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## UNIT 12 STATE, RELIGION AND SOCIETY\*

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### 12.0 OBJECTIVES

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After reading this unit, you will:

- appreciate the complexities of relationship between state, religion and society;
- realize that cultural ethos was very composite and therefore;
- understand that state or society or religion were not mutually exclusive;
- State was an extension of society and therefore was very organically connected;
- mutual dependence between state and society could allow very limited space for religious bigotry;
- appreciate the extent to which local custom played important role in defining the intervention of the state machinery and
- understand that the literature and cultural practices were very composite in orientation and in content.

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### 12.1 INTRODUCTION

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An examination of themes like State, religion and society and their interrelationships during the period under study is very challenging due to several factors. The most often cited alibi has been the argument that the sufficient historical sources are not available for the period to examine different dimensions of state, religion and society. However, researches in the past few decades in the various dimensions of 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century Indian subcontinent have challenged this notion very forcefully. We have tried to share recent researched with you as is visible in various Units of this course as well as **BHIC 109**.

Moreover, it is now being established that 16<sup>th</sup> -18<sup>th</sup> centuries world have seen colossal change in the way societies organized themselves and interacted with other societies

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and with the natural world. Religious outlook and cultural practices underwent substantial changes which along with growing reach of the state and enhanced capacity to maintain records/documents are now being documented. **(Unit 11 of BHIC 144 elaborates details of sources like Bakhar and Burunji)** Thus, the character of state has also been revisited. Documents available for the period, especially for the 18<sup>th</sup> century have been examined to bring out the nuances of domestic affairs as well. To witness, regional variations is very natural. The concept of ‘early modern’ is now being argued for the Indian society as well. We will be examining the characteristics of early modern for 16<sup>th</sup> -18<sup>th</sup> Centuries Indian subcontinent.

Last but not the least, early modern period can be and has been identified with several significant changes especially with respect to character of state, relationships between state and religion, religious ideas, enhanced documentation, greater access to knowledge, intense circulation of ideas, greater penetration of money economy, etc. which have global resonance. Therefore, a preliminary survey of interactions between state, religion and society is being offered below, with a belief that you will appreciate the complexities involved.

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## 12.2 REVISITING RELATIONS BETWEEN STATE AND SOCIETY

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Traditional historiography suggested a certain level of segregation between state and society. It was suggested that the sole orientation of the state was to extract land revenue and conspicuous consumption by the ruling elite defined the character of State, especially by the Colonial historians. Kings and dynastic centric history focused on the deeds and policies of the rulers. Subsequently, apparatus of state was examined but primarily, in terms of officials and their duties and privileges. The social composition of the ruling class and its larger social implications were rarely examined. Agrarian production was the mainstay of the land revenue system, yet nature, character and diversity of agrarian production and resultant variation in land revenue was not examined. Moreover, apparatus of empire to manage the affairs of land revenue and importance of intermediaries, their social composition, etc. were not accorded due recognition. Implications of diversity of climate, landscape, their interactions and social negotiations were not even considered worthy of historical investigations.

Similarly, social custom, rituals, religious practices were merely described, their significance and appropriation by different sections of society, and their interrelationship was rarely examined. Study of rituals, court ethics, court culture and their significance in the process of legitimization deserved attention of the historians. Last but the least flora and fauna found mention merely as a backdrop, the significance of human-nature interactions for a better comprehension of social conditions were yet to catch the imagination of historians. However, domain of historical investigations was gradually broadening and we encounter regular expansion of areas of investigations by the historians, often by revisiting their sources or at times by opening of new sets of documents, i.e., records available at Rajasthan State Archive and Andhra Pradesh State Archives Hyderabad.

### *Going beyond Court chronicles: Archival Sources for the period*

Fortunately for the period between 16<sup>th</sup> -18<sup>th</sup> century especially from Rajasthan we have variety of historical sources to make invisible nature visible. These sources

have also been extensively investigated to offer a very comprehensive understanding of gender relations, domestic conflict, penetrative character of state, conflicts and role of state in conflict resolutions, etc. To begin with, let me list few categories of archival and literary documents available at various repositories. There are several genera of official documentation available for this period in the Rajasthan Archives. These are *Arzdasht*, *Chhithis*, *Arhsattas*, *Sanad Parwana Bahi*, *Kagad Bahi*, *Vakil reports*, *Haqiqat Bahis*, *Sava Bahi*, etc. These sources delineate the official response to the natural distress, different kinds of violations; social, cultural, religious, etc. and therefore by implication, these provide us glimpses of contemporary socio-political responses and concerns. Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute has published several very important contemporary literary sources, official histories, administrative manuals. Apart from the publication of *Marwar Pargna ri Vigat*, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute has published *Munhot Nainsi's Khyats* and several other dynastic histories. Saraswati Bhandar in Lalgarh fort Bikaner, Pratap Shodh Pratisthan, Bupal Nobles Sansthan, Udaipur, Man Singh Pustak Prakash, Chopasini, Kapat Dwara Records, Amber have been excellent repository of variety of literature/record and not to forget is the collection of material culture along with visual documentations maintained by principalities of the region. Equally important is to mention collection of Jain religious literature in the region and particularly, Jain Visvabharti, Ladaun. (Mayank Kumar 'Invisible-visible: Sources, Environment and Historians' in Ranjan Chakarabarti, (ed.), *Critical Themes in Environmental History of India*, Sage, New Delhi, 2020, pp.17-52.)

#### *Kaifiyat or Karnam*

*Kaifiyats* or the *karnam* histories were local village records collected under the supervision of Col. Colin Mackenzie towards end of 18<sup>th</sup> century. These records describe local flora, fauna, water resources, agricultural production and the social composition of villages, etc. We may find the common problems of oral tradition in *Kaifiyats*. However, *Kaifiyats* provide useful insights regarding colonization and in some instances they help us corroborate epigraphic or literary references. *Kaifiyats* indicate the subsistence fluidity in medieval period when the land under permanent tillage was limited. *Kaifiyats* also preserve folk traditions and legends. (Neeraj Sahay, Environment, Settlement History and the Emergence of an Agrarian Region in Early Medieval Andhra, unpublished Ph. D thesis, Delhi University, Delhi, 2009)

### 12.2.1 Mutuality of Interest-Significance of Ecological Context

Theme-III: Consolidation of Mughal Empire (Units 8 to 13) of BHIC 109, has examined historiography associated with the character of Mughal State. However, as discussed above, archival sources from Rajasthan and other areas offered possibilities of examining the character of states from the perspectives of peasantry and artisans. As has been discussed in the Units 14 and 15 of BHIC 109, significance of agricultural production was being recognised, beginning with the writings of W.H. Moreland followed by Irfan Habib. However, they remained confined primarily to appropriation of agriculture as land revenue. Subsequently with the access to variety of archival sources, mainly for 18<sup>th</sup> century from principalities of Rajasthan, Satish Chandra, S P Gupta, Dilbagh Singh, G S L Devra, B L Bhadani, Suraj Bhan Bhardwaj, Mayank Kumar have examined the nuances of process of agrarian production. Caste system and social stratification were also an important consideration in determining the land

revenue demand. Dilbagh Singh brought out the importance of caste considerations in the revenue demand. Role of climatic variability, social negotiations with fluctuations of monsoon rains through inter-cropping and shifting to crops with lowest gestation period, significance of cattle and agro-pastoralism as part of social practices were taken into due considerations by the state.

State was keenly taking note of other kinds of resources and social practices of production which was reflected in the revenue appropriation policies.

“The degree of intervention made by the rulers can be gauged by the imposition of *rokad-rakam*. The non-agricultural taxes collected in cash (*rokad*) were collectively termed as *rokad-rakam*. Recognising the precarious nature of production, the rulers of Bikaner relied more on *rokad-rakam*, which consisted of a large number of taxes and was the main source of income from the countryside. Unlike settled agricultural zones, pastoral communities were semi-nomadic, and thus difficult to tax. Thus, livestock-rearing communities were taxed on the basis of the number of families in the community or in terms of the number of kitchens maintained; therefore, the tax was known as *dhuan bhachh* (smoke from the chimney of the kitchens). It was a poll tax and was realised from each household at the rate of one rupee. It was a major component of the *rokad-rakam* and contributed around 40 to 50 per cent of the total. Generally *rokad-rakam* approximated 48 to 50% of the *hasil*, the total income (Devra 1976). Similarly, a tax — *talibab* was levied on the non-agriculturist class at the rate of Rs. 4 per family (Powlett 1874: 162). Likewise, appreciating the limited agricultural production, rulers in Marwar were forced to tax the pastoral communities as well. The state imposed tax on temporary settlements according to the number of houses. It was known as *jhumpi* — hut (Munhta 1657- 1666, 1969: 88). To further extend non-agricultural taxes, the rulers of Bikaner imposed an extra cess of eight *annas* per camel-load of goods brought by the merchants for sale in the state.

Recognising the value of animal husbandry to the economy of the kingdoms, the rulers even intervened to regulate the usage of grass. It was mandatory for the cultivators to share one-fourth of the grass produced by them with the state (*Kagad Bahi* 1827, vs./A.D.1770). Moreover, there is considerable evidence of administrative regulation of grazing grounds. To augment its resources, the state charged *singothi*—a tax of one *paise* per head of cattle. In Marwar, the tax from the cattle owners using Grazing grounds was known as *ghasmari* (Munhta 1657-1666, 1968 : 167) and *pancharai* (Bhadani 1999; Munhta 1657-1666, 1968 : 160). Since the rearing of livestock was a prominent occupation in the western region, the cultivator had to give a share of the grass produced in his field to the state. In Marwar, it was one bullock-cart-load of grass per plough of land. Furthermore, there was tax on the sale of grass in the region, “charged at Rs. 2.50 on the first Rs. 100 worth of fodder, and Rs. 1.50 upon every successive Rs 100 worth.” (Bhadani 1999: 223). It should also be noted that even unauthorised cutting of grass was punished (*Arhsatta, pargana Bahatri*, 1786 vs./A.D. 1729; *pargana Malrana*, 1772 vs./A.D. 1715). Documents clearly point out that there were reserved grazing lands (*Arhsatta, pargana Bahatri*, 1777 vs./A.D.1720; *pargana Mariana*, 1791 vs./A.D.1734). Even the cutting of grass from hills and forests was punished (*Arhsatta, pargana Bahatri*, 1786 vs./A.D. 1729; *pargana Malrana*, 1772 vs./A.D. 1715). Meadows were important for the military as cattle and horses used in warfare needed fodder. Ploughing and transportation were primarily based on cattle power and the need for pasture played an important role in state policies (Guha 2002). The state actively procured grass to maintain a reserve stock (*Sanad Parwana Bahi, Jeth Sudi 9*, 1825 vs./A.D. 1768) for the cavalry — (horses, camels, and

elephants), the mainstay of its army.” (Mayank Kumar, ‘Claims on Natural Resources: Exploring the Role of Political Power in Pre-Colonial Rajasthan, India’, *Conservation and Society*, Vol. 3, No. 1, June 2005, pp.134-49)

Caste system and social stratification were also an important consideration in determining the land revenue demand. Dilbagh Singh highlighted the importance of caste considerations in the revenue demand. He has also pointed out that state was very well aware of the mutual dependence therefore, State intervened when moneylenders tried to extract the excessive interest during times of ecological distress. State was aware that in times of distress peasant was forced to sell or mortgage their equipments of cultivation, thus state at times even extended seed loans, etc. (Dilbagh Singh, ‘The Role of Mahajans in the Rural Economy in Eastern Rajasthan During the 18<sup>th</sup> Century’, *Social Scientist*, Vol. 2, No. 10, October 1974, pp. 22-31)

### 12.2.2 Primacy of Local Customs

The diverse ways of negotiations between state and society at large has been explored by historians. They have pointed out that state was actively engaged with the society at multiple levels, be it revenue appropriation or matters of justice or insistence on adherence to social norms and ethics. Nandita Sahai has argued that we can follow regular negotiation between state apparatus and the society at large, where state often accorded primacy to the local customs and practices. In her study she has pointed out that in the official documents dealing with the matters of dispute, state often suggested that disputes may be — decided as per the prevalent social customs and practices— *jo wajib ho wo kijiye*. Although state offered space for the local traditions and customs but it did not hesitate to issue dictates wherever felt necessary. Dilbagh Singh argues that a closer examination of judgments recorded in these documents ‘give a nuanced picture of the state – here it appears to be overarching in its authority and not hesitant to put its administrative apparatus to full use in regulating affairs of the state and society down to the level of village, its distinct social groups, the family, and even its individual members.’ (Dilbagh Singh, ‘Regulating the Domestic: Notes on the Pre-colonial State and the Family,’ *Studies in History*, Vol. 19, no.1 2003, pp.69-86,)

Social norms have been one of the prerequisites for reinforcing the power of ruling dispensations. For the rulers, the claim to deliver justice has been an important instrument of power for reiterating and reinforcing social norms. Political dispensations were always eager to regulate the social order, thereby conveying the message that social status and hierarchy were to be protected, which reinforced the claim of rulers to govern all the subjects of the empire. States increasingly came to expect strict adherence to social norms, be it in domestic affairs or the affairs of the state. Therefore, not so surprisingly, challenging the authority and appropriateness of decisions of the elders or arguments with them was considered as defiance of the social code of conduct. It is important to note that the onus of adhering to the code of conduct was also applicable to the elders of the family as well. Even elders would be castigated for unbecoming behaviour towards the young. In social disputes, states would usually direct caste *panchayats* to resolve issues in accordance with established traditions and conventions of the community, known as *wajabi*. Through these processes, states increasingly emerged as protectors and enforcers of social norms during this period.

There are numerous complaints of *chamchori* (lit. the theft of the body) or *zoravari*; any form of sexual misconduct, including adultery and rape. State imposed punishment against such cases. At times it was imposed collectively on the village, thus suggesting that maintenance of social order and appropriate social behaviour was a collective

responsibility also. For example, in 1749 an allegation was made against the residents of a village named Ramparsadi for engaging in *chamchori*, the state fined the residents a collective sum of Rs. 101.

Mayank Kumar has suggested that, especially for area governed by Rajput principalities of Rajasthan, state was very meticulously appropriating claims of diverse natural resources, often considered as village commons. We have several evidences when punishment was awarded for cutting green trees. In village Saithal, *pargana* Bahatri, a person was punished for cutting a *neem* tree. Alongside, we have evidences of punishments for cutting *Jamun* trees, etc. Cutting of *babool* trees was also punished. It is important to point out that Peepal and Bad had been worshiped; thus religious considerations must have also led to punishment. However, the punishment was substituted by a cash payment. The fine became part of the state’s revenue and religion had no role to play either in the collection or expenditure of this amount.

Furthermore, there are evidence from Amber principality which highlight that the state even punished those who killed animals. The killing of cattle was punished. An *arzdasht* dated *Jeth sudi* 14, 1854 V.S. informs us that when a cow was killed, the culprit was expected to return a cow of gold to the owner of the cow. Pastoralism had been an important component of economy. At the same time, the usefulness of cattle in agricultural production cannot be neglected. We have evidence that even the killing of a monkey was punished. The protection being offered to animals has been pointed out in the context of religious sects. The killing of crocodiles was also punished. (Mayank Kumar, *Monsoon Ecologies: Irrigation, Agriculture and Settlement Patterns in Rajasthan during the Pre-Colonial Period*, Manohar, Delhi, 2013.)

**Check Your Progress-1**

- 1) Discuss the significance of non-agrarian taxation to understand the character of the State in early modern Rajasthan.

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- 2) What is the significance of right to deliver justice for the power and legitimacy of the rulers?

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### 12.3 LOCATING RELIGION IN RELATION TO STATE AND SOCIETY

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In a major departure from the earlier period, Mughals did not sought legitimacy to rule from the office of Caliph. **(Details have been discussed in Unit-10)** Mughals were borrowing legitimacy through the concept of kingly sainthood. A similar tradition led by

Shattari was gaining ground at least in north India. In writings of Abul Fazl we find a very deliberate attempt to place royalty distinct and above from the lesser mortals. King was described as *Zill-e-Ilahii* or shadow of God, and his genealogy was made very impressive. It is important to recognise that divine origin of kingship was an accepted practice in India. Practices like *Jharokha Darshan*, whereby royalty's divine origin was reiterated was a regular practice in the Mughal Empire. Thus, we find an attempt by the Mughals to relate to the social-cultural practices of Indian subcontinent.

Let us briefly examine process of state formation in Rajasthan and Maratha region to highlight diverse ways through which prevalent religious sensibilities and cultural practices were appropriated by the rulers to establish their legitimacy. Guhilas or Sisodias; the rulers of Mewar called themselves *Diwan* of Eklingji (Lord Shiva). They never claimed themselves to be the rulers of the territory rather worked as deputy of the Lord Shiva. Interestingly, the rulers of Mewar were coronated by the Bhil chief, thus claiming some sort of legitimacy from the subjects. A similar tradition can be seen in the process of state formation in the Bikaner region, where rulers claimed legitimacy through the local deity Karni Mata. It is significant to note the significant role played by local *Charans*-bards in establishing legitimacy through impressive genealogy. Interesting evidences can be seen in the case of fifteenth century Gujarat. (Aparna Kapadia, *In Praise of Kings: Rajputs, Sultans and Poets in Fifteenth-Century Gujarat*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, London, Melbourne, New Delhi, Singapore, 2018).

In the second half of the seventeenth century Shivaji consolidated his position through matrimonial relations. Matrimonial alliances with the established families gradually enhanced the social prestige of his family. Moreover his coronation as Suryavamshi Kshatriya with the help of Gagabhat and other Brahmins of Benaras testifies his efforts to gain social legitimacy through Kshatriya status. He buttressed his claim to kshatriya status with the help of genealogy connecting him with the Indra and titles like *kshatriya kulavatamsa*. This helped him in claiming higher status vis a vis other Maratha families and gradually established his exclusive claim to collect sardeshmukhi.

R. P. Bahuguna has argued that the role of royal public rituals as ideological building blocks of state formation and as sources of legitimation of kingly authority acquired a new dimension in the eighteenth-century. Norbert Peabody argues that the policy of military fiscalism of the Kota state in the eighteenth century was closely linked to a political culture based on active participation of the state in Pushtimargia Vaishnava rituals, image installation and worship, patronage and gift-giving. However problems with subscription to Hindu Kingship emanates from the fact that during early modern times we find great divergence in religious affinities. It is the colonial subjugation of the precolonial regional states of the Marathas and the Rajputs which led to the emergence of full-fledged Hindu kingship under colonial sponsorship and supervision. Susan Bayly has argued that brahmans remained powerful in the regional polities of eighteenth-century India. The political system in most of the regional states of the eighteenth century has been labelled as 'Brahman Raj' by her. (R.P. Bahuguna, 'Religious Festivals as Political Rituals: Kingship and Legitimation in Late Precolonial Rajasthan', in Suraj Bhan Bhardwaj, R. P. Bahuguna and Mayank Kumar, Eds., *Revisiting the History of Medieval Rajasthan: Essays for Prof Dilbagh Singh*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2017)

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## 12.4 CONTRADICTIONARY TRENDS

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Relations between State, religion and society have always been very dynamic. Political considerations, economic situation, social conditions are by definition have been very

vibrant and interactions between these factors at times appear contradictory. Therefore, it is not always easy and advisable to generalize over a long period of time or over a large territory. Satish Chandra has examined the Mughal religious policy under Aurengzeb and pointed out the contradictory tendencies. If on one hand Aurengzeb is seen as religious bigot who was against Hindus as seen in his policy to re-impose Jaziya. Then on the other hand we find proliferation of 'Hindus' in the Mughal nobility. Similarly, there are evidences that Mughal rulers, even Aurengzeb offered land revenue grants to temples and also that of demolition of temples under his regime. As discussed in **Unit 13- Architecture**, the Varanasi Vishwanath Temple was commissioned by Raja Todar Mal in c.1595, however, this temple was destroyed by Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in 1669 CE and the Mathura temples were destroyed at his orders in 1670 CE. In Jahangir's reign two large temples were commissioned by Bir Singh Deo of Bundelkhand, one at his capital Orchha (Chaturbhuj Temple) and the other at Mathura. The Chaturbhuj Temple was later desecrated by the Mughal Emperor Shahjahan and the Mathura temple was destroyed at the orders of Aurangzeb as noted above.

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## 12.5 COMPOSITE SOCIAL MILIEU

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The relationships between State, religion and society are best captured in the nature of religious-political discourses of the contemporary times. It is interesting to note that the texts like *Dabistan-i Mazahib* (**See Unit 1 for more details**) were written and were in circulation it is a clear testimony to the fact that culture was composite. Hindus were extensively writing in Persian which means language was not the identity marker as it is seen today.

Moreover it is important to appreciate that the binaries of religious divide were not clearly defined especially if we examine character of social milieu. Non-Muslims especially Hindus were liberally inducted into administration of a Muslim state similarly in the army and administration of Shivaji there were several Muslim officials. Same is the case with the Rajput rulers where several Muslims were working on important positions. Similar tendencies are reflected in the composition of Mughal nobility where Hindus were placed on important positions. Hindus working in the administration were well aware of the nuances of Persian.

You must have noticed in Unit number 17 as well as in **Unit number 1** along with elaboration in the course **BHIC 109 and 107**, that the cultural divide was not religious. *Akhlaq* tradition was being extensively followed by the non Muslims as well. Composite culture is most particularly visible in the case of *Munshis* and *Kayasthas* who were well conversant not only with the Persian language but also with the court etiquette and manners. These courtly culture and manners in itself were very cosmopolitan in orientation and captured the true meaning of composite culture.

Mughal rulers were frequent visitor to the sufis and sants and discussed variety of issues. Dara Sukoh while returning from Kandhar, after a very humiliating defeat, visited Baba Lal at Dhyampur. His visit to Baba Lal and conversation with him has been recorded and were in circulation in the Mughal public sphere. Dara Sukoh is generally considered to be predisposed towards religious discourses, and thus may appear exception, however it is important to note that there is a long tradition of rulers visiting and interacting with the sants cutting across religious and sectarian divide. "Consulting with spiritual divines of all kinds had been a longstanding Timurid



tradition, one maintained by all of Dârâ’s Mughal ancestors. Mohammad Tughlaq’s (r. 1325-51) close association with the celebrated Jaina monk Jinaprabha Suri being only the most conspicuous. (Husain, pp. 311-39) Closer to Dârâ’s own time, Akbar had made a special visit to the Sikh Guru Arjun in 1598 (Grewal, p. 55) and both Akbar and Jahângir had famously met numerous times with a *gosain* hermit by the name of Jadrup, whose understanding of mystical precepts so impressed Jahângir that he became convinced that *tasavvof* and Vedanta were in fact the same science (Jahângir, p. 209) Shah Jahân, too, often surrounded himself with mystical consultants, and while he might have been inclined more toward “proper” Sufi s, his court was awash in mystically-inclined Hindus like Chandar Bhân Brahman, not to mention various Hindu astrologers and other divines with whom he consulted almost daily. Indeed, throughout this entire period Sanskrit and Braj intellectuals like Siddhichandra, Keshavdâs, and Jagannâthapanditarâja were continuous fixtures at the Mughal imperial court, as well as the subimperial courts of various nobles. (Busch 2006, and forthcoming; Pollock 2001a, 2001b).” ( Rajeev Kinra, “Infantilizing Bâbâ Dârâ: The Cultural Memory of Dârâ Shekuh and the Mughal Public Sphere,” *Journal of Persianate Studies*, Vol. 2, 2009, pp. 165– 193.)

**Check Your Progress 2**

- 1) State, religion and society function in a very complex manner. Examine with reference to 16-18 century states in India.

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- 1) What do you understand by composite social milieu? Substantiate your answer with appropriate examples from 16-18 century India.

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**12.4 LET US SUM UP**

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We can sum up the relationship between state, religion and society by suggesting that the complexity needs elaboration and due recognition for the diverse traditions is must for better comprehension. State or religion or society is a not a monolithic entities and are neither static, therefore we must accord due recognition to the changing dynamics. Moving beyond court chronicles and British Colonial historiography and investigations of cultural ethos makes us understand the existence of a very rich and diverse cultural traditions. Contestations for political patronage among followers of different religions in their attempts to propagate their sectarian discourses were important facet of the society. Political authorities were also consulting sufis and saints, cutting across religions and sectarian divide, was a regular feature.

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## 12.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

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### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Sub-section 12.2.1
- 2) See Section 12.2.2

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Sub-section 12.3
- 2) See Section 12.5

### Recommended Readings

Bahuguna, R.P. 2017. 'Religious Festivals as Political Rituals: Kingship and Legitimation in Late Precolonial Rajasthan', in Suraj Bhan Bhardwaj, R. P Bahuguna and Mayank Kumar, Eds., *Revisiting the History of Medieval Rajasthan: Essays for Prof Dilbagh Singh*. New Delhi: Primus Books.

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