CHAPTER II

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Guru Nanak's period (1469 to 1539 AD) was a time of transition and turmoil as already discussed in the preceding chapter. After a short and inglorious rule of the Sayyids, the Lodis established themselves at Delhi and tried to revive the power and prestige of the sultanate. The almost total anarchy of the Sayyids was becoming a thing of the past, but authority of the sultan still rested on rather delicate foundation. The afghan nobles would regard the rulers as their tribal chief and not their master or ruler.

Bahlul Lodi, the founder of the Lodi dynasty, knew it very well that his very existence was due to the support from his tribemen. With the coming of Sikandar and Ibrahim Lodi to power, the relationship between the sultan and the afghan nobility underwent a complete change. Not only this he tried to make the state theocratic. Sikandar Lodi, like Feroz Shah Tughluq, officially imposed Islam on the Hindu subjects although they happened to be in majority. He followed the policy of persecution and destroyed temples (thakardwaras) in most parts of north India. He put curbs on people performing pilgrimages or bathing on religious occasions at sacred places.
Ibrahim Lodi was a weak, worthless and dissolute king. The vain and haughty ways of the sultan excited rebellions all around. Darya Khan Lohani of Bihar led the confederacy of rebels against him and so did Daulat Khan Lodi of Punjab who revolted against Ibrahim and asserted his independence. The whole of Delhi kingdom was in utter confusion and disorder under him. The distant chiefs grew more turbulent. Ibrahim failed to understand the character and sentiments of his own race, nor the vast majority of the Hindus of the country had any faith in his sense of justice. The Hindus remained dissatisfied and discontented as ever before under Sikandar, Feroz and Ala-ud-din Khilji.

Corruption was rife and degradation and treachery stalked openly. Confusion and disorder of every kind ran riot over the length and breadth of the empire. Murders of the most horrible type, robberies of most shocking character were the order of the day. Honour, justice and position were bought and sold. The rulers of the land were sunk in voluptuousness in an abyss of enfeebling debauchery. As Indu Bhushan Banerjee puts it, 'Shameless opportunism and unscrupulous-greed seem to have been the order of the day'. Guru Nanak who was alive to the exigencies of the times, bitterly criticised and described the character of the times and the rulers in these words:
The kal age is a drawn sword,
The kings are butchers,
Justice has taken wings and fled,
In this dark night of falsity,
the moon of truth is not visible.
I am bewildered and in this darkness
no path is visible.

Bhai Gurdas, who lived in the times of the fifth Guru, also describes the sorrowful state of affairs of this period in these words:

In kalyug, the man has become maneater
and the tyranny is the rule of the day
the protectors have forgotten their mandate
Ignorance is deep rooted,
and falsehood reins supreme.

Under such circumstances how could a well founded administrative system work? The men in power were exploiting the poor and sucking their blood without compunction. Guru Nanak though primarily a social and religious reformer, made many such references here and there from which we can draw a clear picture of the ruling bureaucracy and political institutions as existed during his times. The following words, frequently used in his verses, help us to draw a clear picture of the administrative machinery and
the institutional heads who governed the people. A few words found in the Adi Granth are: sultan, padshah, wazir, naib, salar, taj, takhat, chhattar, diwan, darbar, hukam sachi-patshahi, qazi, khan, amir, umra, malik, shiqdar, kotwal, chowdhary, patwari, muqqdam, rayyi at and panchayat etc. Each word has something special to convey. The reference to these and other words would be made in the explanatory notes that follow. Guru Nanak also advocated his concept of an ideal ruler and an ideal person.

The Sultan or Padshah

Although Guru Nanak uses both these words - sultan and padshah, in a metaphorical sense which relate to God, the True King, 'the King of Kings', however, to give the idea of unlimited power of the Almighty, he, in fact, draws picture of the historical personality of the sultan or padshah who enjoyed vast and unlimited powers over his subjects. As His (God's) powers are beyond description, so is the case with the powers, prerogatives and authority of the sultan/padshah who was the head of the State.

Thou art the sultan, 0 Lord,
If I call Thee a Chieftain then is it any praise for Thee?

At another place, Guru Nanak writes:
Even if I were a sultan (King) 
a gatherer of armies, 
and my seat were on a throne, 
And I commanded people about and about.14

These and other such references15 in Guru Nanak's verses cannot be dismissed as mere metaphors. For a student of history, these convey a special importance when we look at these references in a historical perspective.

According to the Islamic theory of sovereignty, there is only one king of all Muslims wherever they might be living. He is the Caliph or the Khalifa. But in actual practice, the heads of the states in various countries, where the Muslims had established their rule, enjoyed their authority independent of the Khalifa.16 The sultan was all powerful, who commanded the armies, sat on the throne and ruled over his subjects.17 His will and word was the law which could not be challenged. He was also the fountain head of justice, in whose court people from far and near came to get their grievances redressed.18 His powers were very wide, indeed. He was a perfect autocrat and his authority was unfettered.19

Law of Succession

In the Muslim state sovereignty was supposed to reside in the entire sunni population of the country called
millat. In theory, the sultans were elected by this brotherhood. In spite of the original democratic nature of an Islamic state the rulers of Delhi were not always elected by the millat or the masses. Generally, the deciding factor was the sword and power that one could gather to lay his claim on the throne.

He alone hath the power,
He alone hath the way.

There was no hereditary principle of succession and the office of the sultan was open, at least in theory to any bonafide Muslim. In the absence of a hereditary principle of succession, one who had the qualities, the will and power to assert his claim got the crown. Guru Nanak writes:

He alone sitteth on the throne who is worthy of it.

Similar view is expressed at another place, where the Guru writes:

That king sitteth on the throne, who's worthy of it; Yea, he who realizeth the (God's) Truth, he (alone) is the true king.

The sultan was required to be a person capable of dealing with the problems of the state. He was to be in
full possession of physical and mental faculties. One who had love and fear of God in him, was in the opinion of Nanak, the true King of the realm.

Most of the rulers believed in the Divine Right of Kingship. Guru Nanak did not attach any divinity to the office of the king, though he believed that it was the gift of God. According to him the raja is as much a creation of God as everything else in the world. Kingship and riches come not as acquisitions of man but as boons from God, whomsoever, He chooses to grant. The raja as well as the beggar exist because of divine dispensation. The poor people beg to eat while the rulers are drunk with power and enjoy unlimited luxuries of the world. God has the power to degrade the sultans or other influential persons of the state to ordinary positions and also to upgrade the lowliest to power and glory, if He so desires.

The God raiseth high that are low,
and the high, He reduceth in His Will.

To make himself sufficiently worthy of his exalted position, the sultan maintained the largest establishment in the Kingdom. His palaces, his harem, his slaves and retainers, his armies, elephants and horses, gold and jewels gave him such a place that no ordinary human being could think of.
The saddled horses, swift like wind, and the harems colourfully embellished, and the houses, halls and mansions. Such, yea, is the display of the men of the world. And they indulge, as it pleaseth them, they eat as is their will, and seeing their palaces, they lose sight of death.\textsuperscript{29}

As Dr. Ashraf puts it, 'without providing such paraphernalia of royalty, a monarch could hardly be considered a proper monarch, and the \textit{padshah} was hardly worthy of his exalted position'.\textsuperscript{30} Such was the ideal of rulership and in fact it was the universal outlook of the age.

The luxurious life that a \textit{sultan} was leading, was not only due to his materialistic attitude, it was also meant to distinguish himself from the other people. The luxuries and the riches of the rulers included unlimited gold, silver and other precious metals, costly clothes, tents, furniture, dry fruit, meat, butter and other food items and a separate household department which looked after the needs of the ruling family.\textsuperscript{31}

The example of the \textit{sultan} or rulers of the small principalities was imitated by the nobility, as far as their means and resources permitted them. Keeping a large number of slaves (males and females) or domestics was yet another way of projecting the ruler's superior position.
Slavery was a common feature of contemporary Muslim society. Slaves could be purchased from the markets through auction or on a fixed price as in the days of Ala-ud-din Khilji. Even the Hindu rajas and the rich nobles kept a large number of domestic servants and slaves of both sexes belonging to different nationalities. Guru Nanak uses the words chakar, gola, lala, dass, banda and bandi for those, who were in the service of the rulers, serving them day and night.

As mentioned above slaves were sold in markets from moderate to very high prices depending on beauty and ability of the slave. In case of girls, apart from their facial beauty, sociability and physical fitness were the chief determining factors for a higher price than that of a male slave.

Female slaves were of two kinds. Those employed for domestic and menial services and those bought for pleasure and company. The latter had a better and sometimes, even a dominating position in the royal and aristocratic households.

Slaves did numerous and varied types of work. They were bearers of basins and ewers, they served their masters with a fan during the summer and whisked flies, they washed the hands and feet of their masters and prepared food and served them. Even the flour which was used in the preparation of bread was grounded by the slaves. Those who
were trustworthy and loyal were appointed as personal bodyguards of their masters. They served and looked after the comforts and safety of their masters.

The chief quality of a slave was to be 'yesman' of his master. Complete surrender rather than the nature to argue was the keynote of the success of the slaves. A slave with this kind of disposition earned a special place among those who were serving the ruler or the other rich people of the realm.

The institution of slavery might have served some purposes to the sultans, rajas, raos and the nobles, but it did produce some baneful social consequences. It had certainly the stamp of exploitation. It was an unhealthy feature of the social life of medieval period of Indian history. In fact, the society was demoralized by the prevalence of slavery.

Bards and Ministrels

There was yet another class of the people who flooded the court of the rulers. They were the bards, ministrels, singers and dancers. Musicians of note, bards and well-known comedians brightened the pleasure parties of the rulers, princes and nobles and sang songs and recited verses in their praise. There was a special class of people who were adept in the art of eulogizing the deeds and qualities
of their masters. They were known as bhatts and dhadis (bard). Guru Nanak calls himself a dhadi of the King of Kings i.e., the Supreme Authority of the world - God. He feels honoured and blessed to be the singer (dhadi) of His court who has given him 'work'. Guru Nanak writes:

Me, the worthless bard,
the Lord hath blest with (His) service.
Be it night or day,
many a time He giveth His call,
and calls me He verily into His presence.
And there I praise Him and receive the robe.

These bards used to get food, clothes, rich gifts and robes for their services as is clear from the above couplet of Guru Nanak. We have several such examples of composers and singers in the courts of medieval Indian rulers, who earned their bread by eulogizing the exploits of their benefactors, and enlivened their assemblies with ready wit and pleasant humour. Poems were recited in the drinking parties amidst the music and blandishment of graceful beauty of dancing girls.

The singers, dhadis (bards) and other such people who served in the court of the ruler or in the courts of the provincial governors and other rich people of the age, were generally considered very low in the social ladder. This is clear from the following lines of Guru Nanak, where
he says:

I am the Lord's bard of low caste
the others are all of higher birth than me.  

Some of the composers of this period rose to respectable positions and their compositions have become a part of rich literary tradition of the age. Their writings are a valuable source of information to study the period in which they lived.

In the compositions of Guru Nanak, there are three *vars* in ballad form, in praise of God. Guru Arjan (the compiler of *Adi Granth*), a poet with an extraordinary knowledge of the contemporary music and the *ragas* then prevalent has added a brief note to these *Vars* as the way these are to be sung. This note to each *Var* strengthens our view that the *dhadis* and poets used to sing verses in the praise of the rulers as well. The three *Vars*, written and composed by Guru Nanak, are set on the modes of the earlier odes then popular with masses, in which the heroic deeds of bravery of some king, a general or a hero are narrated. Whereas the *Vars* composed by the earlier *dhadi* and poets contain the praises of human beings, the *Vars* (ballads) composed by Guru Nanak contain praises of God, *Satguru* and *Nirankar* (the formless), who to Guru Nanak is the king of kings, the chief warrior and the conqueror of wars against evil and unrighteousness.
Musical Instruments

As the entire Bani of Guru Nanak is written in different ragas, we come across names of various musical instruments which were popular among the singers and dancers of that age. Bhai Mardana’s favourite instrument was rabab (a four stringed instrument in the form of a short necked guitar). He could reproduce the notes (as directed by Guru Nanak) on it, as Guru Nanak sang the way into the hearts of the millions. Those who played on this instrument were called rababis. Kabir, who was a contemporary of Nanak, has referred to this and other instruments at two places in his compositions, now compiled in the main body of the Adi Granth. At one place he writes:

The elephant is the rabab (rebeck) player,
the bull plays pakhawaj (the drummer),
the crow beats tall (chenney, i.e. the cymbals)
and dressed up in skirt, danceth the donkey,
and the he buffalow stageth the play.

In another hymn he writes:

The drum no longer is beat,
(for) the mind actor hath gone to sleep,
the sitting is broken, the rebeck (rabab),
emitteth no sounds,
yea, it is through error
that one spoils one’s works.
Bheri (a kind of naqqara - a drum) was played at the royal court. In Red Fort Delhi, there is a Naqqar Khana where the drum was played five times a day. Kingri (a kind of bina) and singi were the popular instruments of the yogis. Pakhawaj, bansari and ghungroo found favour with the dancers.

Prerogatives of the Rulers

During the period of our study, the rulers enjoyed certain privileges and prerogatives, which no one else could enjoy or think of. Sitting on the takht (throne), use of chattar (royal canopy), taj (crown), issuing of the coins and khutba to be read in his name were some of the things which only a ruler could use or enjoy. The rulers and aristocracy were always busy in hoarding gold, silver and other riches to improve their financial position. It was an unending lust to which neither the long years of reign or chests full of gold and jewels could give a final satisfaction.

The deserts are satiated not by rain;
nor is fire satiated (by word);
the king is satiated not by his dominions, (and the riches),
and the seas are thirsty as soon as they are full.
Generally, this wealth was amassed by the rulers and the people around him, by exploiting their subjects or raiding the places of worship of the non-Muslims. Discriminating taxes and other such measures were in common use during Guru Nanak's time. In Var Majh and Asa Di Var he has given a vivid description of the prevailing situations.\textsuperscript{58}

Duties of the Ruler

If medieval literature - political and non-political - including the religious writings of the period, can supply any clue to the aspirations of the people it may be safely stated that the people could tolerate any sultan provided he guaranteed peaceful conditions and administered even handed justice.\textsuperscript{59}

It was believed that an unjust king disturbed the equilibrium of society and created all round chaos, while his injustice, greed and avarice resulted in calamities like famine, scarcity of rainfall, economic and political crisis and shedding of innocent blood. Guru Nanak clearly states that due to the wrong policies and acts of injustice, the Lodis have ruined a 'precious gem', Hindustan, and the wrath of God fell on this country in the person of Babur who defeated the Afghans at Saidpur, Lahore and Panipat and set the cities on fire after looting the wealth and honour of the people. The victor made no distinction
between a Hindu or a Muslim, states Guru Nanak:

Where are the stables now,
where the horses,
where are the drums,
where the flutes?
where the red dresses (of the soldiers), pray?
where are the looking glasses,
where the beauteous faces,
no, I see them not before me.

...

Where are the homes, where are the mansions,
where the magnificent serais?
where are the beauteous brides lounging on a
cosy bed,
seeing whom one would get no sleep,
where are the betal leaves and their sellers,
where the harems:
Yea all have vanished like shadow

...

Hearing of the invasion of Babar millions of Muslim
divines prayed for his halt,
but he burnt all the age old temples and the
resting places,
and the princes, cut-up into pieces,
were thrown to the winds.
The administrative duties of the ruler were as multifarious as the necessities of the state. Though legal fiction had placed sovereignty in the khalifa, in practice the sultan was the actual sovereign and wielded immense powers. He was the supreme legislator as well as the highest court of appeal. He led all military campaigns in person and kept a jealous eye on the governors and higher officials of the state.

No ruler, however, autocrat he might be, dare flout public opinion though it had no recognized ways of expressing itself. According to Guru Nanak, monarchy was God ordained. In his opinion, the monarch exercises the power as a mandate from God in order that he may continue to enjoy this boon, he must always act in consonance with God's dictates, which reside in the will of the people. In one of the couplets Guru Nanak says that for a ruler, the public opinion is like a pointer of God's will, and the one who submits before the democratic ideals has no fear of loosing his crown or throne.

As stated earlier, the sultan was the final executive authority for all state affairs. But the time honoured custom was to call a council (Majlis-i-Am) of the highest officers for discussing the more important problems. The council was consultative merely, it had no constitutional or legal powers; its meetings were secret, the ruler could call whomsoever he liked and could over rule the most
decided opinions of the council. Nevertheless it was a thing of reality and not a sham. These councillors were chosen by the sultan and therefore consisted mostly of his favourities and supporters. It was only under a weak sultan that the councillors exercised any authority that too only by individuals and never collectively.

The other Important Functionaries of the State

In his task to run the government, the ruler was assisted by a body of ministers of which four generally enjoyed a higher status than the others. The four ministers were, Diwan-i-wazarat, Diwan-i-Ariz, Diwin-i-Insha and Diwan-i-Rasalat. Another important department was that of the justice, whose head was Qazi-ul-Qazat. Sometimes a Naib (deputy) or Naib-i-Mamalik was also appointed. He exercised great authority particularly when the sultan was weak. Guru Nanak has made no reference to any of these departments anywhere in his Bani. However, words like wazir, naib and diwan etc. do occur in his compositions to give us an idea that they were much nearer to the sultan than the other ministers.

The Wazir

The wazir played an indispensable part in the administrative machinery of the sultanate of Delhi and upon
his wisdom, capacity, sincerity and loyalty the success of the sultan and prosperity of the empire depended. He stood midway between the sovereign and his subjects. There could be only one wazir for the empire as there was only one ruler of the country. But it was not necessary for the king to consult his ministers or wazir on all occasions. He could act even without them or contrary to their advice. Neither the ministers nor the wazir acted as a check on the authority of the king. The Muslim Government particularly in India was an autocratic one and the rulers were their own wazirs.69

The wazir was chiefly incharge of the financial department known as Diwan-i-Wazarat. He checked the records sent by the governors and various revenue collectors to his ministry. He had to be cautious and stern, a master of general principles as well as details, in order to keep the servants of the revenue office in check. He was emperor's first adviser, who took precedence over his colleagues.70

Diwan-i-Wazarat had under it other minor departments each under a distinct officer of its own. They were an accountant general, an auditor general and a khazin whose office correspond to that of a treasurer.71

Another important person of this department was a diwan. Under the Mughal rulers they assumed more powers than the wazir. In the Bani of Guru Nanak we find diwan holding court and deciding the revenue cases.
Naib

Besides the wazir, there was an extraordinary officer known as the Naib-i-Mamalik or regent of the state. The naib enjoyed very high position and dignity. In the absence of the sultan from the capital he discharged all urgent and routine duties of the state. At one place in Guru Nanak Bani the word naib appears in the context of riches and the close associates of the ruler, as under:

The race horses, elephants, standards and bands, and armies, the royal assistant (naib) and many other facades, 0, all these without the Lord, are an empty show.

Perhaps in the above couplet, Guru Nanak is using the word naib for Naib-i-Mamalik, which had different meaning to different sultans. Sometimes it was merely an empty title, but in case of Balban and Malik Kafur the position was different. Under Nasir-ud-din-Mahmud and Ala-ud-din Khilji respectively they enjoyed powers next to sultan only.

Department of Army

Although Guru Nanak makes no mention of a separate department of army under the sultan of Delhi, yet he is conscious of the importance of army to the monarchs of his
With the help of it they had to maintain their position as rulers and had to extend the limits of the sultanate. They had to defend the frontiers and maintain law and order situation throughout the empire. All this could not be achieved without the support of a powerful and well-disciplined force (fauj). This is clear from the following couplet of Guru Nanak, although he spiritualises the whole thing. He writes:

Even if I were a sultan (King),
a gatherer of armies,
and my seat were on a throne,
and I commanded people about and about,
O, all that would be vain, if I forget Thee.
O, my Loved Lord.

The important wings of the army were cavalry and infantry. Besides horses a large number of elephants, camels and other beasts of burden were kept. Elephants were used in the war fronts or at the time of taking out royal processions on ceremonial occasions. Camels and other animals were employed to carry the food and water supplies to the war camps. In the time of peace they were used to carry tents, food items and other things, whenever the ruler or his family members were on the move from one place to another. It was an expensive affair to maintain all this. A large part of the state's revenue had to be spent...
Elephants were not always a success in the battlefield. During the struggle against Babar's forces, the Afghan armies were routed in no time. After analysing the real cause of their (Lodis) defeat, Guru Nanak clearly points out that the artillery of Babar created havoc. The elephants in the front line of the Lodhi armies got scared and panicky and they turned back, trampled their own men under their feet and made confusion worse confounded. The Mughal artillery rained death on the unfortunate Afghans who fell by thousands. Their swords, arrows and spears were no match of Babar's disciplined army. Soon the Afghan (Lodhi) hordes were hopelessly broken. The Mughal victory was complete and decisive.

According to Guru Nanak, a ruler should be well-versed in military science and the chief quality of a soldier should be to die in the battlefield facing the enemy's army in the defence of the oppressed. Those who die in the service of their Lord, are rewarded. They are the true heroes and their death is approved by the Lord (God).

The sultanate being on the military basis, all the officers of the government had a military rank. One of these officers was 'sipah salar' who was the commander-in-chief of the army. Under the Mughals he enjoyed full civil and executive duties of the governor. Guru Nanak has used
the word salar, probably in the first sense, to explain his position as commander-in-chief of the army. But his tenure was not fixed during the period of our study. Whenever, an expedition was sent a commander-in-chief was appointed whose tenure of office remained only (valid) so long as the expedition lasted. 82

Provincial Officers

At no stage in its history was the sultanate of Delhi divided into homogeneous provinces with uniform administrative system in them. Guru Nanak's time (1469AD - 1539 AD) was more disturbed from political point of view than the period of other Sikh Gurus who succeeded him. Although the Lodis had tried to reassert the sultanate's authority over the neighbouring and distant lands in the realm, the local chiefs of the areas, away from the centre enjoyed much more freedom in their respective territories than they had enjoyed under the Khiljis or under Mohd. Tughluq and Feroz Shah Tughluq. It is for this reason that we do not find a clear-cut picture of the provincial administration under the Sayyiads and the Lodis, a period which corresponds with the life and times of Guru Nanak. However, the frequent references of rajas, raos, maliks, khans, chowdharis, muqqadams, shiqdars, kotwals, patwaris and other petty officials of the village and paragana level or a bigger unit (iqta) under the sultanate period, Guru Nanak
Bani provides us some valuable information about their powers, privileges and mode of functioning. Most of the above officials were corrupt and they generally misused their positions and harassed the public with forcible exactions in the name of the ruler, as is clear from the scattered references in Guru Nanak's Bani. 83

Diwan

Like the wazir at the centre, diwan looked after the revenue department at the provincial level. He was assisted by a number of officials at the pargana and village level. Generally, the officers were very strict with the cultivators. They were corrupt and greedy too. Those cultivators who failed to deposit their revenue (dues) in time to the state agency, were visited by local officials who demanded bribe and forced them to present themselves before the diwan. Defaulters in their payment were heavily fined and punished. The following couplet of saint Kabir (a contemporary of Guru Nanak) give us a realistic picture of the prevailing situation.

The service (of my amildar) hath ended:
now I have to render account to diwan (God)
Yea, the cruel couriers of the (Yama)
diwan have now come to seize me.
What has thou earned and where hast thou lost?
Haste, O amil (life), for, the diwan (Dharamraja) calleth thee to his court.  

and

Of the one tract of land, are the five (rulers) shiqdars  
and all the five demand revenue. 
I have cultivated no one's land. 
To make such a payment is indeed painful. 
O God's people, the village accountant (patwari) ever tortures me. 
Raising my arms aloft, I complained to my Guru and he did save me.

Shiqs

A shiq was a small administrative unit and its head was a shiqdar. He maintained some soldiers who were employed for keeping control and maintaining peace within the areas under his jurisdiction. Besides maintenance of law and order he provided military assistance to the amils and other state officials in the collection of land revenue and other taxes. Many a times he had to use force against the refractory muqqadams and zamindars. He was also required to protect the rights of the sheikhs, mullas and sadats living within his jurisdiction.
While making a reference to shiqdars, muqqadams and other petty officials, Guru Nanak says, they generally behaved in a highhanded manner and oppressed the people with force and heavy exactions under one or another pretext and squeezed the blood of the innocent people. Even the courtiers and the servants of the rulers were like dogs who used to 'tear' the docile subjects with their nails. The rulers were no exception either. Guru Nanak compares them with hunting animals who were trained to bring the animals of their own class into the hunting trap of the ruler and eat their flesh. The people were at the mercy of them:

The deers, the hawks and the shiqdars, are called clever and learned. For, they trap their own caste, the kings are like leopards, the courtiers (muqqadams) like dogs. The kings's servants tear (the flesh of the innocent people) with their nails, and like curs, lick up all the blood they spill.

Saint Kabir also confirms, that the shiqdars, muqqadams, patwaris and the other officials connected with the revenue department were most corrupt and rude in their behaviour towards the peasantry and the tax payers. These officials tried to imitate the nobility at the centre or
at the provincial level. With lots of power and money at their disposal they led the life of ease and comfort.

Village

The smallest unit of the country was a village. Village life had been the backbone of Indian civilization and had survived through the ages. The sultans of Delhi too did not disturb the village life. Kabir (a contemporary of Guru Nanak) uses the word gaon\(^1\) for village. The villagers continued to manage their affairs through the elected body of the five, known as panchayats besides other village officials described in the earlier pages as muqqadams, khuts, chowdharis and patwaris.\(^2\) Some of these officials are mentioned in Guru Nanak Bani. Most of them were Hindus and they had a real control over the country side.

Judicial Department

The judicial system under the period of our study was a simple one. The ecclesiastical cases were separated from the civil and criminal cases. The highest court of appeal in civil and criminal cases was that of the sultan/padshah himself. The sultan could try cases singly both as an original and as an appellate judge, he was assisted by the chief qazi and two muftis in the application of the law.\(^3\) In civil cases, arising out of the personal law of
the non-Muslims, which came before the court, the law was explained by a brahmin expert, called pandit. The status of the pandit was the same as that of the mufti.\footnote{In Guru Nanak Bani there are many references of qazi, mufti and brahmins. He has used the word musfi\footnote{for mufti and qadi\footnote{for qazi.}} for mufti and qadi.}

According to Guru Nanak judicial department was the most ill-organised during this period. Justice hath taken wings and fled\footnote{he writes, 'and the qazis live on bribe and give verdict in favour of those who grease their palm'. Guru Nanak is very critical of the existing nature of the judiciary and boldly writes that the sins of taking bribe cannot be washed away by reciting the Quran and posing as God-fearing men.\footnote{Scolding the qazis, he says: 'By playing upon rosary, repeating the name of God, unwillingly and by passing fatwas on the false grounds of Quran, no body would gain spirituality'.}}\footnote{The qazi sitteth in judgment upon others, And telleth the rosary and mutters the name of Allah. But he doeth injustice, for his palm is greased, and if any one asketh him, he quotes chapters and verse (from the Quran).}\footnote{Guru Nanak regrets that the qazis live on bribe and tell lies and the brahmins who pretend to be pious are no better than the qazis.}. He has used the word musfi\footnotemark{4} for mufti and qadi\footnotemark{6} for qazi.\footnotemark{9}

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Guru Nanak regrets that the qazis live on bribe and tell lies and the brahmins who pretend to be pious are no better than the qazis.
The qazis utterth falsehood and so eateth dirt
the brahmin slayeth life and then bathes
(at the pilgrim stations).\textsuperscript{100}

In Guru Nanak's view a real judge should have full
faith in God. In other words, only he who is real worshi­
pper of God can show compassion to others. A selfish man
cannot be a real judge.\textsuperscript{101} Those who posed as benefactors,
were busy in amassing wealth by all sinful means. Even
the king would dispense justice only when he gets (his full).

For without give and take,
no one would do a thing (for another)
The king ministers justice if his palm is greased.
But in the name of God, he is moved not.
Human in form, Nanak by name,
But in deeds a cur ....\textsuperscript{102}

False witnesses could be procured on payment of a
few coins into the hands of a \textit{qazi}. This was nothing short
of the death of 'judgment' by strangulation. In \textit{Rag Maru}
Guru Nanak writes :

And he standeth false witness
if his palm be greased
and thus doth he strangle himself with vice.\textsuperscript{103}

Even uptil the period of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb
corruption from this department could not be eradicated.
Writing during the early years of Aurangzeb's reign Bernier states, "if the party really in the wrong had possessed the means of pulling a couple of coins into the hands of the qazi or his clerks, and of buying with the same sum two false witnesses, he would indisputably have gained his cause".  

There was a qazi in every province and one in every district. The government left small towns and rural areas untouched and appointed no judicial officers of its own to administer justice. The villages had their own panchayats, which not only decided all their disputes, but also enforced their decisions. The people therefore, happy to be left undisturbed by their foreign masters, whose rule over the villages existed only for the collection of revenue.

**Police Department**

There was no police worth the name except a kotwal in important cities. The term kotwal is derived from the Sanskrit word kotpal whom Guru Nanak calls kutvar, which shows that he must have originally been a military officer. He had a small contingent of men under him and his main duty was to maintain peace and order in his jurisdiction.

His duties were partly secular. Besides enforcing the Islamic regulations and seeing that the Muslims said their five daily prayers and kept the fast of ramzan and observed other religious ordinances in their daily life, he
had to control the markets and to regulate weights and measures. He enforced the regulations relating to prohibition of drugs, ganja and other items of a like nature. 107

There was no police in the villages or even in the small towns. As the officials in the judicial department were corrupt, so was the police department. In one of his couplets Guru Nanak compares a kotwal with sin and greed with that of a dark prison-house.

Avarice is the dark dungeon and the demerits are the fetters on the feet.
Wealth ever beats the soul with its mallet and 'sin' does the duty of a police-officer.
Whether good, whether bad, the man is, as Thou lookest on him, O Lord. 108

It is clear thus, that government was based on the exploitation of the masses by the ruling class. Guru Nanak whose sympathies were naturally with the ruled bitterly criticised the contemporary administrative machinery and the ruling class who had no love for justice or fair play.

**Condition of the Hindus**

Guru Nanak found that the contemporary Hindu society was declining. The Hindus, in order to get the official ranks, sacrificed their self-respect, and comp-
letely submitted themselves to the Turks.\textsuperscript{109} Despite the fact that the Hindus contemptuously looked upon the Muslims as malechas and the Muslims in turn looked upon the Hindus as infidels or kafirs, the Hindus had learnt to accept Muslim rule with all its merits and faults.\textsuperscript{110} It was therefore not surprising that the Hindus has started taking food and meat prepared in the Muslim fashion and the Turkish impact on their dress and conduct was clearly visible. They had become cowardly and the demoralisation of the Hindus had perverted and corrupted their social attitudes. This was specially true of the caste conscious high caste Hindus who were living a kind of hypocritical life to please their Muslim masters.\textsuperscript{111} The following couplets of Guru Nanak are very significant to have an insight into the condition of the Hindus of his days:

They wear blue clothes in order to be acceptable to the ruling class;

They earn their living from those whom they call malechas,

Yet they worship the Puranas;

they eat meat of a goat killed in the Mohammedan fashion, yet

they allow no one to enter their cooking squares.\textsuperscript{112}

At another place, he says that:
The Kshatriyas have given up their religion, and taken to the foreign tongue.\textsuperscript{113}

With the advent of the Muslim rule the Hindu culture started acquiring the Islamic tinge because of the pressure of the ruling class. Guru Nanak not only condemned such rulers who were trying to impose their culture and faith on their subject but also condemned such people who had adopted the culture and faith of the rulers.\textsuperscript{114}

The Hindus were given the status of the \textit{zimmis}\textsuperscript{115}, i.e., the people living under contract as second rate citizens of the state. They had to pay various kinds of discriminatory taxes to their Muslim sovereigns.\textsuperscript{116} Besides the imposition of \textit{jiziya} and pilgrimage tax, certain legal disabilities were also imposed on them. For example, their evidence in the court of law and in suits against Muslims was not given the respect due to their rank. Particularly the position of the Hindus during Ala-ud-din Khilji, Feroz Tughluq and Sikandar Lodi's period was very bad.\textsuperscript{117}

During the campaigns undertaken by the Muslim rulers, the important Hindu temples were razed to the ground and their images broken to pieces. Writing about the period of Sikandar Lodi (a contemporary of Guru Nanak), Dr. Srivastava states that when he became king, he indulged in the policy of destroying temples and images and building mosques in their places. He broke the sacred image of Jawalamukhi temple and Nagarkot and gave its pieces to butchers to use them
as weights to weigh meat with. He destroyed many temples at Mathura, Mandrail, Utagir, Marwar, Chanderi and other places. He ordered a Hindu, named Bodhan to be put to death for no other offence than saying that 'Hinduism is as true a religion as Islam'. Sikandar did not permit Hindus to bathe in Yamuna at bathing ghats and prohibited barbers from shaving their beards. Like Feroz Tugluq, he made an attempt to encourage the Hindus and to convert them to Islam, by giving them high positions and revenue free lands.  

It was under such pressing circumstances that the Hindus developed an inferiority complex and feeling of helplessness. The constant fear of death did incalculable harm to the growth of sound personality of the Hindus. To demoralise them further, they were denied posts in government departments. From the following couplets of Guru Nanak it is clear that the Hindus had made a kind of compromise with the ever increasing influence of Islam in their day to day life.

Now that the turn of Sheikhs has come,  
the Primal Lord is called Allah  
And the (Hindu) Gods and temples have been taxed  
such is the current way  
the ablution pot, the prayer, the prayer mat, the call to prayer,  
have all assumed the Muslim garb;  
even God hath been robed in blue;  
(like the muslims did)
And men have changed their tongue and the Muslim way of greetings prevails.  

It is true that the degeneration among the Hindus had started long back, but it deepened and widespread under the Lodis whose period coincides with the period of Guru Nanak. The Hindus felt alienated and hence they were indifferent towards their foreign sovereigns and did not care as who occupied the throne of Delhi. The sultans of Delhi did not make any serious efforts to reconcile the people to their rule and hence lost their support and cooperation when the forces of Babar invaded our country in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

From the above discussions, we can conclude that the rulers of the country were autocrat, with unlimited powers. Their ministers and other officials at the provincial and local levels were corrupt and arrogant in their behaviour towards the common masses. The revenue collecting staff and the judiciary was prone to bribery and forcible exactions and there was no justice worth the name. The rulers themselves had become the butchers and the age like a drawn sword. Not only this, the nature of the state had given rise to the policy of intolerance and persecution of the Hindus, who were hard pressed during the entire period of the sultanate of Delhi. It was a long, dark age of uncertainty and restlessness, leaving its ugly scars on all aspects of the people's life. We can conclude the character
of this age with the following words of Guru Angad, the immediate successor of Guru Nanak who succeeded him in 1539 AD and the second Guru of the Sikhs:

Every beggar today would be a king,
every block head sets up as a pandit,
the blind man would be a connoisseur of gems,
that is the modern way of talking of things.
The really bad man sets up a leader (chowdhary)
the liar is judged the perfect type of man;
Nanak through the Guru alone
it is known, that this is the (way)
of (justice) of the dark age (Kal age).\textsuperscript{121}
NOTES


Regarding this statement by Bhai Gurdas, Banerjee, A.C., in, *Guru Nanak and His Times*, p. 29, writes that most probably these lines refer to the reign of Sikandar Lodi. The tradition of Sikandar Lodi's orthodoxy survived till the days of Firishta who says that the sultan 'made a point of destroying all Hindu temples'. See Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 481-82.

5. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, Vol. IV, pp. 439-440, 447, 578, and 581.


   *Adi Granth*, p. 145:

   
   
   अनहो वर्षो तने अबहरी यमुन वध सन सन एक इंदिरनी॥
   तुहे अवधारम नाट नैचर तने तन कर दिन॥
   जहू उरन जितनी रेती आयै तहु त रेती॥


   अनहो गुरदे दुर्भीष भगुं मेहमा भारत अबहरी॥
   तने भर्य समर्थदे टिकटी रश तेध अबहरी॥
   एवहै जैसी विशेष िद्वहदु वरदु अबहरी॥

10. These words are scattered throughout the compositions of Guru Nanak in the following *Ragas* to be found in the *Adi Granth*:


12. Guru Nanak uses both these words sultan and padshah indicating the title of the ruling authority of his time.


Adi Granth, p. 795:

\[\text{ਦੁੱਖ਼ੁੱਦ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਜਾਂ ਮੀਜ਼} \\
\text{ਤੀੰਤੂ ਲਖ ਰਹੀਏ॥} \]


Adi Granth, p. 14:

\[\text{ਮੁਰਕੂਲੁੱਦ ਸੇਲੇ ਮੰਦਰ ਉਘੁਤ ਕਰੁ ਬਰਗੁੱਦ॥} \\
\text{ਬੁੰਧੇ ਗਾਪਣ ਖੁੰਦੇ ਸੇਲੇ ਰਹਾਣ ਸਾਨੁ ਰਹੀ॥} \]

15. Adi Granth, p. 258:

\[\text{ਪਾਸ਼ੁੰਦ ਹਰੁ ਸੋਗ ਹੁੱਠ॥} \\
\text{ਰਹਾਣ ਹਰੁ ਅਰਘ ਰਹੀ॥} \]


17. Nizami, K.A. (ed.), Collected Works of Professor Mohammad Habib, Bombay, 1961, Vol. I, p. 370. Day, U.N. in Administrative System of Delhi Sultanate, New Delhi, 1969, p. 46. He writes that in the early middle ages the chief duty of the sultan was to conduct the military campaigns. The sultans were generally great military leaders who conducted the
campaigns in person or directed them from the capital. Bhai Gurdas, a contemporary of the fifth Guru also writes:

"समस्त जैसी जंगों के प्रति नहीं मजबूत नहीं रहे।"

"भूल से रहे नहीं और इसे मजबूत नहीं रहे।"

Varan Bhai Gurdas, 5/11, see, op. cit., p. 57.

21. 'The sultanate was based purely on force' writes Ashraf, K.M., Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan, New Delhi, 1970, p. 41. We have examples of Jalal-ud-din Khilji, Ghias-ud-din Tughlaq and Bahlul Lodi, founders of their respective dynasties.
Adi Granth, p. 7:

"निम्न जग सं नु चल नेवे नेवे मेट॥"

Adi Granth, p. 1039:

"उष्णि के अलङ्कर को कठिन॥"

Adi Granth, p. 1088:

"उष्णि के अलङ्कर में अलङ्कर बने सेठ॥
निजी सर अलङ्कार सर अलङ्कर सेठ॥"
25. *Adi Granth*, p. 7:

26. *Adi Granth*, p. 566:

\[ \text{Gopal Singh (tr.), op. cit., Vol. II, p. 553} \]

Some Thou blessest with the glory of kingship,
others but wander about as beggars.

Also see, *Adi Granth*, p. 354.

27. *Adi Granth*, p. 1329:

\[ \text{Gopal Singh (tr.), op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 1266.} \]

Similar views are expressed by Guru Nanak in
*Var Maih*, *Adi Granth*, p. 145 and *Rag Vadhans*,
*Adi Granth*, p. 566.


Adi Granth, p. 472.


Also see, *Adi Granth*, p. 354.

31. For riches and luxurious items, see Adi Granth, Maj ki Var, pp. 141-42. Incharge of the household department was Wakil-i-dar. He was the most important officer connected with court and royal establishment. 'He controlled the entire household and supervised the payment of allowances and salaries to the personal staff of the sultan'. Even the royal kitchen, the royal stables and royal children were under his care. It was through him that the royal orders relating to household were communicated. Day, U.N., op. cit., p. 61. For detail discussion on the subject, see, Qureshi, I.H., The Administration of Delhi Sultanate, Lahore, 1944, pp. 57-75.

32. Zia-ud-din Barani records the advantages and disadvantages of retaining slaves in Fatawa-i-Jahandari, published under the title, 'Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate (Kitab Mahal), pp. 25-26. He observes: 'Owing to a large number of slaves the King looked powerful and dignified'.


34. See, Adi Granth, pp. 474, 567, 729, 936, 991, 1288.

35. Adi Granth, p. 991:

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About the prices of the slaves (during Ala-ud-din's period), Lal, K.S., op. cit., writes, In medieval times slaves of both sexes, like any other commodity, were sold in the market and the sultan fixed prices for them also. The standard price of a working girl was fixed from 5 to 12 tanks, and that of a good looking girl from 20 to 30 and even to 40 tanks. The prices of the boys were fixed from 20 to 30 tanks. The slave boys were classified according to their looks and working capacity.

Rashid, A., Society and Culture in Medieval India, Calcutta, 1969, p. 33.

37. In one of hymns in Rag Maru of Adi Granth, p. 991, Guru Nanak writes:

Gopal Singh (tr.), op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 946-47.
I am a self off to Thee, O God, how fortunate am I that I am Thy slave.
In exchange for Thy work, O Guru, I have sold myself Thy Shop, and now I go the way Thou hiddest.
If Thou art thirsty I bring water for Thee, If hungry, I grind corn far Thee, and I wave fan to Thee and rule Thy Feet and contemplate ever Thy Name.

See, also Rashid, A., op. cit., p. 34.

38. Qureshi, I.H., op. cit., p. 63. Writing about such slaves who were appointed as personal body guards of the sultan, he writes, 'they were called jandars. The jandars were generally slaves of proved loyalty and were commanded by a trustworthy noble who was styled Sar-i-Jandar, only tall, handsome, brave youngmen of impressive physique were chosen to serve in this capacity'.

39. Guru Nanak's immediate successor Guru Angad, who himself was a true embodiment of selfless service, writes about the qualities of a true servant (slave to the lord), in Adi Granth, p. 474.

contd...
39.  

चदधु तो चचली ठरी भयु पृथु॥

बबर तर हरिलोंश धरभ ध पही पृथु॥

भयु वनगि हरे तर हर हदेम भदु॥

रहुत निम ते ठंग विसु भिठै भज मे स्वस्रु॥


If a servant serves the master
but is vain and disputatious,
Talk as well as he may,
he getteth not the approval of the Lord.
If he loses his self and so serves,
he getteth honour.
For approved is he,
who mergeth in whom he loveth
(the master, ruler).

Again he writes on the same page of Adi Granth :

मरहु नरहु देले देले धरहु धुर नगि॥

रहुत देले धरहु धुर नगि ह रही परङि॥

and

वरहु ररे चचली ने चले भामे जरि॥

दुरधि उदइ ते आई दुर दरहु दि जुरू धरि॥

आरे दी ररहु धरहु दिव रजड़ि लौभरि परङि॥

सरहु ररहु जरहु नरे मुहिव पहर परङि॥

For translation, see Manmohan Singh (tr.),


42. Writing about the life of Amir Khusrau, Mohammad Habib writes that 'he sang their (rulers) praises because he was paid for doing so and he insisted on being paid handsomely'. Quoted in *Politics and Society during the early Medieval period*, edited by Nizami, K.A., Bombay, 1972, p. 296.

43. *Adi Granth*, p. 468 :


45. Amir Khusrau was one of those who enriched our literature, music, poetry and the philosophy. He enjoyed such an important position in the court of prince Mohammad, Ala-ud-din-Khilji, Mubarak and Ghias-ud-din-Tughluq that it is difficult to find another personality of his stature in the entire early medieval period of Indian history.
46. These *vars* are in *Ragh Majh*, *Rag Asa* and *Rag Malhar* having 27, 24 and 27 pauris respectively; see Taran Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Ji Da Sahitak Itihas*, S.G.P.C., Amritsar, 1963, p. 244.

47. To cite an example, in the beginning of *Var Majh*, Mahalla I, a brief note is added which reads 'to be sung in the measure of the Ballad of Malik Murid and Chandrehre Sohia'. In the English version of *Guru Granth*, Vol. I, p. 128, Dr. Gopal Singh in footnote, number 2 writes about the ballad of Malik Murid and Chandrehra Sohia, that 'it is a ballad of the sixteenth century narrating the battle of chandrehra, a courtier of Akbar, and Murid Khan his general, whom Akbar had sent out on an expedition to Kabul. Murid Khan had been successful in his mission but took some time to subdue the conquered people. This give an excuse to his adversary Chandrehre of the Sohi tribe, to poison the mind of the Emperor who thereupon ordered the former to march to Kabul and bring Murid Khan to book. A bitter battle ensued in which both these warriors were slain. The ballad, except for its measure, has nothing in common with the contents of the ballads included in the *Adi Granth*.

48. See footnote 1 of Chapter I. See also, Taran Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-245.
49. Mardana was the first disciple and life long companion of Guru Nanak. He was a Muslim by birth and a mirasi or minstrel by caste and rebeck player by profession. It is said that he improved the old form of instrument by fixing 4 to 6 strings to a hallow gourd so as to produce deep and mellow resonance; see Gupta, Hari Ram, History of the Sikh Gurus, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 249-53 and see also, Chawla, H.S., (ed), Guru Nanak, The Prophet of the People, New Delhi, 1970, pp. 74-91.


Adi Granth, p. 477:

\begin{verbatim}

होत वज्जी घड़ा भाषन वर्या रुपर याहे\n
बहराई उदर्द बनवा रहे कै कॉनिक रहे\n
\end{verbatim}


Adi Granth, p. 478:

\begin{verbatim}

गधी पूंछे उठे चंतिक मेंस र घरे ठट्टे व भुगा\n
... ... ...\n
ठीक उठे र घरे घर लाहर फिराकर भीड़, असँ\n
\end{verbatim}

52. Naqqar Khana was also known as Naubat Khana (Drum House). In Delhi's Red Fort, it stands at the entrance of the palace area, and was used for playing music five times a day at propitious hours; see Sharma, Y.D., Delhi and Its Neighbourhood,


55. *Adi Granth*, p. 258.

56. For details see, symbols of royalty in Ashrafs, K.M., *op. cit.*., pp. 67-68.


58. *Adi Granth*, pp. 137-150 and pp. 462-475. Tax on Cows and Brahmins has been referred by Guru Nanak on p. 471:

\[ \text{contd..} \]

Manmohan Singh, (tr.), *op. cit.*., p. 1556.
Thou chargest tax for the cow and brahmin.
The cow-dung will not save thee.
Thou wearest a loin-cloth, puts a frontalmark.
carriest a rosary and eatest the muslims provisions.
O brother, within, thou performest worship,
outside thou readest muslim books and
adoptest Muhammadan-way of Life.

59. Adi Granth, p. 1240:

Gopal Singh, (tr), op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 1185.

For the conscious mind, it is through wisdom,
for the yogi through chestity.
For the brahmin through contentment,
for the householder through charity.
For the monarch through justice,
and for the learned by dwelling on Truth.
(that one can find favour and respect in the society).

60. Adi Granth, p. 360; see footnote 52 of Chapter II.


The jewel (of my country - Hindustan) has been
laid waste by curs, (Lodis),
O, who shall cherish their memory when they are gone.

दोहा हैं वो उसे धेरे बूझ रहे पंजाबी मतदाता
दोहा हैं उसके बच्चे बूझ रहे पंजाबी
दोहा हैं अन् जीवन में बूझ रहे सियासत वहनी

...

दोहा हैं तूने तूने साथ जाएँगे दोहा हैं सह जाएँगे
दोहा हैं तूने मैं जो मिले मिलिए निम्न स्वरूप हो जाएँगे
दोहा हैं तूने हर उसके दिन टैसी एक दिन हो जाएँगे

...

दोहे हैं पीछे चल रहे ना मौदु मुक्ति परिणाम
वह मुक्ति हो तो जिस हैं मुक्ति मुक्ति हैं जुड़वी जुड़वी


63. Adi Granth, p. 566:

उनिहूँ उनी लीपिये उसे लिखा लिख दियाहै

For translation, see Manmohan Singh, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 1861. Day, U.N. has quoted Zia-ud-din Barani's statement, op. cit., p. 44 as under 'Sovereignty is not conferred upon everyman but is placed on the elect'. Guru Nanak expresses the same view in Rag Vadhans, Adi Granth, on p. 566. For translation, see Gopal Singh, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 533.

contd...
Some Thou blesseth with glory of kingship.
O Lord, be merciful to me that I utter Thy Name.

64. Adi Granth, p. 992:

उदाहू उर्मी दिने दुकान दिने वर्गहार चला॥

For translation see, Manmohan Singh, op. cit., Vol. 6, p. 3250.


68. Adi Granth, pp. 159, 225, 473 and 1037.

69. Adi Granth, p. 159 and p. 413:

अणि मुर्गोध अणिष दशी॥

Qureshi, I.H., op. cit., pp. 78-85.


72. Qureshi, I.H., op. cit., p. 93 is of the opinion that his authority varied according to the character of the monarch.


contd...
Adi Granth, p. 225:

Also see, Adi Granth, p. 1037.


75. Guru Nanak uses the word Lashkar for armies. 
Adi Granth, p. 63:


78. A general idea of the expenses on elephants can be drawn from the daily food an elephant required. 
Guru Nanak writes in Adi Granth, p. 1286:

contd...
Gopal Singh, (tr.), op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 1227.

The elephant eateth an immense load of grains, jaggery and ghee.

Then there were attendants to look after them.

So was the case with horses and other animals.

A major portion of the state's revenue was spent on the army.

79. Adi Granth, p. 418:

The Mughals and the Pathans (Lodi) grappled with each other and the swords changed on the battlefield.

And while the Mughals fired their guns, the others put their elephants forward.

But they whose fortunes were the losers at the lord's courts, death was sure for in their lot.

80. Adi Granth, p. 1105:
Saint Kabir has portrayed the character of a true soldier (a hero) in the following couplet:

वायु रामवर्जन भरित ठोरण्यां अख्ती
हें त भरित मुक्ति अध मुक्ति ते तर्की
मुक्ति में भविष्यवाणी दें गाने कीबी ते दें
बुझन मुक्ति अच्छा हो अत्यन हुंकर खेड़ी

The battle drum beats in the mind's sky,
aim is taken and the wound is inflicted.
They who are the warriors,
enter the battlefield.
Now is the time to combat.
He alone is known to be a warrior,
Who fights for the oppressed.
He dies cut piece by piece,
but deserts not the battlefield ever.

Also see, p. 1412 of the Adi Granth.

81. Adi Granth, pp. 579-80:

मद्दूः मोहमुक्ति युक्ति वह त ने नेंद महसोस पक्षिङ्गूः
मुक्ति मेंतो अत्यन असीमति रजसव रसस निव अस्ती

82. Somewhat similar meaning is derived from the following couplet of Guru Nank in Adi Granth, p. 16:

contd...
One cometh and another goeth,
One calls himself a salar
(leader of the armies).

83. Adi Granth, pp. 142, 662 and 1288.


86. Moreland, W.H., *The Agrarian System of Muslim India*, Cambridge, 1921, p. 25, he is of the opinion that *shiq* in the fourteenth century meant something similar to a province. But a careful study of the medieval chronicles would reveal to us that the term as used carries the sense of a sub-province or rather a smaller division, whose head was a *shiqdar*.


88. *Adi Granth*, p. 1288:

    उसे भी गुज़र आकांक्षी कै से हुई॥
    तरीन हरणियें कै से हुई॥
    रसहद हरणियें सरदी॥
    करू धृतर बुद्धे बाँट लग॥


91. *Adi Granth, Maru Kabir Ji*, p. 1104:

    बल्कः कर्म त आवृलि रति बुद्ध॥
92. The word *Mugqadam* is an Arabic term meaning the first man. This word has been applied to men of note as well as village *headmen*.

*Khut*, according to Moreland was a Hindu chief, subject to *sultan*. It is doubtful whether the *khut* can be called a landlord because his duty seems to be collection and remittance of revenue to the local treasury. Prof. Hodivala identifies a *khut* with the sanskrit word *gramkuta* or village headman the word has been used by Barni also in the sense of a village headman.

About *chowdhary*, Ibn Batuta informs us that he was the head of a *sadi* which was a collection of hundred villages and the *chowdhary* was the chief of the local infidels.

*Patwari* was a low grade officer who used to keep *bahi* (land records) for the exact amount of tax to be taken from the local cultivators. The ledger (*bahi*) of the *patwari* was taken to be the most important document and the entries therein were referred to for the dues from the revenue collectors.


contd...
In the deliberations and hearing of the cases muftis attached to the court of Qazi-ul-Quzat played a very important role. He was like a legal assessor and his function was to expound the law. Writing about muftis, Ahmad, M.B., states, 'The muftis of the Chief Justice's Court were lawyers of eminence'. They were in theory appointed by the sultan but candidates for this office were selected by the Qazi-ul-Quzat. The judge had to accept the view of the law given by him and in case of difference, reference was made to the sultan.

95. Adi Granth, p. 472:

96. Adi Granth, p. 662:


Adi Granth, p. 951:

contd...
Damodar, a contemporary of the first three Gurus has almost similar views to express in Heer Damodar.

Heer (the heroin of this poem) reproaches the qazi in the following words and says in Heer Damodar; see Parminder Singh, *Heer Damodar*, Patiala, p. 201.


101. *Adi Granth*, p. 24:


contd...
Adi Granth, p. 1032:

104. Bernier, Francois, Travels in the Mughal Empire  
AD 1656 – 1668 AD (Translated by Constable, A),  
Delhi, 1972, pp. 234-238

105. Pandey, A.B., Society and Government in Medieval  
India, p. 109; also see, Day, U.N., op. cit.,  
pp. 84-85, 112.

106. Adi Granth, p. 1191:

107. Raychoudhary, S.C., Social, Cultural and Economic  
History of India (Medieval Age), Delhi, 1980, p. 30;  
see also, Qureshi, I.H., op. cit., pp. 92 and 173.


contd...
The protest here is not against a foreign tongue but against a foreign language being forced on others as a symbol of their political subjugation. Guru Nanak was opposed to the idea of either the invader imposing their culture on the subjected populace or the people copying the culture of the ruling elite.


116. Adi Granth, pp. 471-72:

देवताओं द्वारा भक्ति से जन्म कर उद्वेग उठा ठहरा।।

Adi Granth, p. 1191:

ऐंछल ऐंछलियाँ अति धर्म कैसी वीडियो नाचो॥


Adi Granth, p. 1191:

अरंग मुक्त अठ्ठ अठ्ठ दूसरी मेंगर अठ्ठ दूसरी॥

ऐंछल ऐंछलियाँ अति धर्म कैसी वीडियो नाचो॥

मूल विभेद भ्रण भुधर ठोर तुध भ्रणसिः॥

प्रवृत्त बिंदु शौचम पलट तोम जैसी अठ्ठ उभरू॥

*Adi Granth*, p. 1288:

```punjabi
ਰੋਪੁ ਦੀਖੇ ਪਾਠਸਾਲਾ ਮੂਲ ਰੀਤੀ ਰੁਪਿੰਦੀ।
ਹੀ ਲਈ ਰੋਪੁ ਪਾਠ ਟੇਹੇ ਵਧੇ ਜਿਆਦਾ।
ਦਿਨਾਰਥ ਕੇ ਸ੍ਰੋਪੁ ਕੁਝਿਆ ਖੁਸੀ ਪੂਨੇ ਜਿਆਦਾ।
ਰਚਨਾ ਸਕਾਰਾਤਮਕ ਨਾਸ਼ੀਵੇ ਬਲਕਨ ਵਾ ਟੇਹੇ ਦਿਆਦਾ।
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