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JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736—1761)

By

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VI

I. EVENTS AT PONDICHERRY TILL THE ARRIVAL OF BOUVET'S SQUADRON

MUTYALU Nayakan, the English *Vakil* who had gone on a mission to Nasir Jang's camp, returned, as already noted, with *parwanas*, from the Nizam to Nawab Anwar-ud-din and all the *poligars*, enjoining them to assist the English as against the French, together with one to Dupleix ordering him to abstain from further hostilities. The attempts planned to seize him on his way from Arcot to Fort St. David, came to nothing. Dupleix and the Diarist made much of the fact that Mutyalu Nayakan had spent more than a lakh of pagodas for no substantial return and the English Governor, Mr. Floyer, was greatly displeased with him and would not receive for some days the presents which had at first been left outside the town. The Diarist, having heard rumours about the arrival of some Maratha horse and about a panic having been produced consequently at Arcot and in its neighbourhood, thought that the people at Arcot would be busy defending themselves and thus the French could settle everything about Fort St. David in spite of the Nizam's *parwana* to Arcot. He made this suggestion to the Governor, adding

his own belief that, astrologically, the English fortunes would go down to their lowest in the middle of April. But paddy continued to be scarce and dear at Pondicherry; and possibly there was 'also a scarcity of silver there, owing to the delayed arrival of Europe ships and the stoppage of French traffic to Manilla and the Red Sea', while the rate of exchange at Fort St. David was much higher. Even the pagodas current at Pondicherry had been for some years debased, being lower than the 8-touch normal standard¹.

A few horses with a camel and some bullocks and a standard were captured by a party of French horsemen and sepoys from the camp of the Rajput and Maratha horse who came with Mutyalu Nayakan on April 8. Dupleix got greatly elated in spirit, declared that evil times had begun for Fort St. David and that he would surely take that place with the help of even two ships. Meanwhile news was received from Europe that France had declared war on Holland, that the French King was greatly elated at La Bourdonnais' capture of Madras—Dupleix's complaints against him not having reached Paris by that time—and that all believed that by this time the French flag would be floating triumphantly at Fort St. David, Anjengo, Tellicherry and Vizagapatam. Dupleix was eagerly expecting St. George's squadron which comprised three men-of-war and had left for the east in the beginning of 1747.² Shaikh Ahmad Sahib's letter to Pondicherry from Porto Novo, given by the Diarist under date May 22, tells us of a rumour 'that French ships had appeared off

¹ 'About 1740, all the European settlements had been greatly troubled by the debasement of pagodas struck in the country mints. Pagodas of 8-touch (i. e. $\frac{8}{16}$ fine) had been the normal currency; but mints such as Alambarai, issued coins of 7 and 6-touch. As a consequence of this debasement, the English coined the *star pagoda*. The French also attempted measures of reform, such as prohibiting the introduction into Pondicherry of pagodas under 8-touch. Though this was not successful, bargains were still made in such coins and settled in other specie at the current ratio.' Dodwell. Note. 2—on p. 6 of the *Diary*, vol. v. Silver seems to have been the alloy usually mixed with gold.

² This squadron was first dispersed by a storm, sailed again in May 1747 from the Isle d'Aix, and in the same month was destroyed by the English admiral, Lord Anson, off Cape Ortegal, along with the escort of La Jonquiere. 'Three ships however had disappeared in the storm; and these reached the French Islands in October 1747. Other vessels were lying there more or less ready for service. With these a squadron of seven sail was formed, under the command of Bouvet, to carry much-needed supplies of money to Pondicherry. His instructions expressly stated that this was the principal object of his mission.' (Dodwell—*Dupleix and Clive*; pp. 23–24.)

Batavia and that English and Austrian ships were coming to their help. Dupleix commented on this, saying that the Dutch were so alarmed at what had happened in Europe as to betray their own weakness; while extraordinary precautions were taken at Negapatam where there were constant rumours of an imminent attack by French ships.¹ Dupleix was of the opinion that perhaps the French Government might have issued orders to capture the rich towns of Batavia, Colombo, etc., that the French ships at Mascareigne should have been asked not to sail for Pondicherry before the arrival of the squadron from Europe, and the ships must have gone from that place to the Archipelago to intercept the four English ships that were being expected from China and to attack Batavia. Dupleix had not got any news either from Europe or from Mascareigne; and the frigate that came with Europe news was captured by the English and taken to Fort St. David; and the letters found in it must have mentioned the capture of Madras, what was to be done with it and the despatch of many ships;—'for it was only after this that the Governor of Negapatam began to pull down houses and so forth, and prepare for war.'

Meanwhile Dupleix received some presents that Nasir Jang sent him along with a letter which assured him that the latter received Mutyalu Nayakan, the English *vakil*, with but ill-favour and that he had always admired the greatness of Dupleix's valour. Moreover news reached Pondicherry that Anwar-ud-din was not on good terms with his eldest son, Mahfuz Khan, that Fattēh Singh and Raghuji Bhonsle had assembled their troops at Ākulakotta for a march on the Carnatic and that Chanda Sahib had taken leave of the Marathas. Above all information was received as to the death of the Emperor Muhammad Shah at Delhi on April 28 and of Nizam-ul-Mulk some weeks later. When Nizam-ul-Mulk died, his younger son, Nasir Jang, was with him; and

¹ 'Velipālayam, on the outskirts of Negapatam, has been pulled down and all the houses near the fort have been razed to the ground. All the cannon in the batteries at Velipālayam have been carried into the Fort. The merchants of the town and the rich men from Trichinopoly and Tanjore who went thither to make money are alarmed and have fled to Jaffna, Udaiyārpālayam and Ariyalur. They would fear to touch even a crow from Pondicherry or Karikal.'—Diarist's remarks to Dupleix; but he put down his own private reflection; 'I reflected that the confusion of our affairs was only concealed from the world by the glory we have been lucky enough to win; otherwise it would have been evident to all.'—pp. 29 and 30 of the *Diary*, vol. v.

the news of his death¹ caused great grief both to Nawab Anwar-ud-din and his son Mahfuz Khan.

II. THE LAST FRENCH ATTACK ON CUDDALORE

Dupleix was so anxious about the rumoured approach of the English fleet that he paid but scant attention to this serious news about the country powers. He believed that the English had heard from Negapatam of the arrival of French ships in its vicinity and that was the reason for Commodore Griffin taking on board his ships all available men and supplies and making himself ready for action; the Commodore sighted on June 21, Bouvet's ships off Fort St. David and the same night prepared to engage them. The entry of the Diarist for June 22 states that the English ships were lying off Pondicherry in the hope of encountering the French fleet which was expected to arrive in a day or two. On the next day the ten ships of Griffin were not found in the roads, having sailed the previous midnight northward; while a sloop had sailed for Fort St. David and only a ship which used to lie in the Pondicherry roads was still there.

Dupleix sent some European horse and sepoy to Madras, being still uncertain as to the aim of the English move or the exact location of the French fleet. The Diarist however shrewdly suggested that it must have been the French ships that were sighted off Fort St. David on the 20th and caused great confusion in Cuddalore and made the people there remove their money and valuables to Porto Novo and

¹ Varying dates are given for the death of the Nizam. Grant-Duff dates it as having occurred on June 19, 1748. The *Country Correspondence* of the English gives it as May 21, June 1, as quoted by Dodwell. Burgess states (p. 188 of his *Chronology of India*) thus; 'June, Jumada II, Asaf Jah, Nizam-ul-Mulk dies.' The death of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, the astrological details of which are given by the Diarist, can be dated on this basis for April 17-28, but there is a day's difference according to another reckoning which puts it down as April 27; Rabi II, 27, H. 1161. The date given in Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (revised by Keene, 1894) for the Nizam's death, is 22nd May, 1748 (old style) 4th Jumada II. A. H. 1161, i.e., 37 days after the death of Muhammad Shah. This date is confirmed by a letter of Imam Sahib to Pondicherry quoted by the Diarist in his entry for July 7, 1748. The news of the Nizam's death reached Arcot only sixteen days after its happening, which was fixed by the Diarist for June 2. A rumour was prevalent that the Nizam took poison and died as he heard that his eldest son Ghazi ud-din Khan was ordered to be executed by the Emperor Anwar-ud-din was in fear of an attack by Murtaza Ali of Vellore and there was confusion in Arcot (p. 75, of vol. v of the Diary.)

other places; but the French ships which carried the much-needed supplies of money 'could not land their silver here and had therefore gone to Madras' and would soon send news after unloading. This surmise proved correct, as soon news arrived on the noon of June 23, that eight ships and two sloops dropped anchor at Madras the previous day.¹

Dupleix severely commented on the inaction of Commodore Griffin, who should have pursued the French ships till he had caught them up and given them battle. 'But he waited till they were out of sight and then sailed in shore, lay to the south of our roads and only sailed slowly off the next day. You will see him flying before our ships when they return. . . . I will send the troops that are now ready, or I will go myself, against Fort St. David in five or six days and cause great confusion there.'² Bussy told the Diarist that a new

¹ The whole of the incident, if it may be called one, is as follows:—When the French squadron under Bouvet made for the coast, his first concern was to reconnoitre the English squadron. 'On June 21 he sent a fast-sailing boat ahead which reported that ten men-of-war and several merchantmen were lying in the St. David's roads. He himself approached within about a league to survey the enemy, but after consulting his senior captain, resolved to sail for Madras, and there land the treasure and men he was bringing instead of running the risk of an action. This he accomplished (at Madras) on the 22nd, and then hastily quitted the coast. Dupleix complained of this abrupt departure. Had Bouvet only put into Karikal, he declared, he would have learnt that Griffin had only four ships ready to sail; and, by attacking, could have made an end of the English squadron.' (Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 24). Dupleix repeatedly asked the Diarist why the French ships should go to Madras, when there was Karikal to the south, where they would have been safe (Diarist's entry for the 23rd) and would not be satisfied with Ranga Pillai's explanations.—'But whatever Dupleix thought about it, Bouvet would undoubtedly have been bringing his mission into the most serious peril had he ventured on attacking Griffin, who was not so unprepared as Dupleix stated (in his letter to the French Company, dated January 15, 1749) . . . but apart from these (two rudderless ships) the English squadron comprised six line-of-battle ships with a frigate and two of the Company's ships. Nor were the English taken by surprise. About nine o'clock on the evening of the 20th an English scout came in with the news that she had sighted a French squadron, and Bouvet did not appear until 2 p.m. on the following day.' (Dodwell, p. 24.)

² His remarks to the Diarist—pp. 62-63 of vol. v.—Griffin's conduct was certainly blameworthy. Examining the Fort St. David Consultations, the Admiralty records concerning Griffin's court-martial, and Griffin's own Journals and Letters, Mr. Dodwell would convict him of hesitation and delay, but would approve of the essential justice of the finding of the court-martial that he was only guilty of an error of judgment in not sailing early. . . . He admits that, if Griffin had sailed immediately after he boarded (i.e. in the early morning of the 21st) he could probably have brought the French to action that day; but he quietly remained at anchor until the enemy was in sight from the masthead, and

squadron under M. le Chevalier d'Albert was being sent out to India and that Bouvet had seized a Dutch vessel laden with powder and shot and carried it to Madras. Every one was encouraged by the news of the departure of the new squadron from Europe and of the landing of 500 soldiers by Bouvet at Madras, while Dupleix should have been particularly gratified by the news of the ordering of La Bourdonnais' imprisonment and of the seizure of all who helped him. The Governor even confiscated the papers of one or two Frenchmen and arrested another for alleged complicity in La Bourdonnais' misdeeds at Madras. He got all the sepoys and the European and Muhammadan horsemen in Pondicherry ready for an attack on Fort St David,¹ as the French ships from Madras had arrived, and, more than that, Griffin's squadron had sailed north leaving the English settlement uncovered.

A detachment was sent to attack Cuddalore on June 27 which did not assault the place either that night or even the next day. The French troops numbered 2,000 men according to the Fort St. David Consultations; and of them 900 were Europeans. Major Lawrence who commanded the English forces gave out a report that he was withdrawing his men from the town of Cuddalore into the Fort

the sea breeze had set in from the south. The council of war that he held decided nothing; later, when the French drew near, he contemplated putting out to sea and again consulted his captains; finally he resolved to wait till the wind moderated and only got out to sea at 1 a.m. on June 22. The result of all this hesitation and delay was that Bouvet got safely off to Madras, while Griffin was cruising vainly off Pondicherry and was clear of the coast when at last the English sailed north in search of him. Griffin himself felt that his conduct was liable to strictures. . . . The court-martial found that he should have sailed with the land-wind before the enemy came in sight; and the Admiralty exonerated him from the charge of lack of zeal or courage.

Bouvet also was attacked for not falling upon the English ships riding at anchor in Cuddalore when their crews were ashore and two of their men-of-war were rudderless. His principal business was to carry supplies to Dupleix who was so short of money that he was on the point of sending his plate to the mint. The relief he brought materially assisted Dupleix in maintaining his position till the arrival of the news of peace. . . . Bouvet was to all appearances justified in his decision to avoid action. He had less guns than Griffin who had six men-of-war and two Company's ships, besides the two rudderless ones. Dodwell points out that Bouvet emerges with more credit than his rival.

¹ The Diarist held (entry for the 27th June) that the two objects of the advance on Fort St. David were (1) to secure the arrival of the men landed at Madras by Bouvet, if conveniently managed; and (2) to bring M. Paradis in safety to Pondicherry, by surrounding the English settlement.

and intended to confine himself only to the defence of the latter. But with nightfall he threw a strong garrison into the town and mounted all the guns he could spare, upon its ramparts. The result was that when the French, unconscious of this ruse, carelessly advanced upon the place at night on the 28th, believing that they would not meet with any resistance, they were thrown back with great loss and in utter confusion and had to fly away in all directions. According to the report recorded by the Diarist, about 500 sepoys, fifty Europeans and ten horses were missing; while 'if only the English had known the panic that arose when they fired on us, and if they had sent out but fifty men with swords, every man would have been cut off . . . the soldiers were taken with panic threw away their arms and fled in tens and twenties. For two hours they did not know friend from foe or what way they went. . . .'¹

¹ Diarist's entry for Saturday, June 29, 1748. According to him the first report brought to Pondicherry gave false news of French success and of their having scaled the walls of Cuddalore and cut to pieces the Carnatic sepoys there. This news which Madame Dupleix seems to have got, greatly elated the Governor's spirits; and he was highly pleased that Cuddalore should have fallen without a blow owing to his wife's counsel. Soon however contradictory news was brought that the spy who led the French troops pretended to reveal all the secrets of Cuddalore and had really told the English when he would bring the French and cunningly slipped away on arriving at Cuddalore. The French troops threw away their arms and fled to Tiruviti, Panruti, Mettupalaiyam, Bhuvanagiri and other places, while a friendly poligar of the English, Akkal Nayakkan, waylaid them, seized their cloths and other weapons and left them with hardly a rag to cover them. 'If those within had known there would be such a panic, and if they had only opened the gates and surrounded the French, all would have been cut to pieces . . . The English refrained from marching out for fear of an ambush and only mounted the ramparts and fired from there. The French, losing their way, wandered hither and thither for nearly two hours and fled not knowing whither they went.' There was again brought, or pretended to have been brought, news that the French, in revenge for having been beaten off the previous night, scaled the walls of Cuddalore the next morning (i.e. the 29th) got inside and cut to pieces all they could find and the white flag was flying on the upper storey of a Chetti's house. The Governor was inclined to believe even this bluff which was finally given the lie only by the report of two soldiers returned from the camp. The Diarist's remark is instructive as illustrating the pernicious influence exercised by Madame Dupleix.—'If anyone but Madame had been managing matters, some one would have been punished for this. Our army's defeat by the spy's treachery, and its headlong flight have tarnished the glory that was formerly won; and if this had happened under any one else's management, surely he would have been hanged—no less punishment would have served.' This set-back to her ambition did not make the Diarist hope that she would give up interfering in public matters again. He thought she cared little for her husband's anger, but was much alarmed lest he should give the management of affairs to some one else.

Dupleix was greatly discomfited by this repulse and, according to the Diarist, attributed the fault to M. de Mainville who was mis-

Malleson is of the opinion that the French should have advanced against Cuddalore as soon as they observed its walls dismantled and that the fault was not Dupleix's, but that of the men in charge. This attack on Cuddalore was defensive in its nature, as he knew that a large English fleet was coming out with the express object of laying siege to Pondicherry and as he wanted to secure Fort St. David during the absence of Admiral Griffin and thus deprive the English fleet of any base of operations on the coast.

Mr. Dodwell remarks that Orme has a story (p. 91 of his *History of Indostan*—vol. i, (1861)) that Major Lawrence wanted to make the French believe that he did not think Cuddalore tenable and so removed the cannon to Fort St. David in the day, but restored them and the garrison to Cuddalore, with the necessary secrecy, as soon as night came on. Orme got this from a letter of Clive, dated July 19, 1762, and included in Orme MSS.—India I, pp. 137–141, summarized in Hill's *Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages* in the Library of the India Office—vol. ii, Part i. The Orme Collection (1916, p. 268).—In this letter Orme gives, among other details, as to how Mr. Floyer and Major Lawrence tricked the French into a useless attack upon Cuddalore. But Mr. Dodwell says that not a gun or man was withdrawn from Cuddalore and the Fort St. David Council had given out that they intended to abandon the town, and that it was likely that, had the Fort itself been attacked in strength, the Cuddalore garrison would have been withdrawn.

The French troops did not march directly south from Pondicherry, but kept inland, and on the evening of the day of the attack were close to the southern part of the English bounds; that was why Lawrence reinforced the garrison of Cuddalore by a party of sepoys and went thither in person. The French attempted, shortly after night had fallen, an escalade on the southern side of the town where the wall was low and easily climbed. The English garrison was on the alert and beat back the attackers with great loss. 'The precipitation of their flight prevented the English fire from doing much execution among them.'

According to a letter written an by English Officer, Hyde Parker, to the Secretary at the India House and quoted by Mr. Dodwell from the India Office Miscellaneous Letters Received (1749–50, No. 7), the French began firing near the Porto Novo Gate of Cuddalore, where the English had only two companies of soldiers with about eighty or ninety peons and sepoys. They had not even much of ammunition with them as it had been sent to Fort St. David a few days before. . . . 'But what struck terror into the French was, when the firing was hot at the Porto Novo Gate, our people by some mistake (though a lucky one) began firing all round Cuddalore, which put the French into great confusion, imagining we had all our force at Cuddalore.'

Abdul-Rahman, the Jamadar of the French sepoys, reported to Dupleix that the French troops followed the spy blindly, some of the Europeans were exhausted and others blinded and that the heavy fire of the enemy scattered them on all sides, and that no one would have escaped from such a trap if but fifty men had opened the gates and attacked them. He added to the Diarist:—'Many fights have I seen and heard of; many battles have I fought; but never before have I seen men losing their senses at the sight of the enemy and throwing their arms in such a panic. As for the enemy, never have I seen men lose such a chance, or fear to open their gates for nearly two hours. But they feared us and kept inside. Never have I seen such a thing before!'

informed as to the directions given by the spy regarding the movements of the French; otherwise he was afraid he would be blamed for having entrusted the management of this affair to his wife. Thus was Dupleix's last chance of capturing Fort St. David foiled. Since the last attack on that settlement had been foiled by the arrival of an English fleet, the aspect of affairs had changed with Griffin's squadron in the Bay, and Bouvet not being able to help him actively. He had heard of the despatch of a strong fleet by the English which was expected to reach the Bay at any time. He had lost the final chance of capturing the English settlement and had henceforth to stand purely on the defensive and began to strengthen as much as possible the fortifications of Pondicherry before the expected enemy should appear. Paradis was got from Karikal to Pondicherry to carry out the additional fortifications with energy and expedition. He was appointed Commissary of the troops and held in high honour and granted the cross of a *Chevalier de l'ordre militaire de St. Louis*.

III. EVENTS PRECEDING THE ARRIVAL OF BOSCAWEN'S FLEET

Meanwhile the restlessness of the Indian powers increased. There arose a rumour reported by the Indian powers that Nasir Jang was alarmed at his father's place having been given to Qamar-ud-din Khan's son;¹ and that Murtaza Ali Khan was preparing to take

M. de Mainville and the other officers who took the field told the Diarist that they disliked Dupleix entrusting state affairs to his wife and accused her of trying to make an end of them by treachery. (Entry for July 1, pp. 91–94 of *Diary*, vol. v.)

¹ (See Irvine's *Later Mughals*, vol. i, p. 263; vol. ii, pp. 104–5, 138 *et seq.*; The *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin* (tr. ed.) vol. iii, pp. 276 *et seq.*; The *Muslim Review*, vol. ii; R. D. Banerjee's *Article on Mir Shihabuddin—Beale—Burgess, etc.*) Qamar-ud-din Khan was the son of Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, the son of Mir Baha-ud-din, the younger son of Alam Shaikh, who came to India in 1687 and rose to be the Chief Wazir of the Mughal Empire after the defeat and death of the Sayyad Brothers in the Mughal revolution of 1720. Muhammad Amin Khan died soon after in the early part of 1721; and his son, Qamar-ud-din Khan became chief minister in 1724. He continued in the service for the entire reign of Muhammad Shah, served in the campaign on the first invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali and was killed by a cannon ball during the battle of Sirhind (March, 1748). Qamar-ud-din's eldest son, Intizam-ud-daula, here referred to (described as the second son by Beale) was appointed to the rank of Second Bakshi on the accession of the Emperor Ahmad Shah in 1748 and was made Wazir in 1753, after the dismissal of Nawab Safdar Jang. Ghazi-ud-din Khan, Firoz Jang, the father of Nizam-ul-Mulk, was the son of Khwaja Abid, the elder son of Alam Shaikh and the elder brother of Mir Baha-ud-din, the father of Muhammad Amin Khan Chin. Muhammad

advantage of the new Nizam's alarm by preparing to seize Arcot; while Chanda Sahib was reported to have reached the northern bank of the Krishna with a large body of Maratha horse. The news that reached Pondicherry was that Chanda Sahib had obtained his release by means of Raja Sahu's wife, from the great Raghuji Bhonsle by promising to pay 2,10,000 rupees and that he had also definitely settled the question of Trichinopoly.¹ It was rumoured that Chanda

Amin Khan Chin was thus first cousin of the father of Nizam-ul-Mulk; and both he and Nizam-ul-Mulk were the leaders of the Turani revolution against the Sayyad Brothers. Under Muhammad Shah the great Wazirs were for the most part members of the Turani party; and after his death, the Hindustani party gained the upper hand only for a short time when Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jang of Oudh was appointed Wazir in 1748.

Qamar-ud-din Khan's son, Intizam-ud-daula, was one of the leaders of the court party against Safdar Jang, the Wazir, along with Ghazi-ud-din II, Firoz Jang, the eldest son of Nizam-ul-Mulk who was confirmed in his father's office of Amir-ul-Umara in 1748. Ghazi-ud-din II was caught in the snares of Maratha intrigue and lured to the Deccan in 1751-52 with the hope of wresting its viceroyship from his younger brother, Salabat Jang; but he was poisoned by one of his step-mothers at Aurangabad. Ghazi-ud-din II's son, Mir Shihab-ud-din, afterwards to become so notorious, was confirmed as Amir-ul-Umara after his father's death and created Ghazi-ud-din III, Imad-ul-Mulk. The latter turned against his cousin Intizam-ud-daula and with Maratha help, superseded him in the Wazirship and blinded and subsequently murdered the Emperor Ahmad Shah (June, 1754).

Muin-ul-Mulk, *alias* Mir Mannu, the second son of Qamar-ud-din Khan the Wazir, was appointed governor of Lahore and Multan by Muhammad Shah. He was defeated by Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1751, forced to cede the Punjab and Sind to him and was confirmed in these two subahs by the Afghan conqueror and ruled over them till his death in 1754. There was no truth in either of the sons of Qamar-ud-din Khan being appointed to supersede Nazir Jang in the Deccan.

¹ Chanda Sahib is said to have been released by the Marathas much earlier, in 1745, according to Cultru. Wilks, probably with the authority of Orme, says that Chanda Sahib departed from Satara early in 1748 and proceeded slowly to the south, awaiting the communications of his friends. On the banks of the Krishna his help was solicited both by the Poligar of Chitaldrug and the Rani of Bednore; but owing to the jealousy of a Navayat captain of the Bednore forces, Chanda Sahib took the side of the ruler of Chitaldrug. In the battle that ensued, at Myconda, south of the Tungabhadra, Chanda Sahib's eldest son, Abid Sahib, was slain, and he himself was taken prisoner to Bednore. The Rani of that place was desirous of keeping him a prisoner; but her troops and jamadars marched off under the command of their prisoner. Orme seems to continue the story as he says that he received an invitation from the ruler of Chitaldrug to take command against Bednore. In the ensuing battle he obtained a complete victory for his new ally. 3,000 of the enemy's horse after the defeat offered their service to him, as well as 2,500 troops of his own ally. He was thus the head of nearly 6,000 men when he interfered in the Deccan and Carnatic politics. Dodwell thinks that it is presumably his release from his second captivity that is referred to by the

Sahib would reach the Carnatic in August, and Dupleix declared in joy:—'I would even sacrifice French blood to procure Chanda Sahib's return, so great is my goodwill.' The Diarist also offered his congratulations to Chanda Sahib's family, on his release and departure.¹

Diarist.—Orme, vol. i, p. 121; Wilks, vol. i. (1869) pp. 159-60, (see note 1 below). Both Orme and Wilks are held by Dodwell to have been inaccurate.

¹ Chanda Sahib is held by Cultru to have been released in 1745 with out any sort of French intervention. There were some negotiations going on between the Marathas and the Navayat relations of Chanda Sahib in the Carnatic even in 1744. He wrote to Dupleix, according to Cultru, that Balaji Rao's nephew had paid several lakhs on his behalf to Raghuji Bhonsle and also promised to give suitable presents to the Nizam for securing his countenance for his release and departure, and that Raghuji Bhonsle had given him leave of departure. But Chanda Sahib seems to have continued to remain in Maratha captivity as both the Pondicherry Council and Ranga Pillai bear testimony to the fact of his captivity in 1746 and 47. 'Perhaps the previous release was only conditional and Chanda Sahib was so sanguine as to write of promises as accomplished facts. Perhaps he only exchanged Raghuji Bhonsle for Balaji Rao as his jailer. In 1745 the Pondicherry Council agreed to lend Chanda Sahib a lakh of rupees; but it had no funds at its disposal then. After the French victory of 1746, Dupleix and Chanda Sahib's relatives began to concert measures for his liberation. Even then "Dupleix refused to guarantee the payment of his ransom, but offered to act as the Marathas' agent in its collection; and a few days later he advised Raza Sahib to assemble all the forces of his family and fall upon Anwar-ud-din who was then lying sick at Arcot. He promised to pay the lakh offered in the previous year, as soon as Chanda Sahib reached the Carnatic."

'Chanda Sahib wanted to send his eldest son, Abid Sahib, to the Nizam, to treat with him for the Carnatic (Diarist's entry for the 24th January, 1747); and if the Nizam was unwilling, Balaji Rao would consent to help Chanda Sahib with 30,000 horse and the latter should re-establish Hindu rule in the territories seized in recent years by the Mughals. Thus "the restoration of Trichinopoly to Hindu rule was one of the conditions of Chanda Sahib's release at the time. If so, it would completely explain Nizam-ul-Mulk's opposition." Subsequently, according to the Diarist (entry for July 18, 1747) Dupleix had promised to pay three lakhs of rupees, in the place of the one lakh promised by the Pondicherry Council, one lakh as soon as he should leave Satara, the second lakh when he should reach Cuddappah, and the third when he should reach Arcot.—Presumably, according to Dodwell, Dupleix promised thrice as much as his Council had authorised, and the loan when made was not to pay Chanda Sahib's ransom, but to pay his troops on the march (Note on p. 125 of the *Diary*, vol. iv.) Chanda Sahib could not march as the Nizam and Nasir Jang were then encamped in his way. The failure of Chanda Sahib to march then was caused partly by the interposition of the Nizam and partly by the failure of Dupleix to furnish the necessary sums—"which was beyond his power at any moment between June 1747 and June 1748." According to Dodwell, Chanda Sahib did not escape from Maratha custody till the middle of 1748; and the conditions of his release are described in the Diarist's entry for July 14, 1748 (vol. v, p. 97).

'There is much here that is obscure. Whence came the funds for the payment of the ransom? Apparently not from the French who were actually

Another rumour that the Diarist heard from the wakil of Ali Naqi Sahib at Arcot, was that the people belonging to the Emperor had stabbed Nasir Jang in an interview with him (which was of course wholly unfounded). Dupleix surmised, as soon as he heard the news, that the people of Arcot would take refuge in Pondicherry and so he would get great sums of money, probably by selling the privilege of admission. Imam Sahib wrote from Nasir Jang's camp at Aurangabad that the dead Nizam had left an enormous quantity of treasure and that a letter of congratulation should be written to the new Nizam; and in a few days a *parwana* would be sent by Nasir Jang for the grant of the jaghirs of Valudavur and Villianallur, together with an order to Nawab Anwar-ud-din for the surrender of the jaghir villages. Letters were written to Imam Sahib and Nasir Jang requesting a speedy grant of the favour asked for in respect of the proposed jaghir villages. Nawab Anwar-ud-din sent a letter of compliment in which he wrote of his confirmation in the subah of Arcot by Nasir Jang; a similar letter was sent to the English also. But news continued to report that Murtaza Ali Khan was still collecting troops with a view to attack Arcot from which people were sending property and goods to places of safety (entries for July 10 and 11). Three days later news arrived that Chanda Sahib had crossed the Krishna with 70,000 horse, and Murtaza Ali Khan had made proposals to him, that the

quarrelling with the Nawabs over a loan for their own use. Ranga Pillai mentions diamonds being sent to Chanda Sahib from Trichinopoly, presumably by his wife; but they are spoken of as though not completing the full sum. Again, how was the Trichinopoly question settled? . . . A letter from Chanda Sahib received some two months later, but which seems to refer to this period, says that his affairs had been settled, thanks to Dupleix's message by Jayaram Pandit, Raghoji's Wakil. . . . News received at the same time as this letter reported Chanda Sahib south of the Krishna with 12,000 horse. Dupleix perhaps hoped that he would move south and drive Boscawen from Pondicherry, and he even asked Raza Sahib to write to his father about it. . . .

Chanda Sahib did not enter the Carnatic till about a year after this time; and his movements are uncertain during the period. It was now that he should have engaged in wars with Bednore, etc., reported by Orme and Wilks, who however differ from one another. Mr. Dodwell surmises that Chanda Sahib joined Muzaffar Jang, Governor of Adoni and Bijapur, very shortly after his release in June 1748 and was employed in raising money for his new master in the Subah of Bijapur, out of which arose the Bednore and other affairs—(*Dupleix and Clive*—pp. 32-7). It was now that he should have been persuading Muzaffar Jang to embark on the plan of first seizing the Carnatic and afterwards the Deccan.

Dupleix's close attachment to Chanda Sahib through all vicissitudes is an idea that must be in the light of these taken in a greatly modified form.

latter should receive Trichinopoly and his son Abid Sahib¹ should get the fort of Gingee and 'the country as it was before it was attached to the Carnatic' and the former should be in possession of Vellore. It was also reported that Chanda Sahib's elder brother, Muhammad Ali Khan, wished to seize the fort of Arni and the Conjeevaram territory, to demolish the Vishnu and Siva temples at the latter place and build mosques in their sites. The Diarist remarked that these plans were like 'a pot made of parched flour.' Dupleix was angry that he should be denied a share in the spoils and was 'as excited and angry as though everything had been settled.' These were only Murtaza Ali Khan's proposals and the Diarist assured the Governor that Chanda Sahib would conquer the whole country of Arcot and Trichinopoly and would win the Nawabship for himself and not be content with the title of a mere Faujdar.²

Rumours quickly followed that Nasir Jang intended to march to Golconda, leaving his own troops as well as his father's at Aurangabad and that he had raised 10,000 more horse; while an Arcot letter informed the Diarist of the possibility of the Emperor Ahmad Shah himself advancing against Golconda and worshipping at the tomb of Aurangzeb, with the object, among others, of securing the immense riches said to have been amassed by the dead Nizam. Murtaza Ali Khan actually began to proceed against Arcot, while Muhammad Ali, Anwar-ud-din Khan's son, was ordered to return from Tinnevely, where he was encamped, to Trichinopoly and to lay up provisions and strengthen the garrisons in Trichinopoly and Madura.

After a few days had passed during which the situation of the English remained unchanged,—except for a reported dispute between the English Governor Floyer and Commodore Griffin, described at length by the Diarist, but regarded by Mr. Dodwell as purely imaginary,—

¹ Wilks says that Abid Sahib accompanied his father from Satara and fell in the battle of Myconda between the Raja of Chitaldrug and the Rani of Bednore. (Vol. i, pp. 159-60) see note 1 on p. 154.

² The Diarist said: 'Murtaza Ali Khan may have made proposals, but when Chanda Sahib arrives, he will show what he thinks and tell him to content himself with his fort. He will first give you your share and only then attend to his own business.' When I spoke thus in these soothing terms, he (the Governor) said: 'That is true; it does not matter whether he helps Chanda Sahib or not. We shall help him. Besides, does he need anyone's help? . . . but remind Chanda Sahib's son that he must remember my share, and arrange for me to receive it.'—*Diary*, vol. v, pp. 127-8.

Dupleix made a suggestion, very characteristic of his own diplomatic tortuousness, that the Diarist should write to Imam Sahib that the latter should send the French Governor presents as if they came from Nasir Jang and accompany them with a letter of encomium and warm congratulations.¹ Dupleix even helped the Diarist to take from a book (probably Abbe Guyon's *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, published in 1744) the list of the jewels sent by Safdar Ali Khan to Governor Dumas through Mir Ghulam Hussain and further required that Imam Sahib should be urged to obtain and send Nasir Jangas *parwana* for the grant of Villiyannallur and Valudavur.

Again when the English squadron under Boscawen reached Fort St. David with eight ships of the line, and thirteen Company's ships on August 6-7 and when there was some rumour of negotiation between Mahfuz Khan and the English, Dupleix asked the Diarist to write a polite letter to the latter urging him not to help the English.²

¹ 'The Governor said, 'Safdar Ali Khan sent to M. Dumas two cross-hilted daggers . . . and in consequence he was held in high esteem in Europe. Write now to Imam Sahib desiring him to send me similar presents as if they came from Nasir Jang'. I was also ordered to desire Imam Sahib to write a letter as follows: 'As you have overcome your enemies and captured Madras and other towns, meeting everywhere with success, so that you have no rival, as your glory, power and valour shine like the sun, we request you to help the Nawab Anwar-ud-din Khan Bahadur and the other Nawabs, should they be troubled by the Marathas or other enemies. Moreover, I have written to Nawab Anwar-ud-din Khan of Arcot and the other Nawabs, ordering them to consult with you and act accordingly in all state matters. They will do this. Even the Padshah of these dominions is not so valorous as you . . . In token of this we send you a dress of honour, jewels and weapons (as written above) such as the Emperor is wont to send his nobles.' I was also to say that, if he wrote such a letter and did the business, all the expenses involved should be repaid him; and I was to add, 'All Europe has read the letters regarding the help which you have rendered and the respect which you showed to me and to the French nation. If you will do me this favour, your name will shine like the sun throughout Europe, Turkey, Ispahan and other places . . . ' (Diarist's entry for August 1, 1748, pp. 170-2 of vol. v). Comment on the morality of such a course is superfluous, even taking the standards of contemporary diplomatic ethics.—See Abbe Guyon's *History*—(London, 1757), vol. ii, pp. 128-29.

² The letter was to this effect. 'If you (Mahfuz Khan) join them and they march against Pondicherry, the troops at Madras will advance and waste that part of the country with fire; or if you attack Madras, we will lay waste the country from here to Arcot. . . . If you refrain from helping them, we will send you rich presents and make you rejoice' (p. 185 of *Diary*, vol. v). The Diarist naively wrote as a sort of comment that Dupleix proposed this letter because he was exceedingly alarmed and troubled; he said, 'I have seen what hitherto has happened. So long as the enemy is at a distance, a man may easily boast himself a soldier, but when danger is near, he may turn tail.'

Mahfuz Khan was to be impressed with the critical state of Nasir Jang's affairs and with the great difficulties that would arise if the French should oppose him. Subsequently a letter was written to the French *Vakil* at Arcot, of an imaginary victory that the French had gained over the newly arrived English squadron which the latter was to report to the Durbar.

It was to be reported that the English admiral escaped with seven or eight sails to Fort St. David with torn sails and tattered hulls and that, as the English were liars and cowards, they lost half their strength at the outset and the remaining half was nought.¹

Meanwhile the trouble that Pandari of Vettavalam was giving the Nawab grew acute. He captured Old Gingee and hoisted his flag there, which act enraged Mahfuz Khan very much; he freed the temple of Tirukoilur when it was occupied by one of the Nawab's Amaldars and seized the latter; and the Nawab himself with Mahfuz Khan and other captains had to encamp in the Vettavalam jungles with 2,000 men, in order to cut a way through to his stronghold. The Diarist reported on the 15th of August that the Muhammadans were finding their task very difficult in the jungles and the sound of hot firing was being heard.

There were likewise disturbances in the Trichinopoly country where an attempt was being planned to recover the fort from the hands of the Muhammadans and establish the rule of the son of Kattu Raja (probably the Poligar of Udaiyarpalayam who is still locally called the *Kattu Raja*). The Maratha invaders were to be helped by the people of Tanjore and Mysore, the Tondaiman and the Maravan;²

¹ Six Dutch ships joined Boscawen at the Cape and accompanied him to Mauritius; then they sailed for Batavia; and thus Boscawen reached India with six ships less. 'On this foundation Dupleix built up a legend, which he sought to spread far and wide, of a severe British defeat at the French Islands.'—Dodwell, p. 28.

² In September 1743, Trichinopoly was captured by the Nizam's forces; and Murari Rao immediately after this quitted the Carnatic with all his Marathas. Pratap Singh of Tanjore maintained a friendly correspondence with the *Peishwas*, according to the authority of Grant-Duff. In two letters, one dated June 23, 1744 and the other October 21, 1745, written by Anwar-ud-din Khan to the English Governor, the Nawab speaks of victories gained by his troops over the Raja of Tanjore, the first won by Mahfuz Khan, and the second won by the Nawab himself assisted by his two sons, Mahfuz Khan and Muhammad Ali and by several petty chiefs including the Zamindar of Kalahasti; but these victories did not lead to anything further than the exaction of a bond from the Tanjore Raja for seven

and thus Trichinopoly was to be recovered; it was to be put under the rule of Kattu Raja's son; while Vriddachalam, Srimushnam and other places were to be added to Tanjore, and the territories which were lately conquered from the Muhammadans were to be restored to their former owners.

THE FIRST ACT OF BOSCAWEN

Admiral Boscawen's powerful squadron¹ reached Fort St. David

lakhs and of arrears of tribute. (Venkasami Row: *The Tanjore District Manual* (1883), pp. 779-80).

Even in the course of the Nizam's siege of Trichinopoly, the Kallars of the Tanjore District made nightly irruptions into the Mughal camp; and according to the Annual Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1743, the Mughals sent in all directions through the Kallar country strong bodies of cavalry that laid everything waste. The Tondaiman of Pudukkottai, Vijaya Raghunatha Raya (1730-69), had, according to the *Tondaiman Vamsāvali*, the honour of a personal interview with the Nizam and got from him a jaghir. In 1745 the Marathas under Murari Rao again invaded the south, but were driven away after some time from the country round Trichinopoly by its Muhammadan garrison. On these occasions the Kallars gave the invaders great trouble and cut off a large number of Maratha cavalry stragglers who strayed into the kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura.

From 1744 down to 1748 the Madura country was held by officers appointed by Anwar-ud-din and Muhammad Ali; the latter was personally in charge of the country, apparently subordinate to his father; and the Records of Madura contain two Persian orders actually issued by him. When Muhammad Ali and Mahfuz Khan went north to assist their father in the crisis brought on by the liberation of Chanda Sahib, Madura was left in charge of one Mayana (1748)—Nelson, *The Madura Country, a Manual* (1868), Part III, p. 268.

As regards the Maravan mentioned by the Diarist, it must mean the ancient Ramnad country, which about 1730 was divided into five parts, besides which the northern was taken by Tanjore. The Sethupathi of Ramnad who took the major portion was known by the name of *Periya* Maravan (the Elder Marava) and the Raja of Sivaganga was known as the *Chinna* Maravan; and English writers of the eighteenth century always spoke of the Greater or Lesser Marava Poligar countries. The Sethupathi's *Dalavay*, Velliyan Servaikkāran, was a man of great energy and ability and got all real power into his own hands; he was very aggressive and made wars on Tanjore and the southern Poligars, interfered in the Carnatic wars and died about 1760. He is probably the Maravan referred to.

¹ When the news of the capture of Madras and the flight of Peyton's squadron reached England, the Company hastened to request more effective succour from the Government. As a result six ships of the line, with store ships, etc., were ordered to fit; at the same time it was resolved to raise twelve independent companies; half by draughts from the regiments stationed in Ireland, half by recruitment in Scotland, by gentlemen commissioned as captains, on condition of raising companies. The recruitment in Scotland did not prove very successful, and the companies had to be completed with rebels, deserters and highwaymen pardoned on condition of enlistment.—Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive*, pp. 26-27.

on July 26-27, 1748; and the news recorded by the Diarist as to its arrival at Fort St. David on August 4, was probably only the report of its having been sighted farther south and of the news of it sent up express from Karikal. Dupleix was told by his wife that the Nawab had written a letter to the English Governor that he could not interfere in the Anglo-French quarrels, and that he might do with the French as he pleased. This was disbelieved by the Diarist, because the Nawab, even if he was in great difficulties, would not, on account of his pride, have written such a letter,¹ and also because a piece of secret news like this could not leak out so early. But he did not care to reveal his real thoughts and only answered suitably to Dupleix's wishes and sang to his tune. The Diarist wrote that many of the

Boscawen, though junior to Griffin in service, was entrusted with the supreme command of this expedition; and the latter was ordered to leave four men-of-war with him, and with the remainder to escort the East India shipping home. The Company proposed a plan of operations for the expedition, that it should reduce Mauritius, Pondicherry and Chandernagore or any other French settlement and dismantle and demolish whatever it could capture. Boscawen set sail in November 1747, reached Mauritius in July, joined at the Cape by six Dutch ships. There, not finding a suitable landing place, and being ignorant of the strength of the enemy, Boscawen, with the advice of a council of war, resolved to sail straight for the Coromandel Coast, as 'although their force was sufficient to reduce the island, yet the attack and the maintenance of it when taken, would not only retard, but might probably disable the armament from undertaking the siege of Pondicherry, which Mr. Boscawen was instructed to consider as the principal object of his destination.' Consequently the fleet left the Island on June 27, and arrived at Fort St. David where Griffin's squadron was. Griffin resigned the command to Boscawen and retired with one ship and two frigates to Trincomali, from whence in January he set sail for England—Orme: vol. I. pp. 91-98. The Dutch ships parted company at Mauritius and sailed for Batavia.

The date of Boscawen's arrival at Fort St. David is given as August 8, by Boscawen, and as August 6-7 by the Fort St. David Consultations; and as July 29-August 9 by Orme.

Boscawen had exaggerated the French strength in Mauritius. The Dutch ships that accompanied Boscawen, left his squadron; this (as already been remarked), gave rise to the report that the French ships which were in the Mauritius harbour had captured five of the English ships and that the English ships had fled at the mere sighting of them. (See *Diary infra*, pp. 207 and 214). He was further confirmed in this matter by the arrival of a letter from Mahé which informed him of a ship that came there.

¹ The Nawab's letter to Fort St. David was not actually received till August 21; and the Diarist's entry was on August 13. He wrote: 'He (Dupleix) can only believe this news if he believes that the townspeople here know what is in our letters.' And then he added 'As I always used to write, he is the man who, if he heard that a bullock had calved, would merely order the calf to be put in the stall.' The blame he attributes wholly to the influence of Madame Dupleix

townspeople went away by stealth; and the appearance of the European quarter made him think that 'the Tamils are the more courageous—the alarm of the former at least makes me think so.' He had however a hope that the English fleet would only pretend to attack Pondicherry, but in reality besiege Madras, and that if the French ships should arrive soon, his town would be safe; while Dupleix would only hug to himself fondly the idea that the English had given up all hopes of assistance from the Nawab. When three English ships sailed close in-shore to Pondicherry, Dupleix got alarmed, assembled all the Europeans on the sea-face and had the cannon ready. When he ordered the toll-gate people not to allow anyone to leave the town, it caused great inconvenience and not a little alarm to the Indian inhabitants. On August 20, European and Muhammadan troops and 300 sepoys under Abdul Rahman marched to Ariyānkuppam and Aḷṣapākkam. The next day an English force consisting of the Carnatic people and 200 European troopers came up and attacked the French troops which retreated north of the Chunāmbāru, while the English advanced in great force on the fort of Ariānkuppam; while news also came that a ship and a sloop were sailing to Pondicherry from Fort St. David. On the same day a letter arrived from the French *vakil* Subbayyan who was staying in Mahfuz Khan's camp at Gingee to the effect that Nawab Anwar-ud-din was informed by the English *vakil* at Arcot that the English proposed to march against Pondicherry on August 19, and to capture Madras as well; and it was also requested that the Nawab should render them all assistance according to the *parwana* of Nasir Jang, to which the Nawab was said to have replied that he was unable to help them at present. These things were done without the knowledge of Mahfuz Khan who was inclined towards the French; while Muhammad Ali Khan who was inclined towards the English was still at Trichinopoly.

The next day, August 22, thirteen or fourteen English ships anchored off Virāmpattanam; and thus the number of English ships, great and small, which had arrived near Pondicherry was twenty-two. Both in the morning and in the afternoon the English attacked the French camp, which on three occasions threw back the assaulters. The Diarist was of the opinion that if only the Europeans and the sepoys at Ariyānkuppam had gone to their assistance, they would have driven the English attackers back into Fort St. David. But no

assistance or provision was sent to them; and they retired from Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry across the river to Ariyānkuppam Fort, being pursued by the English who then occupied the Choultry.¹ And the French were in Ariyānkuppam. Eleven valuable days were spent by the English in the operations at Ariyānkuppam, 'in spite of the fact that there was no particular need to capture it at all.' And

¹ Virāmpattanam is a small village about four miles south of Pondicherry to the east of Ariyānkuppam where there was a small fort. The river of Ariyānkuppam ran close to the fort. M. Paradis, who had come from Karikal, had completed the defences of Ariyānkuppam and made it the real outwork of Pondicherry against the English who were entirely unacquainted with the additions that he had made to its strength.

M. Jules Vinson gives (in his *Les Frances dans L'Inde*; p. 169 note) from *La Relation du Siege de Pondicherry* (Brussels, 1766) information regarding this fort.

'Le Fort d'Ariancoupam est une espèce de pâté à cinq faces non flanquées constitué autrefois pour garantir des incursions des Mores une Aldée ou village qui porte son nom. Il est entouré d'un fossé avec une bermé à laquelle on avoit joint depuis peu un chemin couvert, avec son glacis; il a au Nord une rivièrè qui porte son nom à une portée de carabine, à l'est le village touchant au glacis, au sud la rivière de Chounambard à mille toises de distance, et à l'ouest une campagne assez de-couverte. M. le Prévôt de la Touche, capitaine, commandoit dans ce Fortin, et avoit sous lui Mm. Law et la Borderie, avec 40 soldats européens et quelques sipays Il y avoit onze pièces de canon de fer de 8 et 6 livres de balles et quelques mortiers à grenades.'

The English army as it marched out of Fort St. David on August 19, comprised 1,200 soldiers, 800 marines, 750 of the Company's foot, 1,000 seamen who had been taught the manual exercise and 120 Dutch allies from Negapatam, besides some artillery men, thus making in all 4,000 Europeans with about 2,000 native foot. The Pondicherry garrison, all told, consisted of but 1,800 Europeans and Topasses, and 3,000 sepoys. The English enjoyed a certain superiority in numbers; but their engineers were very deficient in practical knowledge and besides wanting in resolution. (*Orme MSS., India*—vol. i, pp. 111-120—Paper written by Clive in 1762 at Orme's request, in which he remarks on the ignorance of the English officers and soldiers in regard to the art of war, an opinion endorsed by Orme.—p. 268. *Catalogue of the Orme Collection of Manuscripts*, vol. ii, part i, by S. C. Hill). Malleon says (p. 217) that his account of the fortifications of Pondicherry and of the siege operations was taken from the journal of an English officer present at the siege, reprinted in the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1802.

The work from which Vinson quoted says that in the actions of August 22, the French sepoys were wavering under the English attack and would have been cut to pieces but for a body of horse and foot sent forward by La Tour to cover their retreat; and it sets the English losses at 100 sepoys. According to Dupleix, writing to the Company, on the English side none but sepoys were engaged in this fight. According to Boscawen the French merely made a show of resistance at an entrenchment they had thrown up and immediately abandoned it on the English advance. (Dodwell, p. 234 of *Diary*, vol. ii, note). Abdul Rahman however is said by the Diarist to have told Dupleix that, if he were given 500 sepoys, he would drive the English back into Fort St. David.

five more days were wasted in putting the fort into some sort of defence.

Meanwhile the situation in Pondicherry tended to grow worse. An attack from the ships on the night of the 22nd was feared. The Governor sent his wife and family to the Mission Church near the Diarist's house and covered its roof with a large quantity of wet cotton. Each house was ordered to have a ready supply of at least 30 pots of water; and a large guard was set to watch the town. A suggestion was made by Dupleix that Chanda Sahib's son should be asked to write to the English Governor at Fort St. David that the English should desist from attacking Pondicherry where himself and Nawab Dost Ali Khan's family were living.¹ Dupleix wanted the Diarist to send the poor people to the Muhammadan villages and set fire to the huts. The Indian merchants wanted permission to send away their children; and there was great panic among the Tamils and uneducated Europeans. 'God knows what fear reigns in the town; man can neither measure, nor describe it.' This was on the eve of the English launching the attack on the Ariyankuppam Fort, after bringing up their men and provisions to Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry, while the French occupied the whole bank on the northern side of the Ariyankuppam River, and mounted cannon on the mud batteries near it.

¹ This letter was apparently written, though Chanda Sahib's writer who penned it, declared that the English might reply thus:—'They may reply that we did nothing to the French for capturing Madras when Nawab Dost Ali Khan's son was there, and it is the same now; or else they may tell us to do what we like . . . or again they may say that if we fear, we should leave the town . . . They well believe we have written out of fear.' (p. 232 of the *Diary*, vol. v.)

(To be continued)

Recent Work in Indian Economic History (1905-1928)¹

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE economic history of India must be described as a new subject of study, and the period indicated in the title covers most of the relevant literature, other than the older sources, and the official publications of the British Governments. The study is still imperfectly organized, and it possesses no journal of its own; while the haphazard methods of publication followed occasionally in India make it practically impossible for any individual to know all that has been done. This article cannot therefore be exhaustive, and I can only apologize to the writers of any important contributions which I may have overlooked. Segregation, too, is incomplete, and reference is necessary to some works which extend beyond the economic field.

GENERAL WORKS.—There is as yet no general text-book of the subject, nor is the time ripe for such an undertaking; the best approach probably lies through the historical notices in the general volumes of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Oxford, 1909). A few attempts² have been made, with varying success, to handle particular topics, or regions, over the entire historical period, but, speaking generally, the sources are so heterogeneous, and require so much preliminary criticism, that for the present this line of work can scarcely be recommended; the necessary spadework must be done by periods. Indian historical scholars are not yet in agreement as to the

¹ In the references IRAS stands for Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London); JASB for the Journal (new series) of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta); JIH for Journal of Indian History (Madras); and IJE for Indian Journal of Economics (Allahabad).

² R. Mookerji, *Indian Shipping*, 1912. A. S. Altekar, *History of Village Communities in Western India*, 1927. H. C. Trevaskis, *The Land of the Five Rivers*, an economic history of the Punjab from the earliest times . . . , 1928. S. M. Pagar, *The Indian Income-Tax*, IJE, Dec., 1918.

periods appropriate to their study, and consequently the individual is free to choose the dividing-points which suit him best; in this article I take three main periods, Hindu to c. 1200 A.D., Moslem to c. 1750, and British, but there is necessarily some overlapping, as the process of penetration was in each case gradual.

THE HINDU PERIOD.—The literature of this period¹ is so voluminous and so varied that at first sight it looks as if one ought to be able to learn at least as much of Ancient India as of Ancient Greece or Rome, but there are serious difficulties in the way: there is no formal history or biography, few of the texts are as yet dated with precision, and the practice of recension prevailed so widely that it is often impossible to be sure even of the century to which a particular statement refers. To give one example only: one of the most important texts for the economist is the *Arthashastra*² of Kautilya, a treatise on public administration, which throws much light on agrarian, industrial and commercial topics; some scholars attribute it with confidence to the fourth century B.C., but others put it five centuries later, and, to the economic historian, five centuries make a difference. Some Indian scholars have of late attempted to reconstruct the social and economic past³ from this literature, but the lack of chronological precision is fatal to historical perspective, and the tendency is to present a static and composite picture of more than a thousand years, rather than the developments which occurred during the period. Probably the most hopeful line of work just now would be a concerted attack on the large, and constantly growing, mass of dated inscriptions dealing with trade, land-tenures, and other relevant topics; this might conceivably yield in course of time a chronological framework, on which the literary material might be draped, but nothing in this line seems to have been published.

¹ For a condensed account of the literature see A. A. Macdonell, *India's Past*, 1927. It is in no sense an economic book, but is the best available guide to the sources on which the economic historian must rely for this period.

² *Kautilya's Arthashastra*, tr. R. Shamasastry, 1923. The text has an extensive critical and expository literature of its own, which need not be cited here. Another text, the *Sukraniti* (tr. B. K. Sarkar, 1914), has sometimes been taken to present the economic position in the Hindu period, but the extant recension contains matter which is certainly not older than the sixteenth century.

³ P. Basu, *Indo-Aryan Polity*, 1925. J. N. Samadhar, *Economic Conditions of Ancient India*, 1922. S. K. Das, *The Economic History of Ancient India*, 1925.

A few studies of particular topics have to be noted,¹ while, as regards extra-Indian sources, the commercial relations with the West have recently been examined.²

THE MOSLEM PERIOD.—From A.D. 1200 onwards we have the benefit of the precise Islamic chronology, and of an almost continuous series of contemporary chronicles. I have noted no recent work on this period up to 1500 A.D.: with the sixteenth century we come to an epoch of foreign influence, with the Mogul conquerors in the North, and a succession of European nations on the coasts. The extensive literature relating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may be conveniently grouped into three sections: the records of the trading companies, contemporary descriptions, and modern studies.

(i) *Records*.—Pride of place must be given to the invaluable calendars of the East India Company's records, now in the India Office; the series runs back into the nineteenth century, and only those which have appeared since 1905 are noted below.³ Along with these may be placed the records, or abstracts of records, relating to the principal centres of the Company's commercial and industrial activities, and to the Indian trade with China.⁴ Taken in the mass, these records are mainly, though not exclusively, economic; political topics gradually increase in importance, but, almost up to the end of the Moslem period, commerce comes first, and the amount of economic information which has already been made available is very great. The equally important records of the Dutch Company still

¹ R. S. V. Ayyar, *Manu's Land and Trade Laws*, 1927. J. N. C. Ganguli, *Principles of Hindu Taxation*, Ind. Hist. Quarterly, 1925. Bal Krishna, *Beginnings of the Silk Industry*, JIH, April, 1925; *Economics in Ancient India*, IJE, Nov., 1919; *The Hindu Taxation System*, IJE, July and Oct. 1927, P. C. Basu, *The Earliest Agricultural Organization in India*, IJE., Nov., 1919. L. K. Hyder, *Early Commerce of India*, IJE, Oct., 1923.

² H. G. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, 1916, 1926. G. Banerjee, *India as known to the Ancient World*, 1921. E. H. Warming-ton, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, 1928.

³ W. Foster, *The English Factories in India* (1618-1669), thirteen volumes, 1906-1927; and *India Office Records; Supplementary Calendar* (1600-1640), 1928. E. B. Sainsbury and W. Foster, *Calendar of the Court Minutes of the E. I. Co.* (1640-1667), 1909-1925.

⁴ Bengal: C. Rivers Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, 1895-1917; and *Old Fort William in Bengal*, 1906. Madras: H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 1913; *Records of Fort St. George*, 88 vols. (1679-1742), from 1915, continuing. China: H. B. Morse, *Chronicles of the E. I. Co. Trading to China* (1635-1834), 1926.

remain for the most part unpublished; the only series known to me is that of the Malabar records,¹ issued by the Government of Madras, into the possession of which they have passed. Mention must be made, however, of the *Batavia Journal*,² which has been printed *in extenso* up to the year 1681; many of the volumes of this official record contain full abstracts of the commercial letters received from India, and, apart from the concrete information supplied, they are of special value in showing the position held by India in the trade of the Eastern Seas from the Cape to China. Some selections from the records of the French Company have been published³ by the French India Historical Society of Pondicherry.

(ii) *Contemporary Descriptions*.—Much of the most useful recent work has consisted in bringing within the reach of students descriptions which had either remained unpublished or were so rare as to be practically inaccessible in India. The Glasgow reprint (1907) of *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, for instance, made it possible for Indian libraries to possess a primary source, which had previously been practically unknown throughout the country; and the subjoined list⁴ of individual descriptions, arranged approximately in chronological order, will serve to give an idea of the mass of raw material which has come within the reach of students with, usually, adequate explanatory

¹ *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government; Dutch Records*, 15 vols., 1908–10.

² *Dagh-register gehouden int Casteel Batavia . . .*, 1896–1918.

³ *Procès verbaux des délibérations du Conseil supérieur (1701–1793)*, 1913–15. *Correspondence du Cons. sup. avec Chandernagor (1728–1747)*, 1915–16. *Correspondence du Cons. sup. et de la Compagnie (1726–1740)*, 1920.

⁴ Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of (1518)*, tr. M. L. Dames (Hakluyt Soc.), 1918–21. The Emperor Babur (d. 1530); *The Baburnama*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, 1921. Garcia da Orta (c. 1560), *Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India*, tr. Sir C. Markham, 1913. J. H. Linschoten (1592), *Itinerario*, ed. H. Kern (Linschoten Soc.), 1910. *Early Travels in India (1583–1619)*, ed. Sir W. Foster, 1921. John Jourdain, *Journal of Voyage to the East Indies (1608–17)*, ed. W. Foster (Hakluyt Soc.), 1905. Sir Thos. Roe, *The Embassy of (1615–19)*, ed. Sir W. Foster, 1926. Francisco Pelsaert, *The Remonstrantie of (1626)*, tr. W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl, as *Jahangir's India*, 1925. Peter Mundy, *The Travels of (1608–1667)*, vols. ii., iii., ed. Sir R. C. Temple (Hakluyt Soc.), 1914–19. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India (1640–1667)*, tr. V. Ball, ed. W. Crooke, 1925. François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (1656–68)*, ed. V. A. Smith, 1914. John Marshall, *Notes and Observations in Bengal (1668–72)*, ed. S. A. Khan, 1927. Nicolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor (1653–1708)*, tr. W. Irvine, 1907. Streynsham Master, *The Diaries of (1675–80)*, ed. Sir R. Temple, 1911. John Fryer, *A New Account of E. India and Persia (1672–81)*, ed. W. Crooke (Hakluyt Soc.), 1909–15.

matter. These descriptions are, of course, not purely economic; the list gives those which, in my judgment, contain a substantial amount of economic matter indispensable to the student of the period.

Some aids to the terminology of this period must be noted, because the Dutch and English learned the commercial language of the East through Portuguese interpreters, and a certain amount of distortion was inevitable in the double transference, so that the numerous obsolete terms cannot be interpreted etymologically. The classical glossary, *Hobson-Jobson*, is weak on the commercial side, and, by students who read Portuguese, can be supplemented with advantage by Dalgado's valuable work;¹ while the nomenclature of cotton-goods, the most important, and most complex, commercial topic of the period, is elucidated in two papers noted below.²

(iii) *Modern Studies*.—The output of sources, which has been sketched above, has been accompanied by a substantial amount of interpretation. I have attempted a preliminary general survey of the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth century;³ the remaining titles to be noted deal with particular topics. The establishment of Dutch commerce in India has been related by Dr. Terpstra⁴ in a way to whet the appetite for many more studies based, like his, on the records at The Hague. A group of books and articles⁵ deal specifically with Anglo-Indian commerce; but they require to be supplemented by similar studies of the trade with Holland, France and other countries before the commercial position of India can be grasped in its entirety. Sarkar has brought together facts relating to

¹ S. R. Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, 1919–21.

² W. H. Moreland, *Export of Cotton Goods in the Seventeenth Century*, JIE, Jan., 1925. M. J. Bremner, *Report of Governor Balthasar Bort*, JRAS (Malayan branch), Aug., 1927 (The notes, by C. O. Blagden, deal in detail with Indian cotton-goods).

³ W. H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, 1920, and *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 1923.

⁴ H. Terpstra, *De Vestiging van de Nederlanders aan de Kust van Koromandel*, 1911; and *De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de O. I. Compagnie*, 1918.

⁵ C. J. Hamilton, *The Trade Relations between England and India*, 1919 (extends over part of the British period also). S. A. Khan, *The East India Trade in the Seventeenth Century*, 1923; also *The East India Trade in the Eighteenth Century*, and *Documents on the East India Trade*, in JIH, Nov., 1921. P. J. Thomas, *Mercantilism and the East India Trade*, 1928. Bal Krishna, *Commercial Relations between India and England (1601–1757)*, 1924.

inland transport for the entire period.¹ As yet there is no modern study of the agrarian system as a whole, but particular aspects of it have been dealt with in the papers noted below.²

BRITISH PERIOD.—One of the greatest needs at the moment is re-examination of the facts of the transition from Indian to British rule, especially in Bengal; the acute political controversies which arose out of this transition dealt largely with economic topics, and the 'venom of Burke' has not yet been expelled from the body historical. Professor Dodwell and Dr. Sinha have recently done useful work³ in this direction, particularly in the history of the currency. The agrarian transition also has received a good deal of attention; it may be well to explain, with regard to the subjoined titles,⁴ that in the jargon of the country the terms 'revenue' and 'settlement' have become highly specialized, and cover most of the topics usually described as agrarian. For the period as a whole we have to record Professor Knowles's text-book,⁵ Sir Theodore Morison's two volumes,⁶ and some studies of particular subjects, mainly financial,⁷ or

¹ B. K. Sarkar, *Inland Transport and Communications*, 1925.

² H. H. Mann, *A Deccan Village under the Peshwas*, IJE, Oct., 1923. J. J. Modi, *A Farmān of Emperor Jahangir*, 1921. W. H. Moreland in JRAS: *Akbar's Land-Revenue System* (with A. Yusuf Ali), Jan., 1918; *The Value of Money at the Court of Akbar*, July, 1918; *Development of the Land-Revenue System of the Mogul Empire*, Jan., 1923; *Akbar's Land-Revenue Arrangements in Bengal*, Jan., 1926; *Sher Shah's Revenue System*, July, 1926. J. Sarkar, *The Revenue Regulations of Aurangzeb*, JASB, ii., 255; *Studies in Mughal India*, 1919.

³ H. Dodwell, *Substitution of Silver for Gold in South India*, IJE, Jan., 1921. J. C. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal*, 1927.

⁴ F. D. Ascoli, *Early Revenue History of Bengal* . . ., 1917. W. K. Firminger, *The Fifth Report of the Select Committee* . . ., 1917. R. B. Ramsbotham, *Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal*, 1926; *The Kanungo*, JIH, Sept., 1924; and *Suggestions for Stabilizing the Settlement* . . . in Bengal, JIH, Sept., 1925. K. C. Chaudhri, *History and Economics of the Land System in Bengal*, 1928.

⁵ L. C. A. Knowles, *The Economic Development of the Overseas Empire*, 1924 (section on British India).

⁶ T. Morison, *The Industrial Organization of an Indian Province*, 1906; and *The Economic Transition in India*, 1911.

⁷ H. Sinha, *Early European Banking in India*, 1927. B. R. Ambedkar, *The Problem of the Rupee*, 1923; and *The Evolution of Provincial Finance*, 1925. K. T. Shah, *Trade, Tariffs, and Transport in India*, 1923; and *Sixty Years of Indian Finance*, 1921, 1927. C. N. Vakil, *Financial Development of Modern India*, 1925. D. A. Barker, *The Indian Customs*, IJE, Sept., 1916. P. N. Banerjee, *Deficits and Surpluses in the Accounts of the E. I. Co.*, IJE, July, 1927. C. N. Vakil and S. K. Muranjan, *Currency and Prices in India*, 1927. R. D. Das Gupta, *Paper Currency in India*, 1927.

industrial,¹ though various other topics also have received attention.²

It would give a materially false picture of the literature of this period if no mention were made of the mass of official statistics and reports which have been issued from the Government Presses at the various provincial capitals. Space forbids even the most summary enumeration of these, but, taken in the aggregate, they form an almost unequalled body of material for the economic history of the nineteenth century, and one as yet almost entirely unexploited, except in political controversies. Most of them deal with short periods, five years or less, so that they have to be read in series for historical purposes; but the 'Settlement Reports,' which record assessment of the land revenue, commonly review the agrarian history of a large region for a period of twenty or thirty years.

CONCLUSION.—Such is a very bald enumeration of the literature which has come to my notice. I have apologized at the outset for the inevitable accidental omissions; and I may conclude by indicating the omissions which are intentional. It has seemed best to exclude the technical literature relating to the evaluation of coins, weights, and measures, the interpretation of inscriptions, and similar matters; the results of such work are often of vital importance to the economic historian, but he can scarcely hope to follow it in detail, and he looks forward to the time when some benevolent group of antiquaries will furnish him with an authoritative handbook of results. Further, I have excluded publications which seem to me to be definitely tendentious. The Indian renaissance, which we are privileged to witness, has naturally a political side; and a substantial amount of literature has appeared in which facts, and occasionally fictions, drawn from economic history, or legend, have been selected, and sometimes

¹ Sir A. Chatterton, *Industrial Evolution in India*, 1912. D. R. Gadgil, *The Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times*, 1924. J. C. Kidd, *History of Indian Factory Legislation*, 1920. P. P. Pillai, *The Indian Cotton Mill Industry, 1853-1922*, IJE, Oct., 1924.

² A. Loveday, *The History and Economics of Indian Famines*, 1914. Sir G. Clarke, *The Post Office of India and its Story*, 1921. E. P. Stebbing, *The Forests of India*, 1922-26. D. A. Barker, *Railway Policy in India*, IJE, Dec., 1916. H. R. Perrott, *The Rupee and Indian Prices*, JASB, vi., 109. W. H. Myles, *Sixty Years of Panjab Food Prices*, IJE, July, 1925; and Brij Narain, *Eighty Years of Panjab Food Prices*, IJE, April, 1926. V. D. Dantazagi, *The Permanent Settlement in the Upper Province*, JIH, Feb., 1922.

distorted, so as to support preconceived views; I have discarded this literature *en masse*. Lastly, I have not attempted to enumerate the economic chapters or sections (of varying value), which it is the fashion to insert in books dealing with the general history of the country. With these exceptions, I have aimed at completeness, so far as the sources of my information permit.

W. H. MORELAND.

POSTSCRIPT FOR THE *Journal of Indian History*.

Exigencies of printing prevented the inclusion in this article of titles appearing during the last quarter of 1928. The most interesting event of the quarter was the resumption, after ten years of the issue of the *Batavia Dagb Register*; the volume for January-June, 1682, was published in December, and the continuance of the enterprise seems to be assured.

W. H. M.

Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri

BY

THAKUR RAM SINGH, M.A., LL.B.

RUBRIC II

AKBAR'S going on foot, in pilgrimage, to the grand mausoleum of the great Khwaja Moin-ud-din Chishti and laying the foundation of the city of Fatehpur with other events.

As the bud of hope blew out from the rose tree of wished for desire and as the beloved aim became manifested in existence from the secret storehouse of Eternity, Emperor Akbar, in order to pay back the fee of gratitude, determined, at Akbarabad to start for Ajmer on foot, to make a pilgrimage to the grand mausoleum of Khwaja Moin-ud-din Chishti (May God^o preserve his secret of sanctity), on the 12th day of the month of Shaban of the year of the Birth. The travelling stages were fixed at 12 Kiroh (24 miles) distance and on the 17th day had the opportunity of getting the felicity of reaching at the illuminated and eminent mausoleum and placed his forehead of purity of faith on that threshold, which was fit for the worship of angels and fulfilled the customs of pilgrimage and the requisites of adoration and was engaged in giving charities and beneficences and the fields of hopes of the people, connected with the threshold of the holy mausoleum, were completely watered with the raining clouds of Kindness.

Now, briefly, some of the actions of the ho' Khwaja in dealing with the unbelievers and his virtuous qualities are entrusted to the pen for bringing them in writing. His birth place is Seistan and as such he is styled as Sajri, which is hybrid for Sikri. When the Khwaja was in his fifteenth year, his pious father, who bore the name of Khwaja Hassan, had gone away to the sacred world (died).

By the blessings of the far-seeing vision of Sheikh Ibrahim Majzub of Qandoz, the Khwaja acquired the demand for real learning and after leaving all worldly concerns, he went to Samarkand and Bukhara and

spent sometime in learning the ordinary branches of knowledge and thence he went to Khurasan and in this land he grew up. And in Haron which forms part of the possessions of Naishapur, the Khwaja entered the virtuous company of Sheikh Usman Harooni and placed his hand full of faith, in the lap of felicity as a religious disciple, and practised austerities for twenty years in the Sheikh's ennobling company. At the suggestions of the Sheikh, the Khwaja, having travelled in far off places, did faithful devotions to such saintlike personage as Najam-ud-din the Great and to other Great religious preceptors and recognized saints and through his own inborn intellect, threw the lasso of demand in the battlement of success. The discipleship of the Khwaja to the Sheikh Modu Chishti reaches through two connecting links and through eight connecting links reaches the discipleship to Ibrahim Adham. Before the advent of Sultan Moizuddin Sam, in the reign of Rai Bhitara (Pithora), the Khwaja with the permission of his spiritual preceptor, came to India and took his abode in Ajmer. Khwaja Qutbuddin Awaisi Indjani had become disciple of the Khwaja Moin-ud-din in the month of Rajab of 522 Hijra at the mosque of Imam-ul-wallait of Samarkand situated in Baghdad, in the presence of Shabuddin Soharwardy and Sheikh Ohibuddin of Kirman. And Sheikh Fareed Shakur Ganj (Store of Sugar), who is resting in the land of the Panjab, is the disciple of Khwaja Qutbuddin. And Sheikh Nizamuddin Olia, the spiritual preceptor of Amir Khusroo, became the disciple of Fareed. The concatenation of the Chistia school terminated with the Khwaja.

In short at an auspicious time, the reins of attention of Akbar were turned towards Delhi, the capital of the country, for the visit of thanksgiving for this high gift of the Birth, to the various sepulchres of the high saints and the great divines, who were having rest in that city of miracles. After finishing the stages and the cutting down of difficulties, the escort of the horses in attendance on the good fortune (Numen) graced that abode of felicity, in the month of Ramzan of the same year. Usages prevalent for the sepulchres from which shone forth light of benefit and the circumambulation of the shrine of His Majesty Emperor Zahiruddin Humayun of the Paradise abode (May God illumine his reasoning) were performed. At that time the departure of the Emperor towards the real seat of the Empire was commenced and on the 6th of Ziqad the Good fortune (numen)

appeared at Akbarabad, the capital. As the benefit bestowing Birth of Jehangir occurred at Sikri, the Emperor Akbar held that village as very auspicious and in that place laid the foundation for the establishment, and in the middle of the month of Rabi-ul-awal of the year 977 Hijra the world obeying order was passed for planning forts and constructing heart-pleasing buildings. And all the great nobles and all the attendants holding the stirrup of attendance in proper rank and condition of their own, accompanied in the stages and in a short interval a grand city, well arranged, rose in appearance, and mosques, schools, buildings for charitable purposes, shops and markets were constructed with perfect elegance and all these were made and completed in red stone. And various gardens, like those of paradise, became the cause of vision and freshness to that resort of pleasure and made the site of the resort (Fatehpur) city of victory, famous. And after the coming down of His Majesty in that city of good fortune, the auguries of blessed result were evident from the name of the city for great victories in those times of happy symptoms of the great Emperor who wore the cloak of Justice and of all qualities. And in this very year of blessed auguries, the Emperor Akbar celebrated Prince Jahangir's birthday festivities, which opened the gates of happiness to the people of the time.

On Thursday the 25th of the month of Jamadiul-Akhur Qudsi, this gem of high value was made to go in, for the commencement of the Quran. And as the excellent age reached four years four months and four days, then according to the law of the ancient wisemen and according to the institutes of the decipherers of the heavenly mysteries, the auspicious and generous moment being fixed that is on Wednesday, the 22nd of the month of Rajab, 981 Hijra, the manifestation of the heavenly graciousness performed the ceremony of commencing the alphabet (as in a regular school). And arranged for great heart drawing festivities and the public scattered the cash of their desire in the lap of their hopes. And the education of that mystery reader of the worlds of spirit and material bodies, was entrusted for the perfection of the race of learning and greatness, to that occupier of the chair of dispensing benefit and learning the Maulana Kamal-uddin of Herat, who had the adornment of the control of passions, culture and manners. And Qutab-uddin Khan Anka was given the robe for the post of the guardian of that approved one of the

religious and worldly affairs. And as he was nominated for guarding the frontier, Mirza Jan, Khan Khanan, was regarded fit for the guardianship.

In 985 Hijra the command of Ten Thousand Horse was bestowed personally on Prince Jahangir. And from the tongue, which was scattering pearls, it passed that the entire heavenly host was attentive towards increasing the spirit of subordination, good conduct, carefulness, patience of that new plant of the Empire.

As the blessed age reached the fifteenth year, the angelic daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das, who was one of the grand nobles of this everlasting Empire and was amongst eminent Rajahs and was held in great honour and had the honour of Preferential trust, was demanded for the Prince and the various buildings, public and private, being decorated with festive buntings, the royal festivities were arranged for. And on the 5th Isfandarand of the Ilahi month (Akbar's era) of 992 Hijra, the appointed time by the astrologers, the Emperor Akbar descended for being welcomed with prosperity. Under the Sign Twins, was raised the dignity of the Rajah's residence to the skies and that lady of spotless bedroom was wedded in marriage to the supreme gem of the Empire with all blessed union and was brought to the Imperial Palace for ever. The Rajah performed the ceremonies of scattering of jewels and money, etc. (for keeping away the effect of the evil eye) and after presenting tribute he actually presented suitable dresses of honour in connection with this relationship which was the capital of exulting pride to the Rajah's elders and to his future progeny. And to all the princes of high rank and to all the high ladies, the Rajah sent in fitting victuals and to each and every one of the household servants, their names being written in a list, was given a dress of honour and for this felicity the Rajah got the glorification for all times.

In 994 Hijra, Prince Jahangir was nominated to be married to the angelic daughter of Rajah Udaisingh who on the bases of the purest blue blood and on his possession of enormous army was regarded as Supreme amongst all the Rajahs of India. Hemistich :—

'It was at the moment which was the friend of the Almanach'—(non-plus ultra so far as auspiciousness was concerned). His Majesty Emperor Akbar, with the ladies of the tent who were famous for purity, went to the residence of the Rajah and fastened the marriage

tie which was joined to felicity itself and opened the door of joy and success in those times.

Couplet.—'The Empire lacked so much the ornament that in the end, the Almighty fulfilled the demand of the Empire.'

Udaisingh is the son of Rajah Maldeo who was of recognized status and was master of grandeur. And the rank and file of his army reached the number of eighty thousand troops. Although the Rana Sanga, who had given pitched battle to the Emperor Baber (May God preserve his reasoning), was equal to Maldeo in wealth and grandeur, but in the extent of territory and in the rank and file of army, Maldeo was superior. As such it often occurred that the officers of his army had occasion to be engaged in battle with Rana Sanga and on every occasion the symptoms of superiority and victory were on the side of the Rao. In this very year from the body of the good starred daughter of Rajah Bhagwan Das, an angelic daughter was born and she was named Sultan Nisa Begum. And on the 24th day of the month of Amardad of the Hijra year 995, a son was born from the body of the daughter of the same Rajah and he was named Sultan Khusru. And on the 19th Shaban of 997 Hijra, in the Palace of prosperity another son put his foot on the floor of existence from the body of the daughter of Khwaja Hassan, the uncle of Zeen Khan, and was named as Sultan Parviz. And on the 23rd of the month of Shahraiwar of the Hijra year 998 a daughter was born from the body of the daughter of Rajah Keshodas Rathor and she was named Bahar Banu Begum.

The highly felicitous birth of the fortunate Prince, who was the heir to the crown and the throne (Khurram) Shah Jahan, took place on Thursday on the new moon night of the month of Rabi-ul-awal of the Hijra year 1000, after the passing of 5 Saats (one Saat=one hour being 2½ gharis in Hindustani), 12 Dakikas (1/60th part of a Darja or degree) which year had been proclaimed as the most blessed of the years throughout the Empire in Emperor Jahangir's regime. According to the calculation of the astrologers of Persia, the Prince who had the reigning star of the Empire and the brightest gem of the casket of happiness (May God preserve him in safety and felicity), had put his foot on the throne of existence in all accompaniments of prosperity, from the sacred womb of the angelic daughter of Rajah Udai Singh, under the influence of Libra, the abode of pleasure but according to

the calculation of the astrologers of India the Birth was placed under the influence of the sign of the Virgo.

The date of the Prince's noble birth was introductory to good many rare and glad tidings and was index to strange occurrences. One from all these is that the Prince, the best of mankind, was born in the blessed month of Ramzan. This coincidence is the clear sign of prosperity and is evidenced by the Prophet's word, on whose head gems may be scattered, and is also justified by the traditions of the Prophets which say that 'Verily God raiseth up for the people at the beginning of every century, a person who renews it and rebuilds it' and that Being from whom beneficence emanates, enlightened, and adorned the world at the commencement of the eleventh century, and thus he became the reformer of the eleventh century. And according to the ordination of the divine organization to the effect that in the thousandth year in the world, there appears a Protector or master of the world so that by the aid of the Grace of God existing from all eternity, all blameable customs of non-observance and ignorance may be thrown away from the plain of the world and with the candle of eternal guidance may be a light to the transgressors living in the valley of infidelity and enmity. So that 456 years before this that decipherer of the divine secrets, Afzaluddin Hakim of Khaqan had prophesied the rising of the birth of such a star of prosperity. And being unfortunate as only knowing this future felicity but regretting the non-discovery of the exact time, left in writing for the world as a memento this poetic piece of 4 hemistiches :—

It is said that every thousandth year from the world,
Comes out a confident Super-being.
I was not born from the non-existence when one had come ere this,
Some one would come after this and then I shall have gone down with grief.

This noblest of the births, being the commencement of the cycle of the thousand, was the light increaser to the eye of the expectants of the morning of felicity. On the third day of the noble birth, Emperor Akbar put his feet in the Palace of the Prince Jahangir and added lustre to the eyes of hopes, by seeing the light of the beauty (which was illuminating the whole world) of that pupil of the eye of the Empire. In that angelic assembly festivities were arranged in such a way that by seeing them the eye of the world showed the wonder by the collyrium used thereon. The blessing giving feet of

the Emperor became the cause of giving Joy to the world and its inhabitants. The illustrious grandfather receiving a revelation from the Creator named him Sultan Khurram, the elevated of the spiritual and material worlds.

HEMISTICH

'So long as the world exists, let it be populous with the name Joy (Khurram).'

The chief event of these days, was the coming in of Khwajah Abdulla in the court of the Prince Jahangir. The ancestors of the Khwajah who were miracle performers to some extent, were from the famous Sayads and the fourth ancestor of the Khwajah was the leader of the masters of ecstasy and divine dance, named Amir Sayad Ashiq, the description of whose felicity is given in the book called Habeebul-sair and Rushat, etc., and the praiseworthy father of the Khwajah Khwajar Khwajah Hasan Nakshbandy who had kept Bakhtnisan Begum, sister of Emperor Akbar, in the fastness of marriage. The Khwajah in the year 1002 brought his brother Khwajah Yadgar, the father of the writer of this wonderful book, from the forts of the mother country to the worshipful door of the Emperor Akbar. His Majesty bestowed commands on him according to his ability and appointed him to the Subah of the Dakkan. As Khwajah Bashir had relationship, it was ordered that he be appointed jointly to the above post and these two of the noble race on reaching the Daccan performed all sort of service and undertook every enterprise that appeared with all the customs of manliness, self-sacrifice, due rectitude and due sense of service and the essentials of his service were fixed on the hearts of all. As in his ambition he was a high flying falcon, he thought he should obey the customs of fortune and went towards the angelic threshold and reached in 1003 Hijra the presence of Prince Jahangir and gradually owing to the character-reading and appreciation of the Prince, rose to high position.

RUBRIC III

Raising of the Saturn reaching standard of the Emperor Akbar for the subjugation of the Dakkan and Prince Jahangir's obtaining supreme command for the suppression of the anger provoking Rana.

As in the year 1007 Hijra it became evident from the applications of the really faithful subjects of the Empire and the sincere well-wishers that subjugation of the Dakkan cannot be successful without the starting of the world opening standards of the Emperor Akbar, it was on the sixth lunar month of the Divine era, the appointed time by the astrologers that Emperor himself personally directed his attention towards that way (the Dakkan). The Province of Ajmere was included in the maintenance Jagir of Prince Jahangir as a good augury of the successful conclusion and blessing. Rajah Man Singh and Shah Qulli Khan as confidants and numerous others from the nobles were appointed in attendance on the Prince and at that very auspicious time these were nominated for the eradication of the evil contention of the Rana. The aim of the selection and bringing together of this was that the Imperial escort of good fortune may be ready to start for far off provinces of the Empire and that the post of the Deputy of the Empire may not have any change, owing to the appointment of the heir-apparent and that the boundaries of the anger-provoking Rana be accessible for the purposes of reinforcement and protection of the Saturn-like army.

Though Rajah Man Singh was attached as the Chief of the Staff with Prince Jahangir but on the solicitation of the former, the province of Bengal was kept in the Rajah's possessions, according to the previously prevailing custom. The Rajah made strong promise that he himself would remain in attendance on the Prince and that his sons and agents would superintend and guard Bengal for him and thus Jagat Singh, his illustrious eldest son, was put in charge of that province as the Chief Superintendent. And as near at hand at the time Jagat Singh had to undertake an unavoidable journey, the Rajah then appointed his son, Maha Singh, to his father's post by putting him and sending him at the head of the affairs of Bengal.

As the city of Ajmer, for good many times had become the seat of tent pitching of the Grandeur and Majesty of Prince Jahangir, the military forces which rivalled the wave of the ocean and other sorts of forces, got permission for the eradication of the Rana and after a short time the Prince himself strolling and hunting, reached by stages, the city of Udaipur and that wanderer of the bye-paths and of uncertain determination (Rana) came out of the hills and plundered and destroyed some places; but as the soldiers of the victory gaining

army went behind him, the Rana again in a perturbed condition threw himself in the valleys of the hills and his possessions were subject to the trampling of the glorious army. An enormous number of unbelievers were found dead on that plain of battle and their wives and children were sold as slaves and made prisoners. The news reached at this very time about the rebellion in Bengal and the defeat of Maha Singh. And on the 15th of the month of Teer of the Divine year of the same year, Prince Sultan Parvaiz went away to the celestial world (died) which event threw all the ladies of the heir-apparent's palace in mourning.

The Rise of the Peshwas

CHAPTER IV (1720-27)

BY

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EARLY REGIME OF BAJI RAO

BAJI RAO was invested with the office of Peshwa on April 17, 1720, at Masur near Karhad.¹ He was confirmed in his father's jagirs and was further granted all the *saranjam* or jagirs of Damaji Thorat.² It has been the hobby of historians to depict the reluctance of Shahu to this appointment,³ but there is hardly any truth in that assumption.* Shahu, if nothing else was a shrewd judge of men. He had been closely watching Bajji Rao, almost from his boyhood, and convinced of his great ability he had no hesitation in appointing him to the responsible office of his chief minister.* Bajji Rao had kept constantly in the company of his father and had even accompanied him to Delhi. Associated in the troubles and triumphs of the great Peshwa, he learnt a good deal about the men and matters by personal experience. He had besides, shown great aptitude for the calling of soldier. He rode exceedingly well, and loved fighting more than any other pursuit. Though not as learned as his father, he was no mean revenue expert. In fact at the age when young men generally contest for prizes in colleges and universities he was fully equipped to hold the helm of Maratha affairs, and that, in the teeth of opposition of a hostile party, led by the *pratinidhi* Shripat Rao, who on his father's death in May 1718, had succeeded to his office in June of the same year.⁵

¹ Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 39 f.n.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 38.

³ पेशव्यांचो बखर p. 10.

⁴ भारतवर्ष 1899 July, article 2, p. 4.

⁵ Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 39 f.n. and पेशव्यांचो बखर p. 10.

* When his father died Bajji Rao had attained the age of twenty and Chimnaji Appa, twelve. Karbhari Ambaji Pant Purandare held the office of Diwan. Besides, in the Brahmin party, the most prominent were Bajji Bhuu Rao, Krishnaji

Baji Rao's greatness is seen in its proper perspective when we realize that very early in life he chalked out a policy which was at once far reaching and unifying. He wanted to found an empire on the ruins of the Mughal Empire. He brought about the expansion of the Maratha Confederacy, and gave it a unified form. He created new Sardars, carved out new territories for them, and infused a new spirit into Maharashtra. The centre of gravity shifted from the barren and rugged lands of the Marathas to the flowing plains beyond the Narmada.

Baji Rao's policy, which developed and took shape out of Balaji Viswanath's hazy notions of founding a Maratha empire received an impetus from the crumbling condition of the Mughal Government. The factors rapidly transforming the face of the Empire affected the attitude of the Marathas. The Marathas were conscious of the helplessness of the Mughal Subahdars, and of their own irresistible strength. Nor was this all. The Rajputs who were the bulwark of the Empire till the time of Aurangzeb, had not only been alienated but now stretched out the hand of friendship to them. That the Rajputs were a great factor in the rise of the Marathas is often not realized in its proper magnitude. We shall presently see what part they actually played in the coming struggle of the Marathas for the political supremacy in Northern India. Therefore in trying to explain the successful execution of Bajji Rao's policy, we should not lose sight of two decisive factors. The first was the rapid disintegration of the Mughal Empire; the second was the friendliness of the Rajputs.

* Mahadeo Joshi Chaskar (the brother of Bajji Rao's wife Kashi Bai), Bisaji Krishna Pethe, the father-in-law of Chimnaji Appa, Malhar Dadaji Barwe, the rich maternal uncle of Bajji Rao, Babuji Naik Baramatkar, the soldier and money-lender, and Vyankat Rao Ghorepade, the son-in-law of Balaji Viswanath. In the Maratha party, the rich and powerful were Pilaji Jadhav Rao, Ranoji Shinde, Malharji Holkar, and others. Bajji Rao went to Satara, and met the Maharaja. Then opened the discussion about the investiture. At that time Bajji Rao was very haughty and was absorbed always in the martial sports. He had no patience, which is necessary for shouldering the responsibilities of the state. Therefore many advised the king that he was not fit for the office (of Peshwa). The king however replied that Balaji Viswanath spent his whole life working hard for the state, and enjoyed no happiness at the end. Hence Bajji Rao should be immediately given the office. If he be fortunate, then he shall have the grace of God. If it appeared that he has no ability, then it should be considered later on. Thus invoking the grace of God he gave Bajji Rao the robes of office. He (Bajji Rao's Policy) stayed there for some time. (सं: रि: pp. 136-7.)

These two facts will be our guiding principles in the interpretation of details that interweave the narrative.

REVOLUTION IN IMPERIAL POLITICS

Baji Rao's accession to power synchronizes with an important revolution in the politics of the Empire. It resulted in the change of power from the hands of the Sayyids to those of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and it was fraught with great consequences for Maharashtra. From the point of view of Maratha history therefore it will not be out of place, to give a brief account of that revolution in imperial politics.

The deposition of Farrukhsiyar, his murder in the prison, the subsequent nomination of two other puppets to the throne and their immediate death, and lastly Muhammad Shah's accession to the throne as a nominee of the Sayyid brothers, marked the climax of their power. The Sayyids had become so arrogant that on one occasion, Husain Ali boasted of making an Emperor of any one, on whom he chose to cast his shoe. Their dreaded strength made them an object of envy to the nobility, and an object of hatred to the emperor. The young emperor hated them with mingled fear, but his mother who possessed tact, intelligence, and a knowledge of state business as few of her sex set to work their ruin, when she assiduously kept up an appearance of loyalty and friendliness towards them.¹ In this she was substantially helped up Nizam-ul-Mulk, for the latter was an avowed enemy of the Sayyids.²

We have already seen that Nizam-ul-Mulk was superseded in the Deccan by Husain Ali Khan after a rule of barely two years, and this supersession embittered him against the Sayyids. He withdrew to his new governorship of Muradabad, and came to the capital only when called by Farrukhsiyar to aid him against the Sayyids. Since he could not work with Farrukhsiyar he deserted to the side of the Sayyids, who conferred upon him the government of Patna more with the idea of securing his absence from the court than of rewarding him for his loyalty to them. Before he started for Patna however, Farrukhsiyar had been deposed, and there had come about a change in their policy towards him. They now offered him Malwa, for they thought he would have no scope for his ambition in that province, on one side of which was the Deccan and on the other Akbarabad, both

¹ Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 485.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 488-9.

held by their partisans. Nevertheless Nizam-ul-Mulk accepted the offer, but on the condition that he should not be removed again. The pledge was given, and he started for Ujjain on March 15, 1719. But soon causes of difference arose, and he was recalled on the plea that it was necessary for the protection of the Deccan that Husain Ali should have the charge of Malwa. Nizam-ul-Mulk was asked to choose any one out of the four provinces of Akbarabad, Allahabad, Multan and Burhanpur. Since this was a distinct breach of faith, he apprehended worse consequences and began to prepare for self-defence. But when he heard that a *farman* had been sent to him conferring on him the province of Akbarabad, he made a move on the Deccan. Giving out that he was on his way to Sironj, he made straight for the Narmada and crossed it on May 8, 1720, at Akbarpur. Across the Narmada he made an attempt to buy over the garrison of the fortress of Asirgarh and succeeded in occupying it on May 20, 1720. Three days later, i.e. on May 23, fell Burhanpur into his hands.¹

BATTLE OF KHANDWA, JUNE 19, 1720

This threw the Deccan, then held in proxy for Sayyid Husain by Alim Ali Khan, his nephew and adopted son, into confusion. Already the Sayyid brothers had despatched urgent orders to Sayyid Dilawar Ali Khan to follow instantly in pursuit of the Nizam, and had written to the Deputy Governor to bar his further advance. As soon as Alim Ali Khan received the letter of his uncles he set to collect an army of Marathas and new men. In the meanwhile Dilawar Ali Khan had made a rapid march and had got as far as Hasanpur, about 14 kos from Burhanpur. This awakened Nizam-ul-Mulk to a sense of danger, and considering Dilawar Ali Khan the more formidable of the two he decided to encounter him first. He was however fortunate enough to secure the support of Anwar Khan, Subahdar of Burhanpur, and Rumbhaji Nimbalkar, and many of the zamindars of the neighbourhood.² Leaving his head-quarters in early June he came to halt at Pandhra, between Khandwa and Hasanpur, where Dilawar Ali Khan had encamped. In the battle which ensued on June 19 he defeated and

¹ [*Surat Factory Diary*, vol. 611 ; *Diary of Monday 20th June 1720*] and *Eradat Khan, Scott's Deccan*, part iv, p. 173.

² Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 492.

killed his adversary and plundered his rich camp. The news of his death created a consternation in the minds of the two brothers, and greatly concerned for the safety of their family, which Husain Ali had left in the Deccan in 1718 they tried to propitiate him by bestowing on him the viceroyalty of the Deccan. 'Accept my congratulations,' wrote Husain Ali, 'Alim Ali my (adopted) son, and my family propose to return to this country; kindly furnish them with an escort and see that they are not molested on the way.'¹

BATTLE OF BALAPUR, JULY, 1720

In the meantime Alim Ali was vigorously preparing for the ensuing combat. Besides his own troops he had a Maratha contingent sent by Shahu under Santaji Sindhia, Khanderao Dabhade, the *Senapati* Shankaraji Malhar, Kanhoji Bhonsle and others. Baji Rao, then campaigning in Khandesh, also is said to have joined Alim Ali,² by the orders of Shahu. Alim Ali, then only twenty had the dash of an intrepid soldier, but not the circumspection of a general. His army, about 7,000 strong, was³ badly wielded. He had to reckon with a man who excelled no less in intrigue, than in generalship. Nizam-ul-Mulk with his usual ability sowed sedition and distrust in the army opposed to him. He followed his artifice by a letter to Alim Ali in which he wrote that since he (Nizam) had been appointed Viceroy of the Deccan it was no use opposing him. Alim Ali should return to Hindustan as desired by his uncle. When the nobles of Alim Ali came to know of the Nizam's appointment from his letter they sought their safety by either flying to their own homes or joining the new Subahdar. But Alim Ali was not to be shaken from his resolve. Undaunted by the desertion of troops his young heart burned with bravery, and he marched out to give battle to Nizam-ul-Mulk at a place two or three kos from Balapur. On August 10, 1720 dawned that fatal day, which witnessed that fatal encounter which resulted in the utter defeat of his army and left him a corpse on the field.⁴ He died an enviable death, fighting bravely to the last moment.

¹ Irvine, vol. ii, p. 36.

² *Surat Factory Diary*, vol. 611; *Diary of Thursday, July 28, 1720*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, the *Diary* gives no date.

³ Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 44.

MURDER OF HUSAIN ALI AND DEFEAT OF HIS BROTHER

Swift camel-riders brought the news of this disaster to Agra on August 26, 1720. Overcome with grief and resentment (for Alim Ali was the adopted son of Sayyid Husain) they determined to wreak a terrible vengeance on Nizam-ul-Mulk. It was decided that the emperor accompanied by Husain Ali Khan should proceed to punish the Nizam while Abdullah Khan should remain in Delhi till his return. The Ajmer route being chosen, the imperial tents were sent out on the 3rd of September, and on the 11th the first march was made¹. During the course of the journey a conspiracy was formed in the camp, at the head of which was Muhammad Amin Khan, a cousin and partisan of Nizam-ul-Mulk. He so adroitly engineered the plot that at the moment of its consummation Sayyid Husain had not the slightest inkling of it. A willing assassin was found in Mir Haidar Beg, who was a Sayyid like Husain Ali, and is reported to have said, 'I am a Sayyid and he is a Sayyid: if brother kill a brother what matters it?'² Accordingly on October 8, 1720, when the imperial cortege encamped at a distance of two kos to the east of Toda Bhim, they made ready for the execution of the plot. On the morning of that fatal day Husain Ali escorted the emperor as usual up to the Imperial camp and while returning to his own, Sayyid Haidar Beg approached him with a petition, 'and crying aloud for justice on Mahummad Ameen Khan. The attendants would have driven him away, but the Ameer-al-Amra commanded them to let him approach, which he did, and presented the paper. While he was engaged in reading it, Hyder Khan drew his dagger and plunged it into his side. The Ameer-al-Amra struck the ruffian a violent blow with his foot, at the same time crying out, "Put the emperor to death." The shock of his motion overset the palanquin, and he fell dead on the ground.'³ Thus perished the powerful king-maker in an ignominious way, at the hands of a Sayyid like himself. Then his head was paraded through the camp, and his properties were given over to plunder. The sequel is simple enough. The murder of Husain Ali, the more capable of the

¹ Irvine, vol. ii, pp. 51-2 and *Surat Factory Diary*, vol. 611; *Diary of Tuesday, October 4, 1720*.

² Irvine, vol. ii, p. 57.

³ *Eradat Khan, Scott's Deccan*, part iv., p. 176.

two brothers took the wind out of their sails. Abdullah Khan, who heard the news on October 9, at once returned to Delhi, and set up a rival emperor on the throne. With a lavish distribution of money he enlisted large numbers of men under his banner most of whom were mere rabble, and taking with him the newly-made emperor he started to wreak his vengeance on Muhammad Shah. Early in the morning of Wednesday, November 13, 1720, the battle was joined at Hasanpur. It raged in all its fury throughout the day and continued to the next. On the 14th Abdullah was badly defeated and taken prisoner with the prince that he had raised to the throne. The Sayyid was thrown into prison, and lived for two years to be done to death at last by poison.

NIZAM IN THE DECCAN

The victories of Khandwa (June 19) and Balapur (July) left Nizam-ul-Mulk master of the six Subahs of the Deccan. Besides he had been appointed viceroy by the imperial *farman*. But for two months after Balapur he awaited the further development of affairs abroad in a state of suspense, for Husain Ali was coming to chastize him at the head of fifty thousand troops. While haunted by the gloomy forebodings of a coming struggle with the Sayyid he lost no time in strengthening his position. He resumed his friendship with Sambhuji, Chandra Sen and other Maratha rebels. At this time Mahipat Rao, the son of Anand Rao Sumant, was pressing Nizam-ul-Mulk to allow him to post his officers to collect the *Chauth* from the adjoining district of Aurangabad, and Nizam-ul-Mulk was delaying till he heard definitely about the proceedings of the conspirators at the imperial camp. At last when he came to know that Husain Ali had been murdered in October and his brother defeated and captured in November he abruptly changed his attitude towards Shahu. He refused to grant permission to Mahipat Rao, to appoint Maratha officers for the collection of the *Chauth*. But Bajji Rao had anticipated Nizam-ul-Mulk, and on the death of Alim Ali had congratulated the emperor and asked his agent at Delhi, to get the treaty of 1718-9 reconfirmed. It was easily effected and on the receipt of the reconfirmation Bajji Rao deputed the Sarlashkar to collect an army in the Gangathadi, and realize the *Chauth* by force of arms. Apprised of this Nizam-ul-Mulk at once climbed down, and granted the

required permission to the son of the Sumant. Though afraid to wound he was ever ready to strike Shahu. And wherever he could manage by diplomacy he never resorted to force. As on a previous occasion he now thought of fomenting strifes amongst the Maratha chiefs and cautiously set to work out his tortuous policy. He had agreed to respect the terms of the treaty of 1718-9 and accordingly he ought to have left Poona and Baramati to the Marathas. Poona had already been resigned to them, but Baramati was still retained by the Mughals. Hence Bajji Rao forcibly ejected the Mughal officers, and took possession of Baramati. Upon this Nizam-ul-Mulk ordered Muhakam Singh and Chandra Sen Jadhav to invade the territories of Shahu. But on account of the opportune presence of the Sarlashkar in the Gangathadi, they were chased out with heavy loss.¹ Here young Bajji Rao's foresight saved the situation, for it was he who had posted the Sarlashkar there. This was however the mere beginning of the Peshwa's wonderful activities. His rapidity of movement, and dispatch of business are equally remarkable. On January 4, 1721, he encountered the Nizam himself near Baramati, and then sweeping through Khandesh, Surat and Rajpipla appeared on the banks of the Godavari by the beginning of the rains². In the meantime the Pratinidhi had been sent into the Karnatak to bring the whole country under the Maratha sway. This fired up Nizam-ul-Mulk and he marched as far as Mysore with Mubariz Khan, though orders had reached him from the emperor to return to Delhi at once. Bajji Rao did not leave him alone and followed hard on his heels as far as Aurangabad.³ But the Nizam had to come back quickly to obey the imperial summons and had to leave the Deccan at once. Thus he was foiled in his ambition as before. His departure to Delhi again gave a new turn to Maratha affairs. Now Bajji Rao formulated for the first time his policy of conquest, and of founding an empire on the ruins of the Mughal empire. It is on account of this significant fact that Nizam's departure is of consequence to the Marathas.

¹ *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 161; थो: शा: च: p. 42.

² Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 44, Bharatvarsha July, 1889, पंथप्रधान यांजी दुसरी शकानली ।

³ Rajwade, vol. ii, प्रस्तवना p. 14.

Nizam as Wazir:—Nizam-ul-Mulk arrived at Agra on January 16, 1722, and a few days passed in deliberation on the charges that had been brought against him. On February 20 there was a grand audience held by the emperor, when 'he was appointed Wazir and 'received the usual robe, a dagger, an ornamental pen-case and 'a diamond ring of great value.'¹

Nizam-ul-Mulk was beset with difficulties in his new position almost from the outset. The incompatibility of age and temperament between Nizam-ul-Mulk and the emperor was not all. Bahadar Shah, a frivolous and spoilt youth of twenty did not like the stern puritanism and seriousness of the Nizam. A man of weak character, his favourites had the entire possession of his confidence, and the Wazir found himself thwarted at every step. All his salutary measures were approved of, but met with scant attention. His manners and appearance were ridiculed in the open Court, and even sarcastic remarks were made to his face. But since the old minister was impervious to these, the emperor set to remove him by conspiracy. Soon plots and counter-plots, for which the Delhi court was so notorious, were set on foot, and poor Nizam had to meet with a host of uncompromising enemies, all the more dangerous because concealed. How he was forced at length to resign his office, and retire to the Deccan will be apparent from the sequel.

IMPERIAL POLITICS (1719-24)

The five years from 1719 to 1724 are a period of unprecedented confusion in the history of the Empire. In the capital four new kings were made in the course of a single year, the two Sayyid brothers reaching the pinnacle of glory fell to the dust, and perished; Nizam-ul-Mulk won for himself the whole country between the Chambal and the Cauvery; the Rajputs attained to a power, never known before; the Jats and the Rohillas carved out independent principalities for themselves, and taking advantage of these troubles, the Marathas embarked upon a resolute policy of aggression on the Mughal territories. After the appointment of Nizam-ul-Mulk he strove to stay the rapid disintegration of the empire by his salutary measures, which on the one hand estranged the emperor and on the other created bad

¹ Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii., p. 518.

² *Ibid.*, p. 518.

blood between himself and the envious nobles. In such a critical situation, the support of the emperor would have turned the trend of affairs, but he was neither capable nor cautious. In utter unconcern he let the affairs drift in their own way, and the consequence was most fatal.

ATTITUDE OF THE RAJPUTS

The Rajputs were the first to take advantage of this state of affairs. The houses of Jodhpur and Jaipur played a conspicuous part in Delhi politics and by opportune aloofness or adherence they had added to their possessions a large portion of the empire. Ajit Singh of Jodhpur had received besides his own dominions, the governments of Gujrat and Ajmer. After the accession of Mahammad Shah, Jai Singh of Jaipur, who had resented the deposition of Farrukhsiyar, was propitiated by a large gift of money, and by the grant of Surat Sarkar. On the fall of the Sayyids he was made the governor of Agra. 'In 'this way the country from a point sixty miles south of Dihli to the 'shores of the ocean at Surat was in the hands of these two rajahs, 'very untrustworthy sentinels for the Mughals on this exposed 'frontier.' Maharaja Ajit Singh was the governor of Gujrat between 1719 and 1721. In the year of his appointment Pilaji Gaikwad, the agent of Khanderao Dabhade to whom Balaji had assigned the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* of Gujrat and Baglan, 'made frequent incursions 'and taking Songad in the extreme south-east established there and 'from this year the Mughal rule in Gujrat was doomed. . . . Ajit 'Singh so hated the Muhammeden rule that he secretly favoured the 'Marathas, and strove to establish his own authority, on such portions of Gujrat as bordered on Marwar.'¹ Already Gujrat had been suffering from anarchy and religious riots,² and with the incursions of the Marathas at the instigation of the Rajputs, the great Gujrat Houses of Babis and Jhalories tried to establish their independence. When Gujrat was in this welter of anarchy, Maharaja Ajit Singh was deprived of his governorship and Haider Quli was appointed instead. This change had been made in pursuance of a policy of reaction against that of the Sayyid brothers, who favoured the Rajputs, and thus secured them in the interest of the empire. This new policy was

¹ 'History of Gujrat', *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part i, p. 301.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 295-300.

really suicidal, for on the one hand the adherence of Ajit Singh was irretrievably lost and on the other Haidar Quli's appointment proved very unfortunate. Owing to his hostility towards the Wazir Nizam-ul-Mulk and owing to the unhinged condition of Gujrat government Haidar Quli early aimed at independence and tried to defy the imperial authority.¹ Nizam-ul-Mulk persuaded the emperor to take prompt action. The latter was loth to interfere with a favourite officer at first, but overcome by the arguments and importunities of the Wazir he took it away from Haidar Quli and conferred it on Nizam-ul-Mulk on October 24, 1722. Soon after the Wazir left for Gujrat to bring the refractory governor back to allegiance. Haidar Quli prepared to resist, but since few nobles were willing to assist him, for he had been formally dismissed by the emperor, he considered it wise to give in. As the Wazir approached Ahmadabad by the end of February, 1723, he quitted the provincial capital and fled towards Delhi. Nizam-ul-Mulk made arrangements for the government of Gujrat and leaving his uncle Hamid Khan as his deputy he returned to the court by the beginning of July 1723. Thus another result of the new policy was that Nizam-ul-Mulk added a third province to his former possessions of Deccan and Malwa. These vast possessions forming a solid block of territories between the Chambal and the Cauvery, were held in proxy for an absentee viceroy, at a time when the Marathas were gathering strength, for one fell swoop over these fruitful provinces of the empire. It is a pity that none realized the importance of Gujrat and Malwa at this critical time. They were the outlying provinces of Hindustan and on their stability depended the integrity of the empire. But by an unpardonable folly these two provinces were subjected to very frequent changes of governors. As many as ten governors were appointed during the sixteen years between 1706 and 1722. The Marathas had already begun their raids into these provinces and when they found the government weak, and the people oppressed by successive governors, whose short tenure of office naturally prompted them to fleece the subjects, they eagerly looked forward for their conquest—a task which was facilitated, on account of the willing allegiance of the oppressed inhabitants of the countries. It will be narrated in the sequel how the chiefs of Malwa and Bundelkhand actually invited the

¹ 'History of Gujrat', *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part. i, p. 303.

Marathas into their country. Indeed the empire was on the brink of a deep chasm.

CONTROVERSY BETWEEN BAJI RAO AND SHRIPAT RAO

Thus while confusion and conspiracies shrouded the empire like a pall of blighting fog, there was raging a great controversy in Maharastra. Baji Rao and Shripat Rao were confronting each other in a duel for domination in the Maratha state. The prevailing conditions of the Empire influenced each in outlining his own policy, and we shall see how Baji Rao succeeded at last in getting the better of his adversary.

Turning then to Maharastra, we notice that the departure of Nizam-ul-Mulk for Delhi at the end of 1721, brought about a change in the attitude of the Deputy Viceroy (Mubariz Khan). He openly gave out that he was not going to respect the treaty of the Sayyids, and therefore he was not prepared to pay the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* to the Marathas. When this determination of the Deputy Viceroy was communicated to Baji Rao by his agent Anand Rao Sumant, he got highly exasperated and took a sternly hostile attitude towards the Mughals. He was well aware of the condition of the empire. He knew on the one hand, that the emperor was a worthless puppet; the nobles were jealous of one another; the government broken up; and the army inefficient. On the other hand Maharastra he saw was emerging stronger out of the chaos. He thought, he could strengthen the Maratha state and the king much more by a policy of open war and conquest, than by solicitations for the payment of *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* from the Deccan. To him it really appeared annoying that the Marathas should be obstructed in their free movements in the Karnatic, in Malwa and Gujrat, and their privileges should be repudiated. It would be more manly, he thought, to strike and impose one's own authority than to pray for certain privileges. And being a soldier by temperament, the former measure appealed to him more than the latter. He therefore sent orders to the Maratha Sardars to make raids into Malwa and Gujrat, and here he did not reckon any authority, not even that of Shahu. At this time he had a conference with Nizam-ul-Mulk between February 19 and March 5, 1723, near Jhawwa, when the latter had come to Gujrat to drive out

Haidar Quli Khan.¹ But since each concealed his real intentions, the interview practically came to nothing. These independent proceedings of Baji Rao, without reference to Shahu, were not pleasing to him, and appeared highly outrageous to the party of the Pratinidhi. Nor was this all. The party of the Pratinidhi was opposed to the policy of the Peshwa, and in full accord with the king. Shahu owing to his gratitude for the imperial house, for the kindness shown to him by Alamgir and the grant of his liberty and kingdom after the death of Alamgir never liked the idea of fighting the Mughals or conquering their territory. The Pratinidhi and his party were averse to the policy of Baji Rao, because they thought, the time was not ripe for actual aggression. They might keep patience for some time till they have a well-ordered state and sound finances. The infant Maratha state emerging from the exhaustion of a civil war, would reel and fall flat on the ground if called upon to bear the strain of aggression and subsequently to shoulder the responsibilities of fresh conquests. They had much reason on their side, and Shahu was at one with them. He felt greatly concerned and indeed nervous at the bold attitude of the young and inexperienced Baji Rao. He wrote many letters calling him to a personal interview, so that he might discuss matters with him. In one he writes :

'You have written much about your loyalty but though we wrote to you several times to come to our presence, you do not seem to think of coming. I asked you to appoint some good man, who would act in concert with both the parties (you and Pratinidhi) in our presence but you failed to make a move in the matter. This has created a dead-lock in the affairs of the state. Even the overtures with the Nawab (Nizam-ul-Mulk) have come to naught. Hence this suggestion to you. How many times shall we write to you that you should be on your guard about the affairs of the state and take a personal interest in them? Therefore you should come once, learn these things from us and act accordingly. We wonder how you fail to do this, through your idleness. We do not want to do anything unless you have a personal interview with us for a few days. If we are convinced that you are unable to manage this, we shall have to think of somebody else. Then you will feel for it.' ²

¹ Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 48.

² *Ibid.*, vi, Dec. 16.

Here Shahu insists on a personal discussion of the conflicting policies of the Peshwa and Pratinidhi, with Baji Rao, and deals a threat that his obduracy might be punished with dismissal. In obedience to the order of Shahu, Baji Rao came to Satara and in a conference of all the ministers of state, he boldly faced his adversaries. 'In the Council chamber Shripat Rao the Pratinidhi . . . drew a just picture of the disorganization of the finances, of the disordered state of the Konkan, where the Sidis had many important towns. Instead of bringing on their country such another invasion as that of Aurangzib, led this time by a soldier as skilled as Nizam-ul-Mulk, let the Marathas consolidate their conquests. Their independence has been recognized. *It was far better to avoid a rupture with Delhi or Aurangabad. At peace with their neighbours let them convert their present possession into a wealthy and powerful kingdom. That aim achieved let them devote themselves to conquests nearer home. The Mughals had overrun Shivaji's southern conquests. Let the Marathas retake Jinji and all its fertile districts and the provinces torn by the great king from Bijapur. This second ambition realized, it would be time enough to set in motion their armies against Delhi.*

Baji Rao replied that the way to restore their finances was to plunder the rich provinces of Hindustan, and not to waste their strength and treasure in the barren plains of the Deccan. He drew a vivid picture of the deeds of Shivaji, who with far less resources had defied the Moghul Empire in its heyday. He excited Shahu's cupidity by dwelling on the indolence, the imbecility and above all the wealth of the Moghuls; and he stimulated his religious zeal by urging him to drive from the holy land of Bharat-Varsha the outcast and the barbarian. The orator's reasoning might have been wasted but for his transcendent personal qualities. The commanding stature which all but reached the low ceiling of the royal palace, the rich clear voice, the bold virile features, the dark imperious eyes that forced attention, and above all the rare felicity of diction that for centuries has been the peculiar gift of the Chitpavan Brahman produced an irresistible effect. At the close of a lofty peroration, the minister fixed on Shahu his glowing gaze and said: 'Strike, strike at the trunk and the branches will fall of themselves. Listen but to my counsel and I shall plant the Maratha banner on the walls of Attock.' Rhetoric succeeded where argument might have failed.

'Shahu completely carried away, cried with blazing eyes: "By heaven! you shall plant it on the throne of the Almighty".¹

It was not merely the rhetoric of Bajji Rao that carried the day. There was a great deal of right understanding underneath. The arguments were pregnant with political expediency. Shripat Rao's facts were true, but his inference was not within the limits of practical politics. 'At peace with their neighbours let them convert their present possessions into a wealthy and powerful kingdom. That aim achieved let them devote themselves to conquests nearer home,' and so on. These are the dreams of an unseasoned theorist, not the plans of practical statesman. It was simply impossible to be 'at peace with their neighbours' and 'convert their present possessions into a wealthy and powerful kingdom' under the circumstances. The hostile proceedings of a determined enemy like Nizam-ul-Mulk, precluded the possibility of peace. On the other hand those proceedings multiplied the rents already in existence in Maharashtra. It was only when the Marathas could forget their jealousies, pettiness and scramble for jagirs, that they could be bound together and their rents could be made up. And that could be done by diverting their attention to objects, that promised greater glory and richer possession. 'Where nature enforces a Spartan simplicity' there nothing could have greater charm than the glitter of gold, or the promise of rich possessions. Bajji Rao knew that if the Marathas could not present an absolutely united front during their war of independence, it was futile to expect them to rise as one man against Nizam-ul-Mulk, at a time when the situation was less dangerous. Therefore when he excited the cupidity of Shahu, he touched the most vital chord of his heart, and indeed of all Maharashtra. Neither was it unreasonable, for that would enrich them and their country; and with growing responsibilities, with larger conquests they might forget their jealousies and pettiness. He was prepared to open out new possibilities for them, only with the hope that they might improve. He was prepared to feed their cupidity, for he knew it would bring vast responsibilities in its train. This policy was actuated by two pious purposes, inspired by two sincere hopes. One

¹ *A History of Maratha People*. By Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. ii, pp. 183-84; थो: शा: च: pp. 61-62.

was to arouse the Marathas to a sense of precious possibilities awaiting them that might bring wealth and power in their train; the other was to saddle them with greater responsibilities, that would naturally kill the pettiness out of their heart.

Once in the annals of modern India Bajji Rao held out great promises, great possibilities for the fallen Hindu race; once he made a glorious attempt to destroy their discord. But he had reckoned without an insight into the intrinsic nature of the Hindu, the fallen of centuries, the enemy of co-operation and of discipline. Hence his brilliant policy bore a bitter fruit for the whole of India, and the Marathas, instead of name and fame won the deserving appellation of 'Ghanim' i.e. enemy from the North Indians, and 'Bargi' or robber from the East Indians.

Bajji Rao was as good as his word, and he promptly proceeded to give effect to his policy of aggression. A year before i.e. (1722) he had invaded Baghelkhand, and had levied forced contributions. Now in December 1723 he entered Malwa, at the head of a large army, accompanied by his lieutenants Udaji Pawar, Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindhia. He defeated the Mughal governor Sayyid Bahadur Shah, and attacked the capital Ujjain. He established military outposts in its neighbourhood, and imposed the black-mail on the country up to Bundelkhand. The Bundelas were favourably disposed towards the Marathas, and hence Bajji Rao encamped for some time in their country. While returning home he left his able chieftains, Udaji Pawar at Dhar, Malhar Rao at Indore and Ranoji Sindhia at Ujjain, as his deputies to realize the annual contributions.¹

NIZAM BACK AGAIN IN THE DECCAN

Leaving Bajji Rao to carry out his new policy, we resume the story of Delhi politics, and the tortuous proceedings of the emperor to get rid of Nizam-ul-Mulk. He returned to Delhi after his Gujrat campaign on July 3, 1723 and promptly resumed his efforts to restore tolerable order into public affairs. He tried to abolish revenue-farming, bribe-taking and the assignment of vast jagirs, and thus to put the finances on a sound basis.² But everywhere he found his efforts foiled. He exhausted his prayer, arguments and entreaties with the emperor, only

¹ Rajwade, vol. ii, pp. 47, 49.

² Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 534.

to learn with bitter disgust that whatever he did or proposed was misrepresented until doubt and suspicion were aroused in the mind of Muhammad Shah.¹ The consequence was that Nizam-ul-Mulk ceased to take interest in the government, and proceeded on a hunting excursion to his jagirs in December 1723 on the pretext of ill-health. He left his son Ghaziuddin as his deputy in the office. Soon after he found affairs at the court unfavourable for him, and therefore represented to the emperor, that as the Marathas had invaded Malwa and Gujrat, it was imperative on him to take leave of the court, and retire into his subahs.² Without waiting for orders he started for the Deccan and reached Burhanpur in Khandesh during Ramzan (May-June) and Aurangabad, by July 1724. But even into the Deccan his enemies had preceded him. Before the Wazir reached the Deccan and could show his hand to the emperor, he learnt that the coveted viceroyalty had been conferred upon Mubariz Khan, the Deputy Governor and a substantial financial grant had been made to him in order that he might resist the Nizam-ul-Mulk and kill him if possible. While encamped near Bhopal he had heard that, instigated by the courtiers of Delhi and supported by the Afghans of the south, Mubariz Khan had set his armies in motion. It put the wary Nizam-ul-Mulk on his guard, and he rapidly advanced to Aurangabad which he occupied unopposed on June 21 and awaited the dilatory proceedings of the enemy. He further applied to Shahu for help and since Shahu had been alienated by Mubariz Khan on account of his hostile proceedings, he readily consented to it.³ 'Shahu ordered Baji Rao to help him, and with the combined army of the Mughals and Marathas he marched out in the first week of September 1724.'

BATTLE OF SHAKAR KHEDA, OCTOBER 11, 1724.

The decisive battle was fought on the afternoon of October 11, 1724, at a place called Shakar Kheda situated in the Taluq of Mehkar in the district Buldana in Central Provinces. Baji Rao is said to have been present in the battle at the head of 7,000 to 8,000 Marathas. The battle resulted in the defeat and death of Mubariz Khan and in the dispersion of his army. He followed up his victory

¹ Irvine, vol. ii, p. 133.

² Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 525.

³ Rajwade, vol. ii प्रस्तावना p. 14.

by reducing Mubariz Khan's son and taking possession of Haiderabad by the beginning of 1725.¹

Foiled in his attempts to encompass the destruction of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the emperor endeavoured to clip off his power. At the request of the nobles of the court whose only consolation now lay in taking their failure in good grace, Nizam-ul-Mulk was pardoned on June 20, 1725, and a formal rescript was issued confirming him in the government of the Deccan, and depriving him of the office of Wazir and with it the governorship of Malwa and Gujrat. Both the one and the other were bestowed upon his favourites. Thus shorn of power and resources, Nizam-ul-Mulk concentrated his attention on the Deccan, and determined to have his own way in that far-off province, unhampered by the caprices and conspiracies of the Delhi court. 'From this time dates the virtual independence of the Nizam², and the Hyderabad state becomes a factor in Indian politics hereafter.'

POLICY OF NIZAM

Free from the tortuous politics of Delhi, he set cautiously to make his authority absolute in the Deccan. But here he was painfully conscious of the existence of his bitter enemy the Marathas. They had gained the rights of *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* over the Deccan, they had impeded his operations in the Karnatak in 1721, on the eve of his departure for Delhi; and only recently they had raided Malwa and Gujrat. Their raids he noticed had been assuming greater dimensions day by day. Twice before he had tried to sap the foundation of their strength by fomenting their mutual jealousies but every time he had the mortification of stopping short, when he was ready to execute his well-calculated designs. Now that he determined to remain in the Deccan, was he to resume his former proceedings or let the Marathas sweep year after year through his richest possessions, the Karnatak, exact the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi*, and add to these the rich plunder of Gujrat and Malwa? In view of his reduced resources, after the transfer of Gujrat and Malwa to Sarbuland Khan and Rajah Girdhar Nagar respectively, the latter course would be indeed suicidal. It would give undue advantage to the Marathas and bring great pressure on himself. To an astute ruler like the Nizam, the issues of the two

¹ Irvine, vol. ii, p. 146; Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 49.

² Irvine, vol. ii, p. 134.

courses were clear, and wisely for himself he chose the former, i.e. to renew his activities for stirring up strifes in Maharashtra. But he knew that it would be too indelicate to show himself in his true colours to the Marathas, specially after obtaining substantial help from them in the battle of Shakar Kheda. Not even a year had elapsed since then, and the Marathas were pluming themselves on the supposed friendship of Nizam-ul-Mulk. It would be a rude shock to them to begin hostilities all at once. He was biding his time, and before long came the interference of the Marathas in the Karnatak. That was a hit at the most vital part and the Nizam would not take it lying. This brought about the breach between the Nizam and the Marathas which lasted for more than a decade. The ultimate triumph of the Marathas however was due to the genius of Baji Rao, and now we shall pass on to outline the events that resulted in this breach.

BREACH BETWEEN THE NIZAM AND SHAHU

On account of his military assistance in the battle of Shakar Kheda, Shahu seemed to think that the Nizam was friendly towards him, and the latter studiously kept up a show of goodwill towards him. Shahu's predilections towards the Mughals, always stood in his way of judging the motives of the Nizam. Twice before he had failed to judge him rightly and now he could never believe that the Nizam was the most vindictive of all his enemies in the south. Baji Rao however had no doubt about his black designs and therefore when Shahu planned the invasion of Karnatak he did not show any great enthusiasm for it; for he knew that the right direction for the expansion of the Marathas was the north and not the south. He had to give an unwilling assent to it, not because, like Shahu, he believed in the friendly professions of the Nizam, nor because he did not know that he would offend the Nizam thereby but because he thought he would put pressure on him from the south by annexing the Karnatak, as much as he would from the north by plundering Gujarat and Malwa. Shahu was always nervous about Baji Rao lest he should give offence to the Nizam and thus bring about a breach. During the Karnatak expeditions, Baji Rao had to give assurance to Shahu that he would not offend the Nizam, and Shahu in his anxiety to keep the Nizam friendly towards him had ordered the Marathas of the north to refrain from ravaging his jagirs (of Nizam) situated in Gujrat. But a man of affectionate nature, Shahu

was no statesman, and was indeed innocent of the intricate problems of diplomacy. He did not know that by invading the Karnatak he would give unpardonable offence to the Nizam.

Karnatak and the Marathas.—The Karnatak formed the richest part of the Deccan and was for many years the bone of contention between the Mughals and the Marathas. Aurangzib had striven to establish his own sway over it, but had failed miserably, owing to the incessant warfare of the Marathas. Jinji at one corner of the Karnatak was the centre of Maratha activities for about a decade. Near it was the state of Tanjore, where ruled the younger branch of the House of Bhonsle—the descendant of Vyankoji, Shivaji's half-brother. The Ghorpades were established at Gutti. Many other Maratha chieftains held outposts in the Karnatak. Belgaum, Gajendragad, Kopal, Sondur, Belari, Shire, Bangalore, Kolar, Velore and Jinji—all belonged to the Marathas. In assigning the *Saranjam* lands Shahu had given Akkalkot on the borders of the Karnatak to Fateh Singh, so that he might keep an eye on the affairs there. Now Shahu at peace with his neighbours, prosperous and secure on the throne expressed his desire to annex the Karnatak to the *Swarajya* according to the conditions of the treaty of 1718, as ratified by the emperor. He also knew well that the Karnatak was exactly the portion of the country, where the Muhammadan influence had least penetrated, and where the Maratha, and therefore the Hindu sway was most welcome. Hence he called upon his kinsman Tuljaji, chief of Tanjore, to help him in the project. Accordingly two expeditions were undertaken between November 1725 and April 1727.¹ The first is known as the Chitradurga or Chittaldurg expedition, the second as the Sheringapatam expedition. Fateh Singh Bhonsle was appointed to the supreme command and was associated with Baji Rao and other Maratha Sardars, at the head of fifty thousand troops.

In the first, Baji Rao started from Satara on November 20, 1725, marched eastward by way of Indapur, Parenda and Pandharpur and skirting the frontiers of the Nizam, so that he might keep an eye on his movements, he passed through Bijapur, Kulburga and Kopal, and descended on Chitradurga on March 16, 1726. Back from Chitradurga he swept through Harpanhalli and Gadag, and following a

¹ Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 53; यो: शा: च: pp. 63-4.

western route, reached Satara on May 22, 1726. He spent the rainy season at Satara, and started on his second expedition on October 23, 1726. In this expedition he passed through a long region to Sheringapatam, levying contribution on Belgaum, Bednor and other districts, on the way, and after a stay of a month at Sheringapatam returned to Satara *via* Shirole and Kapshi about April 1727. Each time he was engaged for six months, and returned without gaining the advantages Shahu had anticipated.¹ For this reason Shahu demanded an explanation of Fateh Singh on his return to Satara as to why he did not remain in the Karnatak so that he might have brought it under his sway. Fateh Singh could not give a satisfactory answer. Baji Rao however promptly replied, that since they had not the order of the king, they did not dare to stay.² Shahu became pleased and dropped further enquiries. The campaign was not a success but it had created a number of enemies for Baji Rao and Shahu.

MARATHAS IN MALWA AND GUJRAT

Shambhuji had been mortally offended by the Peshwa's expeditions into the country between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, which he claimed for himself. Nizam-ul-Mulk who was not prepared to yield an inch of ground in the Karnatak had vowed vengeance on Baji Rao and his master. These two had made common cause and had drawn to their side others, who resented the ascendancy of Baji Rao. They were the Pratinidhi, Chandra Sen, Murarji Ghorepade, Udaji Chauhan, Rambhaji Nimbalkar and Trimbak Rao Dabhade. Their activities worried Baji Rao for a considerable period of his life, which he could have otherwise devoted to the welfare of Maharashtra. But if the Karnatak received scant attention from Baji Rao, not so were Malwa and Gujrat. It was his settled policy to raid these rich provinces of the north and levy contributions on them by force of arms. Malwa and Gujrat have been the link between Hindustan and the Deccan from time immemorial. No empire had been built in Northern India without the conquest of these two provinces, and no empire has lasted even for a few years, after these had fallen off. Indian history has

¹ Duff, vol. i, p. 494.

² थो: शा: च: p. 65.

recorded innumerable instances, from the earliest times, to this effect that the occupation of these provinces by a northern power has invariably led to his further expansion into the south; and by a southern power to its expansion into the north. The great Mughals had been actuated by this strong undercurrent of historical tradition and geographical law. And now when, these two provinces were overrun by the Marathas, it betokened ill most surely for the Mughal Empire and no less for Nizam-ul-Mulk.

Malwa and Gujrat supplied food for the ambition of the Marathas even at the time of Rajaram and Tara Bai. Baji Rao overran Malwa first between 1722-23, and then between 1723-24.¹ Here he was substantially helped by the friendly interference of Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur. The latter was on intimate terms with Nandlal Mandloi Choudhury of Indore, who was a very influential zamindar and held all the fords of the Narmada. Jai Singh pressed him to take the side of Baji Rao. The Choudhury had been harassed by various Subahdars, and therefore willingly transferred his allegiance to the Marathas. It is stated on authority that Baji Rao, to whose share had been allotted the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* of the province, left his agent there when he raided it.² They were Ranoji Sindhe, Udaji Pawar, and Malhar Rao Holkar. Between 1723 and 1724 Malhar Rao established his outposts round about Indore, and Udaji Pawar occupied Dhar. By the middle of 1725 Raja Girdhar Nagar was appointed to Malwa, on account of the influence of Sawai Jai Singh, who was then the Governor of Agra Subah, and whose ulterior motive in securing this appointment for Raja Girdhar was to build a solid block of Hindu powers between the north and the south, between the Mughals and the Marathas, and thereby to foster the ascendancy of the Hindus (particularly of the Marathas). We will notice later on what friendly relations subsisted between Baji Rao and Jai Singh. Suffice it to say here, that Raja Girdhar did not act up to his advice, opposed his designs and coerced the powerful Choudhury of Indore in many ways. It drove the Choudhury into the arms of the Marathas who freed the country from the tyrannies of Raja Girdhar, and from the religious persecutions of the Muhammadans. Thus the entry of the

¹ Rajwade, vol. ii. प्रस्तावना p. 15.

² Grant Duff, vol. i, p. 498.

Marathas into Malwa was made easy by the friendliness of Jai Singh and Nanda Lal Choudhury of Indore.¹

If in Malwa the Marathas were fortunate in getting staunch allies, who helped them to establish their power, in Gujrat they did so by force of arms. We have seen that as far back as 1719 Pilaji had established himself at Songad and levied contributions on behalf of the Senapati Khanderao Dabhade. The latter was getting old, and therefore his son Trimbak Rao often discharged the duties of his office, retaining Pilaji as his agent in Gujrat. In 1723 Pilaji built several forts in the Rajpipla country, and overran a portion of the Surat Sarkar. At the same time Kanthaji Kadam invaded the country by the orders of Shahu and realized similar contributions. 'Though before this occasional demands had often been made, A.D. 1723 was the first year in which the Marathas imposed a regular tribute on Gujrat.'² A golden opportunity was offered to them after the transfer of Gujrat from Nizam-ul-Mulk to Sarbuland Khan (about the middle of 1725). Pending the arrival of the new governor, Shujaat Khan was sent as his deputy in advance. When Shujaat Khan came to take possession of Gujrat, Hamid Khan, the deputy of Nizam-ul-Mulk would not yield without a resistance. Helped by Kanthaji who had been secured on his side by Nizam-ul-Mulk Hamid Khan defeated and slew his antagonist, and ruled Gujrat in the name of the Nizam.³ In return for his help, the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* over all the parganahs west of the Mahi, were granted to Kanthaji. When the news of Shujaat Khan's defeat and death reached Delhi, his brother Rustam Ali Khan, the Deputy Governor of Surat, was appointed Deputy Subahdar of Gujrat and was granted a requisition on Surat treasury for whatever money he needed to equip himself and drive out Hamid Khan. In his turn he made an alliance with Pilaji Gaikwad and proceeded to oust Hamid Khan.

Hamid Khan, supported by his ally Kanthaji, fought a battle at Aras,⁴ but owing to the latter's inactivity, he was defeated. But the Maratha allies of both the parties resolved to ruin Rustam Ali, who

had been their bitter enemy, and actually cut him off at the battle of Pitlad. In return for this service Hamid Khan assigned the Chauth of the country north of the Mahi to Pilaji.¹ The news of Shujaat Khan's death and of Hamid Khan's grant attracted fresh bands of Maratha adventures and they flocked into the country as if to a promised land. Pilaji and Kanthaji came at the head of large armies, and laid siege to Cambay on the morning of April 5, 1725; but there arose a slight misunderstanding, which they hurriedly made up, and retired after levying a forced contribution.² Then entered Antaji Bhaskar from the side of Idar and besieged Vadnagar, which according to an old Gujrat proverb was with Umreth, in the Kaira district, looked upon as 'the two golden feathers of the kingdom of Gujrat.'³ He was bought off by the rich Nagar Brahmans of the place. Therefore the Marathas now 'spread wherever they liked far and wide in the 'parganah and collected sums by way of ransom, payments which 'they called Khāndāni. At Sarkhej, the better class of the inhabitants 'immolated their wives and children in the mode known as Jauhar, 'while many hundreds of highborn women threw themselves into 'wells or ponds to avoid outrage.'⁴ This sort of affair continued intermittently, interrupted only during the rains when the Marathas withdrew to quarters, till on the arrival of Sarbuland Khan in December 1725, Hamid Khan fled away with his Marathas. But the Marathas returned after a short respite and harassed the Governor on all sides. After continued pressure, and great exertions they were driven across the Mahi. But they again appeared and again spread over the country in all directions burning and plundering wherever they went. At last sick of the interminable contest Sarbuland Khan bought them off on their own terms, and granted the Chauth on all the lands on the Ahmedabad side of the Mahi. Letters were written to all the officials to give entry to the Maratha collectors, and thus he hoped he had secured peace for the people by the end of 1726. But only 'a deceitful calm succeeded: the fall of the rain brought back the 'cheering green, and the beautiful province of Gujrat, which for 'hundreds of miles, may vie with the finest parkes of the nobles of

¹ वृष्टसम्मेलनवृत्त pp. 213-4.

² 'History of Gujrat', *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part i, p. 304.

³ *Surat Factory Diary*, vol. 612, Letter No. 69.

⁴ 'History of Gujrat', *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part i, p. 305.

¹ 'History of Gujrat', *Bombay Gazetteer*, Irvine, vol. ii, pp. 183-4.

² *Surat Factory Diary*. Letters 69, 90, 91, 93 and 95.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part i, p. 307.

⁴ Irvine, vol. ii, pp. 183-4.

'England, was clothed in all its natural beauties, by rapid verdure and luxuriant vegetation. Tranquillity seemed to reign, where a short time before nothing was to be seen, but perpetual skirmishing.'¹ But this calm, this tranquillity was doomed to be disturbed; for in 1727 Bajī Rao deputed his agent into Gujrat and commissioned him to drive out Pilaji, Trimbak Rao's agent. Thus were the ravages renewed, and Dabhade resented the step when Bajī Rao went further and negotiated with Sarbuland Khan 'that if one-fourth and one-tenth shares in the revenue of the province were granted to him he would protect Gujrat from other invaders' the breach between him and the Peshwa was complete. Another enemy had thus been created by Bajī Rao.

Since on all sides of Nizam-ul-Mulk were Bajī Rao's Marathas, plundering and ravaging the whole country between the Tungabhadra and the Mahi, Nizam could not keep peace. Two persons—Nizam and Shambhuji, whose interests suffered by the invasions of the Karnatak now made common cause against Bajī Rao and opened a war, that lasted for about four years from 1727–31. To their number was added another Trimbak Rao, whose interests in Gujrat had been rudely interfered with, and who therefore could not forgive Bajī Rao. So just as on all sides of the Nizam were Bajī Rao's Marathas, so on all sides of Bajī Rao were Nizam's allies.

¹ Grant Duff, vol. i, p. 493.

(To be continued)

The Ajnapatra or Royal Edict

Relating to the Principles of Maratha State Policy

CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATIVE AND MINISTERIAL POLICY AND ORGANIZATION

KING'S ESSENTIAL PUBLIC FUNCTIONS

In the kingdom the organization of royal troops, of small and large forts, of cavalry and infantry, the removal of the afflictions of the people, the protection of the people, the inquiry into the prevalence of *Dharma* and *Adharma*, timely charity, regular distributions of fixed salaries, timely taxation from the people, and the storing of acquired things, a regular inquiry into the state income and expenditure, a resolve to do works great and small according to their importance after knowing their past and with an eye to their future, the meting out of punishment after considering the justice and injustice of a thing, and then determining its penalty according to *Sāstras*, the organization of means for removing the calamities of foreign invasion, receipt of news by appointing spies in all countries, the proper consideration of the duty of alliance, war and neutrality to another state upon any particular occasion, and the determination of action according to it, the protection of the existing kingdom and the acquisition of new territory, the proper observation of the important rules relating to female apartments and others, an increase of respect towards respectable men and the control of low-minded persons, the gaining of the favour of gods and good Brahmanas devoted to gods, and the destruction of irreligious tendencies, the spreading of the duties of religion, the acquisition of merit for the eternal world, and doing such other duties, these are certainly the functions of a king.

THE NECESSITY OF MINISTERS

But a king alone cannot, even if he wishes, perform all these functions. Therefore he has to appoint as his representatives ministers (प्राज्ञ) in order to conduct the affairs of the kingdom. The affairs of the kingdom cannot at all be conducted without

ministers. Kings who lived in the past considering their own interests created ministers for bearing the burden of the kingdom, and bore the burden of the kingdom by increasing the respect of ministers as much as of themselves.

THEIR IMPORTANCE

Ministers are the pillars of the house whose name is kingdom. They are the chief means for the proper protection of the kingdom and also of creating a new one. A minister is one who spreads the king's power. A minister is the head charged with the duty of the protection of the people. A minister is a restraint on the sea of injustice born of the king's intoxication. A minister is like the goad of an elephant. Nay, a minister is the repose of the king in this world because of his administration of state affairs, and the light for the next world on account of his protection of religion. Kings have no other relations or things higher than ministers; of all the servants ministers should have the highest respect. Kings should appoint ministers possessed of good qualities, realizing fully that ministers alone are the king's true arms, that ministers alone are his relatives. The whole burden of the state should be placed on them. A minister is a chief officer (सरकारकून). His influence should be considered more than that of all (others). Like the king's own orders all must be made to obey his orders. Small and great affairs of state should be done in consultation with him. In order that his greatness may be recognized by all, his word should be carried out on special occasions by the king, setting aside even his own wishes. He should not be made discontented for the sake of small things. From a servant earning five takkas¹ (टक्का) to the minister is a successive gradation of importance of respect. The most worthy of all respect is the minister. It is not that this respect accrues to him suddenly. With great exertion this influence gets augmented gradually. But the strength (of this influence) does not rise again when faults are committed for small things, when bad speeches are made amongst ordinary people or when traditional forms of respect and superiority are abandoned. Then how will other people behave with him respectfully? When he does not command respect who will listen to him? If no one listens to him, how can the weight

¹ Either a rupee or an anna.

of government be properly borne? If other ordinary unknown persons are employed in great works, a large number of days would be necessary for the growth of their influence. In the meanwhile until it is acquired, several works may be ruined.

QUALIFICATIONS OF MINISTERS

Therefore ministerships should be given after full consideration, judging the character of the person and assuring oneself that no danger would result therefrom. By appointing an increasing number of persons of good character and by seeing that they are well-versed in the affairs (of the state) a king may secure himself against error. The minister's position is not one of ordinary importance. It comes next to that of the king. To keep up that position the minister's virtues (qualities) should be equal to those of the king as stated above. Ministerships should be given to those who are possessed of such qualities as good birth, who are experienced, capable of understanding what is to be done and not to be done, versed in the *Śāstras*, proficient in royal duties (and) afraid of sin; who act after bearing in mind the nature of the relationship between the master and the servant, who are devoted to god, handsome, compassionate, brave, endowed with courage, rational, outspoken, not idle, inobstinate, free from vices, sinless, virtuous, industrious, knowing the past, looking to the future, creative, ungreedy, harmless, clever in determining their policy against enemies by using various expedients, such as conciliation, gift, discord, punishment, peace, war, and separation and alliance of allies. Those who are devoid of these qualities and are crippled, or are thieves and liars, should not be asked to undertake such work. They should not be asked to work in important offices like those of a minister; in this matter is there any doubt? It is proper that a well born, respected or noble, but hereditary servant whose ancestors have rendered great services should be encouraged. But he should be abandoned, if he is obstinate, unyielding in what he says, or possessing bad habits or getting aggrieved at the respect shown to another, and possessing a spirit of rivalry, in the manner in which only flowers are gathered from a thorny flower-tree and thorns are abandoned. He should positively be made to stay at home and another who is found fit should be taken in his stead from amongst his kinsmen. If a person is endowed with all good qualities and is found serving in an

ordinary rank, he should not be suddenly given a ministership on account of his special virtues. If one is found possessed of special virtues he should be given a ministership after promoting him gradually.

KING'S POLICY TOWARDS HIS MINISTERS

When one is appointed a minister, he should not at all be disrespected and insulted at every turn. If perchance due to force of circumstances, a minister were to do something improper knowingly or unknowingly, the king, keeping that in mind and not speaking about his fault in public nor allowing him or other servants to know that the fault is known to him, should cleverly make the minister see it so that he gives up his fault gradually. It is not possible to get at pleasure servants of a minister's rank. One should always be very careful about their self-respect. Then only would they bear the burden of state. With happiness of mind, with hope and without minding the efforts made, they would achieve much more. Ministers should be given agents who are endowed with the qualities stated before and who are devoted to their master and who carry out every work entrusted to them in all its details. Ministers should take work from them without harshness. If the servants are persons appointed on a minister's recommendation or are efficient workers, the king should of course take service from them by giving them work in every case (प्रत्येकवादे) according to their worth. Those persons should not at all be appointed to do work in the same place where those who have recommended them work. The protection of territories and forts is not possible without those warriors who acquire new territories. However if that authority is entrusted them alone, they would be found fit only for fighting work.

THE FUNCTIONS OF A MINISTER

To make others behave well by himself showing great regard for virtue and fear of sin, and by acting himself according to the proper relations that ought to obtain between a master and a servant, to administer the country according to laws with due regard after proper inquiry and the justice or injustice of an action, to administer justice according to the *Sastras*; these are the functions of a minister.

RELATION OF A MINISTER TO OTHERS

Therefore all the burden of the state the authority of territories and posts and administration should be entrusted to a minister. The generals of the army should be made to depend on him. In this way, if at times a general quarrels with a minister, there will be no difficulty at all about punishment. Nay, in all kinds of work one is a check on the other. On this account one feeling afraid of the other carries out regularly the laws laid down.

KING AND A MINISTER

The authority of the kingdom should be entrusted to a minister. However, it should not be so arranged that the king would come to know of his minister's administration and the state of territories, forts and army, only when the minister informs him. The king should be himself vigilant by employing persons, who are attached to him and are trustworthy, along with ministers in the territories, forts, and army, and by informing himself constantly from them or from his spies. In this way the king comes to know how they do their work and whether they act with justice or injustice and can punish them, without being deceived, then and there according to the measure of their offence. Offenders getting promptly punished remain where they are. Therefore it is very improper to entrust the whole burden of the state and the authority of punishment over all territories into the hands of one. Every minister and every general should be given different duties according to their ability. Kind inquiries should be personally made of all of them (by the king). In view of the work entrusted to them kings should supply them constantly with other necessities. They should be honoured in accordance with the work done, so that their hopes might increase and they might accomplish even difficult tasks in their anxiety to excel. Day by day then, like the crescent moon the kingdom would grow. If one alone is entrusted with the burden of the state others who are equal to him would become indifferent to state affairs; nay, would even become inclined to spoil the work done by him who takes the lead. The administration would suffer in consequence. Therefore an intelligent king should never order these things in this way.

CHAPTER V

COMMERCIAL POLICY

THE IMPORTANCE OF MERCHANTS

Merchants are the ornament of the kingdom and the glory of the king. They are the cause of the prosperity of the kingdom. All kinds of goods which are not available come into the kingdom. That kingdom becomes rich. In times of difficulties whatever debt is necessary is available. With its help danger is averted. There is a great advantage in the protection of merchants.

POLICY TOWARDS MERCHANTS

For this reason the respect due to merchants should be maintained. On no account should strong action be taken against them nor should they be disrespected. By making them establish shops and factories in market towns, trade should be maintained in elephants, horses, rich silks and cloths woven of gold and silver threads (जरमिनाजरबाब), clothes of wool (पगामो) and other kinds of cloth, jewels, arms and all other kinds of goods. In the capital-market great merchants should be induced to come and settle. Annually and during great marriage festivals and other occasions, they should be gratified by giving them presents of clothes and utensils. Those merchants who reside in foreign countries should be persuaded to come and settle. If they do not find the place favourable they should be kept pleased where they are, and by showing them kindness their agents should be brought and kept by giving suitable places for their shops. Similarly by sending an assurance of safety to seafaring merchants at various ports they should be given the freedom of intercourse in trade.

I FOREIGN EUROPEAN MERCHANTS. THEIR CHARACTER AND
tc POLITICAL AMBITION

pr Amongst the merchants the Portuguese (फिरंगी) and the
jus English (इंग्रज) and the Dutch (दुलंद) and the French (फरासीस) and the

Danes (डिंगमर?) and other hat-wearing (टोपोकर) merchants also do carry on trade and commerce. But they are not like other merchants. Their masters, every one of them, are ruling kings. By their orders and under their control these people come to trade in these provinces. How can it happen that rulers have no greed for territories? These hat-wearers (टोपोकर) have full ambition to enter into these provinces to increase their territories, and to establish their own opinions (religion). Accordingly at various places they have already succeeded in their ambitious undertakings. Moreover this race of people is obstinate. Where a place has fallen into their hands they will not give it up even at the cost of their lives.

POLICY TOWARDS THEM

Their intercourse should therefore be restricted to the extent of only their coming and going (for trade). They should strictly never be given places to settle. They should not at all be allowed to visit sea-forts. If some place has sometimes to be given for a factory, it should not be given at the mouth of an inlet or on the shores of the sea. If land is given in such places, it may be that they remain obedient as long as they like; they would, however, establish new forts at those ports at some time or with the help of their navy to protect them. Their strength lies in navy, guns and ammunition. As a consequence so much territory would be lost to the kingdom. Therefore if any place is at all to be given to them it should be given in the midst of two or four famous great towns distant about eight to sixteen miles from the mouth of the sea, just as the French (फरासीस) were given lands at Rājāpur.¹ The place must be such that it must be low-lying and within the range and control of the neighbouring town so as to avoid trouble to the town. Thus by fixing their place of habitation factories should be permitted to be built. They should not be allowed to build (strong) permanent houses. If they live in this way by accepting the above conditions it is well; if not, there is no need of them. It is enough if they occasionally come and go, and do not trouble us; nor need we trouble them.

¹ A market town and inland post (not in the open sea) in the South-eastern Konkan where pepper and cardamom trade flourished. In 1649 English had opened a factory there. It was closed in 1682-1683.

POLICY TOWARDS THEM DURING WAR

When the country of the enemy is looted or during naval warfare, if merchants are captured they should be made to pay a fine after considering the circumstances. The realization of the amount of fine should be with the idea of preserving them. After it is paid some hospitality should be done to the merchants and they should be sent to their places with due respect. The punishment which is inflicted on the servants of the enemy is not proper for merchants.

CHAPTER VI

POLICY TOWARDS WATANDARS

THE AIMS AND METHOD OF WATANDARS

It is merely a language of common convention that Desamukhs¹ and Desakulkarnis,² Patils³ and other hereditary right-holders are to be called watandars.⁴ They are no doubt small but independent chiefs of territories. The weak manage to exist by rigidly maintaining the tradition of power though decreasing from the Emperor downwards. But they are not to be considered as ordinary persons. These people are really the sharers in the kingdom. They are not inclined to live on whatever watan⁵ they possess, or to always act loyally towards the king who is the lord of the whole country and to abstain from committing wrong against any one. All the time they want to acquire new possessions bit by bit, and to become strong; and after becoming strong their ambition is to seize forcibly from some, and to create enmities and depredations against others. Knowing that royal punishment will fall on them, they first take refuge with others, fortify their places with their help, rob the travellers, loot the territories and fight desperately, not caring even for their lives. When a foreign invasion comes they make peace with the invader with a desire for gaining or protecting a watan, meet personally the enemy, allow the enemy to enter the kingdom by divulging secrets of both sides,

¹ Hereditary officers, heads of Parganas.

² Hereditary officers, heads of mahals.

³ Hereditary officers, heads of villages.

⁴ Holders of any hereditary estate, office, right or due.

⁵ An hereditary estate, office, right, due.

and then becoming harmful to the kingdom get to be difficult of control. For this reason the control of these people has to be very cleverly devised.

KING'S POLICY TOWARDS THEM

But because these faults are found in them it would be a great injustice that they should be hated and that their watans should be discontinued; and on special occasions it would prove a cause of calamity. If, on the contrary, that is not done and these people are given freedom of movement, their natural (wild) spirit would immediately find play. Therefore both of these extreme attitudes cannot be useful in the interest of state policy. They have to be kept positively between conciliation and punishment. Their existing watans should be continued, but their power over the people should be done away with. They should not be allowed to have any privileges or watan rights without a state charter. Whatever has come down to them from the past should not be allowed to increase nor to become less even by a little, and they should be made to obey the orders of the authorities of the territory. A group of kinsmen or agents should not be allowed to remain jointly on the watan. After making inquiries, their kinsmen and agents should each be kept in distant provinces along with their families by giving them work according to their ability. They should not be allowed to get absorbed in their watans. Watandars should not be allowed to build even strong houses and castles. If by chance there is found any one overbearing and unrestrained, he should be praised and sent to do that work which is difficult of achievement. In it if he succeeds or is ruined, both the events would be in the king's interest. If he is saved he should be given even more difficult work. Watandars should not be allowed to quarrel amongst themselves. They should be well flattered. But there are established usages for their behaviour and they should not be allowed to transgress even a little. If infringed, immediate punishment should be inflicted. Looking to the position of watandars and establishing every year or two, proper relations with them a king should weaken them by taking a little tribute and other things from them. When a watandar who has not infringed the duties of his station is near him, a king should speak about him to other servants that he is virtuous, honest and attached to him, and similarly those

to the extent of even a barley corn (पुत्रोदरप्रमाणे). To say that servants who have done service which is useful from generation to generation should be given something which would continue with them hereditarily is not proper. For when he becomes a servant and accepts salary, then it is his duty to do his master's work by making great exertion and daring, putting his heart and soul in it. However if one has done very meritorious service which could not have been done by others, then he should be given a higher service with a watan of salary attached to it, so that there would be no infliction on the people nor any decrease in public revenue.

GRANTS OF LANDS FOR *Dharma* PURPOSES

To give a gift of land for the purpose of maintenance of *Dharma* is an act of eternal merit. But this gift of land should be made after seeing the place, the time, and fitness, and after inquiring, according to *Śāstras* thoroughly into what is *dharma* and *adharma*. Grants of villages or lands should not be made to *jogis*, *jangams*, those disguised and others who adopt different garbs for their own ends, to those who can afford to wander about from place to place for alms, or to those who themselves are, or whose descendants can become, wicked and are promoters of evil ways of life; and in the same way to those who are opposed to their own religion, or are heterodox. Grants of revenue-free villages or land should be made at *Parvas*¹ and other auspicious times or in great holy places for the protection of the good to those *Brāhmaṇas* who are *Śrotris* (well versed in sacred lore), family men, and those well-conversant with the *Vedaśāstra*² and possessing no income of their own, and whose leaving the house for begging alms would lead to a loss, religious duties and merit. Similarly, villages or lands should be granted to great temples where divine presence is felt (जामृत), to hermitages of saints, to places of *samādhi*³ where for the purpose of worship, offerings, pilgrimages and other things distribution of food is regularly maintained. And after the grant is made, there should not be any desire to retake whatever may be the times of difficulty

¹ Holy days in lunar months.

² The four Vedas and six Vedangas.

³ A place where a *sanyāsi* or *sādhu* is buried.

and even in cases of danger to life; on the contrary after remembering that worldly happiness is momentary and considering the fear of the other word, even a sipful of water from what is given should not be coveted even as a joke. The perils of those kings who are brave and afraid of sin of this nature are averted by God himself. However it is not that whatever is going to happen fails to happen by being sinfully disposed, nay, sinful disposition leads to the increase of evils only. Therefore a king should act in this way, after pondering well the meaning of what is stated above.

CHAPTER VIII

POLICY ABOUT FORTS AND THEIR CONSTRUCTION AND ORGANIZATION

THE IMPORTANCE OF FORTS

The essence of the whole kingdom is forts. If there are no forts, and when a foreign invasion comes, the open country becomes supportless, and the surrounding country becomes desolated, and the people get routed and broken up. After the desolation of the country what would be left to be called a kingdom? Therefore kings who lived in the past first built forts in the country, and thus made the country permanently strong and averted successfully the danger of foreign invasion. This kingdom was created by the late revered and exalted Majesty,¹ with the possession of forts alone. Forts were built at suitable places in those parts of the country which would not come under his control. Similarly, sea-forts were built. With their possession and help, and by making constant punitive expeditions, he acquired a thornless kingdom from Salheri-Ahivant to the banks of the Kaveri river. A great foe like Aurangzeb came and conquered the great states of Bijapur and Bhāgnagar. He struggled very hard against this kingdom for full thirty to thirty-two years. What was impossible for his efforts? A portion of this kingdom remained, unconquered because there were forts in the country. Later came an opportunity to regain the former extent of the kingdom. Besides, it is necessary to protect the kingdom. All the forts and strongholds should be strengthened very carefully as stated above by personally

¹ Sivaji.

attending to their additional equipment. With great effort places suitable for forts should be captured in any new country which is to be acquired. A king should conquer gradually the country unprotected by forts and strongholds by building new fortified places from the boundaries of his kingdom onwards. Keeping the army under the protection of those places the country lying in front should be brought gradually under his own rule. Acting in this way he should increase his kingdom. If there is no protection of forts and strongholds the army cannot continue fighting in another's territory. Without an army one cannot enter another's territory. For all these reasons, the condition of the kingdom which is without forts and strongholds is like a covering of (passing) clouds. Therefore those who want to create a kingdom should maintain forts in an efficient condition realizing in mind that forts and strongholds alone mean the kingdom; that forts and strongholds mean the treasury; that forts and strongholds mean the strength of the army; that forts and strongholds mean the prosperity of the kingdom; that forts and strongholds mean our places of residence; that forts and strongholds mean our places of peaceful sleep; nay, that forts and strongholds mean our very protection of life. The desire for building new ones should be the aim of a king himself. No one else should be relied upon to do it.

THEIR ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

The work of protection of forts and strongholds is very important. If the fortified place is endangered owing to Mamaledars¹ and other persons, who have to be kept to look after these very important places, committing treachery or showing cowardice when an enemy attacks them, or through carelessness, then so much of the kingdom with the fortified place is definitely lost. As a consequence the remaining places and the kingdom itself get molested. If a powerful foe comes, the officers-in-charge of other forts do harm to those forts, being influenced in their behaviour by the action of the officer whose fort is lost. That is, every blow falls on the kingdom. For these reasons, considering the protection of the kingdom as the main object of a ruler, their repair and administration should not be allowed to be neglected even in the smallest degree. On that

¹ Officers.

account the life of the fort is the Havalдар¹ of the fort himself; similarly is the chief Sarnobat;² they must be chosen by the king himself and must not be retained on the recommendation or flattery of any one. Such men should be kept who are well known Marathas and soldiers, who would care for their reputation, who have their families, who are trustworthy, industrious, non-covetous and wakeful, who exact properly their master's work from all by keeping them satisfied, and who consider that the fort is the dearest treasure entrusted to them by their master, and who do not allow it to be endangered as long as they are alive, who obey fully the rules laid down, and who do their day's duty during the day and their night's duty during the night, and, without becoming idle, protect all the strongholds by making every effort. Similarly the officers Sabnis³ and Karkhanis⁴ who are the promoters of the laws laid down by the king and are the judges of all good and bad actions, and who are also high authorities like Havalgars and Sarnobats, should act (like them) by making all act in the same way. Therefore they should be employed after seeing that they possess the same qualities and are good writers, trustworthy and frank. Similarly Tatsarnobats,⁵ Bargirs,⁶ Naikwadi,⁷ and Rajputs⁸ should be entertained after judging whether they are brave, have families, and are trustworthy. A Rajput of ten *Takkas* who is to be appointed in the fort should not be appointed without a royal *sanad*. Persons who are to be appointed for service in the fort should not at all be kept in service if they are unsteady, thievish, murderous, capricious, fond of drinking and of intoxicating drugs, addicted to the use of Bhang and perfidious. Those who are to be appointed should be entertained only on assurance of their good character. Even then after three years a Havalдар should be transferred, after four years a Sarnobat, after five years a Sabnis and Karkhanis, and to these posts should be sent persons fit for the posts

¹ The chief officer of the fort. He had the keys.

² The officer who kept watch over the fort.

³ The officer-in-charge of the accounts in general and the muster roll in particular.

⁴ The officer who was to look after store of grain and war material, i.e. commissariat work.

⁵ Officers looking after rampart walls.

⁶ Cavalry soldiers equipped with horse and arms by the state.

⁷ The officer commanding or the leader of infantry units of nine soldiers.

⁸ Mercenary Rajput soldiers.

and similarly well qualified. By pleasing them according to their nature, by keeping them in his company for some days, and again by purifying by personal association their faith in the maintenance of proper relations between the master and servant if it is ever contaminated, without letting them know about it, they should be given other work according to their ability. Similarly Tatsarnobats and Bargirs should be renewed. Naikwadi, and Rajputs, if they are found guilty or good workers, should be removed and punished or promoted as is necessary. If the Havaladar of the fort dies whilst doing Sarnobat's work that work should not be entrusted to his sons or relations. His sons and relations should be consoled by giving them other work according to their ability. The relations of the Sardars (officers) of the cavalry, or the persons recommended by them, should not be positively entrusted with the work of the forts. Similarly if there are one, two, three relations belonging to one family who are well versed in the management of forts, then the work of forts has necessarily to be entrusted to them. For it is very difficult to get men for work in forts. But they should not be placed in forts which are near each other. They should be given work and made to serve in distant forts, from where one is not able to join hands with others, and between which there are other forts. Desamukhs, Desapandes,¹ Patils, Kulkarnis,² Chawgules³ and other hereditary *watandars* who occupy the territory lying round about a fort should not be given service on the forts near it. They should be employed on forts which are ten or five villages distant from their *watan*. If the *watan* and a nearby service get joined together, then a *watandar* would not do well in his service and would go time after time to his home; nay, at times with a greed for his *watan*, divulging secrets of the place he would even betray it. Therefore persons living near by the fort should not be employed in the fort. If whilst performing the duties of the fort they are found to have committed robberies and murders, bribery, quarrels, delay and idleness and other offences, they should be removed without waiting for the end of the term according to the usual practice and before the term of service is completed. Punishment should be meted out according to the offence committed. For that post other brave persons fit for the post should be appointed.

¹ Hereditary officers of a mahal. ² Hereditary village accountants.
³ Village officers.

If it is reported that the officer of the fort or any one else is harbouring an evil desire of betraying the place, then without trying to find out first whatever is true or false, without attributing it to rumour, without putting him on his guard, and by immediately finding means of not allowing the matter to slip out of his hand, and without allowing any one to know about it, the man should be removed and brought near himself. When he has come into the royal presence, he should be judged justly, and if the charge is proved against him then he should be immediately beheaded without showing any kindness. And his head should be shown on every fort. A drum should be beaten proclaiming that that was the punishment for those who committed such offences. After proper and just inquiry if he is found innocent, then he should be conciliated in many ways so that the stigma in his mind of having been removed from his post may be wiped out. But he should not be again sent back to his own post. By giving him his pay and keeping him in royal presence for four or six months he should be sent to do some other work which is suitable to him. Moreover, a person who is brought from a place on account of true or false defamation, if found innocent, according to law and judgment, should not be sent again to do that work. If found truly guilty, he should be punished according to the offence committed. If the fort is besieged by an enemy, the place should be protected by fighting daily from the fort as long as the provisions and help last. When the provisions are exhausted, the supply of men is stopped and the state of extremity is reached, still a king should save the *mamaledars* and other persons, and get them out by, using all means in his power. If it happens that the king's help does not reach, then the *mamaledar* and other people should positively die fighting. The king should maintain his (*mamaledar's*) children in all ways. But as stated above, if the extremity is reached, it should never be done that they should, by consulting amongst themselves, yield the place and save their lives. The face of an officer who acts in this way should not be seen, and he should be made to sit at home by not asking him again to serve. Even if any one makes an application on his behalf he should not be allowed to do so, and treating him as written above, means should be used to regain the place by making a strong demand on him for the place. When he is making efforts, if means are not found to get back the place, and as a consequence,

if it is found that he gets ashamed and afraid, then on the recommendation of a minister who makes a petition on his behalf he should be told to work near the king by allowing the petition and by admitting him into royal presence. Then gradually he should be promoted. If any officer in charge seeing the place endangered gives it to the enemy and saving his life goes over to the enemy, an attempt should be made to capture him. If he cannot be captured, he should be killed by using all possible means. In spite of all these means if he does not return from the enemy, his children should be enslaved, his women should be treated as slaves, and he also should be killed by every effort then there and by using poison, assassins and other means. Even if it happens that provisions get exhausted, help is stopped and the king is unable to go to his help, and in extremity the officer-in-charge giving the fort to the enemy goes over to the enemy, the persons in his family should be restrained similarly. As has already been stated in the beginning he should take all the steps necessary. If he comes under an assurance of safety then his children should be allowed to go, he should be made to sit at home, and should not be allowed to use means to recover the place even if he wishes, and on some excuse or other no work should ever be given him even after several days. Service in the fort is very difficult and Government must be very strict; if not properly governed the administration of forts would become very weak. This should not at all happen. The administration of forts should not at all be entrusted to persons, who are his kinsmen, relations, or those recommended by him. If they commit any fault one feels constrained to punish them. If proper punishment is not given, others find excuse to petition on their own behalf, and thus influence leads to the increase of influence and the established laws are broken. This very thing is the cause of the ruin of the kingdom. For this purpose the breach of laws should not at all be allowed. The chief means for the protection of the kingdom is forts.

THEIR CONSTRUCTION

They should be built on sites chosen in every part of the country. There should not be a higher point near the fort amongst the surrounding hills. If there is one, it should be brought under the

control of the fort by pulling it down with the use of mines. If it cannot be pulled down with the help of the mines, then that place should not be left uncontrolled but should be built and strengthened. The building of the fort should not be taken up to meet only a temporary need. Ramparts, towers, approaches by sap and mine, watches, outer walls, should be built wherever necessary. Those places which are vulnerable should be made difficult by every effort with the help of mines, and the weakness of the fort should be removed by building strong edifices. Gates should be built in such a way that they should escape bombardment from below, and they should have towers in front which would control the paths of egress and ingress. To have one gate to the fort is a great drawback. Therefore, according to the needs of the fort, one, two, or three gates and similarly small secret passages should be provided. Out of these those which are always necessary for usual intercourse should be kept open and other doors and outlets should be built up. Those officers and others who are to be kept in charge of fortifications should be clever, experienced and active. The fortifications of the fort should be made strong. There are several classes of forts which can be built on every mountain. Several mountains are very great. After locating some point on the mountain, it should be fortified. If there is a plain land in front of its gates or under the walls of the fort, then it is called a castle on the plain (भुईकोट). The result in such a case is that the invading enemy can immediately reach the gates or the walls of the fort. Therefore round a fort of this type should first be dug, whatever the effort, a deep and wide moat in front of its gates; under the rampart wall and to the extent of the plain, and at the bottom of the rampart another wall should strongly be built and on it big guns and small guns should be placed so that no enemy force can reach the sides of the moat without difficulty. The approaches to the fort should not be easy of access. If they are easy of access they should be destroyed, and by growing a thicket of trees such paths should be constructed as it would make very difficult for a foreign army to approach any other side. Besides this, secret paths must be kept in order to escape in time of danger. At times by using the same outlet or gate (सांजवादा) should be mounted. The protection of forts depends on the trees of Kalārgī (कलारगी). Its thickness should

be increased by every efforts. Out of it not a single stick should be allowed to be cut. Against times of danger soldiers and musketeers should be placed in that thicket. They should be fit to do this work. There should always be outposts round forts. There should be patrolling by sentinels of the environs of the fort. The reply to the watches should be given by the watch-guards of the outposts. There should not at all be a strongly built house at the bottom of the fort, or a stone enclosure round any house. Moreover after first finding out if there is water in the place then a fort should be built. If there is no water, and if it becomes necessary to fortify the place, then by breaking the rock, reservoirs and tanks with water sufficient to last till the rainy season for the whole fort should be built on the supposition that there is a spring of water in the fort and that it would somehow or other supply enough water. One should not wholly depend upon it. For during fight springs get dried up owing to the noise of guns and hence arises the difficulty (of water). Therefore for storing water two or four reservoirs should be constructed. Water from them should not be allowed to be spent. The water in the fort should be well protected. On the fort, excepting the royal residence, no well-built house should be constructed. The walls of the royal residence should be built of bricks and should be thickly plastered with chunam. No cracks in the house should be allowed to remain where rats, scorpions, insects, and ants would find a place. The compound round the house should be of thinly planted Nirgudi (निरगुडी) and other trees. The officer in charge of the fort (fort-keeper, गडकरी) should not keep the house unoccupied because it is the royal residence. By occupying it and by smoking it for all times it should be seen that the house remains in good condition and that no life or insect infests it. When it is known that the king is coming to the fort, the officer-in-charge should come two or four days previously, and by personally supervising the besmearing with cowdung and the decorating the whole house with Rangoli (रंगोली) and other things he should stay at that place by making it his head quarters till the king arrives at the fort. No rubbish should be allowed to fall on the roads, in the market place and near the walls of the fort. With a warning not to throw the accumulated rubbish down the fort, and by burning it in places (where

it is accumulated), and by putting the burnt ashes in the backyard vegetables should be made to grow in every house. In order that all granaries and storehouses of military provisions in the fort should be free from troubles of fire, rats, insects, ants, and white ants, the floor should be paved with stones and chunam. Tanks (cisterns) should be made on cliffs of forts in places where there is black rock having no cracks. If there is even a small crack, it should be seen that by applying chunam no leakage takes place. By building chunam houses where the ground is fit for chunam work, oil and ghee should be stored there in vessels of china-clay and earthen vessels of bellying mould (झोलभाठ) kept on strong stands. The powder magazine should not be near the house or near the compound of the house. It should be built at an appropriate distance from the chief place and be surrounded by thick enclosure of Nirgudi and other trees. It should have an underground cellar. There should be only *chunam* work in the cellar. In it bags and vessels of gunpowder should be heaped on rick-stands. Rockets, grenades and other explosives should be kept in the middle portion of the house. They should not be allowed to get damp. After every eight or fifteen days the Havaldar should visit it, and taking out powder, rockets, grenades and other explosives and drying them, seal them again after storing them. Guards should always be kept to protect the powder magazine. They should keep awake day and night during their watch period, and no person should be allowed to approach near them without permission. For the sake of the guns and matchlocks which are necessary for the protection of the fort, soldiers and matchlockmen should be kept. Tatsarnobat, Bargir, Chief Sarnobat and Havaldar should practise firing matchlocks and guns. All soldiers should possess arms, namely, swords and missiles (टाकणो). On all the vulnerable places in the fort, big guns, small guns, and charakyas¹ and (चरक्या) other machines suitable for those places and also for higher places, should be mounted on platforms on every bastion and rampart wall at suitable intervals. The *charaks* and big guns should be kept on gun-carriages after testing the weight of the guns and by giving them strong iron-rings as supports.

¹ An iron tube filled with powder and fastened to a staff.

Bags of powder, iron-bars, brushes for cooling guns, balls, and other iron filings, small or great river-stones of the size of beetel-nuts, Palākhās (पलख) of rockets, matches, of guns, tarafas (तरफा), tools for repairing the touchholes of guns, and other things necessary for gun-firing should always be kept ready near guns. Iron and stone materials should be kept at a distance from gunpowder. Grenades and rockets should be kept ready at every watch. The officer in charge who says that there is no enemy in the intervening country and that when he comes he will get ready by bringing things from storehouses, is foolish and idle. Such an one should not be entrusted with work. He should act according to orders blindly and alertly even if there is no occasion; and then when the real occasion comes there is no possibility of danger. Thus the rules which are laid down continue to be observed uninterruptedly. In the rainy season guns and doors should be besmeared with oil and wax, and by filling the touchholes of guns with wax and by putting front covers on guns sufficient for covering their mouths they should be protected from getting spoiled. Other things should be kept safe so as not to allow them to get damp. Though the work of building is already finished at the time, still those walls, watch towers, bastions, ramparts which get impaired have constantly to be repaired. Trees which grow on fort-walls have to be constantly cut down. After burning the grass growing on the wall and down near the wall, the fort has to be cleared and cleaned. For this purpose a *Kārkhāna* (department) of building works should always be kept on every fort and at a proper place, and it should be entrusted to the *Mudradhāri* (मुद्राधारि) or the keeper of the seal. Similarly gunners who are trustworthy and are family men, who shoot accurately and are brave should be appointed as many as are necessary for the fort and the fort-guns. Trees which are on the fort should be protected. Besides them, jack-trees, tamarind-trees, banyan trees, pimpal trees, and other big trees, lemon trees, orange trees, and other small trees; similarly, flower trees, creeping-plants, nay, useful and useless trees which are likely to grow should be planted in forts and protected. In time of need all of them would serve as wood. In every fort Brāhmaṇas, astrologers, *vaidiks*, the learned, also physicians who are versed in mineral medicines and those in herb-medicines, surgeons, exorcists, wound-dressers, and black-smiths, carpenters, stonemasons and cobblers should be engaged in

ones or twos according to the needs of forts. They are not always required on small forts. Therefore their implements of work should be kept ready with them. Where there is work (suited to them) they should go and work; when there is no work they should be asked to do work according to requirements. They should not be allowed to be idle. In every fort salary, treasury, military provisions, and other kinds of articles necessary for forts should be collected and stored. While remembering well that forts would not at all be useful in the absence of this arrangement, the administration of the fort should be carried on as detailed above.

CHAPTER IX

NAVAL POLICY

IMPORTANCE OF NAVY

Navy is an independent limb of the state. Just as a king's fame for success on land is in proportion to the strength of his cavalry, so the mastery of the sea is in the hands of him who possesses the navy. Therefore a navy should necessarily be built.

ITS CONSTRUCTION AND STRENGTH

Fast *gurabs*¹ (गुरब), neither very great nor very small should be built and should be of middle size. Similarly *galabats*² (गलबत) should be built. It is not necessary to build them very large ones (वारसे जागीता?) as these are not useful without the help of wind. Even if one or two are made to create dread in the enemy, still whatever naval force is created should be fully and well equipped (सदुते?) with brave and efficient fighters, guns, short guns, matchlocks, ammunition, grenades and other material of naval use.

ITS ORGANIZATION

Each of them should be arranged in separate units. Every unit should contain five *gurabs* and fifteen *galabats*. Over all of them there should be one head governor or admiral (सरसुभा). All should

¹ Large deep sea vessels.

² Large row boats built like the *gurabs* but of smaller dimensions.

obey him. For the expenses of the navy the revenue of a particular territory should be apportioned. Commerce will be ruined if the expenses are defrayed out of the income derived from ports, and merchants will be troubled. Harbours should be well protected; otherwise in cases of need necessary and useful things could not be brought from foreign places. If this happens then what remains of the prestige of the kingdom? There would be a loss of customs duties and other income. Owing to loot and destruction of the poor there would be an increase of unlimited sin. There would be an uncontrolled behaviour of naval servants. Therefore if the expenses of the navy be paid from the revenues of the state, such unrestrained acts would not take place. If it be objected that the state cannot bear always such heavy expenses of the navy, then the naval force should be maintained in proportion to what it can bear. Trade should be increased. Trade will cause the growth of the income of customs. A large fleet should not be made to depend on it. In this way a fleet should be gradually built up, naval forces should check the enemy by always moving in the sea, सोमाजवादा (?) of the sea-fort should be regularly given. No complaint of the officer of the sea-fort should be allowed to reach the king. By keeping oneself always informed of the movements of the sea-foes the territory of the enemy should be looted. By keeping watch efforts should be made to secure the places of the enemy.

POLICY TOWARDS MERCHANT SHIPS

In the sea *tarandi*,¹ ships of kolis² and merchants should be protected and allowed to move. Kolis and merchants should not be troubled. If any one gives them any trouble it should be warded off. If the ships of foreign merchants, besides those of the enemy, not possessing permits are coming and going, then they should not be allowed to move without inspection. By taking them under control, by using conciliation and intimidation, without touching any of their goods and by giving them an assurance of safety they should be brought to the port. In many ways naval authorities and territorial authorities should conciliate them. They should be allowed to take what wood and water they want to take. It should be made easy for them to purchase

¹ A sailing vessel of large dimensions. ² Fishermen class.

tender cocoanuts and other things which they want. Besides this they should be allowed freely to sell and to purchase what they desire, after taking from them a little by way of customs duty. If there is a great merchant he should be treated a little more hospitably according to his importance on behalf of the government (Dewan). The expenses incurred should be taken from the revenue office as an item of expenditure. An effort should be made to see that the foreign merchant feels assured in every way and attracted and enters into commercial intercourse with the kingdom: if any merchant ships coming from the hostile territory are found in the sea they should be captured by making great efforts, brought to the ports, and without causing the goods the least damage everything should be attached, and the officers of the Mahal and the naval officers should inform the king about the matter and should act according to his orders.

NAVAL FIGHT

If the navy and the hostile ships meet each other and begin fighting all should strive to join in the fight. The enemy should be put on the leese (दुर्गति) and be fought against. Owing to the force of the wind if the enemy does not fall on the leese and we fall on the leese and our ship is not able to move with the help of the wind, then, whatever may be our strength, without coming into contact with the enemy and gradually cutting off our contact from the enemy, our fleet should be brought under the protection of a sea-fort. The safety of ships and sailors should never be risked. Whilst protecting ourselves the enemy should be captured. If the enemy by falling on the leese succumbs and is exhausted, still no rash attack should be attempted. By surrounding him on all sides he should be fired at from shipguns. A treacherous enemy knowing that he is exhausted takes perfidiously under a false pretext a promise of safety. Therefore he should not be called near. He disables the ships by firing on his own पायाल (?) or on that of those which are called near. Therefore without putting trust in him, even if he seeks a promise of safety, it should be given from a distance, and then his great officers should be brought in his own great boats near our own ships. Then our men should be made to go on his ships. Otherwise without caring for the goods and by breaking the ships under gun-fire dread should be created amongst the enemy.

THE SHELTERING OF NAVAL SHIPS

If the sheltering of the ships is to be done it should be done a week or two before the rising of storms. That also should never be done in the same port or under the protection of any sea-fort or in the open sea. If sheltering is done every year at one and the same port, the men of the fleet, however often warned, are sure to give a great deal of trouble to the same part of the country. This must be avoided. This should not be allowed to happen. If the sheltering is done in the open sea then for the very sake of sheltering the ships have to be drawn out on the shore. Consequently the sheltering being on the shore, and the enemy being perfidious, he would stealthily and secretly cause fire by sudden surprise. This should not be allowed to happen. The sheltering should be done only in fortified ports. Still it is possible that men of the fleet who are many and who are generally Muhammadans and arrogant, would, getting into some discussion, get into quarrel and cause injuries amongst themselves. Sometimes in secretly fixed places treachery may take place without one's knowledge. This is not desirable. For these reasons the sheltering of the navy should be done every year in a different port which has got a fort facing the sea. On account of the fear of the fort the enemy would not enter the creek of the sea. Or if the creek is near, the sheltering of the fleet should be done inside the creek. Then also the whole fleet should not be kept in one place. The fleet should be distributed in various places. In the night patrolling both by creek and by land should be done round about the fleet. The subhedar while staying there with his family for two months should look after the arrangement of the fleet. He should write to the central government for getting the necessary things and should make arrangements for the same. Disorder should not at all be allowed to take place in the territory. For ships of the navy are necessary planks, beams, masts and such other logs of wood. With royal permission useful parts of teak and other trees which are in the forests of the kingdom should be cut and collected. Besides this, whatever is necessary should be purchased and brought from foreign territories. Wood of mango tree, jack tree, and other trees growing in one's own kingdom is useful for binding naval ships but they should not be touched. For these trees are not grown in a year or two. People have grown these trees by looking after them as after their children and by protecting

them. If those trees are cut there will be no limit to their grief. If one says that one would achieve one's object by causing grief to another, then the temporary advantage resulting to the doer of that work is ultimately lost completely. Nay, the king incurs the sin of causing trouble to the people. In the absence of these trees there is even loss. For these reasons these things should not be allowed to happen. Even when a tree is greatly worn out and is of no use, then by getting the consent of its owner and by paying him for it, it should be cut without displeasing him. Force should not at all be used.

In this way the body of royal troops, forts and strongholds should be maintained with great vigilance. In no way should the service of Her Majesty the Queen Mother be neglected. Whatever service you do will be duly recognized, and His Majesty has given full authority to you; and while deserving this well-known fame, you should do that which will increase daily the incomparable favour which His Majesty has conferred on you. Having succeeded in the whole undertaking His Majesty is coming to this province. Then in consultation with you all the rules and regulations relating to several other important departments which have been found to be useful from generation to generation to the prosperous growth of the kingdom, which are a means of attaining success in this and in the other world and in which there is an all-sided fame, would be laid down according to the principles of justice.

¹ If the stream of my life was given the good news of eternal existence, even then I would not offer the thirsty any drink except the praises of the Second Alexander.² But as I find that human life is such that in the end we have to wash our hands off it, the fountain of my words will only enable the reader to moisten his lips. Since the achievement of my life-time, from the cradle to the grave, cannot be more than this, I did not consider it proper to plunge to the bottom of endless oceans but contented myself with a small quantity of the water of life. ³ The mirror of the Second Alexander⁴ is such that, if totally illuminated, its images cannot be contained by the looking glass of the sky. How, then, can they appear in the rust eaten mind of his servant? Still somethings, which I have, I will show according to the capacity of my imagination and in such a way as I can,—so that if critics have any doubts about my talents, such doubts may be removed. I hope that when this spotless mirror, in which his virtuous existence has been portrayed, comes before the eyes of the Second Alexander, he will compare it with the original; if it is well constructed and its images are correct, he will place it among his select courtiers; but, if from inartistic or crooked execution, there is anything in it contrary to the picture of fire, he will signify so, in order that I may correct it so far as possible. I hope, however, that he will not turn away his face from it, for then my images will vanish as if they had never been. *But I know that a mirror constructed in the reign of Alexander can never be crooked.* ⁵ In this book, known as the *Khazā'inul Futūh*, I have only narrated one out of a hundred events from the conquest of Deogir to the conquest of Arangal. It will be seen in this 'Chapter of the Iron'⁶ what Hindū kingdoms have disappeared from the face of the earth, and how far the 'Word of Light' has overcome the 'darkness of infidelity'; so that the success of the Faith may be estimated from the light and the smoke. May the kindness of the Merciful bless the Emperor!

¹ Allusions to water.

² 'Alāuddin, as Barnī tells us, had assumed the title of the "Second Alexander"; it is found in his inscriptions and on his coins.'

³ Allusions to the mirror.

⁴ The mirror of the First Alexander was supposed to have been made by Aristotle and placed on the top of a tower constructed at Alexandria.

⁵ Allusions to the word of God.

⁶ Title of chap. lvii of the Qurān.

¹ I will also narrate some events of the reign of this Caliph, who is Moḥammad in name, Abū Bakr in truthfulness, and Umar in justice. I will show how, like 'Uṣmān, he has brought the benevolent words of God into the book of realization, how like 'Ali he has opened the gates of knowledge in the City of Islam, Delhi, with the key of his favour. Through his munificence, which flows like the Tigris, he has raised this Imperial City to the greatness of a new Baghdād. The Abbāsīde standards, which had fallen down owing to great cataclysms, he has in his Caliphate again raised upon foundations of justice.² Through the exercise of his strong judgment, he has maintained peace in the countries of the world. And in all matters he has sought the aid of, and held fast to Allāh. Strange is his prosperity, for God holds his wishes in special regard! For instance, fire is killed by water the moment the two are united, yet if it crosses his mind that the two elements should be married, the *Diwān-i-Quzā* will at once perform the ceremony³. The powers of nature are so much under his orders, that though the earth is desolated by the wind and the wind is dusty with the earth, yet if he gives the sign, the twain will be united and the guardians of the atmosphere will turn the wind into water and mix it with the earth. *If his mind so desires, it is not impossible that opposites should be made to meet!*

CHAPTER II

ACCESSION, REFORMS AND PUBLIC WORKS

Here begins the 'Khazā'inul Futūh,' every gem of which is a lamp for the soul. ⁴ When the breeze of Divine favour began to blow over the wishes of the youthful monarch, not a hundredth part of whose good

¹ Allusions to the Caliphs of Islām. The first caliph, Abū Bakr, was reputed for his truthfulness; the second, Umar, for his stern justice; the third, Uṣmān, collected the chapters of the Qurān; and the fourth, 'Alī, was famous for his learning and courage.

² The Abbāsīde Caliphate had been crushed by the Mongol barbarians. Baghdād itself had been sacked by Halāku Khān in A.D. 1258 and the sole surviving scion of the dynasty of Hārūnūr Rashīd had fled for refuge to Egypt.

³ Muslim marriages required the presence and the certificate of the Qāzī or state law-officer. The *Diwān-i-Quzā* was the Imperial Department of Justice, presided over by the *Sadrus Sudūr* or the Head Qāzī of Delhi.

⁴ Allusions to the spring.

fortune has been yet realized (May God always strengthen his branches!), many victories blossomed on his sword and spear from the Bihār¹ of Lakhnauti to the Bihār of Mālwa. He grew like a tree in the territory of Karra by the bank of the Ganges and threw out his branches (so wide) that he attained to the dignity of the 'Shadow of God'.² Wherever in the forest or by the bank of the river, there was a *mawās*,³ whether in cultivated land or wilderness, he trod it underfoot with his army. Then on Saturday, the 19th Rabī'ul Akhīr, A.H. 695 he moved towards the garden of Deogīr,⁴ from which direction the spring comes; and striking its branches like a storm, cleared them of their leaves and fruits. Rām Deo, a tree of noble origin in that garden, had never before been injured by the tempestuous wind of misfortune; but (the Sultan) in his anger first uprooted him and then planted him again, so that he once more grew into a green tree. Next, loading his elephants with precious stones as the rainy season clouds (are laden with water), and placing bags of gold, more in quantity than the *saman-i-zar*⁵ that grows on the earth, over Bactrian camels and horses⁶ swift as the wind, he arrived in Karra-Mānikpūr on the 28th of Rajab, A.H. 695. Now that black-headed *bulbul*, the pen, sings by its scratchings on paper of the accession of this tall cypress to the throne. From the first day of his accession till now, A.H. 709, whichever way he has turned his bridle under the shadow of the canopy, the odour of his conquests has been disseminated with the winds. *Indeed all forts opened at his impetuosity as buds 'open' at the blowing of the breeze.*⁷ 'I hope from Almighty God that He will for ever preserve the memory of pious kings on the pages of time. And may the excellent virtues of the Emperor be recorded (in this book) in such a way as to become famous throughout the world, and may the pitch of (my) voice rise high enough to drown the drums

¹ A play on the word 'bahār', which means spring and is written in the same way as Bihār.

² I.e., became Sultān of Delhi. The Sultān was styled the 'Shadow of God' (*Zilullah*).

³ A fortified village. The medieval Karra is near the modern Allahabad.

⁴ A fragrant yellow flower. For an account of 'Alauddin's Deogir expedition,' see Appendix A.

⁵ *Najibs*.

⁶ *Allusions to history and books.*

of Sanjar and Maḥmūd, though in affairs of government and conquests they were great and successful monarchs!¹

*Account of the accession of the conquering monarch, the soles of whose feet have brought happiness to the throne.*² As Providence had ordained that this Moslem Moses was to seize their powerful swords from all infidel Pharaohs and dig out of the earth the immense (*Qarūn*) treasures of the *rāṭis*, till the calf-worshipping Hindūs in their hearts began to consider the cow contemptible and the Emperor, with the bow of *Shu'aib*,³ became the shepherd of all his subjects, therefore the deceased Alf *Khān*⁴ was sent to him as Aaron had been sent to Moses. The hopeful message came to his ear: 'We will strengthen your arm with your brother and we will give you both an authority.' With the auspicious advice of his brother, the Imperial Moses mounted the throne, which was high as the *Ṭūr*, on Wednesday the 16th Ramazān, A.H. 695. He gave away *quintars* after *quintars*⁵ of gold—'her colour is intensely yellow, giving delight to the beholder'—to every ignoble person. Every time he opened the palm of his hand to give away some precious pearls, he showed the 'white hand' of Moses in generosity. Owing to the scattering of emeralds, it seemed that the meadows of Mānikpūr were inlaid with gems. And as the enemy⁶ preponderated in strength, both the brothers

¹ 'Alāuddīn was appointed governor of Karra-Mānikpūr (Allahabad) after the suppression of Malik Chajjū's rebellion in the second year of Jalāluddīn's reign. He distinguished himself by ravaging Chanderī, and then without Jalāluddīn's permission, he marched to Deogīr and plundered it. Rām Deo had to pay an enormous indemnity but was left in possession of his lands. On returning to Karra, 'Alāuddīn succeeded in prevailing on the Sultān, who was his uncle and father-in-law, to come to see him unattended, and had him murdered during the interview on the 16th Ramazān, A.H. 695 (Wednesday, July 17, 1296). Apart from the Deogir exploit, these events were not creditable to 'Alāuddīn, and Amir Khusrau, who was deeply attached to the murdered Sultān, has not attempted to justify them. For more details see *Barni* and *Ferishṭa*.

² *Allusions to the history of Moses.*

³ Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses. The quotations from the Qurān in this paragraph refer to Moses' conversation with God.

⁴ Alf *Khān* or Ulugh Khan was the title of 'Alāuddīn's younger brother, Ilmās Beg. It was Ilmās Beg's duplicity that induced Jalāluddīn to come to 'Alāuddīn's camp without his army.

⁵ A weight of forty *uqiyaṭs* (ounces) of gold. Here used in the general sense of ox-loads and bags.

⁶ After Sultān Jalāluddīn's assassination, his youngest son, Ruknuddīn Ibrāhīm, was placed on the throne by Jalāluddīn's widow, the Malka-i-Jahān. But 'Alāuddīn won over the people and organized his army by a liberal distribution of the treasure he had obtained at Deogīr; and the Malka-i-Jahān and

raised their hands in prayer: 'O our Lord! Surely we are afraid that he may hasten to do evil to us.' The heavenly voice replied to give them strength: 'Fear not, surely I am with you.' At the appointed time the Emperor reached the precincts of the City.¹ But as the ruler of this side, with the pride of Pharoah in his head, waited for him on the bank of the blue Jamna, the inspiration from Heaven came again to his heart: 'Fear not, surely you will be the uppermost.' So relying on his dragon-spear, he came to the precincts of the Imperial Capital. On Monday, 22nd Zil Hıjjah, A.H. 695 the Emperor's proclamation, 'Obey my command!' was heard from east to west. *And then owing to his justice he became the shepherd of the people; the wolf in killing goats became like the wolf of Joseph.*

If I am allowed, I will show the superiority of good government over the glory of conquests. ² Every man gifted with the crown of wisdom, if he takes correct judgment for his guide, will after a little cogitation come to the conclusion that the dignity of the 'ruler' is superior to that of the 'conqueror'. For the term 'ruler' is rightly applied to Almighty God, while the title of 'conqueror' cannot be legitimately used for any but kings of the earth. Philosophers have said that the conquest of the world is with the object of retaining it; the man, who conquers but cannot retain, is in fact himself conquered. And it is inevitable that when he seizes the world, the world should seize him also. This, too, is clear as day to all men that the conquering and keeping of the world is a quality of the sword of the sun; for from east to west the sun brings the earth under the rays of his sword and keeps it. But the mere conqueror is like a flash of lightning; for an instant he seizes the whole world and then immediately disappears. The conqueror of this age (May God strengthen his hand over the Capital and the provinces!) so highly excels in the qualities of the 'ruler' as well as the 'conqueror', that neither the pen nor the tongue can describe his powers. As a matter of necessity, therefore, I will speak of his virtues in such manner as my capacities allow; and according to the premises stated above, a

Ruknuddin fled away to Multān as soon as 'Alāuddin's army crossed the Jamna and encamped at Sirī.

¹ The City (*Shahr*) in the language of those days always meant Delhi. Other cities were called by their names. A certain sanctity was attached to the capital of the country, and it was referred to with respect.

² *Allusions to the dignities of states.*

description of his administrative measures will precede the account of his conquests in the arrangement of this book; so that every item may find a proper place without disturbing the continuity of the narrative. *The sock is for the foot and the hat is for the head; the man, who has brains in his head, does not wear his sock over it.*¹

Account of the administrative measures that have been promulgated in the reign of the Emperor, who is extremely devoted to this art:— ² The fortunate star of all mankind arose on the day when it was made evident to the Emperor's enlightened mind: 'And against these we have given you a clear authority.'³ For when I raise up my eyes, I see that this exalted Dawn⁴ has a greater love and affection for the sons of Adam than the sun has for the moon and the stars of the sky or the moon for the particles of the earth. In the first place, throughout the Empire, from east to west and from north to south, he has often remitted the tribute from the *ra'iyat*. Secondly, he has seized from the Hindu *rāīs* with the blows of his sword, just as the sun absorbs water from the earth, treasures which they had been collecting since the time of Mahrāj and Bikarmājī, star by star. The public treasury is so full that it can be neither described by the pen of Mercury nor weighed in the balance of Venus. He gives away treasures by the balance of Virgo, so that people, who only possessed copper, are drowned under *tankas*⁵ of gold and silver like the Pisces. *On the day of the Emperor's munificence, the Balance in the sky is lighter than the balances on the earth.*

¹ In spite of his dazzling conquests, it was as an administrator that 'Alāuddin excelled. Amir Khusrāu's florid rhetoric simply comes to this: it is much better giving good government to your own subjects than to conquer foreign lands, which you may or may not be able to retain. 'One can do anything with bayonets except sit upon them.' It is to be regretted that in spite of his sensible views, the author should have given us such a scanty account of 'Alāuddin's administrative and economic measures.

² *Allusions to stars.*

³ The *Qurān*, chap. iv, sect. 12. The full extract will make the meaning clearer.

⁴ 'If they (the non-Muslims) withdraw from you and do not fight you and offer you peace, then Allāh has not given you a way against them If they do not withdraw from you and (do not) offer you peace and restrain their hands, then seize them and kill them wherever you find them; and against these we have given you a clear authority.'

⁵ I.e. the Sultān.

⁶ *Tanka*, the ancestor of the modern rupee, was the silver and gold coin of the Empire of Delhi. The copper coin was called *ḥīāl*.

*Account of the distribution of treasures of gold by elephant-loads and a trifle more :—*¹ Before this time when Mahmūd, the giver of gold, gave away an elephant-load of gold, his great liberality became famous through the world. But the Emperor distributes gold in a measure which nothing can excel. He has ordered large elephants to be weighed in boats, and the gold-bricks used in weighing them have been given away to the poor. *What monarch can rival the prince in whose city treasures, weighed out by elephants, are given away.*

*Account of the distribution of horses swift as the wind, when every gift consisted of more than a hundred horses :—*² If I were to describe his gifts of horses, the stable of my praises would be unable to include them. Kings are munificent; and the Emperor every day gives away fortunes to the necessitous. It is seldom that he makes a smaller gift than of a hundred or fifty (horses); but if he gives one horse only, it is such that another like it cannot be found. With the blows of his sword he has seized the stables of all the *raīs*. Some of these horses he gives to the horse-breakers, so that with the strokes of their whips they may make the horses run as swift as deer. Others are given to the *paiks* (footmen) so that they may ride on them with the help of their sharp stirrups. The grooms (*mutridan-i-rakab*) are also given horses. In former days the calves of the runners had grown thin from running on foot, but now their feet seldom leave the stirrup. Some horses are given to the *amīrs*, who formerly owned unbroken colts but now ride horses swift as the wind. *As this cloud³ rains horses, there is no doubt that the rose, which was formerly a foot-man, will now come out of the ground on horseback.*

*Account of his making the means of happiness abundant for everyone, so that no one may be restrained in his enjoyment during the reign :—*⁴ Next, in order to increase the means of livelihood for the general public, he reduced the tax on shop-keepers, who had been selling their wares dear. An honest officer (*rāis*) was installed over them to converse with sharp-tongued sellers through the whip of justice and to give the

¹ Allusions to gold and balances of gold.

² Allusions to horses, swift as the wind.

³ I.e. the Emperor.
⁴ Allusions to government (*riyāsat*) and shop-keepers. The shop-keepers were controlled by the *Diwān-i-Riyāsat* or Ministry of Markets. For the working of the *Diwān-i-Riyāsat* under the harsh but efficient Yaqūb Nāzir, see *Barni*, pages 315-17, (Persian text published by the Bengal Asiatic Society and edited by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.)

capacity of talking to the dumb (purchasers). Clever inspector (*mutafahhis*) made full inquiries into the weight of the stones¹. Every dishonest (seller), who used his own black heart for his 'stone', had all hardness knocked out of him. Severity and rigour reached such a pitch that all 'stones' (weights) were made of iron and their correct weight written upon them; so that if any one gave less than the correct measure, the iron turned into a chain round his neck. If he was impudent still, the chain became a sword and the extreme punishment was meted out to him. When the shopkeepers saw this severity, they did not meddle with the iron-weights; in fact, they considered them to be castles of iron round their hearts and regarded the inscriptions on the weights as amulets for the protection of their souls. You might say that the inscriptions were really not on iron but on hearts of iron. *For on hearts such as these the Emperor's just regulations came as easily as inscriptions on wax and remained as permanently as inscriptions on iron.*

Description of the justice meted out in this reign, so that the dragon has become submissive before the ant. ² If I attempt to describe the justice of the Imperial Court, that two-horned deer, the pen, will have to put a chain round the neck of the lion of meaning.³ Wonderful, indeed, is his justice, when from fear of his punishment mad elephants kneel down before panting ants, and tigers repent of their morning draught of animal blood under his arched sword! His justice has broken the necks and claws of lions and overthrown the power of dog-faced tyrants.⁴ The head of the pig-eating oppressors hangs low, and the blood of goat-stealing criminals has been shed on the ground like the blood of goats.

Reform of the affairs of nobles and commons—Prohibition of adultery and drink. ⁵ Though the giving of water (to the thirsty) is one of the most notable virtues of the pious Emperor, yet he has removed wine and all its accompaniments from vicious assemblies; for wine, the

¹ I.e. weights used by shop-keepers.

² Allusions to the traditions of justice and equity.

³ I.e. the Emperor's justice surpasses description.

⁴ Referring to the *chaudhāris*, *Khōts* and *muqaddams* whose power 'Alāuddīn had overthrown. They had started as village headmen but aspired to transform themselves into landlords and claimed the ownership of their villages. Alāuddīn's reforms deprived them of their perquisites and reduced them to the position of tenants.

⁵ Allusions to virtue and vice.

daughter of grape and the sister of sugar, is the mother of all wickedness. And wine, on her part, has washed herself with salt and sworn that she will henceforth remain in the form of vinegar, freeing herself from all evils out of regard for the claims of 'salt.'¹ Moreover, all prostitutes, who with their locks under their ears, had broken their chains and stretched their feet, have now been lawfully married. From the ribbon, that tied their hair, they have now turned to the 'ribbon' that ties them in marriage. Those whose skirts had obtained a bad reputation, because they earned their living by prostitution, have now been so reformed that they sit in their houses, patching up their skirts with the greatest repentance and rubbing their hands together.² All the roots of sin and crime have been cut off.

Peace and order during the Emperor's reign, when no one dare pick up a fallen jewel from the street. ³Out of regard for all his subjects, this maintainer of peace has so worked with his sharp sword, that from the banks of the river Sind (Indus) to the Seacast no one has heard the name of robber, thief or pickpocket. Night-prowlers, who formerly used to set villages on fire, now attend to travellers with a lighted lamp. In whatever part of the country a traveller might lose a piece of rope, either the rope is produced or compensation given. Cutpurses, pickpockets and those who dig open graves⁴ had been busy in their profession from ancient times. But now the sword of punishment has cut off their hands and feet. And if some of them are still sound in body, *their hands and feet have become so useless, that you would think they were born without them.*

Massacre of blood-sucking magicians, when blood bubbled out of the neck of those whose lips had worked mischief. ⁵ Blood-sucking magicians—who by the use of (magical) words sharpened their unwise teeth on the flesh of other people's children and caused a stream of blood to flow, which pleased them greatly—were buried in the earth up

¹ Wine and sugar may be both produced from the same grapes, and the addition of salt turns wine into vinegar.

² The regulations for the prohibition of intoxicants are mentioned by Barnī, but he says nothing about the compulsory marriages of prostitutes. It is likely that brothels were closed along with taverns and gambling dens.

³ Allusions to peace and order.

⁴ Apparently, in order to steal the winding-sheet.

⁵ Allusions to man-eating magicians.

to their necks while people threw stones at them. Thus punishment for the blood they had drunk was meted out on their heads. *All men have to suffer the agonies of death, but those who drink this wine (i.e., human blood) are thus destroyed.*¹

Massacre of the 'fraternity of incest' (aṣḥāb-i-ibāḥat), when punishment for their deeds was meted out to them. ² Next the pious supporter of the *shari'at* ordered all members of the 'fraternity of incest' to be brought before him. Truthful inquisitors were appointed to catch everyone of them and make thorough inquiries into their assemblies. It was discovered that among these shameless wretches, mothers had cohabited with their own sons and aunts (mother's sisters) with their nephews; that the father had taken his daughter for his bride and there had been connection between brothers and sisters. Over the head of all of them, men as well as women, the saw of punishment was drawn. . . . The saw with its heart of iron laughed loudly over their heads in tears of blood. Those, who by a 'secret stroke' (*Zarb-i-pinḥān*) had become one, were now openly sawed into two, and the soul that had sought union (*waṣl*) with another soul, was now compelled to leave its own body.³

Account of the cheapness of corn, when a single 'dang'⁴ turned the scale. ⁵ As this cloud of generosity is extremely anxious for the

¹ The punishment of magicians, stoned after being half buried, has not been described by Barnī, but it is only too probable considering the universal belief in magic and the atrocious punishments inflicted on those who were supposed to dabble in anything dark and mysterious. 'No one in 'Alāuddīn's days,' Barnī tells us, 'had the courage to profess a knowledge of alchemy or magic from fear of the Emperor.'

² Allusions to incest and punishment.

³ This is confirmed by Barnī. 'In those years,' he says, 'people who committed incest and libertines appeared in the City. By the Sultān's orders they were found out after a careful and diligent search and were put to death with tortures. The saw of punishment was drawn over their heads and they were cut into two. After this punishment the name of incest did not come to anyone's lips in the City.' By the 'fraternity of incest' is meant the Carmathians, Ismailes and other Shia 'heretics' of the sect of Seven Imams, whom the 'orthodox' Sunnis accused of permitting marriages within prohibited degrees and of practising incest in their secret assemblies. The charge, whether right or wrong, was generally believed. The Carmathians had captured Multān a century before Maḥmūd of Ghaznī and made their existence felt again and again in the succeeding centuries.

⁴ The fourth part of a *misqāl*; a trifling weight.

⁵ Allusions to seasons, corn and its rates.

public welfare and the comfort and prosperity of nobles and commons, he has kept low the price of grain, from which villagers and citizens derive an equal advantage, during periods when not a drop of rain has fallen from the painted clouds. Whenever the white clouds have had no water left and destruction has stared people in the face, he has cheapened the price of grain for every section of the public by generously opening the royal stores.¹ The clouds, consequently, have felt ashamed at their own niggardliness and in envy of his bountiful hands have dissolved into rain. To spur them on to this act, the lightning has often laughed loudly over the heads of water-laden clouds and then fallen on the ground.² For the lightning knows well that the clouds sometimes rain and sometimes do not, and when they rain, they rain water only. How can they be compared to our beneficent Emperor, who always rains and always rains gold?

Regulations of the 'Place of Justice' (Dārul 'Adl),³ the generous gate of which has been opened for the public. ⁴ Next he constructed the 'Place of Justice' more open than the forehead of honest businessmen and brought to it all things that the people require. He ordered that all packages of cloth brought from the provinces were to be opened here and nowhere else; and once opened, they were not to be tied up again.⁵ *And if anyone opened his packages elsewhere, the joints of his body were to be 'opened' with the sword. As to the commodities of the 'Place of Justice' and the cloth which is required by rich and poor, there are all varieties of cloth from kirpās to harīr which hide the body; from behārī to gul-i-bagh, which are used both in summer and winter; from shī'r to galīm, which differ greatly in their fibres; from jūz to khuz, which are similar in their structure; and from Deogiri to*

¹ 'Alāuddīn used to take royal dues from the peasants of the Doab in kind. 'The corn was stored in the royal granaries and brought to the market in times of famine and sold at the tariff rates.' The economic and administrative regulations of Sultan 'Alāuddīn are described by Barnī in detail.

² Out of respect for the Emperor, apparently.

³ Barnī calls it the *Serā-i 'Adl*. It was constructed on the plain before the Badāūn Gate, and placed under the supervision of the *Rāis-i-Parwāna* (Supervisor of the Cloth Market.) Barnī gives the tariff and the detailed regulations of the cloth market.

⁴ *Allusions to opening and closing.*

⁵ The prices in the *Serā-i 'Adl*, owing to the subsidy granted by 'Alāuddīn to the Multāni merchants, were lower than in other towns. Cloth once brought to it was not allowed to be taken out again; nor could cloth be sold anywhere else in Delhi except the *Serā-i 'Adl*.

Mahadeonagri, which are an allurements both for the body and the mind.¹ ² *As to fruits and other necessities of the table*, if I were to describe in detail all the fine fruits that grow out of the ground, the narrative would become too long and I would be kept back from my real purpose; but the Emperor has provided in the 'Place of Justice' fruits and all other things that nobles and commons require for their meals, so that in the midst of the noise and tumult everyone may be able to select carefully the best and most suitable articles.³ You profess to give a just (judgment). Can you find (a judgment) just enough to the Emperor's generosity?

Account of the sacred buildings, which the Emperor has constructed for the pleasure of God. ⁴ Because there is a secret understanding between God and the Emperor concerning sacred and public works, he has constructed such sacred buildings as strike the sky with wonder. With a pure motive he began his series of buildings with the Royal Juma Masjid (*Masjid-i Jama-i Hazrat*).⁵ He ordered a fourth court (*maqṣūra*), with lofty pillars to be added to the pre-existing three courts; it was to be so high that the fourth heaven may call it a second Mecca. In a day stones like the sun were brought from the sky, and the (structure of) stones rose from the earth to the moon. Verses from the *Qurān* were engraved on stone as if it was wax; on one side the inscription ascended so high that you would think the word of God was going up to heaven; on the other side it came down in such a way as to symbolize the descent of the *Qurān* to earth. Through the elevation of this inscription a conversation, which will

¹ The phrases added after the names of the cloths are a play upon the names of the cloths, which it would not be worth while explaining in English.

² *Allusions to fruits, ripe and sweet.*

³ Barnī does not speak of fruits being sold in the *Serā-i 'Adl*, but it is quite possible that a part of the market was allotted to fruit shops. 'Alāuddīn was very particular about the maintenance of order in the markets and no disturbance was permitted.

⁴ *Allusions to building.*

⁵ The Qutub Mosque, of which the Qutub Minār is a part, is known by various names. 'In histories', Sir Syed Ahmad Khān says in the famous *Asārus Sanādāt*, 'I have always seen this mosque referred to as the 'Masjid-i Adana-i-Delhi' or the 'Masjid-i Jama-i Delhi' but never as the 'Masjid-i Quwwatul Islam'. It is not known when the name of 'Quwwatul Islam' was given to it but it might have obtained this name when the temple was conquered and the mosque was built. Such mosques are seldom known to the public by their real names but only by the general designation of Jama-i Masjid.

never end, has been started between heaven and earth. After this wide and high edifice had been finished from top to bottom, other mosques were built in the City, so strong that when the nine roofs of the thousand-eyed sky fall down in the universe-quake of resurrection, not an arch of these mosques will be injured. Next the columns of the old mosques, whose walls were kneeling and bowing in prayer and whose roofs were about to fall, were made to stand up so that they once more became the 'pillars of faith' and prayers were said in them. The four walls of (the mosques) were strengthened and so brilliantly plastered inside and outside that their light outdid the colour of the azure sky.

Of the extension of the Jami and the subsequent construction of the Minār. ¹ When by the grace of God² the decayed mosques had been

¹ Allusions to the mosque and the Minār.

² The following extracts from the *Asārus Sanādīd* of Sir Syed Ahmad Khān will enable the reader to attach a meaning to Khusrāu's florid narrative.

The Incomplete Minār :—The Emperor 'Alāuddīn was very desirous of fame. Consequently when he ordered the extension of the (Qutub) Mosque in A.H. 711 (A.D. 1311), he also commanded a new *Minār* (tower) to be built in the courtyard of the mosque, twice the size of the old (Qutub) Minār. The new Minār had a circumference of one hundred yards and its foundations were laid in the Muslim fashion—i.e., with a platform and the first door opening on the western side. It was proposed to build the new minār 200 yards high. But though the Emperor had laid its foundations firmly, his own life was less secure; even the first storey had not been finished when he died and the wonderful structure was left incomplete. Some parts of the incomplete minār have fallen down; only a mass of stones and lime is left.

The Large Gate near the Qutub Minār :—When Sultān 'Alāuddīn became Emperor and developed an ambition for public works, he built an enormous gate for this mosque near the Qutub Minār in A.H. 710 (A.D. 1311). This gate is almost wholly of red sand stone, although here and there marble has been used. On the four sides of the large gate he constructed four smaller gates, and on the western, southern, and eastern gates he has put inscriptions with his name on them. But many of the inscribed stones have fallen down and rain has eaten into many letters. The roof of the gate consists of a heavy dome. Everywhere there is fine inlaid and mosaic work, and 'traditions' and verses from the Qurān have been inscribed.

The Court of (the Qutub Mosque) :—After the gate was finished, the Emperor ordered a fourth court (*darja*) to be added to the mosque. The court in the centre had been constructed by Sultān Mu'izzuddin, and the two courts on either side of it by Sultān Shamsuddin. 'Alāuddīn's court was 115 yards long, counting three feet to the yard; the foundations of nine doors had been laid and the central door was sixteen yards. In A.H. 711 (A.D. 1311) the court was being built; but unfortunately the Emperor died in A.H. 715 (A.D. 1315) and the mosque was left incomplete. If the edifice had been completed, the whole mosque would have measured 241 yards in length from east to west, and 132 yards in breadth from north to south. On the northern side the Emperor began the construction of a

so firmly repaired, that like the sacred Ka'bah they became safe from destruction, the Emperor's noble ambition prompted him to build a peer to the high Minār-i-Jāmi, a structure unrivalled throughout the world. The dome of sky was to be bestowed on the (new) Minār, for it could not rise higher than that. First, he ordered the courtyard of the mosque to be extended as much as possible, so that the 'fraternity of Islam', which is fortunately too large for the whole world, may yet be contained in this world within a world. Next, in order to make the *Minār* strong, and to carry it so high that the dome of the old *Minār* might look like an arch of the new, he ordered its circumference to be twice that of the old Minār. On a sign from the Emperor, the planets, who are the shopkeepers of the sky, began to move their chariots. Mercury became busy in buying iron and stone and the moon began to drive the Taurus. Yes, when the 'House of God' is being built, the stars have to carry stones on their heads! And if they refuse to stir from their places, *the Minār itself will rise up to them and strike their heads with stones*. People were sent to search for stones on all sides. Some struck the hills with their claws, and as they were anxious to find stones, they tore up the hill-side to pieces like lovers.¹ Others were keener than steel in overturning infidel buildings. They sharpened their iron instruments, went to wage a holy war against the castles of the (old) *rāīs*, and fought a ferocious battle against the stones with their muscles of steel. Wherever an idol temple had kneeled down in prayer, the 'arguments' of the strong tongued spade removed the foundations of infidelity from its heart, till finally the temple placed its head in thanksgiving on the ground.² The stone slabs bore ancient inscriptions made by the 'Preceptor of Angels'³; but as the pen of Destiny had ordained that all these stones would have the good news—'Indeed he builds the mosques of Allāh'—written

door, but that, too, was left unfinished. There was fine mosaic work on all these incomplete buildings, and texts and "traditions" had been inscribed. It is not known who removed these (inscribed) stones but it is clear that they have been removed. Nothing is now left except (plain) stones and lime.

¹ In allusion to Farhād, the lover of Shīrīn, who perforated a huge mountain to please his mistress.

² Only the ruined palaces of the old *rāīs* or temples that had ceased to be places of worship and had fallen down, were touched. A temple used as a place of worship was inviolable by the Imperial Law.

³ I.e., Satan. A *farsang*, roughly speaking, is a distance of three to three and a half miles.

upon them, they thrust the point of their pickaxes into the hard hearts (of the buildings) and threw (the stones) to the ground. Then the iron of the shovels, having turned into a magnet in contrariety to its nature, drew the stones to itself, and labourers with bodies of steel brought these stones from temples a hundred *farsangs* away. The stony back of the mosque had a large mass of stones put upon it; stones, such as the sky could not have drawn to itself, were taken to the sky; and rocks, such as the mountains could not hold on their backs, were brought upon the backs of the animals.

The stone-cutters of Hind, who excel Farhād in their art, took out their hatchets and smoothed the stones so artistically, that if imagination had put its feet upon them, it would have certainly slipped. The masons of Delhī, who consider Ni'mān Manzar a novice in the art of building, used their professional skill and joined stone to stone so that there was no danger of any secret crevice or cavity remaining between them. The doors and walls of the mosque, which formerly performed their *tayammum*¹ with the dust, have now been raised so high that they perform their ablutions with water from the clouds. This has happened in the year A.H. 711. To carry it higher, human life must be based on a foundation firmer than that of the *Minār*; only then could the tower, which has risen out of the earth, be carried to the sky. And though I wish to see it finish, my life will have to be long before I am able to witness its completion and send my blessings to its pious founder. *Besides my sight cannot reach its end; I am one of those who come and see and depart.*

*Construction of the strong fort of the City, in which a second wall of Alexander² appeared on the face of the globe:—*³The fort of Delhī, the deputy of the sacred Ka'ba, had fallen down. Owing to the ravages of time, it was in a condition of dilapidation worse than that which has overtaken taverns⁴ in the reign of the august Emperor. Like a man dead drunk, it had fallen down in place and out of place, quite unable to keep its stones together. Sometime it placed its head

¹ The Muslim practice is to perform ablutions (*wazu*) with water before prayer; but when water is not available, sand or dry earth can be used, and the ablution is then known as the *tayammum*.

² Referring to the famous wall which Sikandar Zulqarnain (probably Darius I of Persia) constructed to keep off Gog and Magog (The Qurān, Chap. xviii, sect. 2.)

³ Allusions to the buildings of the fort.

⁴ 'Alāuddīn had ordered all taverns and gambling dens of Delhī to be closed.

on the ground before the common people of the public highway; on other occasions, it had bowed down in salutation to the worthless ditch. Its towers had once been so high that a man's head fell down, if he attempted to look at them; but now, from continued ill-treatment, they lay down to sleep on the earth. When the 'Alāi era of public works arrived (May it last for ever!), the Emperor ordered stones and bricks of gold to be taken out of the flourishing exchequer and spent in defraying the expenses of the fort.¹ Skilful masons applied themselves to the work and a new fort was quickly built in place of the old. The new fort with its strong forearm and seven towers shakes hands with the coloured Pleiades, squeezes the powerful Mars under its arm-pit, and uses the high sky as a sort of waistband. It is a necessary condition that blood be given to a new building; consequently, many thousand goat-bearded *Mughals* have been sacrificed for the purpose. When the edifice—many congratulations to its founder—was completed, the Guardian of the Universe took it under His protection. *How will any trouble or insurrection find its way to the place of which God is the guardian?*

*Construction of other forts, which, owing to the Emperor's favour, now raise their heads to the sky:—*² When the masons of the Imperial capital had been recompensed for the buildings in the City, the Emperor ordered that wherever in any part of the Empire there was a fort, which had been affected by the moist winds of the rainy season, or was about to doze or go to sleep, or had opened wide its cracks and cast away its teeth (from old age), or grew yellow flowers in

¹ The 'Alāi Delhi, or 'Alāi Fort or Koshak-i-Siri:—This fort was built by Sultan 'Alāuddīn Khiljī. When in A.H. 703 (A.D. 1303) the Emperor marched against Chitor in person and at the same time sent a large force against Warangal in Telingāna, Targhī and the Mughals came and laid siege to Delhī, expecting to find it empty. But after many battles the Emperor was victorious. Afterwards he built this fort. A village, called Sri, existed here at that time; consequently, the fort was also known as the fort of Siri. In Sher Shāh's time it was called the 'Koshak iSiri'. The fort, as built by 'Alāuddīn, was circular, with strongly built walls of stone, brick and lime, and had seven gates. Before the fort was completed, another battle with the Mughals took place, and eight thousand Mughal-heads were used in place of stones in building the walls of the fort. Though the fort has quite crumbled down, yet some traces of it are found on the left hand side when going to the Qutub Minar. In A.H. 96 Sher Shāh pulled down the fort of Siri and built a new city near Old Delhī (i.e., Indrapat). A village, named Shāh-abad, exists at the place now. (*Asārus Sanādīd*).

² Allusions to buildings.

the rainy season, or was laughing through its walls or falling on its neck, or had the snakes of Zuhhāk¹ living in its ears (corners), or bred rats in its arms (wings), it was to be repaired; so that instead of crevices frequented by scorpions and snakes, its towers rose stronger than the constellation of Scorpio, and as high as the Saggitarius and the Pleiades.

Of the new buildings in the country, villages and cities, which fill the whole Empire with 'tasbih' (praises of God) and 'azun' (call to prayer).

² All mosques which lay in ruins—the vaults of some had fallen to the ground, the walls of others had crumbled down after having been repeatedly patched and repaired, the (interior of) some was compelled by the wind to perform an ablution (*tayammum*) with dust every day, the pillars of others had daily bathed in the rain and then laid themselves down—were built anew by a profuse scattering of silver. *Prayers were said regularly in all, with blessings on their pious founder.*

Account of the Royal Tank (Hauz-i-Sultāni), which holds the water of immortality in solution. ³ The Royal Tank, known as the '*Shamsi Tank*',⁴ will (now) shine like the sun till the dawn of resurrection. But (formerly) the sun every day made it a mirror for seeing its own face, and it reflected back the light of the sun. But as the latter shone hotly upon it, it slowly sank down out of respect for the sun. 'If your water should go down,' the sun asked in its rage, 'who is it then that will bring you flowing water?' And the tank dried up from fear. This year the revolving sky flared up all of a sudden, and the water of the tank evaporated so thoroughly that its bottom cracked and broke into pieces. In his contempt for the 'king of the planets,' the 'Emperor of the world'⁵ ordered the sand and mud to be removed from the bottom of the tank. And as the sun from on high had been drying up its water, a dome, such as put that luminary into falling fits, was built over it. Then rain came on, and the 'eyes' of the clear-hearted tank, which had dried up at the sun, were again filled with water. Strange the sympathy of the tank, that it should weep (at the helplessness) of the sun! But such is the custom of noble persons. Immediately sweet water became available in the

¹ A king of the Peshādian dynasty, proverbial for his cruelty. He had two snakes growing out of his shoulders whom he fed on human beings.

² Allusions to buildings again. ³ Allusions to the tank, clear and moist.

⁴ A play on the name of the Emperor Shamsuddīn (Sun of Faith).

⁵ I.e. 'Alāuddīn.

City and a tumult rose up from the City wells. But though it had rained once through the kindness of Heaven, the bottom of the tank was too dry to become moist with a single draught. *All clear water, that fell from the cloud, sank into the earth like the treasure of Qarūn.*¹

² There can be no doubt that Delhi is a city, which even the Nile and the Euphrates cannot provide with sufficient drinking water. And so the people of the City were faced with the same destruction that had threatened the followers of Moses. The Emperor—whose sharp sword has thrown the Pharaohs of infidelity into the Nile, or, to put it differently, whose Nile-like sword has been drowned in the yellow blood of Jewish tempered³ tunic-weavers—in this general scarcity of water, when even the Jamna had become dry, raised up his 'white hand', like Moses, to pray to God for water. Immediately, in proof of the text,—'And we made the clouds to give shade over you'—the shadow (of his hand) fell over a little dry earth. The spades and the pickaxes in the hands of the excavators became like the staff of Moses. Two or three springs appeared on the four sides of the embankment (*chautra*). 'So there flowed from it twelve springs; each tribe knew its drinking place.' In a few days the water reached the edge of the embankment; and having met it (the embankment) after a long time, the water shook hands with it and hugged it with a hearty embrace, just as the sea embraces the land. Khusrāu has written these lines in praise of the tank and its dome: '*The dome in the centre of the tank is like a bubble on the surface of the sea. If you see the dome and the tank rightly, you will say that the former is like an ostrich egg, half in water and half out of it.*'⁴

¹ Cousin of the Prophet Moses. He is believed to be constantly sinking, down and down, into the earth, along with all his treasures, in punishment of his niggardliness and greed.

² Allusions to the story of Moses.

³ Because given to hoarding.

⁴ '*The Hauz-i Shamsi*'—This tank was built by Sultān Shamsuddīn some time about A.H. 627 (A.D. 1229) in the neighbourhood of Qutub Sahib. It is said that the tank was constructed of red stone, but now it is quite broken and only a lake is left. This lake is 276 *pukhta bighas* in area. What, then, must have been the extent of the tank when it was in good repair? In A.H. 711 as it had been filled up with mud, Sultān 'Alāuddīn had it dredged; and exactly in its centre he constructed a platform, over which he built a very beautiful dome (*burj*). This dome exists till to-day. Firoz Shah, too, repaired the tank in his reign, and cleared the passages by which the water used to come. But now the tank has been nearly filled up with earth, and water does not remain in it for more than three or four months' (*Asārus Sanādāt*).

CHAPTER III

CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE MUGHALS

¹ As the public works which have been, and are being, constructed by this pious builder (May he live for ever!), surpass what the pen

¹ *Allusions to territories and forts.*

The Mughals or Mongols, who are the heroes of this chapter, require some introduction. They were first brought into prominence by Chengiz Khan in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The early life of Chengiz was spent in a protracted struggle against the surrounding tribes, but he emerged victorious through a combination of craft and guile, brutal strength and constructive statesmanship. His election as 'Khan' of the Mongolian tribes was followed by a reorganization of his people as the most efficient fighting machine in the world, organized on a system of universal conscription and blind obedience to orders. Chengiz first invaded China and then attacked the Khwarazmian Empire with an army of 800,000. No power in the Muslim world was able to withstand him. City after city fell before the barbarians, and Sultan Alaaddin Mohammed Khwarazm Shah died in one of the islands of the Caspian to which he had fled for refuge. Chengiz retired to his own country from the eastern bank of the Indus, but the empire he had founded persisted for three generations, and was a terror to all mankind.

Chengiz Khan had four sons. Juji (or Tushi), the eldest, died in the lifetime of his father, but Juji's son, Batu, conquered Southern Russia, Bulgaria and part of Poland and founded his dynasty there. Ogtai, the eldest surviving son, succeeded Chengiz as 'Khan,' 'Qa-an' or 'Khaqan.' Chaghtai and Tului were given domains under the suzerainty of their brother. Ogtai was succeeded by his son, Kayuk (or Kapak), but after Kayuk's short reign, the unity of the empire disappeared. The *quriltai* or assembly of Mongol princes, representing the majority, elected Mangu, son of Tului, to the 'Khakanship' in 1251, but Qaidu Khan, supported by the descendants of Chaghtai and Ogtai, established himself in Mawaraun Nahr and maintained his independence till his death in 1301. In spite of this rift in the lute, the *quriltai* of 1251 launched two important expeditions. Kublai, brother of Mangu (the 'Kubla Khan' of Coleridge) was sent against China, while his younger brother, Halaku Khan, was despatched against the 'heretics' (*Ismailites*) of Persia. Halaku first captured the forts of the 'heretics' and then proceeded to overthrow the Caliph of the orthodox. Baghdad was captured and sacked in 1258 and Halaku's descendants, known as the 'I-l Khans,' while acknowledging the formal superiority of the 'Khakan,' continued to govern Persia in practical independence during the thirteenth century. Meanwhile in the east Mangu was succeeded by Qublai, who completed the conquest of the Chinese empire.

The early successes of the Mongols had been due to the strength of their military organization, the genius of their leaders and the hardships, which the rank and file were prepared to bear. A generation of civilization sufficed to degenerate them. The I-l Khans of Persia became Mussalmans and adopted Persian ways. The successors of Qublai were driven pell-mell out of China to their barbaric land and its barbaric ways.

Sultan 'Alaaddin's contemporaries among the 'I-l Khans' were—Ghazan Khan son of Arghun Khan son of Abaka Khan son of Halaku Khan, who ruled

can describe, out of many Imperial buildings I have contented myself with the description of those given above in acknowledgment of my own limitations. Now I will move my tongue, which is surrounded by wise teeth, and describe some of the victories this world-conquering Alexander has achieved through heavenly assistance, the territories he has conquered and the forts he has reduced. Thus I will bring out of my mind the treasures that lie buried there, and at every victory I will scatter (prose) under the foot of my pen in these pages.

from A.H. 694 to 703 and Ghazan's brother, Khuda Bandah Aljaitu Sultan, who ruled from A.H. 703 to 716. While the ruling dynasty had accepted Islam, many soldiers and officers adhered to their old faith. But whether Mussalman or infidel, the Mongols had not forsaken their old plundering habits and their taste for bloodshed, as the career of Timur conclusively shows.

A detailed account of the Mongols will be found in Sir Henry Howorth's *History of the Mongols*, 4 vols. a monument of careful and painstaking scholarship. Sir Henry has depended mostly on translations and has, therefore, not been able to give as graphic an account of the character of the Mongols and their social system as some of the early Persian writers. The earliest account of the Mongols seems to be the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Minhajus Siraj Jurjani of Delhi. The author had a first-hand knowledge of the Chengizi Mongols, against whom he had fought, and regarded them with a bitter hatred. Writing at a safe distance from the barbarians, Qazi Minhajus Siraj had no hesitation in abusing the 'Mughal infidels,' and the thirteenth chapter (*tabaqah*) of his work, devoted to the 'Rise of the Mongols,' reads like a thrilling short story. The military superiority of Chengiz Khan had convinced the learned Qazi that the Day of Judgment was near and he quotes chapter and verse to prove this. Some chapters (including the thirteenth) of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* have been printed by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and the inestimable Col. Raverty devoted twelve years to translating it into English. The most reliable history of the Mongols is the *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha* of 'Alaaddin' Ata Malik Juwayni, who compiled his work in the time of Halaku Khan. The first two volumes of Juwayni book, comprising an account of the Khwarazmians and Mongols, have been excellently edited for the Gibb's Memorial Series by Mr. Mohammad ibn-i 'Abdul Wahhab Qazwini. A later work, the *Jami'ut Tawarikh* of Rashiduddin, who wrote in the time of Aljaitu sultan, incorporates much fresh information and continues the history of Chengiz Khan's successors. The first volume of the *Jami'ut Tawarikh* is said to have been printed in Russia; the second volume on the 'Successors of Chengiz Khan' has been edited by Mr. Blochet for the Gibb's Memorial Series. Three other Persian histories may here be mentioned—the *Tarikh* of Wassaf, who was a contemporary of Rashiduddin, the *Tarikh-i-Guzidah* of Hamdullah Mustawfi and the *Rauzat-us-Safa* of Mohammad ibn-i Khawind Shah. All these writers rely mostly on the *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha* and the *Jami'ut Tawarikh*.

The word Mongol requires some explanation. Early writers generally say 'Maghul,' but in later writers the 'Waw' is dropped. The 'n' of 'Mongol' is not found in Persian writers. Still it is convenient to apply the word 'Mongol' to Chengiz Khan and his successors and reserve the word 'Mughal' for the Indian Emperors of the House of Babar, who though belonging to the same race, represented a different culture and civilization. But where the Persian text says 'Mughal,' I have kept that word.

The first victory of the (Imperial) Army over the gluttons of Kadar in the confines of Jāran Manjūr. ¹ This is the account of the victory, which the champions of the triumphant army obtained, for the first time during the reign of this Sanjar-like Sultān (May God protect his standards!) over the soldiers of the accursed Kadar in the land of Jāran Manjūr. When the subtle Tatār, accompanied by an army like an avenging deluge, came as presumptuous as ever from the Jūdī mountains, and crossed the Bīās, Jelum and Sutlej,² the advancing wave of the hellites burnt down all the villages (*talwārah*³) of the Khokars, so that the flames illuminated the suburbs of the City, and the buildings of Quşūr were demolished. Such a wailing arose that the sound of it reached the august Emperor of the world.⁴

⁵ The late Ulugh Khān, the arm of the state, was sent with the right wing of the army, supported by great generals and troops, to wage a holy war. *He was to go to the infidels to show them his strong and closed fist.* ⁶ The Khān, whose bow was like that of Argh,⁷ flew as fast as one of his own arrows; and making two marches in one, he reached the borders of Jāran Manjūr, the field of battle. Only the distance of a bowshot remained between the two armies. On Wednesday, the 22nd Rabī'ul Aḥḥir, A.H. 697 the great Muslim Khān came into contact with the infidels. He ordered the standard-bearers to bind the victorious standards to their backs; for the sake of their honour, they turned their faces towards the Sutlej, and without the aid of boats, *they swam over the river, striking out their hands⁸ like oars impelling a boat.* ⁹ The Mughals seemed very brave before the victorious army had plunged into the river; but when the wave of Muslim troops reached the middle of the stream, they gave way. Unable to bear the fire of the sword, they fled desperately; and though in number like ants and locusts, they were trampled under the feet of the horsemen like an army of ants. The *Mughals* wished to

¹ *Allusions to war and victory.*

² 'This is the order observed in the original.' (Elliot).

³ 'The word *talwārah* is a common name for a village in many parts of the Upper Punjab. The *talaundi* of the Khakars is a local word similarly applied.' (Elliot).

⁴ The three preceding sentences have been adapted from Elliot. *Qusur* also means buildings.

⁵ *Allusions to the arm.*

⁶ *Allusions to weapons.*

⁷ A famous Persian archer.

⁸ Or in the alternative, shooting arrows.

⁹ Allusions to battle and slaughter.

sink into the ground; for the sword was so busy on the bank that blood flowed like *surrehāb*¹ on the river. The champions of the army could split a hair of the eyelash without injuring the eye; and in the twinkling of an eye, they had sewn up the stony eyeballs of some Mughals as you might sew up the eyes of a hawk, while their arrows pierced the iron hearts of others as a key goes into a lock. *When a breast, like a rusty lock, refuses to open, it should be opened in no other way than this.* In short, twenty thousand ferocious Mughals were sent to sleep on the ground in mourning at their own death by the powerful (Imperial) lions. A very large part of Kadar's army (*tumān*) was cut to pieces with blows of axe and spear. Some Mughals whose bones had been ground to powder, were sent off to their journey² in that condition. Others had become unconscious through fear, but life still remained in their bodies; their heads were cut off, and so they departed without their heads. Most of the survivors were imprisoned. 'Lay hold on him, then put a chain on him'.³ The iron collar, which loves the Mughal necks, enclosed them with the greatest affection and squeezed them hard. 'This is the punishment of the enemies of Islam,' cried their chains with a loud voice.

⁴ When the blood-smeared heads of the Tatārs had filled the battle-field with thousands and thousands of wine glasses, the jackals of the forest collected together and held a feast by the river-side. After slaughtering the execrable carcass-eaters of Qaidū,⁵ who are

¹ A kind of water fowl, the *anas casarca*; or, in the alternative, 'red water'.

² i.e. the journey beyond the grave.

³ The Qurān, Chapter lxi, in allusion to the punishments of the Day of Judgment.

⁴ *Allusions to war and festivities.*

⁵ Why Qaidū?

It is to be regretted that while Indian historians supply us with sufficient information to enable us to piece together a complete account of the Mongol invasions of India in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Persian writers referred to in a preceding note, give us the vaguest information on the subject or else ignore it completely. Of course a raid on Indian territory led by a general of secondary importance was an insignificant matter for the historian of an empire extending from Peking to Moscow. But there was also another reason for their silence.

Ziauddin Barni throughout speaks of the Mongols coming from Mawaraun Nahr. He says that Kütlugh Khwaja, who besieged Delhi in the fourth year of Alauddin's reign, was a son of Quda, king of Mawaraun Nahr, and Targhi, who was present in that as well as later campaigns, is first brought into prominence as a general of Kütlugh Khwaja. Quda is probably a misreading for Qaidū. We have seen that in the *quirillai* of 1251, the Chaghtai and Ogtai princes refused to

both Turks of the tribe of Qai(vomit) and the eaters of vomit (*qai*), the victorious army of the Khalifa (May he reign for ever!) prepared to return. The late Ulugh Khān (May God give him pure wine to drink!) first held a pleasure-party to commemorate the great victory and scattered gold and jewels among his comrades of war and peace. Then intoxicated with happiness, he spurred his horse to kiss the ground before the Imperial Court. The prisoners, who looked like the teeth of mad elephants, were put to death. Meanwhile, the Emperor, like Kai-Khusrau,¹ had seen the image of this victory in the world-compassing mirror of his own mind, and moved his tongue in gratitude at the realization of his wishes. 'If you are grateful, I would certainly give to you more.'² He then gave himself up to rejoicings. He called the commanders (*khans*) of the left and right wings³ to a great feast, and bestowed such favours on the citizens and the army, that they were freed from all labour (God protect us from it!). *If you asked water in alms from a beggar, he would give you wine.*⁴

acknowledge the 'Khakan'ship' of Mangu and set up an independent kingship under Qaidu in Mawaraun Nahr and Turkestan. This division of Mongol power saved the kingdom of Delhi, which could not have withstood a united attack of the Mongols. The I-I Khans of Persia naturally paid homage to Mangu and his successors, who like them were descendants of Tului, but they were constantly at war with the Mameluks of Egypt in Syria, and, more often than not, had the worse of it. It is the Chaghtai and Ogtai princes of Mawaraun Nahr who are responsible for the invasions described in this chapter. They were being hard-pressed by the 'Khakan' in the west and by 'I-I Khans' in the east and this naturally made them anxious to carve out principalities for themselves elsewhere. An account of the fortunes of the House of Qaidu will be found in *Howorth*, vol. i, pp. 173-82, but Persian writers, as a rule, have confined themselves to an account of the 'Khaqans, and 'I-I Khans', in whose eyes Qaidu was a rebel.

¹ A famous Emperor of Persia and master of the hero, Rustam. He had a cup or mirror in which he could see all that was happening in the world.

² The Qurān, chap. xiv, sect. 2.

³ i.e. Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān.

⁴ The battle is referred to by Barni and Ferishta, though they do not give detailed accounts:—

'In the same year, A.H. 696 the Mughal danger arose. Some Mughals crossed the Sindh (Indus) and came into the country. Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān with the Jalālī and 'Alāī *amirs* and a large army were sent against them. The army of Islam gave the accursed foe battle within the boundaries of Jālandar. The Muslim banner was victorious. Many Mughals were captured and killed and their heads were brought to Delhi (*Barni*).

'In the same year Dāwā Khān, the ruler of Mawaraun Nahr, sent some hundred thousand Mughals to Hindustān with the object of conquering the provinces of Panjāb, Multān and Sindh. The Mughals crossed the river Sindh and left nothing undone in the way of spoliation, plunder and destruction. When

This is the account of another victory of the Muslim army over the Mughals. ¹ When 'Alī Beg, Tartāq and Targhi came with drawn swords from the borders of Turkestan to the river Sind (Indus), and after crossing the Jelum like an arrow, turned their faces in this direction, Targhi, who had once or twice fled away from the attacks of the victors, already saw his bald head on the spears of the champions of Islām, like a wine cup placed over a ladle. Although he had an iron heart, yet he dare not place it within the reach of the anvil-breaking warriors of God. But he was at last shot by an arrow, which penetrated his heart and passed to the other side. 'Alī Beg and Tartāq, who had never been to this country before, mistook the arched swords of Musalmāns for those of mere preachers. They ventured with single heads on their shoulders into a country, where if a man brought a thousand heads, he could not take one of them back. They had fifty thousand trained and ferocious horsemen; the hills trembled at their tread. The confounded inhabitants at the foot of the hills fled away at the fierce attack of these wretches and rushed to the fords of the Ganges. But the lightning of Mughal fury penetrated to that regions also and smoke arose out of the towns of Hindustān.² People fled from their burning houses, and with their heads and feet on fire, threw themselves into rivers and torrents. At last from these desolated tracts news came to the Imperial Court. The Emperor sent his confidential officer, Malik Naik, the *Akhār Beg-i-Maisarah*, with thirty thousand powerful horsemen, and directed him to slaughter without stint and to shoot such an arrow at the accursed mark as might create a fearful rent in their work (strategy). Across

this news was brought to the Emperor, he sent Ilmās Bēg Ulugh Khān and Hizhabruddīn Zafar Khān with an enormous army to suppress them. The two armies met each other within the confines of Lahore; a fearful battle took place and the Mughals were defeated. Some twelve thousand Mughals were put to the sword; many of their leading *Amirs* were captured and put to death with tortures. Ulugh Khān sent the heads of the Mughals to Delhi along with their wives and children.' (*Ferishta*).

Lahore could not have been the seat of battle, which according to Amīr Khusrau took place by the side of the Sutlej. In the *Dawlat Rānī*, Amīr Khusrau calls the place 'Manjūr-i-jāran,' the name being twisted to suit the rhyme. The 'Qar Maikhūr' of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* is apparently a misreading for 'Jāran Manjūr.' I am inclined to agree with Barni, or rather his editor, in identifying Jāran Manjūr with Jalandhar.

¹ Allusions to war and holy war.

² Used in a restricted sense, meaning Oudh and the Doab only.

a distance which was longer than the day of the idle, the victorious army passed more quickly than the lives of the busy. On Thursday, 12 Jamādius Ṣanī, A.H. 705 they overtook the doomed enemy. Immediately on seeing the dust of the Muslim army, the grovelling Mughals became like particles of sand, revolving above and below. Hard-lived though they were, their souls fled out of them; nor could their iron hearts remain in their places to serve as anchors for their souls. Like a swarm of gnats warring against a hurricane, in proportion to their attempt to move forward, they were taken further back. And the Angel of Death cried out to them: 'Flight shall not do you any good if you fly from death or slaughter.'¹ From necessity (rather than choice), they made a feeble attack though their enthusiasm had declined. But the army of the Second Alexander, which you might call an iron wall, was not a thing that would bend. It drove away those doers of the deeds of Gog; and in expectation of Divine assistance—'and He has sent an army, which you do not see'—the sharp sword began to do its work. Soon fire-coloured faces fell to the ground. One would think that the Muslim swordsmen were throwing balls of fire over running water. In this universal cutting of heads, 'Alī Beg and Tartāq, the two 'heads' of the Mughals, saw the sword above them and the time of their fall near. Their faces grew dark from the blazing heat of the all-conquering sword, and they threw themselves under the shade of the Muslim standard. 'The rays of the sword have struck us with such a fire,' they said, 'that we will never be satisfied till we have reached the "Shadow of God"'. *The man laid low with misfortunes cannot find happiness anywhere except under the 'shadow of God'.*

² The field of battle, strewn with elephant-bodied Mughals, looked like a chess-board. Their faces (castles) had been cut into two with the sword, and their bodies, pounded with the clubs (*gurz*), looked like bags for holding the chess-men. The dead Mughal lay right and left like so many captured pieces. Of the 'horses' (knights) which had filled the squares, some had been knocked down with blows and others had been captured. Such knights, as after the manner of pawns, refused to go back, were turned into foot-men (pawns), and

¹ The Qurān, chap. xxxiii, sect. 2.

² *Allusions to chess.* The English names of the pieces differ considerably from the Persian. I have put the equivalents in brackets.

since they moved still further, they became *farzin* (queens), i.e. they were made to place their heads on the ground.¹ 'Alī Beg and Tartāq, the two kings of the chess-board, were checkmated by their large-boned enemy, the Malik Akhur Beg, who wished to send them to the Emperor, so that *he may either spare their lives or else cast them under the feet of the elephants (bishops).*² When Satan's puppets, i.e. the infidel troops, were brought bound before the Imperial throne, the two adventurers, who had claimed equality (with the Sultān), cast their eyeballs like dice on the carpet of submission, and appealed to the Emperor's manliness in order to save their lives. Two different orders were given concerning these 'red and white ones';³ some were to be put to death and others imprisoned. The two captured pieces,⁴ who had hitherto remained in suspense, were brought to their prison and freed from the danger of death. In the course of time one of them died, without any harm having been done to him, and the other remained alone. *The Emperor was so successful in the sport that he took their lives in one game after another.*⁵

¹ i.e. the Mughal horsemen were unhorsed and then killed.

² Allusions to the game of *nard*. An account of the game will be found in the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl.

³ In allusion to the colour of the Mughals and the pieces in the game of *nard*.

⁴ i.e. 'Alī Beg and Tartāq.

⁵ During the eight years, A.H. 697 to 705 Dehlī was twice besieged, first by Kutlugh Khwāja and then by Targhī. Amīr Khusrāu was not ignorant of these events; he refers to Kutlugh Khwāja and Targhī in the *Dawal Rānī* and he speaks in the above passage of Targhī's previous experience of India. But respect for 'Alāuddīn's dignity required an omission of the two most important Mughal campaigns.

This campaign is described by most historians. 'On one occasion' says Barnī, 'Alī Beg and Tartāq were the leaders of the Mughal army. They were famous men and 'Alī Beg was reputed to be a descendant of the accursed Chengiz. Skirting the mountains, they reached the territory of Amroha with thirty or forty thousand men. Sultān 'Alāuddīn sent Malik Nāik, the *Akhūr Beg*, with the Muslim army against them. The two forces came to battle within the confines of Amroha and God gave victory to the army of Islām. 'Alī Beg and Tartāq were both captured alive. The larger part of the Mughal army was put to the sword, scattered and dispersed. The slain Mughals were piled up on the field of battle like stacks of corn. Ropes were fastened round the necks of 'Alī Beg and Tartāq and they were brought before the Sultān with many other Mughal prisoners. Twenty thousand horses belonging to the Mughals were brought before the Court. A magnificent *darbar* was prepared at the *Chautra-i-Subhānī*. The Sultān sat in public audience and the army stood in a double row from the royal seat to Indarpat. Owing to the enormous multitude, the price of a cup of water rose to twenty *ittals* or *half-a-tanka*. Through such a crowd, 'Alī Beg and Tartāq, together with other Mughals and their baggage, were taken to the throne.

Account of another victory and the slaughter of the Mughal tumāns, who had raised an uproar under the dog, Kapak. ¹ When the fierce² infidel army (God destroy it!) came proudly like autumn into the garden of Hindustān, the southernmost of the fertile countries, towards the end of Diy,³ dust arose from the borders of the land of Sind and the inhabitants threw away their property and dispersed like autumnal leaves. But the storm of destruction, being unable to raise any dust in the regions of Kohrām and Sāmāna, turned towards the wilderness of Nāgore, and overpowered the inhabitants of that region. When the stench of these doomed carcass-eaters led by a hound increased, the sweet Nāgori rose, which smells like rubbed sandal-wood, turned fetid. Messengers fast as the wind brought news of this stench to the perfumed palace of the victorious Emperor, whose virtues are fragrant like the navel of a musk-deer. In abhorrence of those men with stinking brains, he ordered the Muslim army to proceed against them; but the news was to be kept a secret, lest in fear of the approaching sandal, the horrid stench should fly back to the fragrant willows of Khorāsān. The Malik of fragrant virtues, 'Izzud-doulah waddin Kāfūr-i Sultānī (May the Imperial Court be perfumed with his talents!) was appointed to lead the army. The deer-riding lions went so quickly that they made no distinction between the darkness of night and the light of dawn till they had reached their stinking prey. And when the turmeric-coloured dust of the holy

The captive Mughals were cast under the feet of elephants. And stream of blood did flow'.

The commander of the army of Islam, on this occasion, was a Hindu. The *Mir'at-i Sikandari* says that Nāiks are a tribe of outcaste Rājapūts. Be this as it may, the surname 'Naik' is common enough today. The following lines from Khusrāu's *Dawal Rāni* leave no doubt as to Malik Nāik's religion. 'As he (Targhī) wished to injure the Faith through his infidels, Fate decreed that he should meet his death at the hands of an infidel (Hindū). The soil of the wilderness drank the blood of the armies of 'Alī Beg and Tartāq when the two Turkish Khāns were suddenly captured by a Hindū slave (servant) of the Court and the conflagration was quelled by the sharpness of the Imperial sword.'

Nizāmuddin contents himself with summarising Barnī. Ferishta has Tarqāl Khwāja for Tartāq, and says that the Muslim army was commanded by Malik Mānik (an obvious misreading for Malik Nāik) and Ghazī Malik Tughlaq. 'The Sultan', he adds, 'distributed the captured horses equally among the *amirs* and ordered the eight thousand Mughal heads, which had been brought, to be used instead of stones and bricks for the towers of Sirī, which were then being built.'

¹ Or Kabak. Kabik in '*Tabaqāt-i Akbari*'; Kank in Ferishta. Barnī says Kapak. A *tuman* usually consisted of ten thousand horse.

² Allusions to smells.

³ Winter or the first month of it, December.

warriors had bathed the janice-smelling Mughals, the latter also became fragrant. ¹ On the banks of the Ab-i 'Alī² the Mughals were overtaken by a weak wave from the swelling stream of Muslim enthusiasm. The accursed Kapak fell into a rushing torrent of swords and began to strike out his hands and feet; the sharp sword was about to cut off his head, when the kind-hearted Mussalmāns rushed in from all sides and took him prisoner, in order to send the water-dog with the other aquatics to the Imperial Court. All the followers of Kapak were either killed or imprisoned; some were shot with arrows and became cold where they stood; the rest had still some water from the stream of life left, but the wind of Divine wrath blew against them and they were put into chains.

Another Mughal army, under Iqbāl Mudbir³ and Mudābir 'Tāi Bū, followed close behind Kapak's, thirsty for the blood of Mussalmāns, but well filled with the blood of their own tribes. Suddenly a torrent of blood of the slaughtered infidels flowed towards them, but as they were well accustomed to such a flood, they dived to the bottom. The swelling stream of blood, however, reminded them of the sharp sword; for a great slaughter was awaiting them. Though they tried to strike out their feet, they found no space to stand on. Meanwhile the van of the Muslim army advanced like clouds and rain, and fell like a raging storm on these men from Jaihūn. All of them fled from the rain of arrows, and wished like dogs to seek refuge in any gutter. On every side the army advanced like waves of a deluge *that goes over mountains and caverns with tumult and noise*. ⁴ News was brought to the commander of the Muslim troops⁵ that the Mughals had two heads, one Iqbāl and the other 'Tāi Bū. When the right wing of the Imperial army fell upon them, they lost all consciousness of hand and feet, and the two Mughal leaders were

¹ Allusions to water.

² Ferishta says Nilab; Barnī and Nizamuddin say the battle took place at Khakar. According to the *Dawal Rāni*, 'the Mughals crossed the territory of Multan and began to ravage the land of the Ravi.' This seems more accurate. I am inclined to believe that the advance guard under Kapak first came to Multan and then marched up the river Ravi, which in those days flowed near Multan. After the defeat of Kapak on the bank of the Ravi, the Mughal contingents of Iqbāl and 'Tāi Bū tried to fly away across the same ford of the Indus. Khusrāu gives no dates for this invasion and his geographical references are perplexing.

³ i.e. Iqbāl, the coward.

⁴ Allusions to parts of the human body.

⁵ i.e. Malik Kāfir.

flying by the same passage across the Sind (Indus). But as they had forgotten their 'feet', neither did their 'feet' remember their 'heads'; and it was high time for the Imperial sword to strike off their 'heads' and throw them before their 'hands' and 'feet'!¹ So by the *firman* of the commanders of the army, bold and strong-armed warriors took their swords in hand, spurred their horses across the extensive desert and soon overtook the retreating Mughals. In that garden of death heads were struck off and necks were cut open, so that the sword sometimes reached the throat and sometimes the waist. *Owing to the sword of the holy warriors, the deluge of blood came up to the nose of the infidels; yet not a drop of blood came out of a Musslamān's nose.* When the victorious army, which had girded up its loins for holy war in defence of the Faith of the Lord, saw conclusive proof of the text, — 'And surely Allāh will help him who helps His cause'—it enacted the scenes of resurrection on the innumerable bodies of these accursed wretches. You would have thought that the Day of Judgment had arrived, and that the angels of the Lord were collecting the dead bodies of stony-hearted infidels to light the fire of Hell, 'of which men and stones are the fuel.' Countless infidels having been sent to Hell in that extensive territory, another great multitude of them was consigned to the angels of torture to be put in 'chains and shackles' and brought to the review. At the head of the chain was the accursed Kapak, a hound from amongst the hounds of Hell. He had been captured among the *amīrs* of Jar Tāi Bū's *tumān* and testified with him to the fact that the people of the north had resorted to flight. All the other (Mughals) were either despatched to the pit of Hell or else put in the same chains with those destined for that place. The virtuous Malik³ moved back with his troops to the Court of the august Emperor (May his kingdom last for ever!). Time after time he kept on sending fresh news to the Lord's deputy,⁴ and was in reply favoured with a robe of honour. Finally he reached the Imperial Court, and brought the hellish crew to the muster of the Judgment

¹ Alluding to the Mughal loss of *morale*. The 'heads' would be the leaders, Iqbāl and Tāi Bū, the 'hands' and 'feet' would be the officers and men.

² *Allusions to the day of judgment.* The quotations following are from the Qurān.

³ Malik Kāfūr. Iqbāl is here said to have been captured among the *amīrs* of Tāi Bū's *tumān*, but according to Khusrāu's previous statement he had been captured in the battle on the bank of the Ravi.

⁴ i.e. 'Alāuddīn.

Day. 'When the earth is shaken with her (violent) shaking,' cried the huge elephants as they threw most of these cotton wearers (i.e. Mughals) high up in the air; and (*the cotton wearers*) became like 'loosened wool.'¹ But as even the enormous elephants, who are like strong houses on moving pillars, were not able to destroy all the desolators of this country, order was given that the base of the towers of the Fort (*kangar-i-ḥiṣār*) was to be constructed from the blood and bones of the remaining (Mughals). Immediately in obedience to the Imperial command, *Tatars and Chinese were hung from the Fort as negroes*² with heads inverted hang down from a new building.³ Owing to the mixture of the Mughal bodies with the material of the towers, the confluence of Mars and Saturn was witnessed, and the evil influence of the confluence fell on the lives of these men of Mars. For even after all the towers had been constructed, many of these doomed men were left. Their wretched heads were cut off with shining swords and a bastion, so high that it touched the head of the sky, was formed of them. Mars hung its head (in shame) at the sight. *The constellations of the sky have but a single 'head,' but here you may see a hundred thousand 'heads' in a single constellation (bastion).*

* * * *

NOTE ON THE INVASIONS OF KAPAK IQBAL AND TAI BU.

Later historians have so confused the account of these generals that I have, for the sake of clearness, reserved their discussion for a separate note.

As to the other authorities, Amīr Khusrāu has devoted some lines of his *Dawlat Rānī* to the same campaigns. 'After this (defeat of Ali Beg and Tartāq) three fierce (Mughal) generals, who moved more rapidly than the wind, crossed the territory of Multān and began to ravage the land of the Rāvi. One of them was Tāi Bū, the other was Iqbāl Mudbir and the third was Kapak, wise in war and revenge. Their armies, innumerable as grains of sand (had come) to take revenge for the fate of Tartāq and 'Ali Beg. According to his custom, the Emperor ordered the Minister of the State, Kāfūr (camphor), to disperse the stench of Tāi Bū, so that no trace of it may remain. The great warrior marched rapidly, and crossing two stages in one night, came upon the Mughals like a storm and dispersed their wretched ranks. The blood of the Tātārs rose high up to the breast of the horses in that extensive desert. The infidel dogs fled in panic; the holy warriors pursued

¹ *Allusions to buildings.*

² Or, in the alternative, 'Zangis,' a Turkish tribe. Khusrāu calls the Mongols by various names—Tatars, Turks, Chinese and Mughals. This is not really inaccurate, for they are all sections of the same Mongolian race and the Mongols freely enlisted their kindred tribes in their armies. The Mongols, who have given their name to the whole race, seem to have been a minor tribe in the days before Chengiz Khan. The fort referred to is the Hazar Sutun Palace or Koshak-i Siri.

³ *Allusions to stars.*

them like lions. Iqbāl and Tāi Bū fled from the battle-field toward the rivers. Though they had collected spoils before this, now the preservation of their own heads was all they wished for. The Army of Faith advanced like a river and Kapak was drowned; it pounced like a falcon and carried off Kapak as if he was a partridge. A collar was placed round the neck of the great hound and he was sent to the Emperor of the World.' In spite of the mixed metaphors, these lines will leave on the reader the impression that Iqbāl, Tāi Bū, and Kapak were three generals taking part in the same campaign, though, of course, each commanded a different army.

Barnī's account is loose and inaccurate.

'On another occasion, in another year, the army of Islām came to a battle with the accursed Kank and the Mughal troops at Khakar. God granted victory to Muslim arms. The accursed Kank, leader of the Mughal army, was brought captive and alive before the Sultān's throne, and there cast under the feet of elephants. On this occasion also, either in the field of battle or else after being brought to Delhi, enormous numbers of Mughals were slain. A tower of their heads was raised before the Badāun Gate; people see it till to-day and it reminds them of,' Alāuddīn.

'On another occasion, in another year, three or four Mughal *amirs* of *tumans* broke into the Siwālīks suddenly and heedlessly with thirty or forty thousand horse and engaged in plunder and slaughter. Alāuddīn sent the army of Islām against them with orders to seize the road by which the Mughals were to return to the river; when the Mughals returned thirsty to the water-side, it was to mete out their punishment to them. The Muslim army seized the passages of the Mughal retreat and encamped by the river-side. As God had ordained, having laid waste the Siwālīks and travelling a long distance thence, the Mughals and their horses reached the river thirsty and in disorder. The Muslim army, which had been waiting for their return for a few days, obtained the desired supremacy over them. The Mughals, taken by surprise, begged for water from the Muslim army. They were all taken captive along with their women and children. A great victory had crowned the Muslim arms. Thousands of Mughals were sent to the fort of Narāniya with ropes round their necks; their women and children were brought to the Delhi slave-market and sold away like Hindustānī slaves. The Malik Khās-i-Hājib was sent to Narāniya from the capital. He went there and put unhesitatingly to the sword all the Mughals who had been brought to the fort after the victory. Streams ran with their foul blood.

'In another year Iqbālmandah came with the Mughal army. Sultān 'Alāuddīn sent the army of Islām from Delhi against them. This year also the Muslim army gained a victory over the Mughals. After a feebly fought battle, Iqbālmandah was slain and thousands of Mughals were put to the sword. The *hazara* and *sada amirs*, who had been caught alive, were brought to Delhi and cast under the feet of elephants. On the occasion when Iqbālmandah was slain, no Mughal escaped alive.'

Two later historians deserve citation.

'In the year A.H. 705,' says Ferishta, 'one of the great *amirs* of Dāwa Khān, named Kank, came with a large army to seek revenge for a 'Ali Beg and Khwāja Taryāl. He had passed the precincts of Multān and reached the Siwālīks, when Ghāzi Malik Tughlaq prepared his army for battle and seized the banks of the river Nilāb, thus cutting off the Mughal retreat. The Mughals plundered and ravaged; then after a long journey, when the air was hottest, they came back to the banks of the Nilāb with inflamed livers and parched, lips ignorant of the snare of their enemy. But when they saw the river of life in the enemy's hands, they naturally despaired of their lives and gave battle to the army of Hindustān. Most of the Mughals were slain; Kank was captured alive while

those who escaped from the battle-field died of thirst in the forest. Their women and children were taken prisoners. This was a strange event, for out of fifty or sixty thousand Mughals not more than three or four thousand were left alive. Ghāzi Malik, who became very famous on account of this victory, sent Kank with a large number of Mughal prisoners to the Sultān. 'Alāuddīn had Kank and his comrades thrown under the elephants' feet near the Hazār Sutun Palace, and then constructed a tower of Mughal heads in the plain before the Badāun Gate. It is said that traces of it remain till to-day. This year the Mughal women and children were sold in Delhi and the rest of Hindustān like Hindi prisoners of war.

'A long while after this a Mughal, named Iqbālmand, came to Hindustān with an immense army and wrought much damage. But Ghāzi Malik Tughlaq marched against Iqbālmand and after slaying him sent many live Mughals to Delhi to be trodden down by the enormous elephants. Fear and terror now overtook the Mughals; the desire of coming to Hindustān was washed off from their breasts; and they created no trouble till the end of Sultān Qutbuddīn's reign. Ghāzi Malik Tughlaq was stationed at Depālpūr. Every year he led expeditions to Kābul, Ghaznī, Qandhār and Garmsīr, plundered and ravaged those regions and levied tribute from their inhabitants. The Mughals had not the courage to come and defend their own frontiers against him.'

Nizāmuddīn's account is based on Barnī.

'Next time a Mughal, named Kabik, came with a large army and fought a battle with the army of Delhi at Khakūr. Most of the Mughals were slain and a tower of their heads was constructed near the Badāun Gate.

'After a while a Mughal army of thirty thousand horse came to the Siwālīks and began to plunder. When the Sultan heard of it, he sent a large army against them. The army of Delhi seized the banks of the Rāvi, across which the Mughals had to return; and when the Mughals, loaded with spoils, came to the river-side, the army of Delhi advanced and defeated them. Many Mughal officers were captured and imprisoned in the fort of Tarāinah, which is situated in that neighbourhood, while their families and followers were brought to the City and sold as slaves. After this the Malik Khās-i-Hājib was ordered to go to Tarāinah to put the prisoners to death.

'A long time after this Iqbālmandah, a famous Mughal, came to India with a large army. An engagement took place between him and the army of Delhi at Daradahindah Amir 'Ali (?). Iqbālmandah was slain and the other Mughals were brought to Delhi, where they were thrown under the feet of elephants.'

Of the five accounts before us, Nizāmuddīn merely summarizes Barnī and need not be further considered. The only addition he makes is the identification of the river mentioned by Barnī with the Rāvi. Ferishta apparently had only Nizāmuddīn and *Dawal Rānī* before him, and plays havoc with facts and names. Of the three original authorities *Tārīkh-i-Firozī*, *Dawal Rānī* and *Khazā'inul Futūh* the last two are fairly consistent, but it is difficult to reconcile them with the *Tārīkh-i-Firozī*. Amīr Khusrāu speaks of the three generals as if they had planned a joint push, Kapak leading the advanced contingents while the other two marched behind. Malik Kāfur (not Ghāzi Malik as in Ferishta) was the commander of the Delhi army. Barnī speaks of three campaigns in three different, if not successive, years. The first is led by Kapak, the name of the commander of the second is not given, while the third is assigned to Iqbālmandah. I am inclined to agree with Amīr Khusrāu, who wrote during 'Alāuddīn's reign while Barnī's paragraphs may not have been written till years after. Military matters did no interest Barnī, his geographical knowledge was meagre and his dates are often incorrect.

(To be continued)

Reviews

THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA OF KAUTALYA¹

BY

J. J. MEYER

THE German School of Orientalists have spared no pains to make a close, elaborate and detailed study of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya with a view to arrive at a satisfactory decision, as far as may be final and conclusive, regarding the authenticity of the author, and the date of its composition. The chief among these scholars are Drs. H. Jacobi, J. Jolly, M. Winternitz, J. J. Meyer, Otto Stein and Bernhard Breloer. The patient and careful researches of these well-known scholars have led to different conclusions, with the result that the German School has divided itself into two branches. One supports the Indian traditional view-point, namely, that Kauṭalya is the accredited author of the extant Arthaśāstra and was the Chancellor of the first Maurya king, Chandragupta Maurya. To this branch belong Professors Jacobi, J. J. Meyer and others. The other branch, represented by equally distinguished scholars such as Professors Jolly and Winternitz, takes the view judging from this treatise on political science, that the author could not have been a statesman but only a pandit; and that the work itself must have been written in a later age, perhaps after the third century A.D. Professor Jolly agrees with Dr. Winternitz in almost all the points and still he could not help concluding that from the intimate knowledge Kauṭalya possesses as regards every method of a working administration, he must have been at least 'an official in a State of medium size where he had obtained insight into the working of the administration.'

¹ *Das Altindische Buch Vom Welt-und-Staatsleben Das Arthaśāstra Des Kauṭilya* by Dr. Johann Jacob Meyer (Published by Otto Harrassowitz, Verlagsbuchhandlung, Leipzig 1925-1926).

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya, edited by Jolly and Schmidt, Intro., p. 47.

This was exactly the position when Dr. J. J. Meyer published his invaluable work on the *Arthaśāstra*. Professor Meyer is a distinguished student of Sanskrit literature, and is the author of another solid work 'Über das Wesen der Altindischen Rechts-schriften und ihr Verhältnis zu einander und zu Kauṭalya.' In this latter work he has made a deep study of the extant Smṛti texts or law-books, and has established a thesis for revising the accepted chronology of the Smṛtis. Most of the theories are strikingly original and must find general acceptance among scholars. His comparative study of the *Dharmaśāstras* and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya led to a special and more useful study of the *Arthaśāstra* itself. There were three good editions of the text of the *Kauṭalya Arthaśāstra* edited respectively by Dr. R. Shāma Śāstri of Mysore, Dr. Jolly of Würzburg and Dr. Ganapati Śāstri of Trivandrum. There was besides a translation in English of the *Arthaśāstra* by Dr. Shāma Śāstri. Professor Meyer was obviously tempted to bring out a new translation of the text, and this he attempted in his own language, the German. Perhaps he felt that the existing translation in English required a thorough revision in places in the light of fresh materials on the subject, and that a translation in German would be better appreciated by his own countrymen than if he had produced another translation in English. Whatever be the motive that actuated him to translate the work in German, the work done by him shows great care and attention devoted to it extending over a number of years, so much so that the Kauṭalya study has become more or less his life-study.

The complete work on the subject covers six parts of 891 pages, solidly printed, with a literal translation of the whole Arthaśāstra with elaborate notes on every important technical word, noting the different readings of the text and giving his own reading in some places, or accepting the alternate readings of the texts. This is a bold venture born out of vast and deep specialization in the complicated subject of Indian politics and economics. We can well say that he has achieved distinguished success in his great endeavour. Though he has done the whole work in German, it is pleasant reading to even an ordinary student of German. His is a flowing style, and his expressions are free, clear and simple and hence easily understandable. In presenting his translation he has not failed to consult the existing literature on the subject, the different commentaries extant, the

Nayaçandrika, *Bhaṭṭasvāmin*, and *Śrīmūtam*, and also modern studies on the subject like Nag's *Les theories diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne et la Arthasāstra*, Stein's *Megasthenes* and *Kautilya*. In his elaborately written foreword of eighteen pages, Dr. Meyer regrets that he could not appreciate their theses. (Vorwort, p. 15.)

His footnotes are at once valuable, elaborate and critical. He is not fully satisfied with them and has been forced, in the light of further new materials, to publish a *Nachtrag* or supplement to the notes. The supplement covers more than 220 pages packed with a wealth of detail which will be valuable to every critical student of the *Arthasāstra*. This is not the place to examine elaborately either the translation or the notes, or even the addendum. Still we may point out a few places where there is considerable difference of opinion among scholars, and the actual points of view the learned author of this work has taken. On p. 45 in the footnotes, concerning Bk. i, ch. 18, he would retain Shamaśāstri's *martum* in place of Jolly's *bhartum*, and also *mukhyaputram apasarpah* for Ganapati's *mukhya-putrāpasarpah*. Again on p. 90 (Bk. ii, ch. 7) he translates *Pancabanda* and *daśabanda* as *funffache* (fivefold) and *zehntältige* (tenfold). The real interpretation, on the authority of Vijñānēśvara, is one-fifth and one-tenth. On pp. 159 and 160 we have an interesting examination of weights and measures such as *tula*, *dharana*, *bhajanī*, *drona*, etc.

On p. 312 (Bk. iii, ch. 20) the phrase *शक्याजोवकादीन्* is translated as the Buddhists and the Jains. Apparently Dr. Meyer has adopted the variation in the Munich Manuscript for the phrase *जोवकादीन्*. The variation is unintelligible for the word *Śakya* means the Buddha or a member of his family and cannot mean a Buddhist generally. Hence it is clearly an interpolation of later times.¹ Therefore, it is better to retain the other reading *जोवकादीन्* meaning 'mendicants who are unorthodox', or adopt a prefix *आ* to the word, and make it an *ājivaka*, as suggested, meaning members of the mendicant order different from the Buddhists and the Jains. It is hazardous in our opinion to build anything like a theory on the

¹ See K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 114.

slender basis of a doubtful and disputed passage. On p. 342, the title of the chapter (वाक्यकर्मानुयोग) (Bk. iv, ch. 8) is translated *Wort-verhör* (examination by word) and *folterverhör* (trial by torture). This is no improvement on the translation of Shāma Śāstri 'trial and torture to elicit confession.' The title simply means 'enquiry on evidence and action thereon.' The word '*harma*' loses all its technical legal sense if it is merely translated as '*folter*' or torture. It simply means 'action,' and here it is judicial action. It is not clear how the word came to mean torture, and at least this is not the sense in which Kaṭāliya uses the term.

On pp. 406 and 407 (Bk. vii, ch. 1) there is a long and useful footnote on the term *dvaiddhībhāva* which is rendered into German 'Doppel spiel' which is double dealing. Other meanings such as Doppel heit (deceit) and *Doppel zustand* (double position) are also given. The actual position of *dvaiddhībhāva*, as it obtains in the Kaṭāliya, is discussed rather elaborately.

On p. 488 (Bk. vii, ch. 18) there is an interesting note on the term *samhitaprayāṇika* which is rendered into German *Verbündeter* or an allied power. This may perhaps refer to the *Alluerter* or ally *samavāyika* at the end of chapter 4. Here it occurs सामवायिकै संभूय यायात् and this is *sambhūyaprayāṇika*. The ally referred to in the last expression is narrowed down in importance. Perhaps it may be an example to show that in the last war, while England was 'an allied power' of France, America was an 'associated power.' The example cited is more fitting in the passage referred to. The supplement, to which we have already made a reference, is particularly valuable as giving us different readings of the texts. He has compared the readings given by Pandit Ganapati Śāstri, and the consequent interpretations with those of others, and has put all of them to the critical test. In the course of his remarks he has given parallel passages and stanzas from contemporary and other literature including the *Dharmaśāstras*, other *Nitiśāstras*, and the *Itihāsas*. For example, he has given for the term *Godāna*, meaning given by Hopkins (*J.A.O.S.*, vol. 13), by Yājñavalkya and Manu, by Nandarjīkar on the *Raghu-vamśa* passage, by Mallinatha, and in the *Pāṇsk-grihyasūtra*. Thus he has brought together all the references known to him in a nutshell. This is only to show how the learned translator has made his notes

more valuable than the translation itself. His real researches are embodied in these notes presented to us with conspicuous ability and judgment. In the foreword and introduction covering full eighty pages, Dr. Meyer has reopened the whole question of the authenticity of the author of the *Arthasāstra*, and has conclusively proved that the extant Kauṭaliya is the accredited work of the Chancellor of Chandragupta Maurya. Hence it is a composition of the fourth century B.C., and not third century A.D. To establish the latter date, some inconclusive and most ingenious arguments have been advanced and these have failed to carry conviction to, and general acceptance among, scholars. On p. 20 the learned Professor examines, the untenable theory of Hillebrandt that the extant work belongs to a school and not to a single author. On p. 22 the evidence of Megasthenes, is discarded as valueless from more than one point of view, and thus falsifying the thesis of Dr. Otto Stein that Chānakya was not the Chancellor of Chandragupta. His arguments as regards Megasthenes, can be summarized categorically: (1) that Megasthenes is actuated by an idealizing tendency; (2) that he imports often the institutions of other countries to Indian conditions; (3) that the reports available are only fragments and it is therefore wrong to build any theories with an *argumentum en silentio*; (4) and that Megasthenes had no knowledge of Indian languages and that his information was not first-hand, and therefore, mere hearsay. Some of the best arguments against the authenticity of the author like the one that Patanjali does not mention Kauṭalya, or Kauṭalya does not mention Pataliputra are all treated, as *argumentum en silentio*, and therefore deserving of no serious attention.

We could not enter in detail here into every aspect of the question dealt with in his lengthy, but well written, introduction. The questions that the author is only a pandit and not a statesman, that his name is Kauṭalya and not Kauṭilya, that he uses the term *suranga* which is a Greek expression, *syrinx*, are all discussed with ability. We would have wished the learned translator had adopted uniformly Kauṭalya instead of Kauṭilya. For there is reliable evidence to the effect that all the manuscripts of the text and the commentaries relating to the same invariably contain the term Kauṭalya. Further the late lamented Ganapati Śāstri has conclusively proved that neither the term *Kauṭilya* nor its root *Kuṭila* is explained in the *Nighantus* as *Gotraṣi*, and

crooked, while *Kuṭala* is a distinct gotra name. But a question may reasonably be asked how it was that he became known as Kauṭilya. The explanation is not far to seek. Kauṭalya was such a consummate and skilled politician, such an able statesman and a true Pandit, having mastered all sciences, that others occupying a similar position looked with prejudice and envy; and perhaps it was the author of *Mudrarākṣasa* that first gave this name to him, in his own sarcastic and humorous way. The drama became so popular that people became more familiar with this name than with his true name. In India it has been a custom to invest every true hero and heroine with the hallow of myth, and naturally mythical accounts grew around this notable figure. Can we say on this account that there was no Kauṭalya, either the Chancellor or the author or both. Such a view is neither possible nor probable in the face of the strong tradition handing down his name. The learned German scholar takes the view, quite rightly in our opinion that Kauṭalya was the author of the extant *Arthasāstra* and that he was the Chancellor of the first Maurya Emperor.

Dr. Meyer is a humorous writer and knows well how to repay his opponent in his own coin and without in the least offending him. He refers¹ to Whately's work 'Historical Doubts concerning Napoleon', wherein is proved that Napoleon I did not exist and that he was only a mythical figure. Will anyone seriously take notice of this fact, asks Dr. Meyer. The Kauṭaliyan problem is just the same. There may be legends and stories written in later days, and on this account it would be nothing short of absurdity to say that Kauṭalya as a person did not exist. It is to set at nought India's glorious tradition which, according to the late V. A. Smith, is the sole source of undated history.

There is one point where we cannot see eye to eye with the learned scholar. On p. 56 of his introduction he seems to opine that Kauṭalya is swayed more by expediency than by high moral considerations. Mahāmahopādya Ganapati Śāstri has already proved that in his recommendations or prescriptions Kauṭalya has not sacrificed principles of morality at the altar of the State, and that the *Arthasāstra* must be regarded as equivalent to *Dharmasāstra*.² Whether the *Arthasāstra* is secular or follows the *Dharmasāstras*, has been discussed in a lengthy

¹ Introduction, p. 53.

² *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭalya, vol. iii (Trivandrum ed., Intro., p. 4).

contribution¹ by the reviewer and it has been conclusively shown that the author of the extant work is swayed by high moral considerations. Apparently Dr. Meyer is not aware of some Indian publications in the shape of articles and books on the *Arthashastra*. For example, he has not referred to Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar's *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity* or K. P. Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity*. Nor has he any reference to contributions on the subject in Indian Research Journals, and Proceedings of the Oriental Conferences.

In the later pages of his Introduction, the learned German orientalist takes the right view that *Artha* is important for fulfilling the objects of life which are beautifully expressed in one word the *Trivarga* in Sanskrit literature or the *muppal* of Tamil literature. He briefly surveys the significance of *danda*, as specially to avert a State being plunged in *mātsyanyāya*. He also examines the conception of Hindu monarchy that the king was something more than a mere mortal being, and for the realization of *Trivarga*, the king is held to be a necessary factor. These and other topics of allied interest are raised, and we have no hesitation in concluding that Dr. Meyer's book is distinctly the best achievement among the existing studies on the *Arthashastra*. Differing, as we have to do with regret, from him in some minor details, we congratulate him on this great study of a technical subject as ancient Indian Economics and Politics.

The value of the work is much enhanced by an elaborate general index followed by an equally elaborate Sanskrit index. In reviewing the *Kautiliya Arthashastra* edited by the late T. Ganapati Śāstri in the pages of this learned journal in 1925, we suggested that a new translation in English based on the commentaries available was desirable; and may we again venture to suggest the same to scholars interested in the subject? Such a translation would throw a flood of new light, if the translator would take into account all the contributions, whether in English or other modern languages like the French and the German.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

¹ Proceedings of Third Oriental Conference, p. 615 ff

‘ACTES DU PREMIER CONGRÈS NATIONAL
DES HISTORIENS FRANÇAIS PARIS’

PUBLISHED BY THE FRENCH COMMITTEE OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES

THIS is a small handy volume of 95 pages containing the proceedings of the First National Congress of French Historians held in Paris in April, 1927. The Congress was opened by M. Cavalier, the Director of Higher Education and Deputy to the Minister of Public Instruction. Among the several distinguished scholars who took part in the proceedings of the Congress, the following were prominent: M. Glotz, President of the French Committee of Historical Sciences, M. Charléty, Rector of the Academy at Paris, and M. Pirenne, Vice-President of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. The sessions continued for three days from the 20th to 23rd April. Generally there were two sittings on each day. Different papers on the four periods in the history of France—ancient, medieval, modern and contemporary—were read under distinguished Presidents. There were also other sections like art, economic history and general history in which the number of papers offered and discussed was comparatively small. The proceedings show that every paper was followed by keen discussions of which a brief but useful summary is given.

‘BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE
OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES—No. 6’

MAY 1929. VOL. II, PART I

PUBLISHED BY THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS

THIS interesting volume contains the proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences, held at Oslo in 1928. One of the useful institutions relating to modern historical sciences is the International Committee of Historical Sciences, organized at Geneva, May, 1926. The Governing Board of the Committee consist of H. Koht, University of Oslo, President; B. Dembinski, University of Poznan, and A. Dopsch, University of Vienna, Vice-Presidents; K. Brandi, University of Göttingen, G. DeSanctis, University of Turin, J. Susta, University of Praha, and H. W. V. Temperley,

Cambridge University, Governors; M. Lh  ritier, Paris, Secretary-General; W. G. Leland, Washington, Treasurer. Practically every country in the world has its representatives as members of the Committee. It is a pity that India does not find a place, and still we hope the Committee will include in the near future historians from India also.

The Bulletin of the International Committee is published under the Direction of the Governing Board by the Secretary-General. The languages admitted to the Bulletin are English, French, German, Italian and Spanish. The object of the Congress at Oslo is mentioned as 'the promotion of research and the strengthening of international good-will.' In the course of the thrilling opening address, Prof. Koht said: 'I remember that at the International Congress of London in 1913 Mr. Trevelyan, I think, very rightly pointed out that English historical research was greatly indebted to the work of amateur historians. We are all grateful to the amateurs and the other independent investigators who help to enrich our studies with new ideas and new researches. But all this independent personal work needs the corrective of professional discussion. *All our ideas and preliminary results will gain by undergoing the ordeal of being talked over with fellow investigators* : and this is where the International Congresses come in.' (The italics are ours.) This is a true observation worthy of note. Amateur research, with the proper corrective, may blossom into flowers and even ripen into fruits.

A communiqu   dated July 1, 1929, of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, shows the varied spheres of activity in which the Committee has engaged itself. The following sub-committee or commissions have been formed : Commission for publication, commission for studies in History, commission for bibliography, commission in regard to diplomatic relations, commission in respect of the constitution, commission for a retrospective bibliography of the periodicals, commission for revision of chronological tables, and commission for iconography. It is unnecessary for us to add that the reports of these different sub-committees will be an interesting literature by itself and will enrich modern historical studies.

V. R. R.

'THE PANDYAN KINGDOM FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES
TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY'

BY

MR. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.

Luzac & Co. 277pp. Price Rs. 6.

MR. NILAKANTA SASTRI has rendered real service to the cause of South Indian history by bringing out in book form, with suitable amplification and revision, his University Lectures on the P  ndyas, delivered in 1926. The book contains sixteen chapters and the author gives a clear and connected account of all that can be definitely known about the history of the P  ndyan kingdom from the period of the   angam up to the sixteenth century A.D. His has been a laborious task of gleaning the truth about past events from a bundle of legends, often unbelievable in nature, and also from a large mass of epigraphical material, a proper interpretation of which demands a fairly good knowledge of even astronomy. Having regard to the difficulties of the subject, it must be stated that Mr.    stri has made the best of a bad job. He has arrived at conclusions which are, in the main, acceptable and he has not allowed rival theories of scholars to perplex him. To say this is to say a great deal in his favour, for, there happen to be, at the present time, as many theories as there are investigators, some of whom are, by their eminence and erudition, well qualified to 'lay down the law' in such matters. Of necessity, Mr.    stri has had to adopt an attitude of reserve and caution so as to avoid 'fruitless controversy', as he himself remarks in his Introduction. Perhaps he has kept this idea a trifle too prominently in his mind, for, the reader sometimes desires to know what views the author himself holds on some controversial questions and why. For instance, the reader does feel disappointed and dissatisfied that Mr.    stri does not give a definite lead on the question of the   angam. The author has, in his own words, made 'the discussion on the vexed question quite general' and 'based it on broad considerations in order to avoid getting lost in minutiae'. Caution is laudable in a historian, especially in one who has to tackle problems which arise out of the paucity of historical evidence. But it is just such problems that press for solution at the hands of well-informed scholars. Again, in a book on the P  ndyan kingdom, one has a right

to expect some kind of a satisfactory account of the one outstanding institution, the Śāṅgam, which shed lustre and glory upon South India in general and the Pāṇḍya country in particular. Every lover of South India must feel legitimately proud that if North India could boast of the universities of Taxila, Nālanda and Benāres, he had the Madura Śāṅgam to his credit. Mr. Śāstri could very well have examined this point a little more thoroughly and given us his own opinion (instead of merely referring us to Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar) on such questions as (1) whether there was established a body called the Śāṅgam, and if so, when, (2) what might have been the reasons for pitching upon Madura as the seat of the University and (3) why the Śāṅgam works were mainly secular in character, etc. He might have utilized (to a greater extent than he has done in p. 23) the relevant portions of the Śīnnamanūr plates and given us some valuable particulars. It cannot be said that materials are insufficient. A comparison of the details in the Śīnnamanūr plates with the stories of the *Tiruvilāyadal purāṇam* will show that the discerning historian has ample scope for drawing valid conclusions about the early history of the Pāṇḍyas. For instance, lines 97 and 98 of the document with the *Tiruvilāyadal* story No. 15; line 91 with No. 13; lines 99 and 100 with the 17th stanza of story No. 31. Again, the allusion in the plates to the removal of the evil effects of famine (Aḍumpaṣi nādaḥarriyum) may be examined in the light of the statement in the commentary of the *Iṟayanār Ahapporūl*.¹ There are many more which Mr. Śāstri will pick out for himself. It is undeniable that one may not succeed in saying the last word in such matters. But historical hypotheses must be constructed before the final conclusions can be reached, and who will undertake to do that if scholars shirk the responsibility?

The author is equally reticent on the other 'vexed question of the Kaḷabhra occupation of the Pāṇḍyan country' (p. 47). He would have earned the thanks of the reader if he had culled out from the epigraphical records (which, it is evident, he has very thoroughly used for his thesis) all those portions being references on the Kaḷabhras and given us the benefit of his observations upon them, so that we might be in a position to discover what sort of people the Kaḷabhras

¹ It appears that Mr. Śāstri had nothing but contempt for this work as a historical source.

were and why they swept away the earlier empires (Aḷavariya adhirājarai ahala nīkki).

As for the history of the Pāṇḍyas between the seventh and the tenth centuries A.D., reconstructed from the available Pāṇḍya charters, Mr. Śāstri has been very thorough-going in his work. He has examined the views of all previous scholars, rejecting those which he could not approve of and expressing his own conclusions very clearly. Yet, we cannot agree with him when he identifies Varaguṇa Mahārāja of the larger Śīnnamanūr plates with the donor of the Vēlvikkūḍi grant. Mr. Śāstri has taken up this view for avoiding what he considers a difficulty. He desires to avoid the 'perplexing duplication of Rāja Simha' (p. 40). Where is the perplexity in Rāja Simha (father of Varaguṇa Mahārāja) being regarded as the son of Neḍunjaḍayan, the donor of the Vēlvikkūḍi grant? On the other hand, it seems to be best to leave Mr. Venkayya's tentative list (*Ep. Rep.* 1908, p. 66) undisturbed except for the identification of the donor of the Madras Museum plates. (He seems to be identical with the donor of the Vēlvikkūḍi plates.) Otherwise, fresh difficulties crop up, which could not have escaped the notice of Mr. Śāstri. One of them is about the dates that have to be assigned to the kings. At the present stage, only three dates are well-known, i.e. (1) A.D. 862, the date of Varaguṇa Varman's accession, (2) A.D. 770 for the donor of the Vēlvikkūḍi grant, and (3) A.D. 642, the date of the destruction of Vātāpi, the Chāḷukya capital. Mr. Śāstri has given tentative dates allowing thirty years for Kaḍuṅgōn, twenty-five years each for Avani Śūlāmaṇi and Śēndan, forty years for Arikēsari Māra Varman or Ninra Śīr Neḍumāran, thirty years for Kō-chaḍayan Raṇadhīra, twenty-five years for Rājasimha, fifty years for the donor of the Vēlvikkūḍi grant and forty-seven years for Śīr Māra Śīr Vallaba. In the absence of much evidence in giving unduly long periods for the last two monarchs here named, we feel too diffident to rely upon Mr. Śāstri's dates. Scholars know that saint Appar converted Mahendra Varman who ruled from circa A.D. 600 to 625. Appar was also moving about from place to place with his friend saint Sambandar, who is known to have cured Ninra Śīr Neḍumāran of his fever. If the Neḍumāran in question ruled from 670 to 710 it is highly doubtful if Appar could have been alive, and if alive, strong enough to lift Sambandar's palanquin on his shoulders and get mixed in the crowd of Sambandar's followers, as is narrated in his life. It is almost

certain, therefore, that Neḍumāran, the saint, should have mounted the throne much earlier than A.D. 670. These difficulties can be conveniently avoided by accepting roughly the following dates:—Kaḍuṅṅōn 562–592; Avani Śūlāmaṇi 592–622; Śēndan 622–652; Ninra Śir Neḍumāran 652–682; Ranadhira 682–712; Ari Kēśari II 712–742; Kō-chaḍayan (donor) 742–772; Rāja Simha A.D. 772–802; Varaguṇa Mahārāja 802–832; Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha 832–862; Varaguṇa Varman 862 to (?). Here we have assigned roughly thirty years for each of the monarchs, and when we get fresh particulars we can date the monarchs more accurately.

In the sixth chapter of the book, Mr. Śāstri lets in evidence from the Mahāvamśa to prove (1) that during the reign of Sēna I, there was a Pāṇḍya invasion of Ceylon, and that the Pāṇḍya was victorious; and (2) that during the reign of the next king Sēna II, the Sinhalese invaded the Pāṇḍya country and established a pretender (a rebel Pāṇḍya prince) on the Pāṇḍya throne. It is doubtful if Mr. Śāstri's explanation of the Māyā Pāṇḍya can be accepted. He relies upon the dates of the Sēna kings as obtained by making the correction of twenty-four years. In spite of Dr. Hultzsch, it is very doubtful if the suggested scheme of corrections works satisfactorily. We have to accept the Mahāvamśa dates as such, allowing a fairly wide margin this side or that. Further, as Mr. Śāstri has himself noticed, there is a difference between the Śinnamanūr plates version and of the Mahāvamśa version. The former speaks of a victory for the Pāṇḍya and the latter speaks definitely about the death of the Pāṇḍya king on the battle-field. It is certain that the father of Varaguṇa Varman was victorious in Ceylon. Perhaps the war was due to the help rendered by the Ceylonese king to a rebel prince of the Pāṇḍya line. So Śrī Māra Vallabha might have defeated the rebel prince and also the Ceylonese king. That could have happened in the reign of Sēna I (846–866 according to the Mahāvamśa). There might have been a counter-invasion of the Pāṇḍya kingdom during the reign of Varaguṇa Varman, when Sēna II was ruling in Ceylon and Varaguṇa Varman might have been the person killed in the fight. The coronation of the rebel prince might also have happened. Then Vira Nārāyaṇa might have ousted the rebel and mounted the throne himself. That would account for the fact that nothing of any detail is found about Varaguṇa Varman. Again, his not having an heir to succeed him to the throne is also explained in

this way, for he was possibly abruptly killed in the encounter with Sēna II.

The above alternative solution of the question is given not with the view of discrediting Mr. Śāstri's account, but only to demonstrate how difficult the task of the historian becomes when he makes a genuine attempt to re-construct the past. Much more co-ordination, than exists at present, becomes necessary among scholars at work in the same field of research. Mr. Śāstri has done the best that a single man can do. A thorough-going examination of the *Tēvāram* hymns and the works of Mānikka Vāsagar will be necessary before one can pronounce an opinion upon the date of Mānikka Vāsagar. Mr. Śāstri, evidently, could not find the time needed for it.¹ That is why we find Śāstri relegating this important question to a footnote on pp. 66 and 67. Without much of an argument to support him he states 'my conclusion, therefore, is that Mānikka Vāsagar must be taken to have preceded the Tēvāram Trio'. In the case of this saint, we can arrive at a reasonable date, provided we make judicious use of the material available in the *Tiruvāṣagam* in the light of the information gleaned from the Vēlvikkūḍi grant. The matter cannot, unfortunately, be entered into in greater detail here, since a special article on the subject is needed to bring out the full force of the arguments.

As for the remaining portions of the book, they are very well written by the author with his usual thoroughness and perspicuity. Yet, there is still scope for improvement. Fresh sources can be tapped so as to throw light on some obscure corners. For instance, in chapter ix, we find Mr. Śāstri struggling with the conflicting reports of the epigraphists to establish some sort of sequence of events in the reigns of some Pāṇḍya kings about whom the exact degree of relationship is not known. He says: 'A Jaṭavarman Śrī Vallabha seems to have reigned in this period with some real power for a period of at least twenty-three years. A considerable number of his records are found in various places . . . but the historical introduction tells us nothing about the historical details of his reign' (p. 118). 'It

¹ Similarly, his book contains no trace, in the later chapters, of his having examined the contemporary Tamil literature, with a view to give a picture of the social life at the end of the thirteenth century. He has to base his inferences upon the remarks of Marco Polo.

is not possible to determine precisely the period of his rule although there is some reason to think that he was a contemporary of Kulotunga I' (p. 119). He later on arrives, after enormous labour, at the result that the following kings reigned in succession :—(1) Jaṭavarman Śrī Vallabha, (2) Māra Varman Tribhuvana Chakravartin Parākrama Pāṇḍya Dēva, (3) Jaṭavarman Parāntaka Pāṇḍya, (4) Māra Varman Śrī Vallabha who had Vira Ravi Varman of Travancore as tributary, (5) Kulaśēkhara (pp. 123-25). Let us congratulate Mr. Śāstri on his success because he is, in the main, correct. Except with regard to the statement that Vira Ravi Varman was a king of Travancore and was the tributary of No. 4, he is right in his conclusions. We find the same details furnished in an untapped source. In 1906 and 1907 were published in a Tamil paper called *Tiruvukkarasu*, the summary of the information obtained from Sīdāna Ōlaikkanakku, still found in the Swāmi Vēdamūrti Muṭṭ at Tachalalūr in the Tinnevely District. The succession of Pāṇḍya kings found therein is as follows : (1) Ugra Pāṇḍya Rāja (A.D. 1023), (2) Aḷḷi Uṇḍa Rāja (A. D. 1095), (3) Parāntak (ia) Rāja (A. D. 1134), (4) Śivili (Śrī Vallabha) Māra Pāṇḍya Rāja (A. D. 1173), (5) Vira Kēraḷa Rāja (A. D. 1210), (6) Kula Śēkhara Perumāl and four brothers (A. D. 1270). (In the above list, each king is the son of the king mentioned above him.)

Mr. Śāstri will readily recognize these as being the six kings named above. This document becomes particularly valuable because of the definite dates (all expressed in Śaka and in Kollam era). He can now make all the necessary alterations in his dates.

Thus, we see that fresh sources which must be examined by the research worker are the Ōlaikkanakkus preserved in muṭṭs and temples. They do contain very valuable information.

Notwithstanding all that is stated above, by way of appreciative criticism, there is absolutely no doubt that Mr. Śāstri's book satisfies a long-felt need. It will be readily welcomed by the history-reading public as the one practically authoritative treatise on the difficult subject of the Pāṇḍyas.

The get-up of the book is good.

C. V. N.

'ANCIENT INDIAN COLONIES IN THE EAST,
VOL. I, "CHAMPA"

BY

R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D.

[Dacca University : published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore]

A NEW vista is just opening before the serious student of the history of Hindu India in the so-called Greater India, comprising all south-east of Asia practically and the islands of the Archipelago, at any rate the nearer ones to the coast. It is now clear—though as yet all the lines are not clearly laid—that the whole of this region had been colonized and Hinduized comparatively early, and had continued to enjoy prosperity under Hindu civilization for wellnigh thirteen centuries. The history of the beginnings of this colonial movement is lost in the mists of obscure tradition, but the brighter periods that followed the small beginnings have become more and more clearly visible, thanks to the labours of archæologists and epigraphists who have been working assiduously for more than half a century to make the hidden secrets visible. The credit of this discovery and the working up of this lost history of India are alike due to the French School entirely, so far as the continental portion is concerned, while in regard to the islands this school bears no inconsiderable share, though the Dutch may claim credit for the larger share of this work. The work of the French, which, as in other places, was more or less the product of personal enterprise, received organized support by the foundation of the school at Hanoi, L'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme Orient, in 1898. Since then the school has gone to work seriously in the studying up of all that is connected with the countries under French authority and the neighbouring islands. The results of their labour are incorporated in the Bulletin which the school issues, the 'Toung Pao' and a number of monographs issued from time to time by individual workers. Being all in French, the work has not become as well known in India as it should be, and Dr. Majumdar's effort is the comparatively humble one of making these known to the Indian public unacquainted with French. Apart from this difficulty of language, the conditions in regard to library facilities in India are such that even the very curious have little chance of access to these publications, necessarily

costly in their nature and erudite in their character. The work therefore consists of the inscriptions found in Champa published in text and in translation constituting Pt. II of the work of a little over 225 pages. This is prefaced by an introduction which is slightly larger being about 275 pages comprised of two parts, first the dynastic history and the next the cultural history and civilization of Champa. Of the prefatory part a little more than the first half is devoted to names and dates of history—the dry bones that are absolutely necessary for understanding the cultural history of the past not only of this region, but of any other. It is divided into chapters, each chapter referring either to a region or a period. The salient features of the history are discussed in general terms and a general or other kind of list of successions of rulers annexed to the general account. The regular history of this region seems to have begun somewhere about the second century A.D., it may have been earlier, and has gone on almost to A.D. 1500. But the fact that they founded the Hindu colonies and the process of colonization had gone on to a considerable extent when we get the first historical view, would naturally imply a previous period of colonization going on probably for some centuries. The colonies seem to have gone into this region from India, from all over the country according to Dr. Majumdar, over land from East Bengal and Assam, not necessarily from that part of the country alone. The colonies seem to have proceeded from the interior as well, but across that region, into Burma and beyond Burma. The important streams however seem to have proceeded over the sea, one centre being from Damruk, the Tamralipti of history, at the head of the Bay of Bengal and at one of the mouths of the Ganges. The next outpost of importance is Gopalpur, the 'Palura Apheterion' of Ptolemy near the mouth of the Ganjam river from which all sea-going craft, of all kinds and of all sizes, sailed up along the coast to this place wherefrom they drew out amidst sea and set sail across either to the part of the continent set over against it, or south-eastwards, to the Malaya Peninsula or to the islands adjoining. A large contribution to this stream of colonization was undoubtedly made by the country in the immediate neighbourhood, the Kalinga country. But, as was already remarked above, it is not merely the Kalingas, but other people from elsewhere also—the people from the distant south and even the west coast of India—came in here and

set sail across. There were other southern ports, the ports at the mouth of the Krishna, ports on the south Madras coast, such as Kaverippattinam and Negapatam, from which this sea-going movement started. There was communication over sea between the east coast and west coast of India, and ships seem to have come in regular caravan for purposes of trade. Half a dozen places have been marked as centres of meeting of this busy maritime enterprise. The actual relations between these places and the various colonies established in the east have not all been made quite clear in the account given by Majumdar, who writes his account from the side of the colonies themselves. This defect can be made good only by knowing the history of the colonies from the monuments and making comparative studies of these with the detailed history of India for the corresponding periods, to supply the links in the chain of movement that constituted the colonial history of India. For the pursuit of this study the foundation is well and truly laid by the enterprise of Dr. Majumdar in providing a handy and readable volume based on the work of the French School at Hanoi essentially and providing the material upon which he has based his account. We congratulate the author upon the production of this work and commend the enterprise of the publishers for having brought it out. We should have very much liked the book being free from petty blemishes of writing and printing, but perhaps it is a little too much to expect that as yet. We only hope that this work and what is promised further by the author would provide the means for a better understanding of Greater India in India itself. We shall conclude the review with wishing him success in his efforts already done, as well as those necessary for what he proposes doing in the future.

‘THE SEVEN CITIES OF DELHI—A DESCRIPTION
AND HISTORY’

BY

COL. SIR GORDON HEARN

[Second Edition, Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta]

THIS handy useful publication which has been in existence for the last twenty years is given to the public in a new edition now. The author is one who has had considerable experience of the locality in all its details and has had occasion to make a detailed study not only of the

localities, but of the literature bearing on it. As he says, he consulted something like a hundred and forty works on the subject. The new edition incorporates matter that has come to notice since the publication of the first, corrects a few errors and provides, on the whole, an excellent handbook in fourteen chapters of the various monuments of Delhi. There are six maps and about twenty-two illustrations, with the necessary background of historical material of tables of dates, etc. It is an excellent handbook which deals with the monuments in a non-technical form, and provides reliable information even to laymen visiting the place. It ought to be in the hands of everybody who wishes to visit the place, so full of ancient ruins surrounding the new rising city of the viceregal capital, Delhi.

Select Contents from the Oriental Journals

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

March-June, 1929—

- J. VIDYALANKARA: 'The date of Kanishka' expresses the view that Dr. Sten Konow's theory of A.C. 128 as the date of Kanishka's accession may be definitely accepted.
- R. D. BANERJI: 'Antiquities of the Baudh State.'
- A. BANERJI-SASTRI: 'Jayapura copper-plate of Devananda-deva.'
- V. KRISHNA RAO: 'The Identification of Kalinganagara.' The writer is inclined to believe that the site covered by the two villages, Nagara Katakam and Mukhalingam represents the ancient Kalinganagara.
- L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR: 'Dravidian Notes.'
- K. P. JAYASWAL: 'The Paris Manuscript of the *Garga-Samhita*.'
- A. S. ALTEKAR: 'Further discussion about Ramagupta.' The writer considers in this contribution some of the criticisms of his new theory on the problem of Ramagupta (between the reigns of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II) in a previous issue of this Journal and adduces fresh evidence supporting his position.
- K. K. BASU: 'Account of Mubarak Shah,' the Second Sayyad ruler of Delhi. Gives a narrative of the concluding portion of Mubarak's reign which appeared in the 1928 issue of this Journal.
- K. K. BASU: 'An account of Muhammad Shah,' the Third Sayyad ruler of Delhi.
- K. K. BASU: 'The House of Tughluk.'
- SASIBHUSAN CHAUDHURI: 'Discusses the relation of the present *Vayu* and *Siva Puranas*' and concludes that the *Vayur Purana* of the Asiatic Society is a genuine *Purana* belonging to a very early age and that it has a greater claim than the *Siva Purana* to be reckoned as one of the original eighteen *Puranas*.
- S. LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JAGDEB: 'Rock inscription near Atagada Fort in North Ganjam.'

R. D. BANERJI: 'Note on the above inscription.' Shows how the above record usefully corroborates the statements of the Mussalman historians.

R. K. MUKERJI: 'Later Guptas of Magadha.' Answers to the criticisms of R. D. Banerji with reference to the writer's position.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (London Institution)

VOL. V, Pt. II, 1929

J. M. UNVALA: 'The Palace of Darius the Great and the Apadana of Artaxerxes II in Susa.'

K. RONNOW: 'Some Remarks on Svētadvipa.'

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society

March, 1929.

A. S. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR: 'The Food Legends of the East.' Makes a comparative study of the Chaldean, the Jewish and the Indian, and points out that the Brahmana account of the *Satapatha Brahmana* is the parent legend.

N. N. LALLA: 'Lord Dalhousie and the Faithful Allies of the British.'

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR: 'The History of the Early Buddhism in India.' Propounds the view that the Buddhist sect was an unorthodox sect like the Vrātyas, the Danavas, and that the Buddhist movement came into birth before the actual period of Gautama Buddha's teachings. In the opinion of the writer, Mahāvira and Gautama were representatives of Kshatriya movement which aimed at ascetic life. Buddha was not opposed to the caste-system and the principle of *Ahimsa* was not peculiar to this sect. According to the writer, it is incorrect to speak of a 'Buddhist India' as a whole, and concludes that early Buddhism did not exercise any influence on the history of the land.

K. H. KAMDAR: 'The year of Sivaji's birth.'

REV. H. HERAS: 'A Historical tour in search of Kadamba documents.' Gives in the course of an illustrated account a number of antiquities, inscriptions and manuscripts in Khanpur Devgiri, Golihalli, Bidi, Hubli, Banavasi, etc.

Epigraphia Indica

VOL. XIX, Pt. V

L. D. BARNETT: 'Six inscriptions' from Kolur and Devageri.

S. KONOW: 'Shahdaur Inscriptions', one apparently of the year 60.

N. G. MAJUMDAR: 'Peshawar Museum Inscription' of the year 168.

N. G. MAJUMDAR: 'A Kharoshti Inscription' from Jamalgarhi of the year 359.

A. M. SATAGOPARAMANUJACHARYA: 'A note on the Velvikkudi grant of Nedunjadaiyan.'

G. VENKOBA RAO: 'Kumbakonam Inscription' of Sevvappa Nayaka.

L. D. BARNETT: 'Gadag Inscription' of the reign of Jayasimha II.

L. D. BARNETT: 'Two Inscriptions' from Ron.

Indian Antiquary

May, 1929.

HARIHAR DAS: 'The Mission of George Weldon and Abraham Navarro' to the court of Aurangzeb.

Indian Antiquary

June, 1929.

T. K. JOSEPH: 'Was St. Thomas in S. India?'

Journal and Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal

VOL. XXIII, No. 4

PRAYAG DAYAL: 'Rare Mughal Coins acquired for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.'

PRAYAG DAYAL: 'Coins of the Husain Baiqara of Khurāsān (873-913 H).'

PRAYAG DAYAL: 'Narwar coins.'

A MASTER: 'The *Arthashastra* on coins and minting.'

C. E. KOTTWAL: 'Copper Dams of Jalālud-din Akbar.'

G. H. OJHA: 'A gold coin of Bappa Rāwal.'

S. H. HODIVĀLA: 'The 'Shahi-i-Hind coins.'

Bengal Past and Present

VOL. XXXVII, PART II

- SIR E. COTTON: 'Warren Hastings through the German eyes.' Examination of a play in German by Herr Lion Fenchtwanger in which Warren Hastings is introduced as the central figure.'
- H. HOSTEN: 'Relation of the Capuchin Missions in Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia, Persia and East India.'
- P. PISSURLENGER: 'Some unknown dealings between Raghoba and the Portuguese.'
- D. SARVADHIKARI: 'Early public life in India.'
- B. K. BASU: 'The Cornwallis-Malet correspondence.'
- B. RAMACHANDRA RAO: 'Organised Banking in the days of John Company.'

The Presidency College Magazine

March, 1929.

- V. RANGACHARI: 'Foundation of the Gupta Empire. The writer concludes after a lengthy discussion that it seems to him that Fleet's date is the most acceptable and assumes that the Gupta Era marked the accession of Chandragupta I.'

The Calcutta Review

July, 1929.

- D. R. BHANDARKAR: 'An Appreciation of the Early Life of Buddha.'

The Bhārati

February, 1929.

- T. RAJAGOPALA RAO: 'Sanskrit metres in Telugu poetry.'
- A. NITYANANDA SASTRY: 'Message of Kālidāsa.'

March, 1929.

- M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA: 'Kadambas in Kalinga.'
- V. RAMAMURTHY: 'Karnātaka.'

April, 1929.

- V. VENKATARAYA SASTRY: 'Encyclopædia of Telugu grammar.'
- V. PRABHAKARA SASTRY: 'Origin of the Nominative in Telugu.'
- SESHĀDRI RAMANA KAVULU: 'Arnakonda inscription of Rudra.'

May, 1929.

- K. RAMAKRISHNIAH: 'Languages of Northern India.'
- DR. N. VENKATARAMANIAH: 'Conquests and literary patronage of Achyutadēva Rāya.'

June, 1929.

- K. S. SARMA: 'Bāna and the Kādambari.'
- V. VENKATARAYA SASTRY: 'Encyclopædia of Telugu grammar.'
- DR. N. VENKATARAMANIAH: 'History of the Āravīdu dynasty.'

Journal of the Telugu Academy

VOL. XVII, No. 1

- K. VENKATA SASTRY: 'The Poetic Skill of Peddana.'

VOL. XVII, No. 2

- K. VYĀSĀCHĀRYA: 'Poet and Poetry.'
- K. BRAHMAH SASTRY: 'Methods of Literary Criticism.'

VOL. XVII, No. 5

- J. RAMIAH PANTULU: 'Narasaraopet Inscription of Manuma Ganda Gopala.'
- J. RAMIAH PANTULU: 'C. P. grant of Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Vijayanagar.'
- J. RAMIAH PANTULU: 'The family of Tyāgarāja.'
- K. BRAHMAH SASTRY: 'The Manucharitram.'

Telugu Academy Journal

VOL. XVII, No. 5

- J. RAMIAH PANTULU: 'Narasaraopet Inscription of Manuma Gauda Gopala'.

This was incorporated in the *S. I. I.*, vol. vi, as No. 661, but the inscription contains only 104 lines, while that published by the author has 157 lines. Secondly, the record is shown to be of immense value as determining the date of the famous Telugu poet Tikkana. The Kakatiya ruler Ganapati and the Telugu Choda chief Manuma Siddhi were contemporaries. Ganapati ruled between s. s. 1120-1182. Manuma Ganda

Gopala of the inscription, who was the grandson of Manuma Siddhi and a contemporary and vassal of Prataparudra, the second in succession to Ganapati. Calculating backwards from Manuma Ganda Gopala, at the rate of twenty-five years a generation, Manuma Siddhi's date comes to about s. s. 1169. This falls within the regnal period. Viresalingam Pantulu also expresses a similar view in his *Lives of Telugu Poets* when he says that Tikkana was a contemporary of Ganapati. This remark is based on the literary work *Siddheswara Charitram*. This Narasaraopet inscription of Manuma Ganda Gopala, dated in s. s. 1218 confirms it.

Bharati

March, 1929.

M. S. SARMA : 'Kadambas in Kalinga'.

The writer deduces from five Eastern Ganga records, the existence in Kalinga, of a family of Kadambas whose names end with the word 'Khēdi'—e.g. Ugra Khēdi, Dharma Khēdi, etc. He writes that these migrated from the neighbourhood of the 'Khēd' Taluk of the Ratnagiri district. His arguments are that the nominal ending 'Khēdi' is related to the place of their origin, the existence of a Madhukeswara in the Kalinga capital and the mention of the same deity as the favourite deity of the Kadambas of Vijayanti, Palāsika and Pānungal. Pānungal is mentioned in ancient inscriptions, to be the capital of Matsya-dēsa and the Kadambas of Kalinga took the Matsya or fish as their emblem.

May, 1929.

'Achyutadevarāya's conquests and literary patronage'.

The writer mentions Achyutadevaraya's defeat of the king of Utkala which was hitherto unknown. This king of Utkala is identified with the Gajapati chief Pratāparudra. It is also said that, during the fourteen years of his rule, Achyuta Rāya had as many literary works written, but, being an ardent devotee of Sri Venkateswara, had all of them dedicated to that God. Hence it is clear that he also was a great patron of letters as was his predecessor Krishna Rāya.

SELECT CONTENTS FROM THE ORIENTAL JOURNALS 293

June, 1929.

DR. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA : 'History of the Āravidu Dynasty'. The writer has selected 243 lines from a Manuscript called *Bala Bhāgavatamu*, belonging to Mr. Brown's collection and preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The work was written in s.s. 1469. The selected portion deals with the Āravidu dynasty and has been edited with copious notes and references to literary, epigraphic and historical sources already published. A genealogical table of the dynasty as described in the Manuscript is also published.

The Kalabhras in South India

A REPLY

PANDIT M. RAGHAVA AIYANGAR, TAMIL LEXICON OFFICE

DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR has affixed a footnote to my article on the *Kalabhras in South India* in criticism of some of my views (vide *I. H. J.*, Vol. viii, No. 22, p. 74). In my article I tried to prove that the Kalabhras were not the Kalvars, because even in the Tamil verse of the Velvikudi plates we find the writer of the charter use the term *Kalabhra* which he would not have done, had the two sections meant one and the same.

I have also pointed out that the Kalabhras could hardly be the Muttaraiyars inasmuch as the former were classed along with the Pāndyas and the Vallabhas (Chālukyas) who were the inveterate foes of the Pallavas, and whom the poet describes as standing 'anxiously and painfully long' at the door of Nandivarman Pallavamalla for audience. In regard to this the learned editor of the Journal observes 'his friends might do as well as foes, as long as they recognized the superior position of Nandivarman.' In the stanza which I have quoted in my article the poet pays a glowing tribute to the valour of the sovereign and we find him chronicling the number of his foes, who, afraid of the conqueror's prowess, had come of their own accord to pay homage and who await his convenience for audience. Instances alluding to the patient waiting of the subdued foe at the door of the victorious are not wanting. (*Silap.* 25, pp. 34-36; *Tamil Navalai Caritai* 154; *Poyyamolippulavar*, *ibid.*, 68; *Kalingattuparani* 314-526). To say that friends too had to go through the ordeal of waiting for interviews does not appeal to us.

Again history records that the Muttaraiyars were warmly attached to the Pallava kings and were their viceroys for more than three generations. There is besides no evidence of hostility between the Muttaraiyars and the Pallavas.

According to Dr. Aiyangar the Kalabhras were the Kalvars who in process of time developed into Vēls and Vellālas ultimately. His is perhaps reminiscent of a saying

‘கள்ளர் மறவர் கனத்தோர் அகம்படியர்
மெள்ள மெள்ள வந்து வெள்ளான ரானாரே.’

current in certain localities. This saying may be the result of the social movements of a recent date when the term *Kalvar* carried with it an air of inferiority. The Muttaraiyars the learned Professor calls rightly as Kalvars. Ever since the Sangam epoch they had styled themselves as Kalvar-Kōmān, Kalvara Kalvan, etc. The term was then not one of reproach but of honour and respect. Be this as it may, there is not a single inscription identifying the Kalvars with the Vellālas, though Kalabhras, are styled as Vellālas. The fact seems to be that the Kalvars felt themselves socially inferior and worked their way slowly to the circle of the Vellālas.

It is the contention of Dr. Aiyangar that Acchyutakalappālan who may prove to be Acchyutavikrama 'could hardly be equated with one described as Kaliyaraśan in Tamil as he was liberal in gifts to the Brahmins'. It is indeed difficult to say whether Kūrṇuvānāyanār and Acchyutakalappālan are identical or different. We find however the term *Kaliyaraśan* among the records of the Pāndyas who in the bitterness of the loss of their country had much cause to view the conqueror with hatred. And there is nothing inconsistent or contradictory in a conqueror to lavish his gifts to Brahmins who had found favour in his eyes. Moreover Kūrṇuvan is considered a Nāyanār who could not but be charitable and well disposed to the Brahmins.

As regards the resumption of the *Brahmadēya* of Vēlvikuḍi either it must have been added to the king's estate as the result of political disturbance consequent on the advent of a foreign king or it might have lapsed to the state for want of proper claimants. It could not be the deliberate act on the part of the sovereign nor could it be due to any spite against any particular individual. If it had been done wilfully, it could have been rectified by Kaḍungōn as was the custom with the succeeding monarchs to remedy such misappropriation. The fact seems to be that the *Brahmadēya* lay unclaimed for six generations from Kaḍungon to Parāntaka Nedunjadaian. There is therefore no reason to suppose that the donor of gifts referred to in the

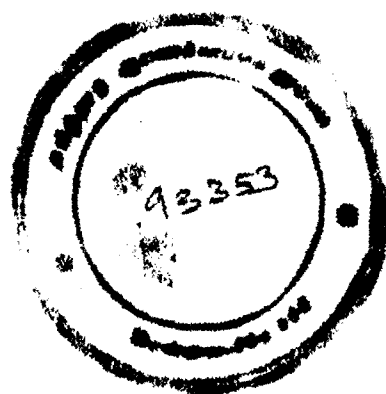
Yapperunkala virutthi could not have been that Acchyuta at whose door the charge of appropriation of the *Brahmadeya* is laid.

I have tried to identify again Acchyutakalappālan with the Acchyuta of Buddhādatta on different grounds. On the strength of a statement in the above *Virutti* I ventured to suggest that he bore the title of Nandi. It is contended that identifying the chief of the Nandi Hills with Acchyuta who reigned at Puhār may prove fatal from a geographical view-point. The Kalabhras conquered the Tamil kingdoms and made Puhār their capital. On the strength of the passage in the *Virutti*, their original home must have been the Nandi Hills probably Nandiārug.

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OUR EXCHANGES

1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Bharat Itihāsa Samśhodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
6. *Calcutta Review*, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.
7. *Hindustan Review*, 3, Mission Row, Calcutta.
8. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst St., Calcutta.
9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
10. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, 'The Ashrama,' Luz, Myslapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
14. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.
15. *Muslim Review*, 3, Government Place, Calcutta.
16. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
17. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
19. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
20. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U.S.A.
21. *Yoga-Mimansa, Kun'javana*, Lonavla, Bombay.
22. *The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
23. *The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.

24. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archaeological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).
25. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
26. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
27. *The Servant of India*, Servant of India Society, Poona City.
28. *The Shrine of Wisdom, Aahlu*, 6 Hermon Hill, London, E. 11.
29. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.
30. *The Mysore University Journal*, Mysore University, Mysore.
31. *The People*, 2 Court Street, Post Box 116, Lahore.
32. *The Young Men of India*, The Thottam, Salem.
33. *The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
34. *The Superintendent*, Government Museum, Madras.
35. *Social Science Abstracts*, 611, Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.
36. 'Tarikh', Kotlah Akbar Jah, Hyderabad (Deccan).

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[illegible]