruling in the name of the Khalsa, etc.
- According to some historians the organization of the Misls was 'theocratic' in character
- The Misl Chiefs acted independently in their own respective areas, sometimes guided by their own interests.
- Their attendance in the meetings of the Sarbat Khalsa was not compulsory. They attended the meetings to discuss an emergency situation or for matters of mutual interest; decisions were not universally regarded as binding.
- Moreover, in spite of the framework of a democratic tradition, in the internal organization of the Misls there was not such democracy
- The idea of personal government was much in practice.
- Within the Misl the Sardar or the chief had complete independence.
- The confederacy existed mainly because there was external threat.
- In the matters of internal affairs the confederacy had no control over the Misls.
- The replacement of independent chiefs by Sikh monarchy brought change in the nature of Sikh polity.
- During the 19th century the autonomy of the individual Sardar came to an end and the king became the supreme authority within the state.
- Ranjit Singh had full faith in the Sikh scriptures & religion. But his personal faith never came in the way of his administration.
- Punjab being a land of the people of diverse ethnic, religious and language groups needed a secular administration and the Sikh rulers acted rightly in order to consolidate their rule in the region.
- The interference of religion in matters of administration was not expedient.



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