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JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY



The Rise of the Peshwas

CHAPTER V (1727-31)

BY

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A PERIOD OF STRUGGLE—BAJI RAO'S ULTIMATE TRIUMPH; NATURE OF THE CONTEST

For four years Nizam-ul-Mulk stirred up strifes through one agency or another, and kept the hands of Baji Rao full with the troubles at home. During these years he could not give effect to his policy, all his time being taken up by his struggle with the Nizam. But when he emerged triumphant out of this contest the fact had been driven home to the heart of the Marathas that the time was ripe for their expansion, and that was to be effected by means nothing short of aggression. Indeed everyone felt that Baji Rao's policy was the only solution of their trouble. His greatest opponent Shripat Rao Pratinidhi had veered round to his viewpoint. The Nizam had conceived such a wholesome respect for the ability of his youthful adversary, that he refrained from creating further troubles. Shahu who had always apprehended rashness in the measures of his young and inexperienced Peshwa, placed implicit confidence in him, and

was confirmed in his conviction that Baji Rao alone could best control the affairs of the state without prejudice to his dignity and prestige. That was the upshot of this contest between Nizam and Baji Rao.

PHASES OF THE CONTEST

The contest originated out of the Karnatak expeditions. But when the issues had been decided between Baji Rao and the Nizam, the civil strifes did not cease. The Nizam was not only fighting for his own ends; he was continuously inciting a number of Maratha chieftains, hostile to Baji Rao, to secure their own interests against the grasping hand of the Peshwa. He even tried to create division between Shahu and Baji Rao by advising the former to shake off the hated tutelage of the Chitpavan Brahmans. He had given jagirs to several of the Maratha leaders, and had secured them to his own interest. The result was that after the main part of the contest was over there ensued another, between Shahu and Shambhuji, and yet another between Baji Rao and Trimbak Rao Dabhade. The Nizam, Shambhuji and Trimbak Rao, had made common cause against Shahu and Baji Rao, but they failed partly owing to their lack of co-operation and partly owing to the genius of Baji Rao. This period of four years from 1727-31 therefore falls into three distinct phases. The first was the contest between Baji Rao and Nizam; the second between Shahu and Shambhuji of Kolhapur and the third, between Baji Rao and Dabhade.

FIRST PHASE: CONTEST BETWEEN BAJI RAO AND NIZAM

The Nizam was studiously slow and cautious in unfolding his dark designs against Shahu. His first move was to transfer his capital from Aurangabad to Hyderabad, which would be nearer the Karnatak, and from where he could better control the activities of the Marathas in that region. That was not all. At Hyderabad he would be farther away from Satara, and would thus keep his movements better concealed than if he were at Aurangabad. This he must have effected in the year 1726, and since then Hyderabad has become the capital of the Deccan. But mere transfer of the capital would avail him nothing, for the Marathas were ubiquitous in their activities and Maratha Mokassadars or tax-collectors had been posted throughout the six

subahs of the Deccan. To rid Haiderabad and its adjoining districts of these tax-collectors, whose presence was a perennial humiliation to him, and who kept the Maratha authorities at home constantly informed of his proceedings, he proposed a barter to the Pratinidhi, whose pronounced notions of maintaining peace with the neighbours, made him all the more agreeable to the Nizam. Taking the opportunity of Baji Rao's absence in the Karnatak expedition he proposed to the Pratinidhi, that since he felt the presence of the Maratha tax-collectors in Haiderabad district humiliating to his dignity, he was ready to make annual payment of an equivalent sum of money to the Marathas, provided they never entered Haiderabad. In lieu of this annual payment, he assigned a substantial jagir in the subah of Berar to the Pratinidhi and an estate near Baramati to Shahu. When Shahu referred the matter to his advisers, all except Baji Rao gave their assent to it. Baji Rao alone resented the measure; but Shahu would not listen to him, and tried to pacify Baji Rao with the assurance that Nizam's withdrawal to Haiderabad was advantageous to them. The Peshwa however shifted to Poona in disgust. Thus while the Nizam accomplished his own end, he felt immense satisfaction to have accentuated the division in the court between Baji Rao and Shripat Rao.

Next he sedulously set to fan the jealousy of Shambhuji against Shahu. He had been sufficiently alarmed at the Karnatak expeditions for he considered the country between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra as his own, and thought that it was rapacious of Shahu to grasp at that part of the country, when his (Shahu's) officers were fast spreading in the north and levying contributions on Malwa and Gujrat. But he alone was helpless. Therefore he took recourse to the Nizam, and resumed his former negotiations with him. Here he found a willing mediator in Chandrasen Jadhav, the sworn enemy of Shahu and the Peshwas. It was indeed with some mortification that Chandrasen had viewed peaceful relations established between Shahu and Nizam-ul-Mulk. Now he waxed jocund at the resumption of the intrigues between Shambhuji and the Nizam against Shahu, and offered his own services for it.¹ As early as February 1726, we have evidence of the beginning of their intrigues, in the form of correspondence between Chandrasen and Shambhuji.² Preliminary negotiations

¹ Sardesai, vol. i, p. 184.

² *Ibid.*, p. 183.

over, Shambhuji actually left his government in charge of his mother Rajas Bai in September 1726, and kept in the company of the Nizam till 1728. The Nizam promised his help to Shambhuji and instigated him to claim the half of Swarajya from Shahu. While he was openly championing the cause of Shambhuji, he gave out with a show of reason that until the claims of the two princes were definitely settled, it would be unfair on his part to pay the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi to Shahu and his officers.¹ After this the Nizam showed himself in true colours, and it came as a shock to Shahu.

NIZAM'S HOSTILITIES

In November 1726, after the departure of the Peshwa and *Senapati* for the Karnatak, the Nizam opened hostilities against Shahu. The latter, aware of his attitude soon sent an order on November 19, to Sultanji Nimbalkar, for an immediate convoy of two to three thousand Maratha horse.² But so quick was the blow the Nizam had aimed at him, that Shahu did not get time to be on his guard. Iwaz Khan, a commander of the Nizam, made a sudden attack on Kanhoji Bhonsle and inflicted a severe defeat on him. It was only when Fateh Singh Bhonsle, Naro Ram and Chimnaji Damodar hurried from Gulbarga to the rescue of Kanhoji that Iwaz Khan was forced to retreat. But in the meantime Shambhuji had joined the Nizam, and both had made a move to put spirit into the campaign. Chimnaji Damodar, who was wavering in his loyalty to Shahu, was won over by Shambhuji and he later on, was made his Peshwa. On February 18, 1727, the Nizam and Shambhuji were encamped in Poona, and many are the deeds of grant bestowed on various persons, by Shambhuji from there. So terrified was Shahu at this time that he sent urgent orders to Kanthaji Kadam, Pilaji Gaikwad and Udaji Pawar on March 19, 1727, to come with all their forces and join him at once. Further Kanhoji Bhonsle was called with his troops from Berar. In fact it took some time before Shahu could effectively return blows to the Nizam. But the arrival of Bajji Rao in April 1727 after the Karnatak expedition, lightened the anxiety of Shahu, and he, now at one with the Peshwa, gave him entire management of the campaign against the Nizam. Now he was fully awakened to the mistake of the Pratinidhi's policy

¹ Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 55.

² Sardesai, vol. i, p. 183.

towards the Nizam, and to the significance of Bajji Rao's resentment against it. He placed implicit confidence in him and Bajji Rao amply justified the confidence. He rose equal to the occasion, and difficulties seemed to vanish at his touch.

Back at the capital, Bajji Rao spent two months in discussing measures with Shahu. He himself was in a peculiarly difficult position at this time. All his effectives were engaged in the campaigns in Malwa, and it would be long he thought before they came and joined him. Therefore in consultation with Shahu he decided on a guerilla warfare against the Nizam. The latter in the meantime had gained no inconsiderable advantage over his adversary. He had occupied the whole country up to the banks of the Bhima. Evidently there was no time to be lost in deliberation only, and Bajji Rao actually started his campaign in the height of the rains. He left Satara on July 1, at the head of a small army and constantly harassing the Nizam in his rear, reached Poona in August. At Poona he held a review of his troops, and spent a whole month in equipping them. The grand festival of Dashara was celebrated on September 13, 1727, amidst great rejoicings. Hearty embraces mingled with the glitter of gold. Women and children unlocked all their bountiful treasure of love and affection, to their men-folk; for the return of the deep-blue sky, the clear sun-shine, the honeyed blossoming of the Mālātī, Shefālī and Yuthikā of the fair season of autumn, and the strings of fleecy clouds floating above the outlines of the Sahyadris, are peculiarly reminiscent of the sad reflection that their dearest people on earth, father, brother, husband or son, would leave their homes and remain away for eight months, and who knows, whether to return or not.

COUNTER-OFFENSIVE OF BAJJI RAO AND THE VICTORY OF PALKHED, FEBRUARY 1728

After the Dashara, Bajji Rao marched due north from Poona and reached a place called Pantambe, on October 17. Thence he turned east, and entered the district of Aurangabad, which he plundered without mercy. His route from Aurangabad to Jalna, was marked by ceaseless ravages and unending clouds of smoke. Then crossing the Purna and the Painganga he appeared at Mahur where he gave out that he intended to advance on Burhanpur and burn it to ashes. This resolution of Bajji Rao frightened Nizam-ul-Mulk, and he started hot

foot with Iwaz Khan to save the city. To keep up appearances Bajji Rao sent a detachment towards Burhanpur, and himself with the bulk of the army crossed the Narmada over to Gujrat. In Gujrat he sent a message to its Governor Sarbuland Khan, Nizam's avowed enemy to the purport that he had invaded the province at the instance of Nizam-ul-Mulk. When the latter came to Burhanpur he found that Bajji Rao had outwitted him, and in deep resentment he marched on Poona which had been left defenceless. Determined on teaching a lesson to Bajji Rao, the Nizam crossed the Bhima and actually occupied Indapur. The dangerous proximity of the Nizam brought the Maratha king Shahu to his wit's end, and in great trepidation he wrote to Devji Sombanshi, Sabaji Nimbalkar and other Maratha leaders to check his further progress. In the meantime Bajji Rao who had been apprised of the intentions of the Nizam wrote to Ranoji Sindhia posted at Patas, to hold out as long as possible, and himself hurried back from Gujrat to divert the attention of the Nizam from Poona. Crossing the Ghats in the mid-winter he appeared like a storm on the eastern bank of the Godavari and plundered the two parganahs of Vaijapur and Gandapur belonging to the Nizam. When this news reached the Nizam at Ahamadnagar, he gave up his march on Poona and proceeded rapidly to check the further depredations of Bajji Rao. In his anxiety to bring the wily Peshwa to book he crossed the Godavari and approached him from an easterly direction. Bajji Rao had already devastated vast areas, on the eastern bank of the river, and he now, no more afraid of meeting the Nizam in the open for the latter's troops had been sufficiently tired out, contrived to draw him into those waterless and desolated tracts. Retreating slowly before the Nizam, Bajji Rao tempted him further away from the river into the hilly regions between Aurangabad and Paithan and when the Nizam reached Palkhed, he suddenly turned round and surrounded him on all sides. The advantage of the situation was on the side of the Marathas and the Peshwa had scrupulously managed to destroy everything round about. As far as the eye could reach all was a huge waste without water, without human habitation. In the meanwhile Shahu had sent the Pratinidhi with a large army to reinforce Bajji Rao, but all had been over before he arrived. The Nizam was in a terrible fix, he could neither proceed further nor recede back. To stay there was to court death, for even water was not available. At last the

Nizam deputed Iwaz Khan to make overtures for peace. He came to the Maratha camp on February 25 and Bajji Rao demanded two prominent nobles as hostages. Then they were given way to proceed to Mungi-Shegaon, where they found water, and a treaty was concluded there on March 6, 1728. It was a glorious day for Bajji Rao, this March 6, for he had brought the warrior of a hundred battles to his knees, without the help of anyone.¹

TREATY OF MUNGI SHEGAON, MARCH 6, 1728

The terms of the treaty were as honourable as the victory was glorious. Bajji Rao dictated his terms, and the Nizam accepted all but one. He had to agree to the payment of all the arrears of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, the reinstatement of Maratha tax-collectors in his dominions, and to recognize Shahu as the sole king of Maharashtra. He was further required to surrender Shambhuji, which—be it said to his credit—he firmly refused, and Bajji Rao, himself an honourable man did not press him further.² The importance of this treaty cannot be exaggerated. It disarmed Nizam-ul-Mulk, it humiliated the Pratinidhi and his party, and lastly endeared Bajji Rao to Shahu to a degree never known before. But for Bajji Rao Shahu would have been at the mercy of Nizam-ul-Mulk. He would have well despaired of his sovereignty, and Maharashtra would have been thrown into the vortex of an interminable civil war. But apart from these political results, the campaign demonstrated the triumph of guerilla warfare. Like Shivaji, Bajji Rao showed himself a past master of that art. Indeed the victory of Palkhed was no mean achievement for the young Peshwa.

DUEL BETWEEN SHAHU AND SHAMBHUJI

The victory of Palkhed achieved a great deal for the Marathas; but it left one vital thing undecided. That was the submission of Shambhuji. He had taken a leading part in the designs of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and when the latter was humbled he escaped scot-free. Had he kept quiet after the discomfiture of his ally and taken a lesson from it,

¹ Sardesai, vol. i, pp. 195-6.; Rajwade, vol. ii, pp. 55-6.; थो: शा: च: pp. 79-80.

² Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 56; Sardesai, vol. i, pp. 196-7.; थो: शा: च: p. 80.

he would not have been molested. But that was not to be. His unremitting intrigues with other Maratha leaders spoiled the peace of Shahu, a man whose one outstanding feature of character was love of peace, and he resolved to put an end to Sambhuji's intrigues by taking to task Shambhuji and co-adjutors. He knew full well, as much as the Peshwa, that Nizam would no more venture to espouse his cause. Therefore it was agreed on all hands that the time was most opportune to reduce Shambhuji. In this even the Pratinidhi was at one with Baji Rao and Shahu; for he was now feeling uneasy about his past conduct in the Nizam affair. He knew Baji Rao had out-stripped him in the eyes of Shahu and all Maharastra, and he wanted to retrieve his lost prestige in the ensuing contest with Shambhuji.

Left alone, after the battle of Palkhed, Shambhuji persisted in his policy of opposition to Shahu, and reiterated the demand of half the Swarajya from him, with the help of Udaji Chouhan and Bhagwant Rao Amatya. The latter was not very loyal to him, and his chief strength lay in the support and abilities of Udaji. Udaji Chouhan was the son of Vithoji Chouhan who was a lieutenant of the famous Santaji Ghorpade and played a conspicuous part in his raids in the Karnatak. He died in 1696 and his son succeeded to his possessions and title of Himat Bahadur. Now Udaji Chouhan was the chief of Athni and rose to power in the sunshine of Ramchandra Amatya's favour. He was a freebooter in his pursuits and a free-lance in his attitude. Soon after the treaty of Shegaon he submitted to Shahu, and remained under him till the beginning of 1729. All the while he was playing a double game. He knew that Shambhuji was in league with Trimbak Rao Dabhade of Gujrat and the Nizam to make good his claim to the sovereignty over half of Maharastra. And as soon as he found that Baji Rao and his brother Chimnaji Appa had left for Gujrat he showed his hand to Shahu. His first move was on the country round the Waruna, which he plundered. From Shirole, which he made his headquarters, he carried fire and sword into the countryside. One of these days Shahu had gone into those parts for hunting and when he came to know that Udaji was hard by carrying depredations into the country he called him to an interview promising him safe return. He came and listened to the remonstrances of the king against his conduct but said little in reply. He was let off in safety as promised, but Shahu had soon to experience an adequate return for proving too true

to his words.¹ After a few days four assassins entered Shahu's tent. 'So majestic was the King's bearing and so indifferent was he to danger, that the assassins lost heart and throwing down their arms, begged for mercy. He asked them whence they had come and they admitted that they had been sent by Udaji Chouhan. With admirable irony Shahu gave them each a gold bracelet and bade them pick up their arms and take back to their employer a certificate from himself, that they were good and faithful servants. But if the king could thus jest with death, he was in earnest in his resolve to put a stop to these unprovoked inroads.'² No sooner resolved than urgent letters were despatched to Shambhu Singh Jadhav, Dawalji Sombanshi, Sidhoji Nimbalkar, Saikhoji Angrey, Baji Rao and Pilaji Jadhav. Full preparation was made between October 1729 and February 1730, and when everything was ready the command was given to the Pratinidhi, who showed great enthusiasm for it. There was another man who evinced equally great enthusiasm. That was Shambhu Singh Jadhav, son of Dhanaji and brother of Chandrasen. He was for long with his brother, but falling out with him he had lately left his shelter and came to that of Shahu. He was eager to gain favour of Shahu. Thus when the campaign opened Shahu had the satisfaction of receiving devoted loyalty and warm support from all, and he himself accompanied the army as far as Umbraj. If the Pratinidhi had been given the sole command in the campaign, the Peshwa kept in constant touch with Shahu between August 1729 and August 1730, to take the lead in his council. Indeed with such co-operation on all hands, success was within the grasp of Shahu.

In the meanwhile Shambhuji was also preparing vigorously for a final measure of strength. His Astapradhans and leaders of the army had been called with their quota, and the troops had been massed on the bank of the Waruna. Vyankat Rao Ghorpade and Bhagwant Rao Amatya were among them, and Udaji Chouhan had entrenched at Shirole. The campaign opened with the attack of the Pratinidhi and Shambhu Singh Jadhav on the position of Udaji in January 1730. His fortified camp was subjected to a vigorous siege, and it was not raised until Shambhuji came to his help and relieved the pressure

¹ द्यो: शा: च: p. 81.

² Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. I, p. 195. द्यो: शा: च: p. 82.

on him. But it was of no avail. The fight continued with unabated vigour and Shambhuji and Udaji fled away to the fort of Panhala leaving everything behind. The flight was the signal for wholesale desertion, and as his army dispersed in all directions the Pratinidhi captured the treasure-chests of Shambhuji, his camp equipage and all his family besides many nobles of note. Among those captured were Tara Bai, Rajas Bai, Shambhuji's wife Jija Bai, Bhagwant Rao Amatya and Vyankat Rao Joshi. They were all taken to Shahu, who with a touch of chivalry ordered the release of all the ladies and their departure under proper escort. Tara Bai alone was unwilling to go back to the hated tutelage of her co-wife Rajas Bai. When told that she could go back if she liked, she observed with a touch of sad resignation 'wherever I go I shall have to live in confinement. Here or there is the same to me. Let me live here,'¹ and she was allowed to live in an old palace in the Satara fort. If she had gone back to Kolhapur, a host of complications would not have arisen in the affairs of the Maratha state after the death of Shahu. The captive nobles were ransomed by Shambhuji, but Shahu proved unrelenting. He next ordered the Pratinidhi to take Vishalgarh and it was occupied by October 1730. Now the pressure was unbearable to Shambhuji, and he prudently chose to throw himself on the mercy of his cousin Shahu.² Kind and forgiving as ever, Shahu pardoned his fallen cousin and promised a share in the kingdom. On his own initiative he had made similar attempts to make up matters between himself and Shivaji in 1708, and between himself and Shambhuji in 1726. Both the times he had failed to make any impression on his obstinate cousins. Now, when Shambhuji was on his knees, he did not go back on his former proposals. The Pratinidhi, Bhagwant Rao and Tara Bai volunteered their services to bring about a permanent understanding between the two cousins, and while the terms of treaty were taking shape on the basis of Shahu's proposals of 1708 and 1726, it was arranged that the two scions of the royal house of Shivaji should meet. Business was combined with pleasure, ceremony and formalities with good will and friendship. A formal invitation was sent to Shambhuji to come and meet Shahu,—he being the elder, at Jakhinvadi. 'In January 1731

¹ यो: शा: च: p. 83.

² Sardesai, vol. I, pp. 202-5.

' Shahu sent from Satara Shripat Rao the Pratinidhi, Abaji Purandare, and other notable officers and nobles to escort Sambhaji into his dominions. With a large body of horse the Pratinidhi encamped below Panhala. Ascending the fort, he presented Sambhaji with a number of horses and elephants and costly saddlery. A day or two later Sambhaji descended from the fort and returned the visit. These courtesies over, Sambhaji escorted by his own picked troops and the Pratinidhi's escort marched with him to Wathar in the Satara district. There the prince and the soldiers halted while the Pratinidhi went to Umbraj to inform Shahu of the arrival of the royal visitor. From Umbraj the king moved to Karhad and pitched his camp on the banks of the Krishna river. An open space known as Jakhinvadi plain had been chosen as the meeting place of the two cousins. The ground between the royal camps with the tents and equipage of the nobles of Maharashtra, who on this great occasion vied with each other in the splendour of their trappings and the profusion of their jewelry. There were present no less than two hundred thousand soldiers together with horses and baggage trains in countless numbers. On the appointed day Shahu and Sambhaji on the backs of elephants set out from their respective camps, their howdahs blazing with precious stones. When they came in sight of each other their elephants kneeled and their riders left them to mount richly saddled Arab chargers. When the horses met the two princes alighted, Sambhaji put his head on Shahu's feet in token of submission. Shahu bent down and lifting up his cousin clasped him to his breast. Then according to the gracious custom of the East, Shahu and Sambhaji decked each other with golden favours and garlands of flowers. This formal meeting over, both princes returned to their quarters. On February 17, 1731, Shahu received a visit from Sambhaji. It was arranged that the king and prince should again meet in public in an open space close to Karhad on the banks of the Krishna. The ceremonies observed were similar to those at the first meeting. But after the princes had embraced, Shahu seated Sambhaji beside him on his own elephant, while Shambhu Singh Jadhav waved impartially over the heads of both the royal horsetails (it is cow-tail or *chamar*). Shahu's elephant bore him and his guest back to the king's camp. There Shahu lavished on his cousin presents of elephants, horses, clothes of gold, jewels and treasure. From Karhad the princes went

' to Umbraj, where the king gave a series of magnificent entertainments. Then he insisted that Sambhaji should pass with him the Holi (or vernal) festival at Satara. The Peshwa's mansion was placed at the prince's disposal. There he remained for two months. While the terms of the treaty were being discussed, the Maratha nobles in turn invited Sambhaji to a series of splendid banquets. When the treaty of Waruna, as it is called, had been settled, Shahu showered on his guest further gifts, one of which was a sum of two hundred thousand rupees in cash and allowed him to depart. Fateh Singh Bhonsle was ordered to escort the prince back to Panhala. Shahu himself accompanied Shambhaji for eight miles, all of which were ablaze with the jewels and silks of the nobles in the train of the two monarchs. Even the splendours of the French nobles, when Henry met Francis on the field of the cloth of gold, would have paled before the magnificence of Shambhaji's reception by Shahu.¹ Who can say that Maharastra was poor and barren, rough and rugged amidst such scenes as these! But amidst the glitter of gold, blaze of jewels, rounds of banquets and the effusion of friendship and goodwill the relative position of the princes was not forgotten, and if Shahu erred on the side of generosity the terms of the treaty did not. They clearly indicated the subordinate position of Shambhaji and his dependence on Shahu. It was a treaty dictated by a superior to an inferior, concluded on April 13, 1731. Shahu granted the following terms to Shambhuji.

WARUNA TREATY—APRIL 13, 1731

(i) The Waruna Mahal, and all the districts known as Dotarfa (claimed by both king Shahu and Shambhuji) along with the forts and military outposts to the south of the confluence (of the Waruna with the Krishna) are given to you.

(ii) We give you the fort of Kopal and you give us Ratnagiri in exchange.

(iii) The military station at Vadgaon should be destroyed.

(iv) We shall destroy your enemies and you ours. We shall both work together for the improvement of the kingdom.

¹ Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. ii, pp. 197-9.

(v) From the confluence of the Waruna and Krishna, to that of the Krishna and Tungabhadra, all the forts and military outposts to the south are yours.

(vi) From the Tungabhadra to Rameshwaram half of all the country is ours, and half is yours.

(vii) In the Konkan all the districts from Salshi to Panch Mahal is yours.

(viii) You must not employ our servants and we must not employ yours.

(ix) You must surrender to us Miraj, the forts of the district of Bijapur, Athni and Tasgaon.¹

Waruna decided the differences between Satara and Kolhapur existing ever since 1708. Never after this treaty was there any question on any side about the sphere of authority of each. It subordinated Kolhapur to Satara in all but name, and though Shambhuji grumbled over the stringency of the terms all through his life, he could not get them modified. And further be it said to the credit of Shambhuji that he never courted the help of an extraneous power to press his point. The treaty effected a division of the kingdom, but nevertheless it marked a distinct advance in the authority of Shahu within his territories and guarded his position from intermittent exposures to the sidewinds of civil strifes. In the eyes of his own people as much as in those of the aliens he appeared to be the real *Chhatrapati* now. He became the suzerain lord of the country. Lastly it smoothened the course of the Peshwa and gave him the requisite respite at home to successfully carry out his policy abroad.

SHAMBHUJI'S LATER YEARS

As has been indicated above the division of the country did not impair the suzerainty of Shahu. It all the more confirmed the dependence of Shambhuji on him, and he gave ample proofs of this during his life-time. He lived for about thirty years more after the Waruna treaty and survived Shahu for about eleven years. As long as Shahu lived he used to visit Satara often either to pay his respects to him, or to spend a festive occasion with him or to get some little point about the state cleared or done in his favour. In short he gave proof

¹ Rajwade, vol. ii, pp. 62-63.

of uniform loyalty to Shahu throughout his life. In 1732 he came to Satara and would address Fateh Singh Bhonsle as 'Dada,' a respectable term for brother. When in 1734-1735 he visited Jejuri with his wife Jija Bai, he made a detour through Pratapgad and Mahabaleswar and came to Satara. There he enjoyed the hospitality of the king for two months and when he left for Kolhapur Shahu gave him a warm send-off and accompanied him to a respectable distance. He came again in 1741, 1744 and 1746 mostly on some state necessity and each time he drove some bargain in his favour. Eleven years after the death of Shahu, he died on December 20, 1760.¹ In the course of the narrative we shall have occasion to make passing references to his activities.

DUEL BETWEEN THE PESHWA AND THE SENAPATI

When the grandeur of royal meetings at Jakhinvadi, Karhad and Satara dazzled the eyes of the people, when mirth and pleasure flowed on the cloths of gold and orient pearls, when the treaty of Waruna was taking shape, there were happening other incidents in Gujrat, that opened in letters of blood, a new epoch in the history of the Peshwas. Baji Rao had been pitted against the Commander-in-Chief Trimbak Rao Dabhade, and there was a sanguinary duel between the two for the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of Gujrat. Only twelve days before the conclusion of the Waruna treaty was fought the battle of Dabhai, that ended in the defeat and death of Baji Rao's hated rival Trimbak Rao Senapati. The victory of Dabhai marked a great advance in the power of Baji Rao, and practically united two important offices in the same person. Thenceforth the Peshwa became the Senapati also for all practical purposes. But Dabhai did more than this. It achieved the triumph of Baji Rao's policy and helped the building-up of the Maratha Confederacy as begun by Balaji Viswanath. Important as were the consequences of this duel (between Baji Rao and Trimbak Rao), it is no less so, to understand how the duel came about. In the tangled skein of the story it should not be lost sight of that the contest was mainly a matter of principle, and that Baji Rao was fighting not for his own interests, but for a point of policy. On the contrary Trimbak Rao was fighting for his own ends, and that at the instigation of the sworn enemy of the Marathas, Nizam-ul-Mulk. The

¹ Sardesai, vol. 1, pp. 214-15.

sanguinary character of the struggle was due to the bitterness of Trimbak Rao, and such was his obstinacy that the words of Shahu failed to produce any effect on him.

Trimbak Rao was the eldest of the three sons of Khanderao Dabhade. The ancestors of the Dabhades were Patils of the village Talegaon, and they had continuously served the Maratha kings generation after generation since the time of Shivaji. During the troubled days of Rajaram, they rendered meritorious services at the risk of their life and consequently on the death of his father and brother, Khanderao was given the title of Sena-Khas-Khel by Rajaram. Khanderao served Tara Bai for some time and when she was defeated by Shahu he took service with the new king. Khanderao was a great friend of Balaji Viswanath and both acted in concert with each other for the welfare of the Maratha state. In 1717 Shahu invested him with the office of *Senapati*, and he accompanied the Peshwa to Delhi. On his return from Delhi, he was posted to the northern frontier of Maharashtra in order to keep an eye on Khandesh, Berar and Gujrat. He was present in the battle of Balapur and later subdued Khandesh, Baglan and the whole country from Basim to Surat for the Marathas. During his old age his son Trimbak Rao and his agent Pilaji Gaikwad discharged his duties and on his death in May 1729 Trimbak Rao succeeded to the office and possessions of his father (January 8, 1730).¹

There was little agreement between old Dabhade and young Baji Rao in matters of state. The former resented his lead and disapproved his policy. He was one of the party opposed to the Peshwa at the court. This difference was aggravated to the point of bitterness towards the end of his days and after his death. It was brought about by two causes, first, the interference of Baji Rao in the affairs Gujrat, which the Dabhades thought was a preserve of their own, second the intrigues of Nizam-ul-Mulk with Dabhade, whom he had incited against Baji Rao to promote his own interests.

We have already noticed that Kanthaji and Pilaji were residing in Gujrat as the agent of Shahu and the Senapati respectively for the collection of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from that province. In 1726 Sarbuland Khan granted the rights of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi over

¹ Sardesai, vol. 1, pp. 217-28.

the country north of the Mahi, to Kanthaji, those over the country south of the Mahi to Pilaji. By a previous arrangement of Shahu the blackmail of Gujrat had been assigned to the Senapati and that of Malwa to the Peshwa. Baji Rao did not approve of this entirely separate allotment of the provinces, for that would make each chieftain independent of the other, and would destroy the root of the Maratha Confederacy, which lay in the interdependence of each member. On that account he was opposed to the manner of the distribution of provinces to some of the leading Maratha chiefs e.g. Raghoji Bhonsle, Fateh Singh Bhonsle, Angrey and Dabhade, and he was involved in frequent broils with them. But not one of them realized his point, and all of them swore hostility against him. In pursuance of this policy Baji Rao approached the *Senapati* with the proposals that he should give the Peshwa half of his revenues of Gujrat, and the Peshwa would give him half of his yield of Malwa. This the *Senapati* rejected with scorn, and Baji Rao, domineering as he was, proceeded to enforce the measure on him. He ordered his agent at Dhar, Udaji Powar to enter Gujrat, and levy contribution on the portion assigned to Pilaji. Udaji acted as he was bid, and then resulted a fight in which the Deputy Faujdar of Dabhai, Abdun-nabi Khan, took the side of Udaji. 'In the subsequent fighting Abdun-nabi Khan was killed, and the town and fort thus fell into Udaji's sole possession.' This only served to unite the two Maratha Sardars—Kanthaji and Pilaji, who considered themselves as established in Gujrat, against Udaji, and they came with a strong army and laid siege to Dabhai. Udaji sought the help of Sarbuland Khan, but failed. The confederates had arranged an agreement with him, and therefore he (Sarbuland Khan) was in no mood to assist Udaji. Perforce he had to give up his position and return to Dhar in Malwa early in 1727. Dhabai and Baroda were occupied by Pilaji.¹

The retreat of Udaji to Malwa almost synchronizes with the return of Baji Rao from his second expedition into the Karnatak and the outbreak of hostilities between Nizam-ul-Mulk and Shahu. We have already noticed how Baji Rao spent two months in Satara discussing the plan of his campaign and left for Poona in July. The campaign was actually set on foot in September 1727. Now was the advantage for the *Senapati*, who had been sufficiently offended by the Peshwa

for his interferences in Gujrat through Udaji Pawar. Udaji had been chased out, and Nizam-ul-Mulk and Shambhuji were taking good account of Baji Rao. This was the time selected by Trimbak Rao,¹ to feed fat his ancient grudge, and he invaded Malwa to create a diversion in favour of Nizam-ul-Mulk. But Baji Rao was not thus to be outwitted. He had written to Sarbuland Khan, for the cession of Chauth and had sent his able brother Chimnaji, at the head of an army to invade Gujrat at the end of the rainy season of 1727. But Sarbuland Khan demanded extravagant conditions in return for the Chauth and the negotiations fell through. Then Chimnaji began to plunder Duraha, an unwalled town, realized a ransom and retired to Malwa by way of Godhara and Dohad, which he occupied along with the fort of Champaner. But Sarbuland Khan was not left at peace. Soon appeared Baji Rao like a whirlwind in Gujrat after throwing Nizam-ul-Mulk off the scent in January 1728. He told Sarbuland that he had invaded his country in consultation with the Nizam. He spent a month rapidly moving from place to place and plundering the people of the town and country, and appeared once again on the banks of the Godavari to bring the Nizam to his knees at Palkhed. When the treaty of Mungi Shegaon was taking shape, Baji Rao reiterated his demand of Chauth to Sarbuland Khan. The Peshwa promised to keep peace in return. But the Governor at first treated this with scant attention, for he had in the meanwhile chased Kanthaji and Pilaji out of his province, and was expecting the arrival of the Emperor at the head of a strong army from Delhi. Baji Rao however was not to be trifled with, and when he learnt that the Emperor was in no way disposed to come to the help of the Subahdar in person he sent his brother Chimnaji at the head a strong army in 1729. Chimnaji displayed great vigour in the campaign, and carrying fire and sword through the beautiful countryside and levying contribution on the flourishing marts of Gujrat, he halted at the town of Dholka, and sent in demands of Chauth to Sarbuland Khan.² The latter was now in no position to reject the proposal. Rumours of his transfer had reached him from Delhi and he willingly bought the Marathas off on their own terms. Like Sayid Husain Ali on a previous occasion he might have thought that an amicable settlement with the Marathas might

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, Part I, p. 390.

² *Sardesai*, vol. i, p. 225.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part i, p. 393.

bring fresh accession of strength to him, that might stand him in good stead in his resistance to the governor-designate Abhai Singh, Maharaja of Jodhpur. With these motives he ceded the 'Sardesh-mukhi of the whole revenue, both on the land and customs with the exception of the fort of Surat, and five per cent on the revenues of the city of Ahmedabad.' In return for the Sardeshmukhi the Peshwa promised to protect the country from all the enemies of peace and order, and for the Chauth agreed to maintain a force of 2,500 horse at the disposal of the Viceroy.² He further agreed to prevent other Maratha leaders from leaguings with the disaffected zamindars and Koli chiefs of the country and thus disturb public peace. 'After these deeds were obtained the Mokassa and the collection of a part of the Surdeshmookhee, were assigned to Dhabaray; but jealousy of Baji Rao's interference in the affairs of the province, occasioned an implacable enmity on the part of that chief.'³ By this time Khanderao was dead, and Trimbak Rao, the avowed enemy of Baji Rao, had succeeded to his father's office and possessions. Now the breach between the two had become wider than ever.

NIZAM'S INTRIGUES

The breach between Trimbak Rao and Baji Rao gave an impetus to the intriguing nature of the Nizam. He knew that Trimbak Rao alone would not dare defy Baji Rao, but with the slightest support from him he would jump on a war.⁴ Further the time was most favourable to fan a civil war between the Peshwa and the *Senapati*, when Shahu and Shambhuji were pitted against each other (at this time), and a large part of the army was locked up in the south. Burning for revenge, Trimbak Rao had secured the support of Kanthaji, who was now working against Baji Rao. Thus the Nizam found Trimbak Rao, his agent Pilaji Gaikwad and his ally Kanthaji, ready instruments to his hand and he set to work mischief to the national cause of the Marathas as championed by Baji Rao. Ever since Palkhed he had been covertly countenancing all the intrigues against the domination of the Peshwa. His hand was working in the aggressive designs of Udaji Chouhan, that ultimately resulted in the

¹ Grant Duff, vol. i, p. 504.

² Grant Duff, vol. i, p. 505.

³ Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 59.

⁴ Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 61.

war between Shahu and Shambhuji. Simultaneously he created another trouble for Baji Rao in the north. In November 1730 at his instigations Dabhade entered Malwa with his confederates Pilaji and Kanthaji, and looted it. Shahu, apprized of this, ordered them to desist from further depredations but it was of no avail. Next Dabhade made an alliance with Udaji Pawar, who had quarrelled with Baji Rao as far back as November 1729.¹ It was further arranged they should unite with the Nizam and all of them proceed to the destruction of Baji Rao.

Battle of Dabhade.—When the dark designs were weaving round Baji Rao, his attention was distracted by the troubles created by Shambhuji. He arranged the expedition against Shambhuji and had to remain by the side of Shahu till August 1730. All the while he was keeping a close watch on the movements of the Nizam. On July 8, 1730, arrived his brother Chimnaji after concluding the agreement with Sarbuland Khan about the Chauth of Gujrat. Throughout the rainy season (July–September) he was preparing not only for the campaign against Shahu but against the Nizam and Dabhade. When he found that the expedition against Shambhuji had been fully equipped, he left for Poona and was detained there till the Dashera on account of certain family affairs. Rakhma Bai, the wife of Chimnaji, after giving birth to the boy later known as Sadashivrao, on August 2, died of puerperal fever before the month was past. The bereavement unnerved Chimnaji, and the brothers had to pass a month in sorrow, before they could set out from Poona.² At last Dashera festival came off on October 10 and the Peshwa made a move out of the city that very day. As he embarked on the expedition and proceeded by gradual stages towards Gujrat, staggering news reached him from all sides; that Kanthaji, Pilaji, Udaji and Dabhade had formed a league against him, that Chimnaji Damodar had joined them and that Nizam-ul-Mulk was also coming to their aid in combination with Mohamed Khan Bagash of Malwa.³ But undaunted by these heavy tidings, Baji Rao took the road towards Khandesh by way of Nasik and reached Surat by the beginning of December 1730. From Surat he passed on to Bharoch and thence towards Baroda with

¹ धो: शा: च: pp. 66-67. Sardesai, vol. i, p. 225.

² Rajwade, vol. ii, pp. 60-61.

³ Irvine, vol. ii, p. 250.

the intention of driving out Pilaji from there. At this juncture Abhay Singh, who had in October 1730 assumed charge of the government of Gujrat and since then had been exerting to rid his province of the depredations of Pilaji, sent an invitation to Baji Rao, for an interview at Ahmedabad.¹ Divining the motives of the Maharaja, he gladly accepted the invitation and met him at Ahmadabad in February 1731. In a grand audience held in the Shahi Bagh, on the banks of the Sabar-mati, it was decided that the engagement of Sarbuland Khan would be respected by Abhay Singh, and consequently the Peshwa must fulfil his part of that engagement. Accordingly Baji Rao started with a contingent of the Maharaja towards Baroda, the seat of Pilaji's power, to besiege and reduce it. As he approached Sawali by March 25, 1731, he got definite information about the movements of the armies of Dabhade and the Nizam. He was told that Dabhade with his confederates Pilaji and Kanthaji and Udaji Pawar was fast proceeding to effect a junction with the Nizam. The danger of such a junction for Baji Rao was too obvious to be speculated upon, and on the spur of the moment he decided to fall on Dabhade and destroy him before he got the help of the Nizam. With a lightning march he turned east, and arrested the further progress of the *Senapati* at Dabhai. With an army of fifteen to sixteen thousand horse, he fought Dabhade's which 'is said to have been upwards of fifty thousand' on April 1, 1731, on the plains of Bhilapur near Dabhai between Baroda and that town, defeated and killed him in the battle.² The Dabhade faction was thus wiped in blood, but it is said Baji Rao was forced to take this extreme measure on account of the obduracy of Dabhade. He never showed himself amenable to reason. Baji Rao tried an amicable settlement and 'commenced negotiating, from the day of his quitting Poona, and continued it until the hour of attack!! His death left complete victory to Baji Rao with all but nominal control of the Maratha sovereignty.'³

¹ *Surat Factory Diary*, vol. 614, Letter No. 39, dated September 21, 1730. (Unpublished).

² *Surat Factory Diary*, vol. 614, Letter No. 67, dated April 7, 1731. (Unpublished).

³ धो: शा: च: p. 68. Rajwade, vol. II, p. 68.

⁴ Grant Duff, vol. I, p. 508.

CONSEQUENCES OF DABHAI

After the battle Baji Rao sent an account of it to Shahu and when he learnt of the death of Dabhade he was smitten with remorse. He felt it was on his account that a Brahman had been killed, and God-fearing as he was he proceeded to make amends for his imaginary sin. He sent for Baji Rao and Chimnaji Appa and 'for Trimbak Rao's brothers Yashwant Rao and Sawai Baburao, and for Khanderao Dabhade's widow Uma Bai, and did all that he could to effect a reconciliation. He made both Baji Rao and Chimnaji Appa fall at Uma Bai's feet and ask her forgiveness. Thereafter he conferred on Yashwant Rao the title of Senapati and on Savai Baburao that of Senakhas Khel. He then bade Uma Bai and her sons return to Tulegaon Dabhade. He himself went to the temple of Khandoba in Jejuri. After prostrating himself in the presence of the gods, he purified himself from the guilt of Trimbak Rao's death. He next set himself to the practical side of the question. He defined the boundaries of Malwa and Gujrat and passed orders that half the revenues of each province should be paid direct to the royal treasury by the Peshwa. The other half of the Gujrat revenues should be allotted to the Dabhades for the upkeep of the army of occupation. The other half of the Malwa revenues should similarly be allotted to Baji Rao for his military expenses. But in spite of the royal generosity, the house of Dabhades never recovered from the ruinous defeat of Dabhai.'¹ Yashwant Rao who succeeded to the office of Commander-in-Chief was a worthless idler and fell into evil ways and a victim to opium and drink. The power ultimately passed from their hands into those of the descendants of Pilaji Gaikwad. But that was not all. Dabhai was a victory without parallel in the history of the Peshwas. It marks a new phase in their rise; it left Baji Rao 'with all but nominal control of the Maratha sovereignty.' Indeed Dabhai was a double triumph for Baji Rao—it was a triumph for his policy; it was a triumph for his ascendancy. It has been indicated above that with Baji Rao the struggle was a matter of principle, of policy—not of self-interest. He was fighting for maintaining an equilibrium in the Maratha Confederacy by enforcing interdependence of its various

¹ Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. II, p. 194.

members in matters of money and jagirs. For this he had to bear in his life-time a great deal of unmerited odium. This was the first instance, and here he won a complete victory, for his arrangement was ultimately adopted. Within the four years from April 1727 to April 1731, he had encountered a series of difficulties, and with admirable fortitude and consummate ability he had combated them all, conquered them all. If Palkhed humiliated Nizam-ul-Mulk, the enemy of the Maratha state, if Waruna definitely subjected Shambhuji to Shahu, Dabhai crowned these by sweeping away all possibilities of mischief on the part of both Nizam-ul-Mulk and Shambhuji. After the destruction of Dabhade, Shambhuji, Nizam and other miscreants fully awoke to the transcendent abilities of Bajji Rao and dared not defy him. By sheer force of the unrelenting law of survival of the fittest, Bajji Rao towered supreme over all. And in fact Dabhai was no mean achievement. When two armies were closing round him, with all the determination of malice and vindictiveness, it required great coolness and caution to face them against overwhelming odds. Bajji Rao had only 15,000 men when he encountered Dabhade at the head of 50,000. The issues of the battle were obstinately contested till the last moment, and during the whole course of it, Bajji Rao displayed no mean generalship. Though Shahu made Bajji Rao fall at the feet of Uma Bai, his admiration for his young Peshwa now rose higher than ever, and henceforth his confidence in him was unshakable. Bajji Rao eclipsed all his rivals in the court in point of favour in his master's eyes. Indeed none ventured to dispute his authority now, neither his master, nor the nobles. Bajji Rao alone held the helm of the Maratha state, and steered it through many a shoal and rock to the ultimate goal, defined in his policy—Maratha empire. Nine more years of unflagging zeal and indefatigable activities, brought the Marathas actually to strike at the trunk which he had exhorted them to do in 1722. So it is that Dabhai forms a landmark in the history of the Peshwas.

BAJJI RAO AND NIZAM AGAIN

After Dabhai came the turn of Nizam-ul-Mulk, that arch-enemy of the Maratha state, Bajji Rao was burning in resentment against him, for it was through his agency that the troubles of the last four years had arisen. Now with grim determination he started to destroy his last fangs. He prepared a large army to meet him in the open field. But if

Bajji Rao was so resolute to wreak his vengeance, the Nizam was not less so to effect a conciliation on terms, which would be most suitable to Bajji Rao. The destruction of Dabhade knocked the bottom out of the Nizam's intrigues and there was an end to the proposed alliance of the Nizam and Bangash. Then the Nizam thought that to buy off Bajji Rao on his own terms would be most advisable under the circumstances and he knew that nothing was more after the heart of Bajji Rao than to allow him a free scope in the north. Since the loss of Malwa and Gujrat he was in no mood to extend his power to the north of the Narmada. The Karnatak was his proper field he thought, and he knew that in his infatuation for the north Bajji Rao would never care for the Karnatak. Hence he seized the earliest opportunity after Dabhai of sending envoys to Bajji Rao, with offers of peace. He promised to give him free passage through his dominions into Malwa and urged him to conquer the rich imperial dominions rather than waste his energies in the barren soil of the Deccan. He should fight the Emperor rather than a viceroy like himself. This proposal was eminently pleasing to the Peshwa. 'In August 1731 Bajji Rao and Nizam-ul-Mulk agreed to give each other a free hand—the Nizam should be at liberty to gratify his ambitions in the south, the Peshwa in the north.'¹ Now Bajji Rao was left to pursue his policy of Maratha expansion unhampered by the rivalry of the Nizam. And the Nizam eager to keep himself behind the barrier of the Marathas, so that he might be free from the jealousies and intrigues of Delhi, had his purpose served.² But it bore bitter fruits for the empire. The Marathas were put upon the track to Delhi through the selfish ambition of the Nizam, and as we shall see in the next chapter, soon mastered the north through the connivance of the Rajputs.

¹ Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. ii, p. 212.

² Malcolm, *Central India*, vol. i, p. 79.

The Manimekalai Account of the Sāmkhya

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FOR some time past scholars have been endeavouring to fix the date of the Tamil Classic, *Manimekalai*, and the period of what is called the Sangam Age, in the light of the account given of the classical Indian systems of philosophy, in that work. The treatment of Indian Logic is particularly full and has constituted the battle-ground of rival theorists who claim either that that account marks a transition to Dignāga¹ or that it has utilized the teaching of Dignāga.² The question has not yet been settled. Since it seemed to the present writer that the treatment of the other systems of philosophy could not but be of interest and profit, in this connection, he attempted a study of these, and was agreeably surprised to find that the account of the Sāmkhya was both novel and significant. The doctrine there expounded has very little affinity with the classical Sāmkhya except in respect of the number of the tattvas (twenty-five including Puruṣa). Since the account is comparatively short, it is set out here in English, *in extenso*.

The expositor of the Sāmkhya doctrine spoke dispassionately thus: That which is difficult to know, is of the nature of three constituents,³ is unattainable by the mind (*manam*), is pervasive and common to all, and is the substrate of the evolution of all things, that is Mūla-prakṛti. From this Citta (a synonym for Prakṛti) arises ether (*ākāśa*); from that arises air (*vāyu*); from that arises fire (*agni*); from that arises water (*appu*); from that arises the earth (*maṇ*); from the

¹ Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Manimekalai*, pp. xxii-xxv.

² Prof. Jacobi in the Supplement to his article in the Hultzsch Jubilee Number of the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*; tr. in *Manimekalai*, pp. xxxi-xxxiv.

³ It is worth noting that the text uses the words 'mukkuṇamāy: *being* (or becoming) the three guṇas,' and not 'possessing the three guṇas'. The guṇas were thus constituents, not qualities.

aggregate of these arises the mind (*manam*);¹ from the mind is declared (to evolve) the evolute of individuation (*āṅgaram*); from ether the evolutes called the ear and sound, from air the evolutes called the skin and touch, from fire the evolutes called the eye and light, from water (of the elements still left) the evolutes called the mouth (*vāy*) and taste, and from the earth the evolutes of the nose and smell are declared (to evolve)²; out of these, as evolutes of the skin³ arise the organ of speech, the hands, the feet, and the organs of excretion and generation. As modifications of the elements here mentioned arise hills, forests, etc., and constitute the world. These return in the same manner as they appeared and are absorbed. Till the universal deluge these will expand continuously throughout space.⁴ Puruṣa is easy to know, devoid of the three constituents, incapable of being cognized by the senses (*poṛi*); he is not the substrate for the evolution of anything, (but) he is the intelligence whereby all those (evolved) things are known; he is the one, all-pervasive, eternal intelligence. There are twenty-five entities

¹ This provides an interesting analogue to the Vedānta view that mind evolves from the five tanmātras: see *Advaita Vedānta Paribhāṣa*.

² The text would seem to support only a parallel evolution of the indriya and what it senses, not a prior evolution of one or the other. Kanakasabhai's translation (in *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*) reads 'from ether sound is produced through the ear' and so on. There is little warrant for this in the text: 'ākāyattir ceviyoli vikāramum', etc. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's translation — 'from ākāśa springs sound heard by the ear' — is non-committal.

³ The text reads: 'ivarriṇ rokku vikāramāy', etc. The second word 'tokku' changed by sandhi to 'okku' is used in the sense of skin (tvak) a few lines earlier. There is no reason to hold that it is used in a different sense here. Kanakasabhai translates thus: 'From the union of these appear the tongue etc.' This is not a very helpful way of understanding the passage. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar who translates 'These find expression by means of the physical organs' seems not to recognize the difficulty. Is there any view which takes the organs of action to be derived from one of the organs of cognition—the skin? An interesting view which bears on the question, though not directly, may be noted here. In commenting on verse 59 of Bhoja-deva's *Tattvapraśāhikā* (a Śaiva Āgamic work), Aghora Śiva raises the objection that the organs of action would be infinite in number, if for every action, e.g., knitting the eye-brows, a separate organ were needed. The reply he gives is that the organs of action are not localized but pervade the whole body like the skin, and that knitting the eye-brows is a function of the indriya known as the hands. A certain fundamental resemblance is here recognized between the skin and the karmendriyas; whether any greater degree of identity is pre-supposed is not known.

⁴ The sentence in the text is far from clear. I have adopted Kanakasabhai's translation.

Sāṃkhya as expounded by Caraka.¹ It would be interesting to know if there is any analogue to the view of the evolution of the organs of action from the skin (or the body as it is termed at a later stage of the account).

Judging from the remarkably precise account given of Indian Logic and the equally correct though, perhaps, jejune account of Buddhism, there is little reason to think that the account of the Sāṃkhya, as given in the *Maṇimēkalai* is anything but a faithful version of the doctrine as current at the time of the author, and in his part of the country. It is difficult to believe that such a version would have been current after the date of the *Karika*, and one may assert with a good measure of reason that there is no likelihood of its having been current two to three centuries after the date assigned to Īśvara Kṛṣṇa. One seems compelled, therefore, to conclude that the composition of the *Maṇimēkalai* could not have been later than the third or at the most the fourth century A.D.²

A consideration of the pramāṇas enumerated in Chapter XXVII of the work gives a suggestion which may in some measure reinforce the above conclusion. Inference, which is recognised as a pramāṇa, is said to be three-fold and the three forms—pūrvavat, śeṣavat and sāmānyato dṛṣṭa—are explained much in the same way as by Vātsyāyana in the first portion of his commentary on *Nyāya Sūtra* I, 1, 5. Śeṣavat, for instance, is said to be inference from effect to cause, not inference by elimination as suggested by Vātsyāyana in the latter half of his commentary; sāmānyato dṛṣṭa applies where perception of co-existence between middle and major is absent, not only where it is impossible (being atīndriya). The latter view of sāmānyato dṛṣṭa inference suggested by Vātsyāyana himself seems to be shared by Īśvara Kṛṣṇa, as seen from *Karika* 6. It seems likely,

more affinity with Vedānta; See *Advaita-Vedānta-Paribhāṣā*, Viśaya Pariccheda; here, of course, the evolution is from the tanmātras, not from the gross elements which are themselves derived from the tanmātras. The probability of the doctrine being closer to the Upaniṣads than to the classical Sāṃkhya seems thus to be very great. The references to *Mahābhārata* are to the Madhva Vilas Book Depot Edition.

¹ See Das Gupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. i, pp. 213-22.

² For the date of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa, which is generally fixed as the third century A.D. or earlier, see Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, vol. ii, pp. 254-55.

therefore, that the author of the *Maṇimēkalai* came before Vātsyāyana, who is believed not to have come later than 400 A.D.¹ The suggestion in itself is very weak, however, since a particular interpretation might have been chosen in preference to others which were also known. But if taken along with other suggestions which a more detailed study of the chapters XXVII-XXX of the work are likely to yield, the cumulative result cannot but be positively helpful in a more precise determination of the period to which the work belongs.

¹ For the date of Vātsyāyana, see Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, vol. ii, p. 38.

Relations between the Hindus and the Muhammadans of Bengal in the middle of the Eighteenth Century (1740-1765).

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LIVING side by side for centuries together, the Hindu and the Muhammadan communities had borrowed each other's ideas and customs.¹ Whenever two types of civilization come into contact with each other, it is quite natural that one must exercise its influence on the other. Hinduism had stood patiently before the onrush of the militant forces of Islam without losing its assimilative power in the least, and as soon as the storm had subsided, it embraced within its fold the followers of Islam and cast its influence over them. Similarly the influence of Islam also affected the Hindu society to some extent. With the gradual increase in the number of Hindu converts and with the disappearance of the feeling of bigotry from the minds of the masses, this process of assimilation and interchange of customs and thought, drew the two communities closer and closer. It is worthy of notice that we find illustrations of this mutual assimilation of customs and thought in the age of the great orthodox emperor Aurangzeb himself. Alwal, a Mahometan poet, translated the Hindi poem *Padmāvatī* into Bengali and wrote several poems on Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the seventeenth century.² In Kṣemānanda's *Manasamangala*, written towards

¹ Vide the article by Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque in the *Statesman* November, 17, 1910, referred to by Dr. D. C. Sen in his *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, pp. 794-795.

² Dr. D. C. Sen's *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 624. 'The manuscripts of *Padmāvatī* hitherto obtained, all belong to the border lands of Arācān in the back-woods of Chittagong, copied in Persian characters and preserved by the rural Muhammadan folk of those localities. No Hindu has ever yet cared to read them. This goes to prove how far the taste of the Muhammadans was imbued with Hindu culture. This book, that, we should have thought, could be interesting only to Hindu readers, on account of its lengthy disquisitions on

the latter part of the seventeenth century, there is a passage which tells us that in the steel-chamber prepared for Laksmindra, a copy of the Korān was kept along with other sacred charms to remove Manasā-Devi's wrath.¹

By the middle of the eighteenth century, we find that this process of mutual assimilation had reached its culminating point. Nawab Shāhāmat Jung (Nowagis Mahommad) with Saulat Jung, who came from Purneah at that time, enjoyed the Holi festival for seven days, in the gardens of Motijhil.² On that occasion about 200 reservoirs had been filled with coloured water and heaps of Ābir (red-powder) and saffron had been collected; and more than five hundred charming girls³ dressed in costly robes and jewels used to appear in groups every morning and evening, mustering from every part of the gardens. After the treaty of Alynagur (9th February, 1757), Nawab Serajah Dowlah proceeded to Murshidabad and enjoyed the Holi festival in his place at Mansurganj⁴. Once, when at Azimabad, Nawab Mir Jafar crossed the Ganges with all the gentry of the town and engaged himself in enjoying the Holi festival⁵. It is said that on his deathbed, Mir Jafar drunk a few drops of water poured in libation over the idol

theology and Sanskrit rhetoric, has been strangely preserved, ever since Aurangzeb's time, by Moslems for whom it could apparently have no attraction, nay, to whom it might even seem positively repellant. From the time of Māgnana Thākūr, the Muhammadan minister till the time of Shaik Hāmidullā of Chittagong who published it in 1893—covering a period of nearly 250 years—this book was copied, read, and admired by the Muhammadans of Chittagong exclusively'—*Ibid.*, p. 626.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 793 and 288.

² *Muzaffarnamah*, pp. 86a-86b. The author of *Muzaffarnamah* was himself present on that occasion.

³ These were perhaps such professional dancing girls, who could not be classed with the ordinary gentlewomen of the society (Cf. Edmund Ives and Craufurd's references to dancing girls in Hindu society.)

⁴ *Muzaffarnamah*—p. 123b.

⁵ (a) *Ibid.*, p. 137 a. It is important to note that not only Mir Jafar, but also all the gentry of the city took part in the festival. On this occasion, Mir Jafar amused himself in the company of a woman named Ferzānā, who might be regarded as an example of that type of professional girls 500 of whom had been engaged by Shahamat Jung.

(b) 'Not content with that, he (Mir Jafar) ordered a sandy spot in the river, through which ran a small stream to be surrounded by cloth-walls and there he spent some days, in fulfilling the rites of that Gentoo festival, the last of which consists in throwing handfuls of dust and coloured earth at each other and syringing coloured water on one another's clothes.' (*Sitr-ul-Mulakharrin*—Cambray's old edn., vol. II, p. 266).

of Kīrīteśvarī¹. The Muhammadans offered 'pujā' at Hindu temples, as the Hindus offered 'sinī' at Muhammadan mosques².

This fusion of ideas and customs had long ago led to the evolution of a common god, Satyapīr, worshipped by Hindus and Muhammadans alike³. In Bhāratachandra's poem on Satyapīr we find that a Hindu merchant named Sadānanda got a daughter by favour of the god Satyapīr, to whom he had vowed some offerings; but very soon the merchant forgot to make his offerings, and incurred the wrath of the god Satyapīr, as a result of which his son-in-law met with a premature death⁴. It is related in the contemporary work *Samaser Ghājir Puñthi*, that on one night a Hindu goddess appeared thrice before the Ghāji in his dream, and in obedience to her behest the Ghāji worshipped her the next morning, with the help of the Brāhmins, and according to due rites⁵. A Bengali document⁶ (dated A.D.

¹ 'Several persons of credit have affirmed that some moments before his demise, he had, on Nandecomer's persuasion, ordered to be brought to him some water that had been poured in libation over the idol at Kyirut-conāh (a famous temple of the Gentoos in the neighbourhood of Murshidabad) and that some drops of it were poured down to the dying man's throat'. (*Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Cambridge's old edn., vol. ii, p. 558). It is worthy of note that a Hindu could, without any hesitation, offer a Moslem the water of libation poured on a Hindu idol, and that it was drunk in faith.

² Dr. D. C. Sen's *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 793. 'In Chittagong this fusion of ideas and interchange of customs and usages seems to have reached its highest point. In a Bengali poem called the *Behulā-Sundār*, written by Hāmidullā of Chittagong, we read that the Brahmins, who had assembled to find out an auspicious day for the hero's journey abroad, consulted the Korān for the purpose. The hero, who was the son of an orthodox Hindu merchant, obeyed the injunctions 'as if they were laid down in the Vedas' and started on his voyage, praying to 'Allāh' for his safety: Āptābuddin, another Mahomedan poet of Chittagong, who wrote a poem called *Jāmil Dilārām*, in A.D. 1750, writes that his hero, who was a Mahomedan, went to the nether worlds to seek a boon from the Saptarṣies or the seven sages of the Hindus.' *Ibid.*, p. 796.

³ Compare the numerous poems on Satyapīr written in old Bengali, *Vide History of Bengali Language and Literature*, pp. 396-397.

⁴ *Satyapīrer kathā* by Bhāratachandra, p. 1.—Bhāratachandra's *Granthāvalī* (New Victoria Press Publication).

⁵ 'Summon the Brāhmins, if you do not worship yourself; otherwise, the victory in the battle is not for you. In this way she appeared thrice in his dreams and he took fright on hearing of the battle. Leaving his bed in the morning, the Ghāji pondered over the matter for some time, and (at last) duly worshipped the goddess by summoning the Brāhmins.' (*Samaser Ghājir Puñthi*—*Vide* Dr. D. C. Sen *Typical Selections*, part ii, p. 1851).

⁶ S. R. Mitra's *Types of Early Bengali Prose*, pp. 136-38; *Typical Selections*, part ii; *Sāhitya Pariṣada Patrikā*, 1308 B.S., pp. 8-10.

1732) which marks the victory of the Sahajiyā cult over the orthodox Vaisnava cult, has got a few Muhammadan signatories as its witnesses, and it is really worthy of notice that even in matters of social and religious changes the opinions and testimony of the Muhammadans were sought and obtained by their Hindu brethren. Many of the Muhammadans believed in the principles of astrology and were as particular in observing them as the Hindus¹. 'Mir Casim understood a little astrology and believed in its maxims and predictions; he procured the child's horoscope to be accurately drawn by able astrologers.'² When we compare the large number of works composed by Moslem writers of the age, in praise of the Hindu gods and goddesses and on Hindu music, we cannot but conclude that the Vaisnava and orthodox Hindu notions and thought had deeply influenced the inner strata of Muhammadan society in Bengal.³ Thus in the field of ordinary life, the two communities were living side by side in harmony and mutual attachment.

But, in spite of all this, the relations between the prominent members of the two communities, living in the court circles, were sometimes very bitter, though it did not affect so much the internal life of the country.⁴ This was due principally to two important changes which had greatly influenced the political outlook of Bengal; one was the gradual weakening of the imperial authority and the consequent rise of

¹ 'So that between the Mahometan and Gento astrologers together, one half of the year is taken up in unlucky days. The head astrologer is ever present at all their councils; no new enterprise is begun without his being first consulted and his veto is as effectual as that of a Tribune in the Roman Senate' (Scrafton, *Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, p. 17.)

² *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, vol. ii, p. 387.

³ We are indebted to Sāhitya Sāgar Ābdul Karīm Sāhitya-Viṣhārada for the discovery of some of these MSS. and to Dr. D. C. Sen for the notes and scrutinies on them. *Vide History of Bengali Language and Literature*, pp. 796-804 and '*Prāchin Puthir Vivarana*' by Ābdul Karīm.

⁴ In his work called *Pada Kalpataru*, composed in the 18th century, Vaisnavadāsa has quoted the 'padas' (songs in praise of Vaisnava gods) of 11 Moslem writers. Dr. D. C. Sen's article on 'Vaṅgabhāṣār Upar Musalmānerprabhāva'.—*Vide the Bengali Magazine* 'Vicitrā', Māgh 1335, B. S.

⁵ 'Yet an Englishman cannot but wonder to see how little the subjects in general are affected by any revolution in the Government; it is not felt beyond the small circle of the court. To the rest it is a matter of the utmost indifference, whether their tyrant is a Persian or a Tartar; for they feel all the curses of power, without any of the benefits but that of being exempt from anarchy, which is alone the only state worse than they endure. (Scrafton, *Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, p. 32).

upstarts and adventurers¹ as provincial governors, and the other was the emergence and active participation of great European powers in the field of politics. 'There was a revival of Hindu feeling coincident with the gradual weakening of the Muhammadan power', and the Hindu aristocrats and zemindars sought to utilize this opportunity to redress their long-felt grievances. Nothing could efface from their minds the memory of the cruelties and oppressions of Murshid Kuli barely a generation ago, and they now wanted to 'feed fat their ancient grudges' and so they allied themselves with the English to overthrow the upstart Nawabs of Bengal². Colonel Scott wrote to his friend in 1754 that the Jentue (Hindu) Rajahs and inhabitants were much disaffected to the Moor Muhammadan government and secretly wished for a change and opportunity of throwing off their tyrannical yoke'.³

As long as the strong hands of Alyverdy held the reins of power, this feeling of discontent was not expressed by those Hindus, and by

¹ 'The mother of Alyverdykhan Mahabat Jung belonged to the tribe of 'Afshas', a class of Turks in Turkestan and was related to Shuja-ud-daulah, the son-in-law of Murshid Kuli Jafar Khan and the Subedar of Orissa in his time. Mahabat Jung, together with his father and his brother Haji Ahmed, was in the service of Azim Shah. After the death of Azim Shah, Alyverdykhan was reduced to straitened circumstances and lived a retired life. In the beginning of the reign of Mohammad Shah, Mirza Mohammad, the father of Mahabat Jung, proceeded from Shahjanbad to Orissa in a most wretched condition and made his appearance before Shuja-ud-daulah and his father. Shuja-ud-daulah kept him also in his service. He then sent for his brother Hajy Ahmed with his family and relatives. He remitted to them a decent amount for their travelling expenses, and they all travelled safe from Shahjanbad to Orissa. Haji Ahmed also got into the service of Shuja-ud-daulah. The two brothers were men of great merit and their services to Shuja-ud-daulah conduced much to the stability of his government. By virtue of his courage and judgment Mahabat Jung rose to a much higher position than his father, brother and other nobles of Shuja-ud-daulah's court'" *Kulāṣatut Tawārīkh*.

² This was quite in keeping with the tradition of Indian history. Since the days of Alexander's invasion, it had become, as it were, the fashion of the aggrieved or the weaker party to invite or welcome a foreign power. Ambhi, the King of Taxila, sided with Alexander against the powerful Hindu monarch Porus; Jayachandra invited Mohammad Ghorī against Prthvirāja; Bahalol Lodi invited Babar against Ibrahim Lodi;—and here also the Hindu aristocrats and zemindars greatly helped the establishment of the British power in Bengal. Mr. Hill is of opinion that it was the special advantage of the English,—their 'power was based on a firm commercial footing and the grants made by the Emperor, which they could enforce in exact proportion with the weakness of the Local Government'—that attracted the Hindus towards the English—Hill's *Bengal in 1756-1757*, Introduction, p. lii.

³ Hill, *Bengal in 1756-1757*, vol. iii, p. 328.

tact and sagacity, Alyverdy was able to utilize their services. Orme has remarked:—'Thus the Gentoo connection became the most opulent influence in the Government of which it pervaded every department with such efficacy, that nothing of moment could move without their participation or knowledge nor did they ever deceive their benefactor, but co-operated to strengthen his administration and relieve his wants; and it is said that the Seats (Seths) alone gave him in one present the enormous sum of three millions of rupees as a contribution to support the expenses of the Morattoe war'¹. But it is doubtful if this attachment was a sincere one, bound by mutual love and sympathy. Both Alyverdy and his Hindu officers were prompted by political considerations, and the one could not easily dispose of the other without prejudicing one's interest. The very language of Orme that 'nothing of moment could move without their participation or knowledge', shows the increased influence of the Hindu officials, whose support Alyverdy was probably anxious and careful to secure in order to combat successfully with the Maratha hordes or Afgan rebels. The Hindu aristocrats and zemindars also supported the Government of Alyverdy as it was fighting against the Marathas who were nothing but the terrible plunderers of their homes and property.² What of Alyverdy, Jagat Seth would have quite naturally supported any one, coming forward to drive out those Marathas who had sacked his banks and robbed him of two crores.

When the administration of the country fell into the hands of Surajah Dowlah, the loyalty of those Hindu politicians vanished, and most of them, with the exception of three or four, such as Rāmnārāyan³ Meer Madan Mohanlāl and Rāmraṁsingh of Midnāpore, joined in that 'great conspiracy' against the Nawab. During the first Nawabship of Mir Jafar, the relation between him and the Hindu officers like

¹ Orme, vol. ii, page 53 (Ed. of 1861.)

² When a country is attacked by any external force or is tormented by a civil war, its peaceful citizens would quite naturally rally round their monarch, if he makes a sincere effort to drive out those evils. All questions of personal likes or dislikes vanish, for the time being, before the considerations of practical necessity.

³ 'Of all the Gentoos, Ramnarain seems to have been the only man who did not join the conspiracy against Surajah Dowlah and who had given the French party a warm reception at Patna, as he regarded it as an important source for Surajah Dowlah in case hostilities should be renewed with the English.' (Orme, vol. ii, p. 166.)

Rāmnārāyan and Roydullub was one of deadly antagonism, and it was only the support of the English which saved them from the wrath of the Nawab¹. Had Mir Casim been ably supported by Shitāb Rāy and his party, then perhaps affairs might have taken a different turn, and the English would not have been so easily victorious at Udayanalā. The attitude of Shitāb Rāy towards Mir Casim was all along hostile, and no one can deny that the cause of the English was greatly furthered by the assistance of Shitāb Rāy, his son Kalyān Singh, Mahārājā Beni Bāhādur and Rāi Sādhōrām. Mir Casim tried his utmost to employ Shitāb Rāy in his service, but the latter was too distrustful of Mir Casim to enter his services². On the contrary, he spared no pains to poison the mind of the English against the Nawab and was greatly instrumental in bringing about his downfall. Kalyān Singh has himself³ related in plain words his own activities, those of his father, of Mahārājā Beni Bāhādur, and Rāi Sādhōrām in favour of the English. They greatly popularized the English cause at the courts of the Emperor and the Nawab Vazir, and persuaded the Emperor to grant the Dewani to the East India Company⁴. They could not forget their jealousy of Mir Casim even when the latter was a helpless fugitive in the camp of the Nawab Vazir.⁵

¹ 'Mir Jafar felt those restraints with abomination which turned his head to notions of emancipating himself from the ascendancy of the English; but warned by the experience of the confederacy which had raised him to the sovereignty, saw the necessity of first breaking the power of the Gentoos, in whom the English would find the same resources against himself, as he with the English had derived from them against Surajah Dowlah.'—Orme, vol. ii, p. 196. For details vide Orme, vol. ii, pp. 277-359; Scrafton, *Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, pp. 104-114.

² 'He had no trust or confidence in the Nawab. He considered him unprincipled, faithless and treacherous, and did not wish to have anything to do with him'.—*Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh*, p. 102 a. For details vide *ibid*, pp. 986-1046.

³ *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh* the chap. 'An account of Mahārājā Shitāb Rai Re-installation of Mir Jafar—Last days of Mir Casim.'

⁴ 'In this manner I used to call on the Nawab Vazir for a long time, when he always gave me a most patient hearing. In all my talks I impressed upon him the desirability of cultivating friendship with Mir Jafar and the English officials who were men of honour, and avoiding Mir Casim Khan who was a fickle minded man of no character.' (*Ibid*).

⁵ *Ibid*.

⁶ *Ibid*.—'Mahārāj Beni Bahadur, for some reasons best known to himself intrigued against Mir Mohamad Kassim Khan. The Nawab Vazir was persuaded to pass an order for the imprisonment of Mir Mohamad Kassim Khan and the demolition of his house'.

The supporters and partisans of the English were almost all Hindus or proteges of the Hindus. The English refugees at Fulta were greatly helped in their distress by the neighbouring Hindu Zemindar Rājā Navakṛṣṇa,¹ and by some of the merchants² of Calcutta, though the Nawab had passed strict orders against helping them in any way. All the Company's Gomasthas belonged to the Hindu community,³ and the native commissioners in Calcutta were all with two or three exceptions, Hindus,⁴ were the men who were favoured on account of their connections with the native commissioners.⁵ Thus the support of the powerful Hindu aristocrats and Zemindars greatly advanced the supremacy of the English East India Company in Bengal.

¹ 'When the English were on board at Fulta, Raja Naba-Kissen helped them greatly'.—Long, p. 93, footnote. For further details, vide the article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

² The petition of Gaṅgārām Tāgore and Locoor Sirkār, both merchants of Calcutta, to Mr. Drake.—Proceedings, November 17, A.D. 1757:—'That your petitioners having supplied the Buxeyconnah with rice and gunnies when the Nawab marched on the place in 1756 confide in your goodness to be paid the amount of what they sent into the factory at the desire and orders of the Zemindar, as they are informed all other merchants and Doocandars have been paid by your orders.'

³ These Gomasthas were all actuated by selfish considerations of making money and took advantage of this opportunity to confirm their hold in the commercial transactions of the country. They were long excluded from many economic advantages, which had been in the exclusive enjoyment of the native Muhammadan merchants and consequently they readily accepted the services of the East India Company with the hope of retrieving their lost fortune.

⁴ Gobindrām and Ragoometre, Sooberām Bysäck, Ally Boye, Butto Sircār, Sookdeb Mullik, Niān Mullick, Diārām Bose, Nilmony Hurrikissen Tāgore, Durgārām Dutta, Rāmsantose, Māhmud Suddock, Ayer Noody.—*Consultations*, September 18, A.D. 1752.

⁵ Chaithon Dās, Dulob Lucky, Cannant Norry, Churm Bysäck, Curoy Bissās, Gones Bose, Rāmdev Mitra, Sookdev Mitra, Rutharn, Lolta, Huttu Rāon, Rajārām Pālīt, Durgārām Dedā Songā, Durgārām Surmat, Lilmoni Choudree.—*Ibid*.

'The Ring Fence System' and the Marathas

BY

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By the grant of the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company the Governor and Council of Bengal were faced with the problem of defending their newly acquired territories from the encroachments of the Marathas who at that time held sway over the whole of North India outside the Punjab. Ranoji Scindia had carved out a principality at Gwalior which his more renowned successor Madhaji consolidated and developed into a formidable military power. The Bhonslas had established themselves at Nagpur and extended their sway to the coast of the Bay of Bengal, exacting periodical tribute from the chieftains of the hilly tracts now known as Feudatory States of Orissa. The authorities of the Company lived in daily dread of an invasion of their territories by the Marathas, and the policy of successive Governors from Clive to Wellesley was directed to safeguard the Company's possessions from being devastated by the Maratha horse. The RING FENCE Policy, to which can be traced the development of the system of Protected States, was the defensive measure evolved to meet this danger.

The fundamental idea of this system may be defined as the defence of your neighbour's boundary at his expense in order to protect your territories. The Company's territories under the Governor of Fort William were open to attack from the side of Oudh, Korah and Allahabad, Benares and Orissa. By the treaty of Buxar, the Company entered into an alliance with the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, the most important clause of which read as follows :—

'In case the Dominions of H. H. Shuja-ud-dowla at any time hereafter be attacked, the East India Company shall assist him with a part or whole of their forces. In the case of the Company's forces being employed in His Highness' services, the extraordinary expenses of the same are to be defrayed by him.'

By this clause the Company undertook to defend the Nawab Vizier against all aggressors, thus protecting the frontier of their own

province of Bengal. 'The defence of the Nawab's possessions from invasion is in fact the defence of ours,' said Warren Hastings at a later time. The relationship of the Company with Oudh was governed by this consideration. Even the much discussed Rohilla war was undertaken for this purpose.

In a letter written to Col. Champion, dated May 28, 1774, Warren Hastings states as follows :—

'We engaged to assist the Vizier in reducing the Rohilla country under his Dominion that the boundary of his possessions might be completed by the Ganges forming a barrier to cover them from the attacks and insults to which they were exposed, by his enemies either possessing or having access to Rohilla country. Thus our alliance with him and the necessity for maintaining this alliance so long as he or his successors shall deserve this protection was rendered advantageous to the Company's interest, because the security of his possessions from invasion in that quarter is in fact the security of ours.'

The Company had originally proposed to ward off the possibility of attack through Allahabad by neutralizing that territory by granting it to Shah Alum. But the Emperor ceded it to the Marathas thus bringing the danger one step nearer. Faced with a breach in the RING FENCE so laboriously constructed, Hastings hit upon the plan of giving the title to the districts to the Nawab Vizier, hoping thereby that the conflicting claims of the Vizier and the Marathas would render any alliance between them impossible. Writing to the Court of Directors on October 4, 1773, the Governor-General explained the purpose of the action as follows :—

'By ceding them (Korah and Allahabad) to the Vizier, we strengthen our alliance with him. We make him more dependent on us as he is more exposed to the hostilities of the Marathas. We render a junction between him and them, which has sometimes been apprehended, morally impossible since their pretensions to Korah will be a constant source of animosity between them.'

The same consideration led Hastings to guarantee the principality of Benares to Cheit Singh. Though Balwant Singh, the father of Cheit Singh, had died in 1770, Shuja-ud-dowla had not recognized Cheit Singh's succession to the gadi. Benares was important strategically to the Company as its possession gave the key to their province of

Bihar. Hastings visited Benares in 1773 and himself witnessed the agreement between Shuja-ud-dowla and Cheit Singh, by which the latter was confirmed in his territories on an increased tribute. Writing in 1775, Hastings remarked as follows :—

‘ The Raja of Benares, from the situation of his country which is a frontier of the provinces of Oudh and Behar, may be made a serviceable ally of the Company whenever their affairs require it. He has always been considered in this light both by the Company and by the successive members of the late Council ; but to ensure his attachment to the Company, his interests must be connected with it which cannot be better effected than by freeing him from his present vassalage.’¹

In pursuance of this policy, Benares was made independent of Oudh and brought directly under the suzerainty of the Company. On the death of Shuja-ud-dowla in 1775, the Company made the transfer of Benares a condition of its recognition of Asaf-ud-dowla. Article 5 of the treaty, dated May 21, 1775, laid down :

‘ The said Nabob, for the defence of his country as above specified, declares that he has given up of his own free will and accord unto the British Company all districts dependent on Raja Chet Singh.’

The Benares frontier was thus made secure.

The prospect of invasion from these sides, though apprehended by the authorities of the Company, was not so real at any time as from the Orissa side. The Maratha threat from the Midnapore side was not merely apprehended, but was actually on point of materialization on more than one occasion. In fact, the RING FENCE SYSTEM as a method of defence was put to the test only on the Orissa side.

The area between the British dominions in Bengal and the Maratha province of Cuttack was held by independent chieftains who nominally acknowledged the sway of the Marathas and paid tribute when they were forced to do so. The most important of these was the Ruler of Mayurbhanj whose principality lay mainly on the Maratha side of the frontier but who also held the Zemindary of Nayabasan in the Company's dominions. The Bhanja family was established in these tracts for many centuries and had enjoyed internal authority and independence even in the time of the Moghuls. ‘ They paid only a light tribute and were independent within their jurisdiction.’²

¹ *Bengal Secret Consultations*, February 13, 1775.

² *Toynbee's History of Orissa*, p. 25.

According to the *Muraquat-i-Hassam*, during the inter-regnum that followed the serious illness of Shah Jehan in 1657, ‘ Krishna Bhanja of Hariharpur, the leading Zamindar of this province, spread his power over the country from Midnapur to Bhadrak.’¹ Krishna Bhanja wielded considerable military power. *Muraquat-i-Hassam* states that ‘ he kept one thousand horse and ten thousand or twelve thousand foot soldiers and was obeyed and helped by all the Zemindars of this country. (During the anarchy) he had plundered the tract from Bhadrak to Medinipur, carried off ryots to his own territory, increased their cultivation and ruined the Imperial dominions.’² In A.D. 1724, Emperor Mahommed Shah granted a farman to the ruler of Mayurbhanj by which the Maharaja was confirmed in his authority over his state.

When the Marathas established themselves in Orissa by the treaty by which Ali Verdi Khan ceded Orissa without Midnapore to RAGHOJI BHONSLA, the ruler of Mayurbhanj rose again into prominence. His submission to the Maratha power was nominal and the tribute which the governor of Cuttack demanded was paid only under compulsion. Mr. T. Motte, who was sent by Clive to Sambalpur to find out the condition of the country, reports as follows :—

‘ There is usually, at Ballasore, a party of thirty horse and five hundred foot ; but at this time they were with Pelliji (Pillaji), collecting the tribute of the Mohur Bunge country. The Mohur Bunge country extents from the Neelgur (Nilgiri) hills to the sea ; but having borne with impatience a foreign yoke, each expression of such impatience has been punished by dismembering part of the country, for every officer who behaved remarkably well in the expeditions against the rebellious princes was rewarded by a portion of their land under the name of a tallook.’³

As the Mayurbhanj rulers held territory on both sides of the frontier, their support became necessary for the English for the protection of their provinces and for the Marathas if they wanted to enforce their claim of *Chauth* on Bengal. Damodar Bhanja, who became Maharaja in 1761, was a man who well understood the importance of his position when the Company occupied Midnapur as a result

¹ *Muraquat-i-Hassam*, pp. 72 and 107. See also Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 205.

² *Ibid*, p. 107, and also J. Sarkar's *Studies in Mughal India*, page 207.

³ *Asiatic Annual Register 1799, Miscellaneous Tracts*, p. 51.

of Mir Qasim's grant. Damodar Bhanja wrote a letter to Vansittart professing friendship which was acknowledged by the Governor with the same cordiality.¹ This friendliness on the part of Damodar Bhanja was no doubt prompted by the fear of an immediate invasion of his territory from the side of the Marathas, between whom and the Raja there was some difficulty owing to the support given by the Nagpur Government to the Nilgiri Chief who was a subordinate of the Raja. Mr. Motte writes in his narrative about this as follows:—

'I left Ballasore the 27th of April, and halted under the tree near Ectiurpoor, where I entered Neelgur, formerly dependent on Mohur Bunge

The country is small, and pays rupees thirty thousand annual tribute to the Marathas, by whom the Raja is maintained against the claim of Mohur Bunge.'²

In 1763 the Maratha general Bhaskar Pandit actually invaded Mayurbhanj.³ The Raja seems to have held his own, for we find the Maratha general Bhavani Pandit writing to the governor on 16th November, 1764, that he 'will shortly march to root out the rebellious Zamindars of Hariharpur, &c.'⁴

A letter of February 28, 1765, indicates that Bhavani Pandit actually invaded Mayurbhanj but had to retreat to Cuttack.⁵

Sambhaji Ganesh succeeded Bhavani Pandit as governor of Orissa in March, 1768. His first task was to collect the Chauth of Bengal and Bihar from the East India Company and, if that was not forthcoming, to lead an expedition for its collection. Sambhaji Ganesh wrote to Damodar Bhanja to this effect shortly after he took charge of Orissa. 'That in case chout (Chauth) was not paid, he should march in his army in Bengal after the rains, and ravage the whole country, that in the meanwhile he intended to quarter his troops in Gorpudda (Garpada), which is between Jellesore and Ballasore, and that he (Damodar Bhanja) must prepare cantonments for them and be ready to join them in due time with the force.' Damodar Bhanja was

neither ready to allow the Maratha army to encamp within his dominion at Garpada, nor to join his forces with them against the English. To this communication Damodar Bhanja therefore replied that rice was then very dear and scarce in his country and therefore it was not advisable to quarter troops in Garpada as they would not be able to find subsistence there. As a result of Damodar Bhanja's refusal Sambhaji Ganesh quartered his troops in Keonjhar. That Sambhaji Ganesh had a large body of troops under his command and was keen about realizing the *Chauth* of Bengal is evident from his letter to the Governor received by the latter on the 1st April, 1768, in course of which he says: 'A body of 50,000 horse will be attached to the English cause, provided that the Governor maintains a sincere harmony and discharges the *Chauth* according to the original agreement, as long as the province of Bengal continues under His Excellency's influence and power.'¹ When refusing permission to the Maratha Governor to quarter his troops at Garpada during the rains of 1768, Damodar Bhanja apprehended that the army of Sambhaji Ganesh, like that of his predecessor, might also be employed in reducing Mayurbhanj to subjection. He therefore sent a vakil to Mr. George Vansittart, the Resident of Midnapur, to solicit the protection and alliance of the Company against the Marathas. Mr. Vansittart communicated the message of Damodar Bhanja's Vakil to the Governor (Harry Verelst) in a letter, dated the 15th July, 1768. Mayurbhanj was at this time an important buffer state between the British and the Maratha territories, and occupied a particularly strategic position, as the following observation by Mr. Vansittart in this letter to the Governor would testify:—

his country is so advantageously situated that, with a very little assistance from us, he would at any time be able to prevent Marathas from entering into Bengal from the southward.'² In reply Mr. Verelst requested Mr. Vansittart to gather more information from the Raja of Mayurbhanj and to keep a strict eye on the activities of the Marathas.³

Nearly eight months after, on the 28th February 1769, Mr. Vansittart again informed the Governor that 'very strong reports

¹ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, vol. i, 1020.

² *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1799, *Miscellaneous Tracts*, p. 52.

³ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, vol. i, 1948.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i, 2481.

⁵ *Midnapur Records*, vol. i, No. 34.

¹ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, vol. ii, 892.

² *Midnapur Records*, vol. ii, No. 366. ³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, No. 378.

prevail that the Murattoes really intended to invade these Provinces' and concluded :

'Would you choose that I should enter into a negotiation with the Mohrbunge Raja and engage our protection for his support? I have reason to believe that he would be glad of such an opportunity to shake off the Moratta yoke, and the position of this country would, in case of Moratta troubles, render it extremely convenient to us.'¹

The realization of the strategic importance of Mayurbhanj led to efforts being made to secure the Maharaja's good will and to afford him protection as against the Marathas. In this policy, the authorities of the Company were greatly helped by the fact that a portion of the hereditary dominions of Damodar Bhanja lay in the Midnapur district and was held by him, according to the new principles of revenue farming introduced by the Company, as an ordinary Zemindar. It was not till the time that Mr. Graham was appointed as Resident at Midnapur that this area was reduced and brought under the operation of the regular revenue rules of the Company. As 'the continuance of this independence' of the parganna in the western jungles was 'judged unsuitable in the present situation of our Government', a military officer with a party of sepoy was despatched against the Rajas, 'with a view to reduce them to a proper subjection to our Government on payment of first revenue and to enforce their obedience to the Resident at Midnapur'.² Damodar Bhanja resisted to desperation the attempt to reduce his territory within the Midnapore area to the position of a Zemindary and was more often in revolt against the Company's officers than otherwise.³ It was even attempted by the Company's authorities to ally themselves with the Marathas with a view to put Damodar Bhanja down. On the 29th December, 1783, the Governor-General of Bengal requested Raja Ram Pandit, the Maratha Subadar of Orissa, to commence joint hostilities against the Mayurbhanj ruler* but nothing came out of this, and beyond issuing general edicts, no effort was made to chastise the Raja for his refractoriness. On the other hand, the revenue payable by him for the parganna of Nayabasan

¹ *Midnapur Records*, vol. ii. No. 442.

² *Ibid*, vol. i, No. 109.

³ *Bengal MS. Records*, Hunter, Nos. 537, 561, 579.

⁴ *Ibid*, letter No. L.R. 583.

was considerably reduced. It is clear that the Company was anxious to keep him humoured as his help was necessary in case of Maratha troubles.

Damodar Bhanja died in 1796 and a war of succession broke out between Trivikram Bhanja Deo, the adopted son of the deceased Raja and his widow, Rani Sumitra Devi who claimed the *gadi*. The Rani, in order to strengthen her position, sought and obtained recognition of the Marathas in respect of her principality on their side, and was likewise recognized by the British in respect of the parganna of Nayabasan held by Mayurbhanj in British territory. Rani Sumitra Devi continued the policy of Damodar Bhanja and maintained friendly relations with the British. Her position was at that time particularly important as Wellesley was on the eve of his campaign against the Marathas. By this time the position had so far changed that there was no fear of any attack by the Marathas on the Company's territories. But the British authorities were anxious to obtain possession of the littoral which connects Ganjam with Bengal. When war was declared against Bhonsla in 1803, the Company was anxious that Sumitra Devi, whose authority in Mayurbhanj had been displaced by that of Trivikram Bhanj Deo, should be restored to her State, as her help was deemed to be of great importance. In a letter written to the Mahant of Gopiballapur, dated 23rd September, 1803, the Collector of Midnapur states :

'At present war has broken out between the English Company and Maharaja Raghuji Bhonsla on account of disagreement. Consequently, an English army has been employed to take possession of the Katak province. Rani Sumitra Devi, Zemindar of Mayurbhanj, is staying at Gopiballapur owing to her disagreement with her adopted son Trivikram Bhanja This disagreement and dissension among relatives is very undesirable You and Vaidyanatha Chaudary acting in union should bring about an agreement between the Rani and Trivikram Bhanja. If, according to the terms of the agreement, the Rani and Trivikram Bhanja become well-wishers and help the Company, it will be good for both. If the Marathas have oppressed and done injustice to them, the matter will be investigated and justice will be done. *The relations that exist between them and the Maratha Government will be continued.* There will be no deviation from it.'

Presumably, as a result of these efforts, Rani Sumitra Devi took possession of her State. She was requested to help the British forces proceeding to Cuttack and to hold her country against the Marathas, as will be seen from the following letter of her Vakil to the British Authorities:—

‘Durkhast of Bhagbut Churn Muhtee, Wukeel of Ranee Soomitra Bhunj, Zemindar of Nyabusawunt—

‘ * * * * In the year 1211 Amlee, the English Government undertook the conquest of Cuttack and owing to the fort Hurihurpoor which belong to your Petitioner’s client being situated on the confines of the Maratha territory, she was honoured with a purwanna from the Governor-General in Council to this effect. The English army is proceeding against Cuttack. *You will afford it every assistance in your power, and comply with any requisitions you may receive.* At the same time Mr. Ernst, Judge of Midnapore, issued a purwanna to your petitioner’s client informing her that the payment of the kists due from her Zemindar was suspended, directing her to afford every assistance to the English army, *and to guard with the utmost vigilance the Ghauts and passes of her Zemindary and in the event of any of the enemy making their appearance, to convey immediate intelligence thereof to the English army* informing her that, whatever expense she might incur in consequence would be deducted from the revenues of her Estate, Your petitioner’s client highly honoured by these commands immediately set about carrying them into execution.’ * * * * *

It will be noticed that the Rani was asked not merely to help the British armies but to defend her own boundaries and to guard all the passes leading into her territory. That, as has been pointed out before, is the essence of the RING FENCE policy. This letter also provides definite evidence that the Mayurbhanj State had completely disowned the Maratha allegiance and accepted the alliance of the East India Company.

With the conquest of Cuttack, the possibility of an attack on the Company’s possessions from that side vanished, and the RING FENCE had to be shifted to the new frontier. Like other states which began as parts of the defensive system Mayurbhanj became a protected State. This fact has a curious outcome which it is not necessary to discuss here—and that is, that by reason of its earlier relationship with the Company, this State was not mentioned in the Article 10 of

the treaty of Deogun, by which the Bhonsla confirmed the treaties made by the Company with the Nagpur feudatories. Though Mayurbhanj was some time or other a tributary of the Marathas, it was deemed by reason of its close connection with the frontier policy treated here, to have freed itself from the Maratha yoke even before the campaign of 1803, as its rulers were in alliance and friendship with the Government of the Company.

The RING FENCE policy by which Bengal and Bihar were thus saved from attack was actually enforced only in Orissa. Its historical importance in the development of the Indian State policy is well recognized and need not be discussed here.

Gleanings from Sanskrit Mahakavyas

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(1) THE ŚISUPĀLAVADHA

SANSKRIT Mahakavyas are among the least utilized sources of Indian History. While Vedic literature has been enough to provide material for many big volumes on Vedic civilization, Sanskrit Mahakavyas have hardly supplied more than a score of facts to the histories of India. The neglect is, however, far from being justified. For, within the range of Sanskrit Mahakavyas lies scattered a large number of facts which can be gleaned and pieced together by painstaking students of Sanskrit.

Of the Mahakavyas too the most important, for the purpose of history is the Śisupalavadha, the great epic poem written by Magha, the celebrated Sanskrit poet who, in point of poetic excellence, was considered superior to Kalidas and Bharavi by old fashioned Pandits.¹ In this great Kavya the story of the final success of Krishna and the death of Śisupala, and a few other incidents have been taken from the *Mahabharata*. But the facts given there are so few that Magha is frequently obliged to draw upon his imagination to supply the want, and compose a book of twenty cantos. Most of the situations and descriptions are therefore Magha's own and owe little to the *Mahabharata*. It is this independence from the source-book which gives the Mahakavya its special value in the eyes of historians. Magha, if he does not describe things taken from the Great Epic and other sources, must have laid his own surroundings under contribution and made thereby his poetic composition a mirror of the age in which he lived.

¹ उपमा कालिदासस्य, भारवेर्यगौरवम् ।

नैषधे पदललितं, भाषे सन्ति तयो गुणाः ॥

For instance, the view about statecraft in the second canto, which owes little to the *Mahabharata*, reflects accurately the political conditions by which our poet was surrounded. The eighth century¹ in Indian history was a time of political disruption when kingdoms were falling like ninepins, and constantly changing their boundaries. With such an environment, Magha must have naturally reached the conclusion that 'the sum and substance of political wisdom is one's own rise, and the other's decline'². Kings must have, as desired by him, never rested content with what they had acquired but ever tried to increase their dominions at the expense of their enemies.³ Diplomacy and secret service must have been ever active and monarchs fully believed in the dictum that 'intellect is a king's weapon, that subjects are his limbs, safeguarding secrets his armour, detectives his eyes, and messengers his mouth'⁴. Forged letters must have been frequently used by traitors who pretended to be a king's friends, received pay from his enemies and struck at the ministers of the state by accusing them of conspiring with the enemy, and producing false written deeds to prove their treason.⁵

Again, if the twentieth canto be left out of consideration, the description of armies in the rest of the book will be found to abound in details drawn from life. In the twelfth canto, for example, the author does not rest satisfied with the description of the usual four arms—elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry, but goes on to speak about camels, mules and oxen which must have been used by the armies of the eighth century. Camels perhaps formed a separate corps.⁶ They were largely used by soldiers for riding, and traversing long distances⁷ in that part of India where Magha lived. Mules and oxen were employed as beasts of burden⁸ and large numbers of camels too served the same purpose.⁹ Magha's descriptions of camels are so frequent and lifelike that one is tempted to hazard the inference that Magha was most probably a native of some place in or near Rajputana

¹ For Magha's date, see Prof. Pathak's article in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. xx, pp. 303-306.

² आत्मोदयः परज्यानिर्द्वयं नोतिरितोपती ।

Canto ii, 30

³ Canto ii, 32.

⁴ Canto ii, 82.

⁵ Canto ii, 113.

⁶ Canto xii, 7, 18, 32.

⁷ Canto xii, 7, 18, 32.

⁸ Canto xii, 10, 18.

⁹ Canto xii, 9, 11.

where these animals are largely used, for riding and carrying burdens.

Of the four or five arms mentioned above, the war-elephants were, as shown by the large number of pages devoted to the account of their fighting, the most important for warfare. With their bodies covered with coats of mail¹, and tusks provided with barbs, these creatures must have worked terrible havoc in the hostile army. So eager did these remain for fighting that their eyes had to be covered with clothes which were not removed before their reaching the battle ground and the beginning of the fight in earnest². On their backs sat archers, who showered arrows on the enemy, and remained safe in some measure in their howdahs³. Hostile soldiers in their turn tried to blind the elephants by means of arrows⁴, and sometimes cut off the tips of their trunks by means of their swords⁵. On the whole, the war-elephant was a terrible creature. He could crush men under his feet, throw them in the air, and tear them to pieces with his trunk, tusks and feet⁶.

Cavalry was specially valued for its sudden onrush, quick speed and the breach it caused in hostile ranks⁷. The horses of which it was composed came from outside India⁸, and were carefully selected with regard to their speed, training⁹ and auspicious signs on neck and bosom¹⁰. In some cases so good was the training given in styles of movement and attack that under the direction of their leaders the horses did not fear rushing on elephants and allowing their masters time to attack these huge creatures with their spears¹¹.

Magha does not give more than one or two stanzas to the description of fighting between charioteers. Infantry receives a better treatment and was perhaps more in use than chariots.

Details about equipment are rather meagre. Elephants carried archers, horses spearmen¹², and the foot-soldiers had their swords and shields¹³. Discs¹⁴ and barbed darts¹⁵ which receive a slight mention at some places might have been used by some people. Strong armour was used by many in the army¹⁶.

¹ Canto xviii, 6.

⁴ Canto xviii, 13.

⁷ Canto xviii, 13.

¹⁰ Canto v, 4.

¹³ Canto xviii, 21, 19, 4, xix, 55.

¹⁶ Canto xxix, 59.

² Canto xviii, 28, 29.

³ Canto xviii, 45, xix, 67.

⁵ Canto v, 54.

¹¹ Canto xviii, 23.

³ Canto xviii, 39, 9.

⁶ Canto xviii, 51.

⁹ Canto v, 60.

¹² Canto xviii, 23.

¹⁴ Canto xviii, 45.

¹⁶ Canto xvii, 51, 21.

Drums were sounded¹, conch-cells blown², and banners waved³ as soldiers marched out to battle. Wine was drunk before starting, and intoxicants taken to simulate courage⁴. Bards accompanied warriors to the battle field, and praised loudly the valorous deeds of soldiers showing prowess⁵. Fighting must have been as usual a cruel affair. But its cruelty was perhaps softened a little by the chivalrous principles which directed that a flying enemy should not be pursued⁶, and the wounded soldiers should be protected even if they belonged to the hostile party⁷.

On marches strict discipline was commended, and generally maintained by good generals⁸. Tents were carried by armies and used whenever required⁹. If rivers were to be crossed in the course of march, a ford was probably sought out and a crossing easily effected. Women and children crossed by means of boats¹⁰, elephants, horses and oxen swam over the river¹¹, and soldiers must have generally done the same¹².

Camping arrangements vied in elaborateness the system described by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. The king's camp was fixed in the centre and surmounted by a flag which served, as did the big lamp in Akbar's camp, to guide stragglers to their tents¹³. Women accompanied chiefs to the wars, and lived with them in their tents¹⁴. Merchants made the life easy, and supplied all sorts of things from their shops¹⁵. Prostitutes accompanied the king and his soldiers, set up their own tents, and used their well-known wiles in winning the hearts of people¹⁶. On the whole, camp life was fairly luxurious.

Interesting facts about religious life too can be had from the Mahakavyas. The Krishna and Bhakti cults are said to have taken their rise during the Gupta Period. If that is so, they had reached their full development by the eighth century. Krishna was at the time regarded as an Avatara and worshipped as such by all people. Devotion to him was believed to be an act of great merit, and a good means to salvation¹⁷. Stories of his life must have been eagerly drunk in by the masses who knew that he was the slayer of Putana,

¹ Canto xvii, 31, 32.

⁴ Canto xv, 81.

⁷ Canto xviii, 66.

¹⁰ Canto xii, 71.

¹³ Canto v, 13.

¹⁶ Canto v, 24, xii, 26.

² Canto xii, 13.

⁵ Canto xviii, 16.

⁸ Canto xii, 36.

¹¹ Canto xii, 72, 73, 74.

¹⁴ Canto v, 22. See Canto xii, 34 also.

¹⁷ Canto v, 27.

³ Canto xii, 44, 49, xviii, 8.

⁶ Canto xviii, 18.

⁹ Canto xii, 63, 4.

¹² Canto xii, 75.

¹⁵ Canto xiv, 63.

Śakatasur, Kamsa and Shisupala¹. Of other Avataras, the best known were Varaha, Nṛsimha, Vāmana, Dattatraya, Parasuram, and Rama.²

Some items can be gathered about popular religion. That it was largely dominated by superstition is proved by the large number of things tabooed as evil if seen or done at the time of departure for battle. The falling of a bowl of water or wine was considered a sure sign of evil.³ If bangles slipped off, there was a fear that the woman would lose her husband, and be a widow.⁴ Sneezing denoted that the man going out would be unsuccessful in his mission.⁵ The word 'alam',⁶ falling of tears from the eyes, showing signs of distress,⁷ and asking one where he was going⁸ were certain to cause some obstruction. Even looking towards the feet of one's husband was a bad omen.⁹

Side by side with these superstitious notions went great mental activity among the higher classes of society. Nyaya, Vedanta, Yoga, and Sankhya flourished and the abstruse science of Metaphysics found many eager students. Perhaps the theory of Maya had been already formulated and expounded by some great Acharya.¹⁰ The Sankhya ideas of Prakṛiti and Puruṣa were not merely known but had also become the basis of Yoga Philosophy.¹¹ The Nyaya doctrine of the subsistence of qualities in the substrate was known and used by the poet.¹² Grammarians too were fairly active. Magha himself was a great scholar of this science and gives more than once proofs of his vast learning.¹³

Of social life the Mahakavya cannot be expected to give a full picture. But something at least can be definitely written about the morals of the people who allowed the Śisupalavadha to become popular and survive. They certainly cherished no Puritanic ideals. Prostitution was a popular system in their times, and the kings, not

¹ Canto xiv, 23-38.

² Canto xiv, 71-86.

³ Canto xiv, 81. See Mallinatha's commentary also.

⁴ Canto xiv, 47. See Mallinatha's commentary also.

⁵ Canto xiv, 91. See Mallinatha's commentary also.

⁶ Canto xiv.

⁷ Canto xiv, 96. See Mallinatha's commentary also.

⁸ Canto xiv, 87. See Mallinatha's commentary also.

⁹ Canto xiv, 86. See Mallinatha's commentary also.

¹⁰ Canto xiv, 70.

¹¹ Canto iv, 55.

¹² Canto v, 38.

¹³ Canto xiv, 23-24, xvi, 80.

content with the large number of their wives, had courtezans¹ to wait upon and please them. Illegal love by Abhisarikas was a favourite motive with their poets,² and verses were written about the most intimate relations of man and woman.³ Drinking wine was a common evil which must have ruined many prosperous families.⁴

A few stanzas furnish some account of family life. Monogamy was not the general rule with people. In the eighth century, as now in the twentieth, rich persons had two or three wives.⁵ Homes were the scene of intrigues and counter-intrigues. Co-wives did not see eye to eye,⁶ and tried to supplant one another in the affections of their husbands. Sometimes matters went further. Indignant at their husband's transgressions, women threatened domestic non-co-operation. Reconciliation was in such matters often reached through the mediation of female friends who, by their sweet words, won the wives' hearts and made them forgive the faults of their husband.⁷

Some light on the way in which women lived will also be found interesting. They were, as now, confined within the four walls of their houses, and rarely allowed to stir outside. So great was the care taken about the *pardah* of queens and ladies of higher classes that men feared being beaten if detected seeing their faces even for a moment.⁸ *Amtahpur* or inner apartments were the women's residence proper, and the words *avarodhika*⁹ and *avarodhabadhu*¹⁰ employed by Magha connote the exact nature of their bondage.

Women tried various means to set off their beauty. They used jingling girdles,¹¹ ear-ornaments set with gems,¹² bracelets made of ivory,¹³ anklets¹⁴ and pearl necklaces.¹⁵ Various kinds of unguents were used. Of these the most commonly used were prepared with saffron, musk, and sandal.¹⁶ *Kunkuma* and *lodhra* powders¹⁷ were used for the complexion, and *alaktaka*,¹⁸ the red resin of several trees, was used for dyeing the lips and the soles of the feet. Flowers decked

¹ Canto xi, 20.

² Canto ix, 21, 22.

³ Canto x, 43-67.

⁴ Canto xii, 38.

⁵ Canto viii, 36-44.

⁶ Canto viii, 36-44.

⁷ Canto vii, 7-11.

⁸ Canto v, 17.

⁹ Canto xii, 38.

¹⁰ Canto v, 7.

¹¹ Canto vi, 6, 14, Canto vii, 5.

¹² Canto vi, 27.

¹³ Canto x, 43.

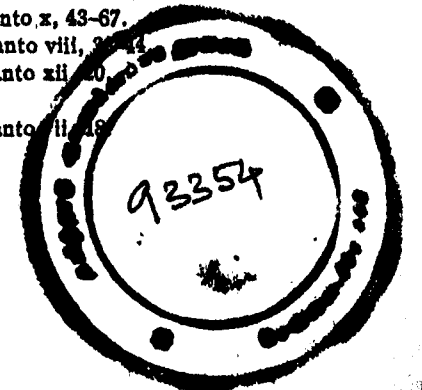
¹⁴ Canto ii, 48.

¹⁵ Canto viii, 9, xvi, 84.

¹⁶ Canto ix, 7, vi, 24, xvi, 84.

¹⁷ Canto ix, 46, vii, 63.

¹⁸ Canto ix, 46, vii, 6, xvi, 84.



the hair in profusion.¹ Betel-leaves were chewed and many kinds of scents used.²

A few details about the ways in which people enjoyed themselves will, we hope, not be out of place at the end of this article. Sometimes men went out on long excursions to forests and enjoyed themselves under their shady trees.³ Sporting in water was highly popular. Certain machines called *jalayantras* were used by people for throwing water on one another.⁴ Sometimes dust too was used by way of joke.⁵ Fairs were common. April or Chaitra was the month of enjoyment and merry-making throughout India. Kamadeva, the god of love, was the presiding deity of the Madhu festival which was held in the spring season and celebrated with great eclat by both men and women.⁶

¹ Canto v, 19.

² Canto vii.

³ Canto viii, 30.

⁴ Canto viii, 70, Canto viii, 39.

⁵ Canto vi, 52.

⁶ Canto vi, 19; cf. the accounts in *Ratnavali* and *Dasakumara Charita*.

Varahas of Sri Krishna Raya of Vijayanagara

BY

R. SRINIVASARAGHAVA AIYANGAR, M.A.

The Rev. H. Heras, S. J., has described a golden varaha of Sri Pratapa Krishna Raya of Vijayanagara in Part I, Vol. VII of the *Journal of Indian History* (April 1928.) Two incorrect statements have been made in it, one regarding the publication of the coin and another about the identity of the figure found on the reverse. This paper is intended to correct them and to describe clearly the gold coinage of Krishna Deva Raya.

(1) Prior to his description in the *Journal of Indian History* the Rev. H. Heras states that the coin in question was not published. This statement is not correct, for similar coins have been figured and described by several scholars. Their names and references to their works are noted below :—

Wilson	... Description of select coins in the possession of the Asiatic Society.	No. 88-89 in page 594 in the <i>Journal of Asiatic Researches</i> , Vol. XVII.
Marsden	... Oriental Coins, Ancient and Modern.	<i>Numismatic Circular</i> , Part II, No. 1070-1071.
Prinsep	... <i>Indian Antiquities</i> , Vol. II.	No. 13 in plate XLV.
Bidie	... Pagoda or varaha coins of South India.	No. 12 a, b in the <i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> , Vol. LI, Part I, 1883.
Elliot	... Coins of South India	... Nos. 183 to 188.
Hultzsch	... Coins of the Kingdom of Vijayanagara.	Page 305, <i>Indian Antiquary</i> of September 1891.
Jackson	... The Dominions, Emblems and Coins of the South Indian Dynasties.	Pages 352-353 in the <i>British Numismatic Journal</i> , 1912.

While seven scholars have taken the trouble to describe similar coins, it is somewhat misleading to state that the coin was unpublished hitherto.

(2) The Rev. H. Heras first of all thought that the figure on the obverse might be a representation of King Krishna Raya, and finally concludes that it could not be, as the figure does not agree with the description of Krishna Raya as found in other sources.

He then suggests that the figure might be a *sanyāsi*, and states that King Krishna Raya had him seated on his throne for a while, and concludes that this coin might have been issued to commemorate this event. He quotes some story to confirm his statement.

The Kings of Vijayanagara never had their figure on their coins. They always had the figure of a deity, except in the case of Achyuta Raya who had the bird *gandabherunda* on the reverse. These deities were either Śaiva or Vaishnava, or both, according to the religious beliefs of the kings. This was the case throughout. The figure in the present coin therefore neither represents Krishna Raya nor any *sanyāsi*, as stated by the Rev. H. Heras.

This point has been a matter of contest from the year 1832. Wilson took it as the representation of the Varāhavatār of Vishnu; while Bidie, Marsden and Elliot have taken it to be the representation of the goddess Durga (the bull-headed consort of Siva.)

But Dr. Hultzch and Jackson considered it as the figure of Vishnu himself, perhaps owing to the presence of the conch and the discus and as Sri Krishna Raya having been known throughout as an orthodox Vaishnava.

The gold coinage of Krishna Raya consists of double, single and half varahas.

I. The double varaha has on the

OBVERSE.

Vishnu standing under an arch.

REVERSE.

श्री
कुम्भार
य.

This is figured in No. 112 of the Coins of South India.

Dr. Hultzch was doubtful of the issue of this coin by the absence of the word *वराह*, but this might have been issued early in the reign of the king and *वराह* might have been added when he began to conquer vast dominions to his kingdom.

II. Single vārahas have got on the

OBSERVE.

REVERSE

- (a) Siva and Parvati seated.
 (b) Female figure with right leg hanging down and left leg folded and placed over the seat.
 (c) Female figure with right leg folded and placed over the seat and with the left folded and kept erect over the seat.

श्रीम

तापकृष्ण

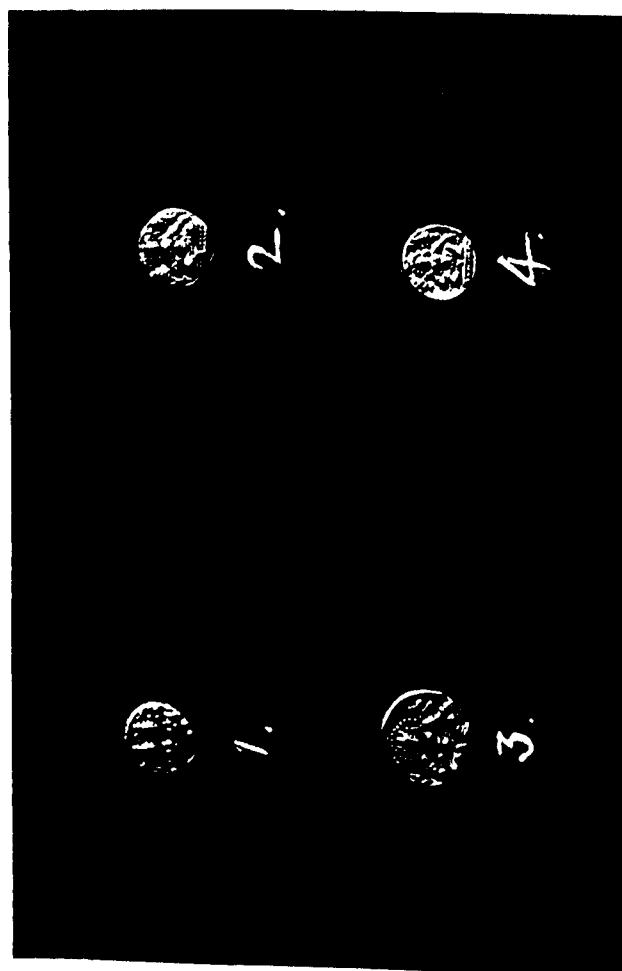
राय

III. Half varahas same as II (c).

The Madras Government Museum has got in its collection eleven full varahas and thirteen half-varahas. Out of these eleven, one is like II (a), (Pl. 1), and one full and half varaha are like II (b), (Pl. 2). The rest including all other half varahas, have all the seated figures like II (c), (Pl. 3 and 4) which resembles the one figured by the Rev. H. Heras in his article.

The Rev. H. Heras has described: 'The obverse presents a nude figure of a man squatting on the ground. He wears no head dress. His face is absolutely worn out. He has one bangle round each arm over the elbow. His right hand seems to be slightly raised up before his chest as if making a gesture, while the left arm rests upon the knee, somewhat risen above the ground. Below the plank where this figure is squatting, there is a line of drop-like ornamentation, suggesting the decoration of a throne. Something like this is to be seen on the top behind the head of the figure. I could not make out the significance of these flourishes'.

The following is the description of the seated figure: A woman-like form is seated over a pedestal with the right leg folded and the left leg bent and kept erect. The right arm is bent and a ball-like thing is seen in the right hand. The left arm is stretched and is supported by the left knee. Bangles are worn on the two wrists and there are bracelets on both the upper arms. A zone with beads is worn round the waist. A trident-like thing appears over the head and above it there are a series of dots from shoulder to shoulder which may perhaps be to represent a rosary of *rudraksha* beads. In some cases these dots extend from the discus on the right side to the conch on the left. In the case of some coins, there are no dots but a wavy line is put up over the head.



HALF-VARĀHAS OF KRISHNADEVA RAYA OF VIJAYANAGAR

While such is the description of the figure, it seems inaccurate to say that the figure is nude. Presumably the Rev. H. Heras has been tempted to draw this conclusion from the beads in the girdle worn round the waist. To all appearances the feminine figure is sitting on a pedestal and not on the ground as stated by the Rev. H. Heras. It has got a head-dress as may be seen from the trident-like thing over the head. The right hand is holding a ball-like object and not raised as if making a gesture, as stated by the writer. The pedestal over which the figure is seated is a *badrasana* and not a throne as stated by him. There is no *tridanda* on the coin to indicate that the figure is that of a *sanyasi* or ascetic.

The form, as observed in these coins, may be divided into two classes. Firstly, those having a trident-like thing on the head and a series of dots over the head and from shoulder to shoulder. Secondly, those having a wavy line above the head. The form, dress and ornaments worn clearly indicate that the figure is feminine. The position of the left leg is peculiar to *Śakta* deities. The ball-like thing in the right hand may be taken to represent the head of a human being which is usually carried by Durga. The feminine features, the trident-like thing on the head, the conch and discus on either side, the series of dots which may represent *rudraksha* beads, all go to prove that the figure is no other than the goddess Durga. It is obviously from this figure of Durga that these coins were known by the name of Durgi Pagoda.

It may be asked whether it would be compatible for Sri Krishna Raya, a staunch Vaishnava, to have a representation of Durga on his coins. According to a reliable¹ Telugu work, *Śringara Satya-bhama Santvanamu*, by Kāmēśvarakavi, a golden image of Durga was worshipped as the guardian deity of the fort of Vijayanagara ever since its origin and all prosperity of the kingdom was believed to be due to this deity. The kingdom of Vijayanagara was at its zenith during Krishna Raya's time and it would be quite consistent to have the figure on the coin to respect the feeling that all prosperity was due to this Durga. This Durga was handed over to Visvanatha Nayaka of Madura by king Achyuta Raya, from which time the kingdom began to decline.

Therefore there seems to be no doubt whatever that the figure in question is Durga and not a *sanyasi* as suggested by Rev. Heras.

¹ Verse 26, I am indebted for this information to Mr. Prabhakara Sastri of the Oriental Manuscripts Library.

The Khaza'inul Futuh

OF

AMIR KHUSRAU

CHAPTER IV

GUJRAT, RAJPUTANA, MALWA AND DEOGIR

*Having described the dagger thrusts in many victories over the Mughals, I now come to the conquest of the Hindūs of Gujrat:—*¹ As the sword of the Emperor of land and sea had been plentifully smeared with the blood of the infidel Mughals, he wished to wash off this clotted impurity in the immense ocean. Consequently, on Wednesday, the 20th Jamadiul Awwal, 699 A.H., a fortunate day, he issued a *firman* to the '*Artz-i Wala*'² to send an army, like clouds and rain, to the coast of Gujrat to destroy the temple of Somnāth. Like an angel directing the clouds, the late Ulugh Khān (May God make him drink out of the fountain of His forgiveness!) was appointed to lead the victorious army. Resolved to conquer, the clouds moved towards the sea; and as the foundations of the temple were water-deep, *they wished to bring its summit to the water also*. When the Imperial army reached the City of that land,³ the sword of the righteous monarch completely conquered the province, which, adorned like a bride, had escaped so many emperors of the past. Much blood was shed. A general invitation was issued to all the beasts and birds of the forest to a continuous feast of meat and drink. *In the marriage banquet, at which the Hindūs were sacrificed, animals of all kinds ate them to their satisfaction*. Then the *Khān-i 'Aqam*⁴ moved his army towards the sea.⁵ Round the temple of Somnāth, which is the centre of Hindū worship, he drew a circle with his troops, and planted his *Khajār* spear so high towards the centre that its sharp point almost

¹ Allusions to sea and rain.

² Minister of War. The office was then held by Hishabruddin Zafar Khān.

³ Apparently Anhilwāra, the capital of Gujrat, is meant. It is now known as Pattan.

⁴ *Khān-i 'Aqam* and *Ulugh Khān* both mean the first *Khān* of the Kingdom. It was equivalent to the later title of '*Khān-i Khānān*'.

⁵ Allusions to circle and centre.

pierced the sky. The banner of Islām was elevated to the equator, while every arch emerging from the two semi-circles, into which the army was divided, without fail passed its arrow through the black dot of infidelity. So the temple of Somnāth was made to bow towards the Holy Mecca; and as the temple lowered its head and jumped into the sea, you may say that the building first said its prayers and then had a bath. The idols, who had fixed their abode midway to the House of Abraham (Mecca), and there waylaid stragglers,¹ were broken to pieces in pursuance of Abraham's tradition.² But one idol, the greatest of them all, was sent by the *maliks* to the Imperial Court, so that the breaking of their helpless god may be demonstrated to the idol-worshipping Hindūs. It seemed as if the tongue of the Imperial sword explained the meaning of the text: 'So he (Abraham) broke them (the idols) into pieces except the chief of them, that haply they may return to it.'³ Such a pagan country, the Mecca of the infidels, now became the Medina of Islam. The followers of Abraham now acted as guides in place of the Brahman leaders. The robust-hearted true believers rigorously broke all idols and temples wherever they found them. Owing to the war, 'takbīr,' and 'shahādāt' was heard on every side; even the idols by their breaking affirmed the existence of God. In this ancient land of infidelity the call to prayers rose so high that it was heard in Baghdād and Madāin (Ctesiphon) while the 'Alāi proclamation (*Khuṭba*) resounded in the dome of Abraham and over the water of Zamzam.⁴ As to the city of Nahrwāla and the city of Kambāyat (Cambay), which the sea raises its head to swallow up, as well as the other cities situated on the coast—though the sea beats against them with force, yet the wave of the Muslim army did not turn to the sea to wash off the contamination of infidelity from the land, but cleansed the ground by a deluge of infidel blood; for if blood is not clean, and cannot cleanse, yet the sword is a purifier; and the sword having overcome the infidels, their blood became pure also. My

¹ Obviously referring to the custom of Mussalmāns praying at Hindū shrines. Muslim pilgrims to Mecca, it seems, used to visit Somnāth on their way. It was a great seaport and the place from which the pilgrims embarked on their voyage. Somnāth had been destroyed by Maḥmūd, but like many other temples it had been rebuilt.

² Allusions to Qibla (Mecca) and Abraham. The holy Mecca was built by the Prophet Abraham.

³ The *Qurān*, chapter xxi, sec. 5. ⁴ A famous well in Mecca; Hagar's well.

object in this simile is not real blood, but (only to show) that *the sword of Islām purified the land as the sun purifies the earth.*¹

¹ 'In the beginning of the third year of 'Alāuddīn's reign, Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān marched to Gujarāt with their *amīrs*, *sar-lashkars*, and a large army. The whole of Gujrat, including Nahrwala, was plundered. Karan, the Rāi of Gujrat, fled to Rām:Deo at Deogir, while his wives, daughters, treasures and elephants fell into the hands of the Muslim army. The whole of Gujrat was conquered. They also sent to Delhi an idol, which the Brahmans had called Somnāth after the destruction of Nāth by Sulṭān Maḥmūd, for the people to tread on. Nusrat Khān then proceeded to Cambay and took plenty of precious stones and valuables from the Khwājas (Muslim merchants) of Cambay, who were very rich. Kāfūr Hazārdinārī, who later on became the *Malik Naib* and infatuated 'Alāuddīn, was forcibly seized from his Khwāja and brought to the Sultan.' (*Barni*).

While the army was returning from Gujrat, a serious mutiny broke out, which Khusrāu refrains from mentioning. It is, however, described by Barni. 'When Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān were returning from Gujrat with their spoils,' he continues, 'they resorted to great severity and to kicks and blows to find out what spoils had fallen into the hands of the men and in demanding the fifth part, which was the share of the state. Their demands were extortionate; they would not accept the returns made by the men but wanted more. By compelling the men to drink salt water, and by various kinds of coercion, they wished to take away from them all the gold, silver, jewels and other valuables they had. These tortures drove the men to desperation. There were a number of 'New Muslim' *Amīrs* and horsemen in the army who collected together, about two or three thousand in number, and raised a revolt. They killed Nusrat Khān's brother, Malik Aizzuddin, who was the *Amīr-i hajib* of Ulugh Khān and then proceeded tumultuously to Ulugh Khān's tent. Ulugh Khān cleverly came out of his tent unrecognized and escaped to Nusrat Khān's tent. A nephew (sister's son) of Sultan 'Alāuddīn was sleeping in Ulugh Khān's tent and the mutineers slew him under the impression that he was Ulugh Khān. The disturbance spread through the whole army and there was a grave danger that the spoils (of Gujrat) would be lost. But as 'Alāuddīn's power was destined to increase, even such a disturbance was soon quelled. The horse and foot of the army gathered before Nusrat Khān's tent, the 'New Muslim' *Amīrs* and horsemen were dispersed, and their ringleaders, who had instigated the revolt, fled for refuge to the *rais* and other rebellious (chiefs). Further inquiry into the spoils was given up, and Nusrat Khān and Ulugh Khān reached Delhi with the spoils, treasures, elephants and slaves they had obtained in the plunder of Gujrat.

'When news of the "New Muslim" revolt reached Delhi, Sultan 'Alāuddīn, from the cruelty that was ingrained in his nature, ordered the wives and children of all the rebels, high and low, to be captured and imprisoned. Now was begun the practice of punishing women and children for the misdeeds of men, which had not till then been known in Delhi. But a more horrid act of tyranny was committed by Nusrat Khān, the author of many acts of violence in the City. In revenge for his brother's death, he dishonoured and disgraced the wives of those who had struck his brother with their axes; he gave them to sweepers to be used as prostitutes and ordered their suckling children to be broken to pieces on their heads. His actions filled people with horror and dismay. A shiver went through the hearts of men.'

A short sketch of the conquest is also found in the *Dawal Rānī*. 'When the territory of Sind, the mountains and the sea, had become obedient to him,

*In a single campaign Rantambhor was conquered, and by the decree of Providence the land of infidelity became the land of Islām.*¹ When the

the Sultān's exalted judgment decided that the Rāi of Gujrāt should also come within his power. He sent Ulugh Khān to scatter the dust of that province to the winds and to defeat the Rāi with his superior wisdom. Like lions (the Mussalmāns) shed the blood of the *gabr*s by the side of the river and the sea; and the temple of Somnāth was overthrown with so much force that the earth trembled like the ocean.' (*Dawal Rāni*).

The fortunes (or misfortunes) of Rāi Karan's wife, Kamala Devī and his daughter, Dival Devī, are described by Amīr Khusrāu in his *Dawal Rāni* and are summarized in prose by Ferishta. The story is too long for citation in a foot-note. (See my monograph on *Amīr Khusrāu*, chapter ii, Messrs. Taraporevala, Bombay).

To Khusrāu's regard for the memory of Sultān Jalaluddin and his reluctance to refer to anything not morally creditable to 'Alāuddin, we may attribute his omission of the conquest of Multān by Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān. Arkali Khān, the eldest son of Sultān Jalaluddin, was governor of Multān when his father was assassinated at Karra. Sultān Jalaluddin's wife, the Malka-i Jahan, instead of calling Arkali Khān, hastened to place her youngest son, Ruknuddin Ibrahim, on the throne. Her action was probably due to the expectation that she would be all in all with a minor on the throne, whereas Arkali Khān had a will of his own. But when 'Alāuddin advanced towards Delhi, the Malka-i Jahan found herself too weak to make a stand and most of her officers deserted to the enemy. She frantically appealed to Arkali Khān, but he had been deeply wounded by his mother's behaviour and refused to stir. Finally when 'Alāuddin encamped opposite to Delhi, the Malka-i Jahan and Sultān Ruknuddin fled to Multān. 'The first project, which 'Alāuddin entertained after his accession to the throne, was the removal of the late Sultān's sons. Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān were sent to Multān with many *Maliks* and *Amīrs* and an army of thirty or forty thousand horse. After they had besieged Multān for a month or two, the *Kotwal* and the citizens of Multān turned away from Sultān Jalaluddin's sons and some of their *Amīrs* joined the besiegers. Jalaluddin's sons asked for peace through the mediation of Shaikhul Islam Shaikh Ruknuddin; after it had been promised and the terms settled, they came out (of the city) with the Shaikhul Islam and all their *Maliks* and *Amīrs*. Ulugh Khān treated them with honour and quartered them near his own tent. He sent a message of victory to Delhi, where it was read from the pulpits and then despatched to the provinces. *Qubbahs* (cupolas) were constructed in the City and drums beaten in joy. 'Alāuddin's power over Hindūstān was now established and he had no enemy or rival to fear.'

'Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān, who had the sons of Sultān Jalaluddin (both of whom had once possessed the canopy) together with all their *Maliks* and *Amīrs* in their hands, now started for Delhi. On the way they met Nusrat Khan, who had been sent to them. The two sons of Sultān Jalaluddin, Ulugh, a son-in-law of the late Sultān, and Malik Ahmad Chap, the ex-*Naib-i Amīr-i Hajib*, were all blinded. Their *harems* were separated from them and their wealth, goods, slaves and slave-girls, in fact, all they possessed, were seized by Nusrat Khān, who imprisoned the sons of Sultān Jalaluddin in the fort of Hansi and put the sons of Arkali to death. He brought their *harems*, together with the Malka-i Jahan and Ahmad Chap to Delhi and kept them as prisoners in his own house.' (Barni, *Persian Text*, p. 249-50).

¹ Allusions to the sun and planets.

celestial canopy of the Shadow of God cast its shade over the hill of Rantambhor and the conqueror of the world emitted his heat like the sun over the unlucky inhabitants of that place, the days of their life began to decline. The towering fort, which talked with the stars through its lofty pinnacles, was surrounded by the troops. The Saturnian Hindūs, who are related to that planet, had for purposes of defence collected fire in all the ten towers, thus *turning the towers of earth (burj-i khaki¹) into towers of fire*. Every day the fire of those people of Hell extended its heated tongue to the light of Islām. But as the Mussalmāns, men of pure elements, had no means of extinguishing it, they took care of their own water (morale) without trying to overcome the fire. Sand-bags were sewn and with them a *pashib* was constructed. From the sowing of sand-bags it seemed that the Emperor of the world was investing the sand even with a robe of honour in reward for its capturing the fort. What then was to be the reward of men? *May the country prosper under such an Emperor till water and earth, fire and air continue to exist!*² When the *pashib* rose high enough to touch the western tower of the fort, the Imperial West-erners (*maghrabis*) appeared like the trunk of an elephant on its summit, and shot large earthen balls. A mountain moved against the infidel fort, and the hearts of the Hindūs began to fail them.

³ Some 'New Muslims' from among the ill-starred Mughals had turned their faces from the sun of Islām and joined the Saturnians.⁴ All these men of Mars had collected together in the tower of fire (*burj-i atshin*); but though they had lighted a fire in all the three towers, and gathered like particles in the 'heaven full of stars', yet was Mercury (*tir* or arrow) caught in the sign of Saggittarius (*qaus*), and wandering towards the fire, was totally consumed. From⁵ Rajab to Zil

¹ The signs Taurus, Virgo and Capricornus.

² Allusions to 'manjaniq.'

³ Allusions to stars.

⁴ A number of 'New Muslims', i. e. Monogols converted to Islām, had rebelled when the army of Delhi was returning from Gujrāt and sought refuge at Rantambhor. They were among its staunchest defenders.

⁵ The following appears to be the sense of the sentences of which a literal translation is given above. 'When 'Alāuddin began to pile up his sand-bags on the western side of the fort, the martial Hindūs (who though Saturnians were on the western side of the fort, the martial Hindūs (who though Saturnians were the Men of Mars as well) and their "New Muslim" comrades collected together in the three western towers of the fort, which looked like "the heaven full of stars". From here they threw fire on the besiegers who were constructing a *pashib* at the foot of the fort and at the same time shot their arrows (Mercury) also. But

Q'ad the victorious army remained encamped at the foot of the fort. From the towers above, the fire rose high enough to evaporate the water-laden canopy of the clouds, but the fortunate Mussalmāns gathered together every day at the extremity of the *pasheb* and carried forward the Imperial banner. With the impetuosity of Bahrām the brave warriors penetrated like salamanders through a fire that scared away the lion of the sky (the sun). To the sound of pipes, the *paika* (footmen) from above made their arrows dance over the fire so that even birds could not fly over the ethereal sphere; the royal falcons were, therefore, unable to reach the dome of fire which extended to the sky.¹ Again, the *irādas* inside the fort, being the brides of the Hindūs, had borne them female offsprings of stone and were openly throwing them out by the end of *Sha'ban*. The Imperial *ghazbans* took account of their misdeeds and stoned them. *For inevitably the mischievous is stoned.* The stones of the besieging *magharabis* went up in the air and struck the clouds with such force that lightning was emitted from them. Heavy stones fell like hail on the heads of the besieged; they ate them and became cold. Yes! Their provisions being finished, they ate stones. Famine prevailed to such an extent within the fort, that they would have purchased a grain of rice for two grains of gold but could not get it. The fire of hunger had roasted their hearts within their earthen bosoms—and they wished to open their bosoms and eat up their roasted hearts. *Man can bear all afflictions except that of a starving stomach.*

² When the celestial sun had ascended the steps of honour and sat in the sign of Aries to hold the festival of the New Year's day (*naurūz*), *tankas* of gold were showered on the earth like falling leaves, and it became finer than a garden. After the *naurūz*, the Sun of Justice (the Sultān) shone full on the Rantambhor hill and every day its heat and

the arrows they shot (so Amīr Khusrāu imagines) wandered into the fire they had thrown and were consequently burnt.

¹ Allusions to *manjanīq* (catapult). *Irāda*, *manjanīqs* and *magharabis* were various machines for shooting stones at the fort walls and were largely used in siege operations. The central piece, it seems, was a large wooden beam moving upon a pivot; the strongest men of the army were made to pull one side of the beam so that the other side moved forward and hit the stone like a cricket bat. The stones were chiselled into a round or oblong shape of the size of a football on the average. I succeeded in discovering a fairly large number of these *manjanīq-stones* at Chitor.

² Allusions to seasons of the New Year.

light increased,¹ till finally the lofty fort, which drew its water-supply from the azure sky, became a desert from lack of vegetation and water. The world seemed smaller to the Rāi (of Rantambhor) than the prison within a rose-bud. So in his desperation one night he lighted a high fire, which rose like a mountain-tulip on the hill, and threw into it the rosy-coloured young maidens, who had grown up in his arms. After he had personally despatched to hell these deserving inmates of paradise, he came to the head of the *pashtb* with one or two other unbelievers, bent on sacrificing his life with honour. Though the morning breeze had begun to blow, the narcissus-eyes of the watchmen had not yet closed in sleep. The melody of the bulbul accompanied the Rāi as he advanced. The rose raised a cry. The watchmen drew their swords of lily, sprang up from their places like the morning breeze and put the Rāi to flight, as the winter-wind annihilates the blooming cypress. Thus on the fortunate date, Tuesday, the 3rd *Zil Qa'd*, 700 A. H. such an impregnable fort was taken through an exercise of the strong will. ² The title of the 'Place of Islām' was sent from heaven for this house of infidelity. The inhabited parts of Jhābun, that old land of paganism, became the 'New City' of the true believers. The great Imperial banner stood over the iron fort like a key in a lock; for it was the key for the conquest of southern lands. First the temple of Bāhir Deo, the support of which he had invoked, was destroyed. Then the houses of infidelity were overthrown by the strong arm of the holy warriors. Many strongly built temples, which the trumpet of the Day of Judgment could not have shaken, went to sleep on the ground as the morning breeze of Islām blew upon them. The stones of the infidel fort had grown deaf from hearing the Hindū conches; but now they re-echoed the (Muslim) call for prayer. Where formerly the loud pealing of the Brahman's kettles had torn the ears of the Hindūs, now the sound of the Prophet's *Khuṣba* filled true believing ears with a melodious joy. *Henceforward whichever side the Imperial armies march, I know their arrow will hit the mark; wherever the Imperial 'Khuṣba' is read, its fame will resound to the sky.*³

¹ I. e. after the New Year's festival, 'Alāuddīn distributed gold to his troops and pressed on the siege with greater vigour.

² Allusions to fort and mosque.

³ Next the Sultān planned another expedition to win elephants and treasures. Ulugh-Khān went to Jhāin and moved towards the fort of Rantambhor. The army invested the fort as the sea invests the land. The Emperor also went

*This is an account of the conquest of the Fort of Mandā and of the whole of Malwa:—*¹ When the lancers of the victorious army had put antimony into the eyes of the more dimsighted *Rāis* with their spears, many powerful *Zamīndars*, gifted with greater keenness of

after him and the august pavilion was pitched up on the hill. The fort itself was as high and exalted as the family of the *Rāi*, Hamīr Deo, who, though a descendant of *Rāi* Pithaura, exceeded his ancestor in pride. He had *rāis*, *rāwats*, *rāyas* and an army beyond computation; there were well caparisoned elephants, thousands of horses swift as the wind and footmen without limit. The fort of Rantambhor, which is two weeks' march from Delhi, was encircled by a wall three *farsangs* in length. The Sultān attacked the fort as 'Ali had attacked *Khaibar*. The *maghrabis* began to strike the fort from east and west with such force that at every stroke one of the towers threw its hat on the ground; because the stones were sent by the Emperor, the fort kissed the ground as soon as they touched it. The Sultān was firm in his determination and reduced the fort in a month or two. As the fort was struck by stone after stone in succession, the path which had been attempted for thirty years was cleared, and through the pious resolve of the Sultān, the desire of an age was fulfilled in a month. When this "land of infidelity" became the "land of Islām," the Sultān assigned the palace and the fort of Rantambhor to Ulugh Khān while he himself returned to the capital.' (*Dawal Rāni*). There are three mistakes in this short description: the time was considerably longer than is asserted, the fort was reduced not by *maghrabi* strokes but through the arduous process of the *pāshib*, and the affair was anything but the easy walk-over a reader of Amīr Khusrāu would imagine.

Barni's description gives an idea of the difficulties that faced 'Alāuddīn at Rantambhor: 'The first expedition of the Sultān was against Rantambhor, which was (comparatively) nearer to Delhi and had been seized by Hamīr Deo, grandson of *Rāi* Pithaura of Delhi. Ulugh Khān, who held the territory of Biāna, was sent against the fort and Nusrat Khān, who was governor of Karra that year, was ordered to march to his assistance with the army of Karra and the other provinces of Hindūstān. Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān captured Jhāin and laid siege to Rantambhor. But one day Nusrat Khān, who had gone too near the fort in order to direct the construction of the *pāshib* and the raising of the *gargaj*, was struck by a stone shot from a *maghrabi* in the fort and died after two or three days. When the news was brought to 'Alāuddīn, he came out of the city in royal splendour and started for Rantambhor. (At Tilpat, however, 'Alāuddīn's nephew, Akat Khān, tried to assassinate him and the plot just missed success.) After this event the Sultān marched by continuous stages to Rantambhor and fixed his camp there. The siege, which had been commenced before his arrival, was now pushed on with greater vigour. Ropes were brought from every side and woven into sacks, which were distributed to the army, to be filled with earth and thrown into the ditch. The *pāshib* was constructed and the *gargaj* was raised. The besieged destroyed the *pāshib* with their *maghrabi* stones and threw fire from their ramparts, while the besiegers established themselves over the territory of Jhāin till Dhār. (At this juncture the Sultān's nephews 'Umar and Mangū revolted at Badāūn and Oudh while a freedman, Hājī Maula, raised a rebellion in Delhi.) News of the tumult and disturbance at Delhi was brought to 'Alāuddīn but he had made a princely resolve to conquer Rantambhor and

¹ Allusions to eyes.

vision, threw aside their boldness and impudence from fear of the stone-piercing arrows of the Turks. They came to the Imperial Court with open eyes and turned its threshold into antimony by rubbing their black pupils upon it; at the same time they saved their bones from becoming antimony-boxes for the dust.¹ The Emperor regarded every one of them with an affectionate glance, and threw on them a ray of his favour, which their eyes had never expected to behold. Finally, no impudent infidel remained in the provinces of Hind; some had gone to sleep on the scarlet-coloured bed of (Imperial) punishment; others had opened their eyes and bowed in obedience before the Court.

But on the southern frontier, *Rāi* Mahlik Deo of Mālwa and Kūkā Pardhān had a permanent army of thirty or forty thousand chosen

refused to stir from his place. The large army investing the fort was weary and sick of the siege—it was mid-summer—but from fear of 'Alāuddīn's punishment no horse or foot could either return from the army to Delhi or desert it and fly away to some other place. Repeated rebellions had aroused 'Alāuddīn from his sleep and he strove hard to reduce the fort. After much bloodshed and a hard struggle, Rantambhor was at last captured, and Hamīr Deo and the "New Muslims", who had fled to him after the Gujrat rebellion, were put to death. The Sultān assigned Rantambhor and its territory to Ulugh Khān and returned to Delhi.' (*Turikh-i Firozi*).

Perishta adds a few details to Barni's account. 'After Nusrat Khān's death, Hamīr Deo came out of the fort with two hundred thousand horse and foot and offered battle. Ulugh Khān raised the siege and withdrew to Jhāin, from where he wrote of the state of affairs to the Emperor. After the siege had dragged on for one year—or, according to another statement, for three years—the Emperor collected a large army from all sides and distributed bags to them. Every man filled his bag with sand and threw it into the ditch, called 'ran,' till an ascent to the wall being formed, the besieged were overpowered and the fort captured. Hamīr Deo fell along with his tribe. Most of the rebels, led by Moḥammad Shah, who had fled to Rantambhor from Jalore, fell in the siege. Mir Moḥammad Shah himself was lying wounded. When the Sultān's eye fell on him, he asked him out of kindness: 'If I have your wounds attended to and rescue you from this dangerous condition, how will you behave towards me in future?' 'If I regain my health,' the other replied, 'I will put you to death and raise the son of Hamīr Deo to the throne.' Stung to fury, the Sultān ordered him to be cast under the elephant's feet, but soon after, remembering Moḥammad Shah's courage and loyalty, he ordered the dead man to be decently buried. Further, 'Alāuddīn put to death those who had deserted the aforesaid Rāja—the Rāja's wazir Ranmal, etc. 'Such has been their behaviour towards their own master,' he said. 'How can they be loyal to me?'

¹ Antimony (*surma*) is extensively used in India, partly as a medicine, and partly as a toilet for the eyes. *Surma* is put on the eyelids with a large blunt needle; the Imperial army used its spears instead to cure the dim sight of *Rāis*. *Surma* is generally kept in small phials of wood or ivory.

horsemen. The darkness of their (minds) and the dust raised by their legions had put the antimony of pride in their eyes. 'When Fate decrees, the sight is blinded'. A curtain had fallen before their eyes and they forsook the path of loyalty. Consequently, a body of select troops was sent by the Emperor against them and fell on those blind wanderers all of a sudden. Victory itself preceded them and had her eyes fixed upon the road to see when the triumphant army would arrive. When the army of Islām came upon the rebels, their eyes were closed and their necks were cut open with the blows of the sword. Streams of blood sank into the ground. So far as the human eye could see, the ground was muddy with blood. The Hindūs tried to fly away from the blood-eating earth, yet with eyes full of tears many of them sank in the mire. At this moment Kūkā came blindly forward, but his horse remained stuck in the mud 'like black earth in the mire'. In the twinkling of an eye he was pierced by innumerable arrows, and looked like a bee-hive with a thousand compartments, all full of bees. Then his soul fled to the streams of the under-world, while his unfortunate head was sent to the Imperial Court, so that it may attain to a real sublimity by being placed under the feet of the royal horses below the Palace Gate.

When Mālwa, an extensive territory of which even clearsighted geographers are unable to discover the limits, was conquered, it was necessary to entrust it to an experienced and clever governor (*mutaṣarrif*), who would not only keep a firm hand over the newly conquered land, but also through courageous judgment and great efforts reduce the fort of Māndū, an edifice so high that the human eye was unable to see its summit. The Emperor surveyed with a critical eye the confidential and trusty servants of the state to see which of them most deserved being entrusted with such a post. When his inspired mind had come to a conclusion, he mentioned to the *Hajib-i-Khas* with his brow: 'Tell 'Ainul Mulk' (the Eye of the State) that I have seen foresight in him. I am giving him the title of 'Ainul Mulk' and elevating him to a very high office. I entrust him with the province of Mālwa, where the darkness of infidelity has been

¹ The whole of this passage is based on allusions to the eye. This was naturally suggested by the title of 'Ainul Mulk Multānī (the eye of the state), who was the first governor of Mālwa. The *Hajib-i-Khas* or Imperial Chamberlain was one of the greatest officers of the Court.

illuminated with the light of Islām. He is to use his foresight with skill, without permitting his eyelid to cover his pupils in sleep at the command of night. A handful of thorns still remain in that land, and he is not to consider his eyes safe from being pricked by those ignoble people. He has to conquer the fort of Māndū by closing up the streams and making breaches in the walls; and when, by the kindness of the "Opener of the Gates", the place has been conquered, he has to wash away, with the sharpness of his sword, the contamination of infidelity, which sticks to that pagan land as evil intentions stick to the eyes of the rebellious. The cowardly Mahlik Deo has withdrawn to his fort as the eye of a blind man sinks into its socket. Bring him out by such means as you can in order to overawe the other Hindūs. And if, even for a short time, he remains safe in his fort from the arrows of the Mussalmāns, you are to expect nothing but anger from me. *There is reproof for him if he is unable to flow streams of blood on the mountains.* The '*Hajib-Khas*' came and in his official way told Ainul Mulk exactly what the Imperial order was. 'Ainul Mulk stood up as the eyelashes stand upon the eyelids, rubbed his forehead on the ground and accepted the royal *firman* with the pupils of his eyes.

'Ainul Mulk started on the mission with his troops and opened wide his joyous eyes to accomplish the task entrusted to him by the Emperor. He cleared the territory (Mālwa) of the remaining evil doers as the eye is cured of its inflammation, till finally his sword refused to do any further work and went into the 'eye' of its scabbard. The dark faced Rāi, like a grain of *chaksā*,¹ had sought shelter between two stones; but he only made it clear that he would be peeled and ground for the sake of 'Ainul Mulk (the Eye of the State). From dimness of sight, the Rāi sent the 'light of his eyes'² in front, thus making him a shield for his own eyes. At the same time he placed round his son an enormous multitude which only contributed to his fall, as overgrown eyelashes injure the eyes. All at once a body of 'Ainul Mulk's troops fell upon them, like the dust storm that overpowers the eyes of men. In an instant the boldest of them

¹ '*Chaksā*' is a grain, resembling a lentil, from which a remedy for the eyes is prepared. The Imperial army being commanded by 'Ainul Mulk, it was necessary for the Rāi to be like a grain of *Chaksā* so that he may be ground into powder for the 'Eye of the State'.

² i.e. his son.

were rolling in blood and dust, while the Rāi's son slept the sleep of death. But 'Ainul Mulk's clear judgment was not content with this success and he wished to lure the Rāi himself out of his cave. He was planning this when a spy (*didban*) came back from the fort and undertook to guide them. The man led them by a way he had discovered, illuminating the path with the lamp of his eyes. In the course of the night 'Ainul Mulk's army reached the summit and fell on Mahlik Deo with the impetuosity of a shooting-star before even his household gods were aware of it. Then eye-piercing arrows began to pour on them like innumerable drops of rain, while the flashes of the sword dazzled their eyes. The meteoric arrows kindled a fire in the bodies of these demons (*deos*)¹ brought up in the shade. Rāi Mahlik Deo (the fierce demon) was burnt from head to foot in his battle with the shooting-stars and fled to the stream of Sār, where he was slain. This event occurred on Thursday, the 5th of Jamādiul Awwal, 705 A.H. The gate of the fort of Māndū was opened before them like the eye of fortune. Where, formerly, through secret magic and tricks that deceived the sight,² the *gabrs* had drawn a veil over the people's eyes with the dark sayings of infidelity, now true believers, under the 'brows' of the arches, bowed in thankfulness to the ground. The eyes of the angels were illuminated with the light of congregational prayers and Friday sermons. The four walls of the fort resounded at all the five prayers to the sound of the 'Opening Verses': '(All) Praise is due to Allāh, the Lord of the Worlds'. Malik 'Ainul Mulk wrote down all this with the black of his pupil and sent it through his *hajib* to the Emperor to be placed before his august eyes. The wise king under the shadow of his canopy is like the 'Idea of Man'; for the 'Eye of God' is over him.³ When this good news was brought to the Emperor, he bowed down in thankfulness and assigned the territory of Māndū also to 'Ainul Mulk. *May God perfect the Empire of the Sultān and guard his perfection with the Perfect Eye.*⁴

¹ The word 'Deo' means 'god' in Sanskrit and 'demon' or 'giant' in Persian. *Khusrau* is very fond of playing upon its two meanings.

² '*Chashm bandi*'; apparently an allusion to the still prevalent belief that through the force of magic the eyes of the audience can be made to see things which do not really exist.

³ An allusion to the Platonic Doctrine of Ideas.

⁴ 'Next the Emperor resolved to conquer the countries of the southern *rāis*. There was a warlike *wasir*, named Kūkā, who had more influence in Mālwa than

This is the account of the conquest of Chitor, which towers like the sky on the earth:—On Monday, the 8th Jamādius Šānī, 702 A.H. the Conqueror of the World, resolved on the conquest of Chitor, ordered his high-sounding drums to be beaten. The crescent-banner was moved forward from Delhī and the Imperial canopy was raised up to the smoky clouds; the sound of the drum reached the bowl of the sky and conveyed to it the good news of the Emperor's determination. Finally, the confines of Chitor were reached. The Imperial pavilion of which the clouds may be considered the lining, was pitched up in that territory between two rivers.¹ The enthusiasm of the army

the Rāi himself. He had forty thousand horsemen and foot beyond all computation. But ten thousand (horsemen) sent thither from the capital shattered Kūkā's army. The heads of the slain reached the Sultān in quick succession; new flags were put on the Imperial banner. He who does not come to pay obedience to the Emperor on his 'feet',² is compelled to come on his 'head'! Away from Mahlik Deo, who had remained on his mountain, the Hindus were slain and captured in large numbers. But as the Sultān had determined that the light of Islām was to fully illuminate those parts, he motioned to 'Ainul Mulk with his brows that he was to betake himself to Mālwa with speed. With the foresight he had, 'Ainul Mulk obeyed the order with the pupils of his eyes, and started for Mālwa with his troops, who surrounded him as the eyelashes encircle the eyes. Though General 'Ainul Mulk was a man of letters, he had also a reputation in the army for the strength of his dagger-thrusts. Supported by the good fortune of the Emperor, 'Ainul Mulk first cut down the *rāis* of the place and then for a time gave grass and water to his horses round the fort of Māndū. Cutting the thorns of the ground with his dagger, he battered at the fort with iron. But it was a strange fort, four *farsangs* in circumference and high enough to touch the mirror of the sky. 'Ainul Mulk tried to find a path, but it was hard to find one that would lead them to the towers that rose as high as the moon. But an opening having been suddenly discovered, the army rushed to it from both sides of the fort. The Rāi was captured and slain near the Sār, and news of the victory was sent to the Emperor, who assigned the conquered territory to 'Ainul Mulk'. (*Dawal Rāi*).

'Ainul Mulk Multānī, one of the great *maliks*, was despatched with a large army to conquer the territories of Mālwa, Ujjain, Chanderī and Jalore. When 'Ainul Mulk reached Mālwa, Kūkā, the raja (?) of the place, came out to meet him with forty thousand Rājput horse and a hundred thousand foot. A fierce battle took place between the two armies, and 'Ainul Mulk was victorious. Having conquered Ujjain, Māndū, Dhāranagri and Chanderī on the 10th Jamādiul Awwal, he sent a message of victory to the Emperor. In Delhī for seven days and nights the drums were beaten in joy, and sugar was loaded in carts and distributed to the citizens. Katar Deo, ruler of the Jalore fort, was frightened at the conquest of Mālwa. He obtained a safe-conduct through the intermediation of 'Ainul Mulk, presented himself before the Emperor and was enrolled among the allies.' (*Ferishla*).

¹ The Gambheri and the Berach. A map of Chitor has been published by the Survey Department of the Government of India.

shook the two seashores like an earthquake, while the dust raised by the feet of the troops rendered the two deep rivers fordable. The two wings of the army were ordered to pitch their tents one after the other on the two sides of the fort. It seemed that water-laden clouds had alighted at the foot of the hill. For two months the flood of the swords went up to the 'waist' of the hill but could not rise any higher. Wonderful was the fort, which even hailstones were unable to strike! *For if the flood itself rushes from the summit, it will take a full day to reach the foot of the hill.*

Nevertheless, the celestial fort, which raised its head above the clouds, would have bowed to the ground at the strokes of the *maghrabi* stones. But Jesus from the *Baitul Ma'mar* (Mecca) sent the good news of the building of Moḥammad's Faith; consequently, the stones of the building remained intact and kept their secret to themselves.¹ On a hill, named Chatar-wāri, the Emperor raised his white canopy every day like the sun, and as is the custom of rulers, attended to the administration of the army. He ordered the eastern wrestlers (*pahlwāns*) to draw the westerners (*maghrabis*). Other warriors began to place heavy stones in the 'arm' (*palla*) of the *maghrabi*—for, except the arm of the *maghrabi*, nothing else could measure their strength. *Every warrior, as he raised the stone with his strength, made his hand a pillar for the hill that had no pillars.* The army of Solomon dealt strokes, like those of David, on the fort that reminded them of Seba. On Monday, 11 Muḥarram, A.H. 703, the Solomon of the age, seated on his aerial throne, went into the fort, to which birds were unable to fly. The servant (Amīr *Khusrau*), who is the bird of this Solomon, was also with him. They cried, 'Hudhud! Hudhud!' repeatedly. But I would not return; for I feared Sulṭān's wrath in case he inquired, 'How is it I see not Hudhud, or is he one of the absentees?' And what would be my excuse for my absence if he asked, 'Bring to me a clear plea'? *If the Emperor says in his anger, 'I will chastise him,' how can the poor bird have strength*

¹ Meaning that though the assault sword in hand had failed, it still lay in 'Alāuddīn's power to knock down the fort with his *maghrabis*. But he refrained from the step owing to a spiritual message that the building would turn Muslim later. Its destruction, therefore, would have been highly impolitic. Further, the stones of the fort, being true Mussalmāns like all inanimate objects, kept close together as all Mussalmāns should. They knew the future but kept the secret to themselves, lest the Rājputs in disgust should pull down their treacherous fort.

*enough to bear it?*¹ It was the rainy season when the white cloud of the ruler of land and sea appeared on the summit of this high hill. The Rāi, struck with the lightning of the Emperor's wrath and burnt from hand to foot, sprang out of the stone-gate as fire springs out of stone; he threw himself into the water and flew towards the Imperial pavilion, thus protecting himself from the lightning of the sword. Wherever there is a brazen vessel, the Hindūs say, there lightning falls; and the Rāi's face had turned as yellow as brass through fear. *Surely he would not have been safe from the lightning of the arrow and the sword, if he had not come to the door of the royal pavilion.*

² On the day the yellow faced Rāi sought refuge in the red canopy from fear of the green swords, the great Emperor (May his prosperity continue!) was still crimson with rage. But when he saw the vegetarian Rāi trembling with fear, like the trampled and withered grass under the Imperial tent,—though the Rāi was a rebel, yet the breeze of royal mercy did not allow any hot wind to blow upon him. All the storm of the Emperor's wrath vented itself against the other rebels. He ordered that wherever a green Hindū was found, he was to be cut down like dry grass. Owing to this stern order, thirty thousand Hindūs were slain in one day. It seemed that the meadows of *Khizrābād* had grown men instead of grass. After the wind of Imperial wrath had uprooted all the *muqaddams*,³ he rid the land of its two colours, and helped the *raiyats*, the cultivators of the land, among whom no thorn raises its head, to grow. The roots and branches of this azure edifice were assigned to the grand tree of the grand Empire, *Khizr Khān* and given the name of '*Khizrābād*'. The red canopy was placed over *Khizr Khān's* head, like the red heaven over the blue sky. He wore a robe of honour ornamented with jewels, as the sky is inlaid with stars. Two banners, black and green, were raised so high above his threshold that the Saturn and the Sun were struck with melancholy and bile. Further, his court was adorned by a baton (*durbāsh*) of two colours, each of which seemed a tongue from the solar lamp. Thus by scattering rubies and diamonds and roses, the Emperor made the

¹ Referring to a well known story of the *Qurān*, chap. xxvii, sec. 2. *Hudhud* is the bird that brings the news of Balquis, queen of Seba, to Solomon. The famous Padmini is apparently responsible for the allusions to Solomon's Seba.

² Allusions to colours.

³ The village headmen, who among the Rājputs were also officers of the army.

existence of his son prosperous and honourable. Then freed from the affairs of *Khizr Khān* and *Khizrābād*, he took hold of his successful *Siri*.¹ After the 10th of Muharram, the banner of the successor of the Prophet (May it rise higher and higher!), having wonderfully predominated over the head of the Hindūs, was ordered to be moved to the City of Islām, Delhi. He (the Emperor) made the killing of all Hindūs, who were out of the pale of Islām, such an obligation on his infidel-smiting sword (*Zulfiqar*), that should Muslim schismatics (*rafizis*) in these days even nominally demand their rights, the pure Sunnis would swear in the name this rightful Caliph of God.²

¹ Allusions to the 10th of Muharram more pleasant than the 'Id. 'Alāuddin, Khusrau has said before, entered the fort of Chitor on the 11th of Muharram. Here it is stated that the army started for Delhi after the 10th of Muharram. There is really no inconsistency between the two statements, the 10th of Muharram having been introduced merely for the sake of allusions in the paragraph.

² 'Then he marched against Chitor in state and reduced it in a single expedition. There, also, was a Rājā with a large army, who, to speak the truth, was the most exalted of all Hindū rulers. But the Emperor did not waste much time; the fort was reduced in two months with such effect that Saturn became anxious about the safety of his own constellation. It was named *Khizrābād* and presented to *Khizr Khān*. Chitor, the paradise of the Hindūs, is a wonderful fort and has springs and meadows on every side.' (*Dawal Rānī*).

'Sultān 'Alāuddin came out of the city with his army and marched to Chitor, which he invested and captured in a short time and then returned to Delhi.' (*Barnī*).

The story set afloat by Colonel James Tod will not bear a critical examination. The following is Ferishta's account of the famous Padmini and the later history of Chitor:—

'In the meantime Ratan Sen, Rājā of Chitor, had obtained his deliverance in a most unusual way. The details of the incident are these. After the Rājā had been in jail for some time, it came to the Emperor's ears that among the Rājā's women (*zanān*) there was one, Padmini—a woman of fine stature, with dark eyes and moon-like face, and adorned with all the accomplishments of a beauty. The Emperor sent the Rājā a message that his release would depend on his presenting her (to the Sultān). The Rājā consented and sent messengers to call his family, who had taken refuge in inaccessible hill-tracts, so that the Emperor's chosen may be picked out of them. But the Rājā's Rājput relatives were shocked at the message. They reproached him severely and wished to mix a little poison in some food and send it to him; he would take it and withdraw into the world of the dead without becoming notorious for his dishonour. The Rājā's daughter, however, who was famous for her intelligence among her tribe and kindred, disliked this proposal. 'I have thought of a plan,' she said, 'by which my father's life will be saved and yet his honour will not be lost. It is this. Despatch a large number of litters full of warriors with a body of horse and foot to Delhi and at the same time publish the news, that in obedience to the Emperor's order, the Rājā's women are

In the second conquest of Deogir, its Rājā was captured and then set free.¹ Rājā Rām Deo was a wild horse that had once before come within the halts of the Imperial officers and had been trained with the horse-breaker's whip, which disciplines a demon (*deo*). But then the Imperial horsemen had, with the greatest kindness, left him the desired meadows of his ancient Demon-land (*Deo-lakh*),² and like a well-fed horse he had forgotten the neck-breaking bridle and became headstrong and refractory. The Emperor of the celestial throne sent the *Malik Naib Bar-bek*³ (May God strengthen the whip of his authority!) to capture the runaway. With him were sent thirty thousand horse-breakers, scourge in hand, to train the haughty horses of the rebel army. They easily accomplished a march of three hundred *farsangs* without drawing their bridles and fell on that

coming to him. On reaching the suburbs, they are to enter the city at night and take the road to the Rājā's prison-house. On reaching there all the Rājputs are to draw their swords, overpower anyone who stands in their way and enter the prison; then seating my father on a swift-footed horse, they are to take the way to their homes with speed.' The counsellors approved of the plan and acted upon it. A body of devoted warriors sat in the litters and came to Delhi. When a part of the night had passed, they entered the city. 'We have brought Padmini and all the relatives of the Rājā,' they cried. On nearing the prison, the Rājputs drew their swords, rushed out of their litters and quickly cut the guards to pieces; then they broke the Rājā's chains, mounted him on a horse and struggled out of the city like a bird out of its cage. Joined, next, by a body of Rājputs, who had been waiting for them, they took the way to their homes. The Emperor's horsemen pursued them on their journey and overtook them at several places; many Rājputs were slain in the skirmishes, but the Rājā, somehow or other, with great difficulty reached the hills, where his family was living. Rescued from the Emperor's torturing claws through the fortunate plan of his accomplished daughter, the Rājā began to plunder the territory round the Chitor Fort. 'Alāuddin, however, in accordance with the demands of political expediency, took the fort from *Khizr Khān* and bestowed it on the Rājā's sister's son, Kariz Rājā, who was in the Emperor's service and had given many proofs of his loyalty. In a short time *Khariz Rājā* strengthened himself wonderfully in the place; all the Rājputs were pleased with his government and joined him. He remained firmly loyal till the Emperor's death. Every year he came with presents from his land to kiss the threshold of the great conqueror, and was honoured with the gift of a horse and a special robe, after which he returned to his home. Whenever the Sultān's army went on an expedition, he appeared obediently with five thousand horse and ten thousand foot and exposed his life to many dangers.

¹ Allusions to horses.

² A play on the word *Deogir*, which may mean the place of a demon or of a god.

³ The famous *Malik Kāfūr Hazārdināri*. He held the office of *Malik Naib* or 'Regent of the State'.

army of horses who had turned away from their head-stalls. On Saturday, the 19th of Ramaḡan, 706 A.H. the (Imperial) horsemen were ordered to lead their horses to the charge and to moisten their swords, which were cold as lilies, with blood from necks of the *gabrs*. The rebel army fled and its scattered ranks were torn by further differences. The Rāi's son ran away on his horse. Most of the Hindū soldiers, sewn together by shots of arrows and spears, fled to the regions of the under-world. The troops that survived were cut into two parts by the dividing sword. One half of them in excessive fear turned away their horses from the battle-field and fled with the Rāi's son, for their souls were flying away from their bodies as an unruly horse flies off from the rider's hands. The rest capitulated and gave up their horses to the *Qandkash* of the prisoners. The Muslim horsemen being victorious, the *Malik-i Sakhkash*¹ ordered that such booty as was fit for the troopers should be given back to them, while things only suitable for the Sublime Court—fleet-footed horses that flew over the plain, hill-like elephants (whose feet) wore away the rocks, treasures which surpassed all imagination—were reviewed, recorded and then entrusted to the officers of (the royal) horse and elephant stables and the treasury.

² As the Emperor had ordered the 'tongue' of the sword to take as much care as possible of the Rāi and his relatives in the battle-field, the great Commander restricted his efforts to catching the refractory Rām Deo and most of his men alive. But as their heads had wavered from loyalty, first the yoke of Imperial authority, which is supreme over all its rivals, was placed on their criminal necks. *Yes, he put (the yoke) so tightly that their jugular veins nearly snapped asunder.* But the New Messiah, i.e., the rightly guided Sultān, knew in his forgiving heart that fear of his punishing sword had taken out all life from their bodies; so he blew his spirit into them and brought them to life again. When all these people had regained their life by the blowing of the Sultān's 'breath' (favour) upon them, the Malik Naib brought them to the *Baitul Ma'mūr* of Jesus (Delhi), that they may see the life-giving holy spirit with their own eyes. *And the holy spirit gave them*

¹ Malik Kāfūr, so called because he had, till then, led three expeditions to the Deccan.

² Allusions to the sword.

the good news of an eternal existence. ¹ As none but benevolent images are formed in the mirror of the Second Alexander, therefore in spite of the signs of rebellion he had seen in Rām Deo, he took the Rāi under the ramparts of his protection and forgiveness and considered the inverted images, which appeared in the latter's rusty iron heart, the refraction of a worthless looking-glass. And he raised the Rāi to such a high dignity, that owing to the strength of his good fortune, his face was never for a single moment away from the mirror on the knees (of the Second Alexander). The Rāi was indeed fortunate when the Hindī sword of the Emperor became a breast-plate for the protection of his honour. An order (*shart-nāma*) of Alexander also made this clear. *When avenging fate ceased to hate the rebellion of the Hindu, the sword of the Alexander turned into a mirror before his eyes.* For full six months the fortunate Rāi remained in the rays of Imperial favour, as the crescent bends its back in the service of the Sun; day by day his honour and dignity increased, till in the course of time he attained to the orbit of his prosperity like the full moon. The Sun of the Empire honoured him with a blue canopy, and arrayed in all pomp, he moved to his own permanent constellation. *May God protect the Sultān, for he sustains his subjects, like the moon, with his benevolent rays.*²

Account of the conquest of Siwāna, which became Khairabad, by the Imperial sword (May it be preserved for ever!). ³ When the lions of the august threshold had subdued all surrounding animals with their powerful strokes, so that for five hundred *farsangs* from the royal garden no tiger was left, which the lions of the Imperial army need trouble their claws about, the Imperial horseman became tired of the inactivity and wished to let his swift-footed horses wander at will for a few days in the hunting-field. On Wednesday, the 11th Muharram, 710 A.H. the standards of the army were moved (out of Delhi) for the campaign; and *they shook as the heart of a wild beast beats when there is a sheep in the forest.* ⁴ It is the custom of the world-conquerer not to return from any of his flights without reducing the fort and overpowering its possessor. He raised his wings to fly from Imperial Delhi

¹ Allusions to mirrors.

² The authorities for the second conquest of Deogir are given in Appendix A along with the authorities on the other Deccan invasions.

³ Allusions to wild beasts.

⁴ Allusions to birds.

to Siwāna, a distance of one hundred *farsangs*, and besieged that fort which was an asylum of wild robbers. Upon the hill he saw a fort so high that the eagle could not reach its summit in ten flights. In it sat a *gabr*, named Satal Deo, like the Simurgh¹ on the Caucasus. Several thousand other *gabrs* sat on the top of the hill, like so many mountain-vultures, ready to have themselves torn. Like stone-eating birds they opened their mouths and waited till the *maghrabi*-stones began to fly to them from every side. Then some of them fell down like sparrows and their gizzards were broken into atoms, while others fluttered their wings and feet and gave up the ghost. The men of the army threw up their hats to catch these household birds and cut them to pieces. *How long could the game continue?* ²Towards the east the Sun of the Earth³ (May God elevate him to the constellation of the Lion!) sat on a throne with lion's feet and with tiger's eyes engraved over it. He ordered the swordsmen of the right wing to attack the southern side of the fort, while the lions of the left wing attacked it from the north. The *manjantqs* on the west were entrusted to Malik Kamāluddīn Gurg (the wolf); *for he excelled in killing lions as much as the wolf excels in killing sheep.* The *maghrabis* under the command of the 'wolf' made a cave in the hill with every shot. Finally, the head of the *pashib* reached the summit of the hill. By the order of the Emperor, the heroes of the army marched over the elephantine *pashib* and fell on the animals within the fort. But as the besieged were brave and haughty, they did not fly though their heads were cut into pieces. Those who attempted to fly were chased and caught. Some were sent to sleep like hares with strokes of the hunter's spear; others were ground down to flour under the *maghrabi* stones. The brave warriors of the (Imperial) army redoubled their shots at their enemies of *māsh*⁴ to grind down the latter between two stones for their bread at dinner; others they minced into meat and gave a feast to animals of all kinds. On that day of battle, from the appearance of the false dawn to the last flicker of light *the infidels were slain and streams of blood were made to flow.* ⁵Some Hindū birds, with many deceptions, fled away from the

¹ A fabulous bird of the *Shāhnāmah*.

² Allusions to wild beasts.

³ i.e. the Sultān.

⁴ A sort of vetch. Being enemies of the Emperor, they had to be soft as *māsh* and consequently the Imperial author proceeds to grind them between two *maghrabi* stones to provide the right kind of dinner-bread for an Imperial army.

⁵ Allusion to birds.

battle with their leader; before the Mussalmāns could catch them, they sprang up from their nests and tried to fly to Jalore. But the swift-footed servants of the Emperor got news of this and laid an ambush for them. Some they prevented from proceeding further; others they slew, *till the wild, black crow of darkness assumed a white colour, i.e. the night had been succeeded by the morning.* On the morning on Tuesday, the 23rd Rabi'ul Awwal, the dead body of Satal Deo was brought before the lions of the Imperial threshold. People were struck with wonder at the grandeur of the *Gurg* (wolf) and the terrific strength of his arrow-shot.

The campaign against the wild animals being over, the intrepid Emperor ordered his lion-hearted slave, Kamāluddīn Gurg, to hunt the beasts of the forest, and was confident that if the clouds rained sharp arrows instead of drops of water, the 'wolf' would not raise up his shield over his head, for he had known many such showers. The just protector of his subjects entrusted the cattle to the 'wolf', in order that he may guard the young she-goats from the thorns of the territory. In a single hunting excursion such a famous victory befell the Emperor. He moved his standard towards the 'Platform of the Lions' ¹ (*chautra-i shīrān*) and the crescent banner was brought to the 'Constellation of the Lion (Delhi)'.²

¹ A plain or platform in Delhi.

² Next the Emperor started with his army for Siwāna. There, too, was a strong-armed Rāi, named Satal Deo, whose 'stone' had broken the balance of other Rāis. He was powerful like Ahrman and all the *rawats* bowed to his authority. In his fort of stone, which was stronger than iron, there were many *gabrs* with hearts of steel. They had used their daggers and dispossessed other *raīs* of their blankets. The Imperial army had been investing the fort for five or six years without being able to injure half-a-brick of the edifice. But in a single move, the Emperor took his army to Siwāna like a deluge, and Satal Deo, in spite of his elephantine stature, was sent to sleep like an elephant through the vigilance of the Emperor. (*Dawal Rānī*).

While the *Malik Nāib* was in the Deccan, the Emperor marched against the fort of Siwāna, which is to the south of Delhi. The army of Delhi had been besieging it for some years without achieving anything. 'Alāuddīn encircled the fort and reduced the besieged to straits. Satal Deo, the Rāja of Siwāna, humbly sent a silver effigy of himself with golden cords round its neck, a hundred elephants, and other valuable presents to the Emperor and asked for his pardon. The Emperor took this in good humour, but said that it would do no good till Satal Deo came in person. The Rāja perforce came out of the fort and paid his respects to the Emperor. 'Alāuddīn took possession of all that the fort contained, even the knives and needles. Such articles as were of use to the government were assigned to the royal factories; the rest were given over in

CHAPTER V

CAMPAIGN OF ARANGAL

Now I will describe the conquest of Tilang in such a way, that the feet of imagination will become lame in following my pen! ¹After conquering many regions of the south, the brilliant judgment of the Sultān of East and West came to the conclusion that the swarms of Arangal must be trampled under the crescent horse-shoe of the army. On 25th Jamādiul Awwal, 709 A.H. the Naushērwan of the age ordered his Buzurhmehr², accompanied by the red canopy of the 'Shadow of God' and an army like the stars and planets of the sky, to lead his lucky horses to the south. The ruby canopy of the Sun of Sultāns, like a cloud that becomes red as the sun shines upon it, began to move towards the sea of Ma'bar. And as it commenced its

payment of their salaries to the troops and camp-followers. The territory was divided among the *amirs*. The empty fort was handed back to the Rāja.

About the same time the fort of Jalore was also conquered. It is said that Kanir Deo, Rāja of Jalore, came to pay his homage to the Emperor at Delhi. "There is no zamindar in Hindūstān to-day strong enough to challenge my troops," Alāuddīn declared on one occasion when Kanir Deo was present in the *maḥlis*. "If I challenge and do not prevail," Kanir blurted out in his excessive ignorance and folly, "I will know how to die." The Emperor was annoyed at these words, but said nothing, and permitted Kanir Deo to return to his territory. When some two or three months had passed, the Emperor determined to show his strength. He ordered a slave-girl, named Gul-i Bihisht, to march against Jalore and reduce it by force. Gul-i Bihisht reached her destination, besieged the fort and displayed such wonderful courage that it never occurred to Kanir Deo to come out and offer battle. The besieged were reduced to straits and the fort was about to fall when Gul-i Bihisht suddenly fell ill and died. Her son, Shāhin, took the army in hand and tried to overpower the besieged like his mother. But Kanir Deo now saw that the Emperor's anger was inevitable and determined to make a desperate struggle. He collected all his men, came out of the fort and gave battle. As chance would have it, Shāhin and Kanir Deo came face to face and Shāhin was killed. The other *amirs*, unable to continue the struggle, retreated a few stages. Alāuddīn was furious at the news and sent Kamāluddīn to lead the enterprise with a new army. Kamāluddīn showed great activity and courage. He reduced the fort, slew Kanir Deo with his sons and followers and seized his treasure. When the message of victory reached Delhi, drums were beaten in joy. (*Ferishta*).

Ferishta is mistaken in stating that Satal Deo was deprived of his wealth and allowed to live in his fort. Khusrau definitely states in both his works that Satal Deo was slain. Ferishta's mistake is due to the fact that he applies to Satal Deo the verses in which Khusrau has described the fate of the Rājā of Arangal.

¹ Allusions to stars and the sky.

² Naushērwan was the famous Persian Emperor in whose reign the Arabian Prophet was born; Buzurhmehr was his wise *wasir*. The reference is to Alāuddīn and his *nāib* or 'regent', Malik Kāfir.

flight at the Emperor's order, you would think it was a cloud, which Mecca-going winds were carrying towards the sea. Following this sky tied with ropes, the stars and planets of the army moved on, stage after stage; after nine days the fortunate star of the state (i.e. the *wasir* of the Empire) arrived at a propitious moment at Mas'ūd-pūr. At this place, which is named after the son of the Emperor Mas'ūd, the foot of the standard remained stationery for two days. On Monday, the 6th Jamādius Sāni, the crescent standard of the Empire, with the *maliks* and other 'stars', began to move rapidly forward. It was the first part of the month. Every night the moon enlarged its flame and raised it higher to help the night marches of the army. And though the sun, the 'Mecca' of the Hindūs, looked fiercely at the Mussalmāns, the feet of the army threw dust into its eye. *Yes, the eye that looks fiercely at such an army deserves no other antimony but black dust.* ¹The path before them was extremely uneven; there were innumerable clefts in it, such that if the wind passed through them, it would fall as water falls into a well, or if (flames of) fire ran over them, they would bow down their heads to the earth. Owing to the rapidity of the streams, the ground at the foot of the hills had broken into many fissures. Every mound had a hundred thousand pointed thorns stuck to its head; the very idea of cutting such rocks and thorns made the hair of a pair of scissors stand upon its body like thorns. Through such a forest the obedient army passed, file after file, as if that perfect wilderness were the 'straight path'. After six days of marching, the army crossed five rivers—Jūn, Chambal, Kunwārī, Binās, Bhojī²—at the fords and came to Sultānpūr, known as Irījpur. *Here the army remained for four days.* ³On the 19th Jamādius Sāni, the Malik of the brilliant fortune⁴ mounted his horse, and the 'stars' of the Empire began to move.

¹ Allusions to uneven roads.

² Binās may be read as Bambās. The Kunwārī is the Kuhari of the maps, and the Niyas (Binās) and Bashuji (Bhojī) must be the rivers now known as the Sind and Betwa.—(*Elliot*).

³ Allusions to the stars.

⁴ i.e. the Malik Nāib Kāfir Hāzardīnārī. He was the Regent of the Empire and Commander-in-Chief of the invading army. The author finds every kind of laudatory title for him. He is often referred to as the 'Sah-Kash', winner of three campaigns and sometimes simply as 'the Malik'. He is not to be confused with Sirājuddīn, generally known as Khwāja Hājī, who accompanied the expeditionary force as 'Arī-i Mumālīk' or Minister of War.

The rider was above, the horse was below; it looked as if 'stars' were riding on the backs of the planets. ¹ From *farsang* to *farsang* every stone on the way had its 'head' broken by the hoofs of the horses though nothing came out of its 'skull'. The movement of cloven-footed baggage bearers despoiled the earth of its bloom. The swift *paiks* (footmen) rent the hills with their iron feet; indeed, as these pedestrians hurried over the ground with firmness and impetuosity, on one side the stones pierced into the soles of their feet, while on the other, their feet removed the skin from the skulls of the stones.

² After thirteen days, on the first of Rajab, the army arrived at Khanda. In such a wilderness the month of God ³ came forward to welcome the Muslim army, and showed great kindness to the pious men, who had travelled under the hot sun for three months. Here a muster of the holy warriors was held for fourteen days. The angels sent their blessings. The prayer for victory came to the 'ears' of Rajab, and it hurried forward with the joyful news of future victories like those of the past.

On this auspicious occasion all the *maliks*, officers and leading men of the army gathered together before the red canopy, and kept their days alive by hearing prayers for the Jesus-like Emperor; moreover by keeping the 'fast of Mary' (*rūza-i-Maryam*), they collected provisions for their future life. There can be no doubt that an extremely pious assembly had gathered round the sky-shadowing canopy; even the saints (*anṭad*) were present. They held fast to the 'strong cord', and no (differences) had any place amongst them. The august month of Rajab heard with solemnity and joy the prayers for the Emperor and for victory. ⁴Next morning, after the 'fast of Mary', the army again advanced like a raging deluge. Through rivers and torrents it passed. Every day it came to a new land; in every land it came across a new river in which the quadrupeds rolled like five-footed animals. Though all the rivers were crossed, yet the Narbada looked like a remnant of the primeval deluge. As the miraculous power of the Emperor-Sultān was with the officers of the kingdom, the deep rivers became dry as the dust of the army approached them, and the

¹ Allusions to quadrupeds.

² Allusions to prayers for victory.

³ Rajab is known as the month of God while *Sha'ban*, the month which comes after it, is known as the month of the Prophet.

⁴ Allusions to rivers and streams.

Mussalmāns crossed them with ease. Eight days after crossing the Narbada, the army reached Nilkanth. When these wide rivers make a way for the Imperial army to cross, *there would be nothing wonderful if it also forded through the Nile of Egypt and the Tigris of Baghdad.*

¹As Nilkanth was on the border of Deogir, and the territories of the Rāi Rāyān, Ram Deo, had now been reached, the *wazīr*, acting according to the Emperor's orders, protected the country from being plundered by the troops, who were as innumerable as ants and locusts. No one dared touch the door or the wall of a building or take anything from the barns or fields of the peasant. *The stores of the ants did not become the food of the locusts.* ² The drums, which sounded to march, were detained here for two days in order to make inquiries about the stages in advance. On Wednesday, the 26th Rajab, the movement of the army again shook the bowels of the earth, and the ground began to rise up and go ³down like the belly of a *Khafkhāna-blower*. Trampling the earth under their feet and splitting stones with force, the army defiled through such a dangerous path. In sixteen days the difficult road to Tilang was traversed. The ground was overlaid with hard rocks, which the Hindūs had often (vainly) attempted to cross; yet these heavy rocks flew away like dust at the feet of the quadrupeds of the Muslim army. The eye of the sky gazed in wonder; *for the road went up and down like the subtle wit of a clever cheat and was at the same time as long as a miser's greed. And in attempting to describe its hills and caverns, the intelligence of the panegyrist would bow its head in wonder.* ³The path was narrower than a guitar string and darker than a beauty's locks. At times it was like a hole in a reed: when the wind attempted to pass through it, it came out reverberating. The river-banks were so steep that it would have been difficult for a duck, or even an eagle, to cross them. Pretending that they knew the way, nimble bodied men attempted to ascend the heights on either side; but their feet slipped all of a sudden; their attempts to catch hold of the steep sides were ineffectual; and rubbing their hands together, they fell down with innumerable wounds. The neighing horses, that danced in the air, would fall down in a moment owing to one false step. *Yes! Many a dancing horse flew*

¹ Allusions to the story of Solomon.

² Allusions to hills and desert.

³ Allusions to musical instruments.

swift as the wind; but once its foot slipped down the hillside, it tumbled and fell. ¹ Furthermore, as the dark faced cloud brought forth its unfinished pearls to worry the people of the army, the wind struck it hard on the neck, and all its water was shed. Whenever the forked lightning laughed at the slipping feet of the army, the thunder roared so loudly at the latter that it immediately disappeared. You would have thought that the cloud was envious of the ocean like palm of the Emperor's hand, but being powerless to do anything at the Imperial Court, sought consolation by attacking the army. The lightning, on the other hand had been struck with fire by the Imperial sword; but unable to display its impudence in the Emperor's presence had gone thither to reveal its burning heart. ² Though the holy warriors met many obstacles in this journey, yet they had girded their loins sincerely for the sake of Allāh alone, and had their eyes on that final reward, the hope of which sustains the human heart. Consequently, they did not regard their sufferings as serious. In a thousand ways the assistance of Heaven, too, was with them. Good fortune accompanied young and old over hills and valleys, rocks and thorns, desert and forest, *even as victory accompanies the Muslim standard.*

³ After passing with determination and rapidity through those hills and plains, they arrived at a *Doab* within the borders of Basī-rāgarh⁴. It was enclosed by the two rivers, Yashar and Būjī⁵. A diamond mine was said to exist there. But as the power of Imperial sword, through the strength of which all the treasures of the *rajs* have come into the hands of Muslim soldiers, had given strength to the officers of the state, they did not care to take handfuls of earth from the pits; for it is easier for powerful swordsmen *to seize jewels with the sword than to dig them out of the earth with the spade.* ⁶ About this time the Malik, with the impetuosity of a dragon, left the difficulties of the winding path, and with some dare-devil horsemen, marched against the fort of Sarbar, which belonged to the kingdom of Tilang. The saddles were still stinging like scorpions on the backs of the horses, when he ordered the warriors to make a circle round the fort. The

¹ Allusions to thunder, lightning and rain.

² Allusions to the sword.

³ A *doab* is a piece of land between two rivers. Yashar may be read as Bish-nahr or Yasnahr. Būjī is Barujī in Elliot's manuscript.

⁶ Allusions to creeping warriors.

⁴ Allusions to war.

⁵ Elliot says Bijānagar.

archers shot their arrows from outside. 'Strike!' 'Strike!' cried the Hindūs from within. The *rāwats* of the Rāi were so bitten by the poisoned arrows, that they wished to take refuge in the holes of ants for protection, and like thousand-footed animals crept into every corner. The arrows had made snake-holes in the bodies of many and their lives were in danger. The movement of crocodile-like warriors shook the earth to the back of the Fish.¹ ² When the swift arrows, with fiery flames at the end of their wood-pieces, began to fly forward to burn the houses of the infidels, their faces grew dark at the approach of this wall of fire. In the excess of their folly, they drew the fire on to themselves; i.e. all of them with their wives and children threw themselves into fire and went to hell. For fire is the reward of the enemies of Allāh! The exterior of the fort became bright owing to this illumination of the pit of hell. The bodies of the victors were like flints in armours of steel; they cast away their armours and jumped up from the rocks as a spark flies out of flint. At this moment the breeze of victory suddenly blew fast, and the flames inside the fort rose higher still. The impetuous soldiers of the Muslim army drew their swords like so many tongues of fire, climbed up the fort, and falling on the half-burnt mass, put to death with their Hind-steel those whom fire had spared. Matters having come to this, the remaining *muqaddams* of the fort also wished to sacrifice themselves in the same element. At this instant, the '*Ars-i Mumalik*, Sirājud-dīn, saw that it was time to light the lamp of victory. Anānīr, the brother of the *muqaddam* of the fort, had hidden himself in the cultivated fields of that land. The '*Ars-i Mumalik* ordered him to be captured and given a severe chastisement. At first, allured with soft words, he was kept for being beheaded and burnt; but, next, this low-burning lamp of the Hindūs (i.e. Anānīr) was given a tongue (to ask) for his life, so that before morning the flame of insurrection might subside³. As the smoke of destruction rose

¹ On which the cow stands holding the earth on her horns.

² Allusions to fire.

³ i. e. after being scolded (olled) with the tongue and threatened with death, Anānīr had the fort restored to him on promise of obedience, so that 'the flame of insurrection might subside'. It was not a part of Alāuddin's programme to establish his government over the conquered territory and, consequently, the legitimate successor of the late *muqaddam* had to be found, so that the required promise of obedience may be taken from him.

from this fort to the sky, some refugees from the burning edifice, with their eyes full of water, fled to Rāi (Laddar Deo), and like moist wood, with weepings and wailings, gave vent to the inner sorrow of their hearts. The *Rai*, who possessed elephants and troops, was also overcome by fear but he did not think it advisable to advertise it. So he bewailed his fate for a while and thus soothed his inner sadness. *But when the fire of misfortunes is lit, tears from the eyes burn in it like oil.*

¹On Saturday, the 10th of *Sha'bān*, they marched from here determined to plant the tree of virtue in the land of Tilang and to uproot with the greatest force the tree of vice, that had fixed its roots there. On the 16th *Sha'bān* the true believers arrived at the village of Kūnarbal. While the pious standard was being planted, the *Malik Naib*, commander of the army of heaven, ordered a thousand swift horsemen—and they were such that the crow of victory did not build its nest except on their bows!—to go forward and capture a few infidels, though the daggers of the latter may be as numerous as the leaves of a willow, in order to make inquiries from them about the condition of the country. When this force reached the gardens of Arangal, the iron of their horse-shoes turned green from walking over the grass. Two famous officers with forty mounted horsemen went forward and reached the summit of the Anamkanda Hill, from where they could see all the suburbs and gardens of Arangal.² On looking carefully from the hill, four swift Hindū horsemen came into sight. The Musalamāns drew their bows and ran after them. They succeeded in knocking down one of the four with a four-feathered arrow and sent him to the Commander-in-Chief. The latter took it as a good omen. 'Thus with my sword', he said, 'will I peel away the skin from the heads of such Hindūs as rebels'.

³When the army reached Arangal, the red canopy rubbed its head with the clouds. At midday the *Malik Naib*, accompanied by a few men, went to reconnoitre the fort (of Arangal). He saw a fort, the like of which is not to be found on the face of the earth.

⁴Its wall, though of mud, was so hard that a spear of steel could make no impression upon it; if a *maghrabi*-stone were to strike it, it

¹ Allusions to trees and branches.

² Allusions to sun and cloud.

³ Allusions to instruments of war.

⁴ Allusions to forts.

would rebound like a nut thrown by a child. Its earthen towers were stronger than Taurus, and the Orion only came up to its waist. Nevertheless, the standards of infidelity trembled on the top of all the towers in expectation of their downfall, while the *'iradas* of Hindūs wept from fear of being broken. The warlike *rawats*, with all their heavy stones, had thrown themselves into the sling of destruction; some of them were collecting stones for the *munjanis*; others, who had no stones, were busy in throwing bricks and javelins. That day the victorious *Malik* carefully selected the ground for the army-camp and returned. *Next morning he intended to carry the battle forward, and in good news, to throw stones at the heads of the Hindūs.* ¹When morning dawned and the sun rose, the sky-towering standard of the eastern Empire was raised up and brought to Anamkanda. Once more the great *Malik* went round the fort to re-examine the ground for the army-camp. *The tents were to be pitched side by side, as the Aquarius lies in the neighbourhood of the Pisces.*

²It was the 15th of *Sha'bān*, when in the middle of the month of the Prophet, the ruby canopy was fixed so high that it topped the Ramazān crescent. On that night *Khawaja Nasir al Mulk* Sirajuddoulah (May God illuminate the nights of his life!) personally arranged the troops with a lighted lamp. Every division was sent to its appointed place, in order to surround the fort and to protect the besiegers from the shots of the besieged and from whatever compounds of air and fire the latter might bring forth to set fire to the external wall of bronze. ³When the august canopy had been fixed a mile from the gate of Arangal, the tents around the fort were pitched together so closely that the 'head' of a needle could not go between them. Inside the fort the Hindūs slept at ease, like reclining yard-measures; outside the watchmen of the Imperial army were wide awake. Every *tumān* was assigned one thousand two hundred yards of land; the total circumference of the fort, as enclosed by the tents, was twelve thousand five-hundred and forty-six yards.⁴ *The land of infidelity was made to look like a cloth market owing to the innumerable tents.*

¹ Allusions to stars and sky.

² Allusions to *Sha'bān* and *Barāt*.

³ Allusions to the army.

⁴ A *tumān* is a body of ten thousand men. According to this calculation the besieging army was over a hundred thousand.

¹The victorious army drew into ranks like the teeth of a saw and the heart of the Hindūs was cut into two. Every soldier was ordered to erect a *Kath-garh* (wooden defence) behind his tent. Immediately all hatchets became busy and every soldier was transformed into *Ishāq*, the wood-cutter. Trees that had never been molested by the stones of those who wished to eat their fruits, were now felled with iron axes in spite of their groans; and the Hindūs, who worship trees, were unable to come to the rescue of their gods in their need. Every accursed tree in that land of infidelity was cut down to its roots. Clever carpenters sharpened their instruments on the tree-trunks and soon cut them into proper shape with their axes. Finally, a wooden fence was built round the army. It was so strong, that if fire had rained from the sky, *the wooden fort would have been as safe from fire as Noah's ark was from water.*

² When the Hindū-faced evening had made a night-attack on the sun and sleep had closed the portals of the eyes and besieged the fort of the pupil³, the watchmen, with their shields on their backs and their drawn swords in their hands, drew into a double row to keep guard over the Imperial camp and with the strokes of their eyelashes drove sleep out of their eyes. Near midnight, when the meteors had begun to shoot towards the besieged demons and the moon had brought forth its full shield, a thousand swift Hindū horsemen from the troops of Bānik Deo, the *muqaddam* of that country, made a night-attack on the Muslim army with demonish cries and the Hindī sword. *God forbid that such an army should fear such an attack!* ⁴As a matter of fact, the crocodiles of the besieging army who had themselves been waiting in an ambush for this armoured fish caught the latter with their Hindī swords like fish in a net. From fear of the enemy's maces and clubs, the Hindūs drew their heads into their armours like tortoises. The heads of the *rawats* rolled like crocodile-eggs on the fish-backed earth. In an instant many of these aquatic creatures had been drowned in a deluge of their own blood and lay like slaughtered fish. Those wounded by spears and arrows cried as frogs cry when caught by snakes. Others who tried to run away received wounds on

¹ Allusions to carpentry.

² Allusions to the instruments of war.

³ i.e., when the night was far advanced.

⁴ Allusions to water animals.

their backs, which like cancer-sores opened a door for the entry of death. ¹Finally, most of the Hindūs were either killed, overpowered or driven away. Some of them cut off their horse-belts in order to fly more quickly, but the anvil-piercing holy warriors came out of their iron lines and pursued them, determined to strike the Hindī sword at infidel hearts. Every Hindu found in the neighbourhood was either slain with the Hindī sword and the Tatār-arrow or sent as a prisoner to the army.

Now some of the prisoners happened to declare that in the town of Dahdūm, six *farsangs* from Tilang, three elephants, such as could tear up the back of a hill with their iron teeth, had been secretly hidden. Immediately, at the order of the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial army, three thousand brave horsemen, led by Qarā Beg *Maisarah*, galloped away in that direction. But when they reached the said fort, the elephants had been carried further still and inevitably a further distance had to be traversed. Thanks to the unlimited good fortune of the Emperor, all the three elephants fell into the hands of his officers. The elephants, on their part, were busily pulling their chains in their anxiety to reach the Imperial Court. When they were brought to the army camp, the war-like *Malik* considered the acquisition of these three iron forts a great achievement and kept them, along with the other elephants, for the Imperial stables. *Indeed, he had seen all this in the mirror of his sword and without the help of any conjurer or fortune-teller.*

²As the Commander-in-Chief of the army, who was also the *Imperial Chamberlain*, was very fond of polo (*chaugān*), he ordered his enthusiastic men to go on playing the game against the *muqaddams* of Laddar Deo, day after day. He motioned to them with his brow, that wheresoever they came across a desperate *rawaf*, they were to take his head for a 'ball' and bring it to their camp. Having received this wide permission, the sportive horsemen considered it a great fun to separate the heads from the bodies of a very large number. Every horseman in the army whipped his animal and in several matches brought away the 'balls' of those desperate Hindū warriors; for you might consider their blood-smeared heads as coloured balls brought to the presence of the *chaugān-loving Malik*. Further,

¹ Allusions to iron instruments.

² Allusions to 'Mīr Hājib' and 'chaugān'.

the *Malik* ordered stone-balls for the *maghrabis* to be collected all round the fort; so that with the strokes of the balls the fort may be won and reduced to dust in another match. ¹As the external *munjanis* drew their strength from the virtuous tree of faith, they did great damage to the infidel edifice, but the inner '*iradas*, being constructed from the tree of infidelity, naturally yielded before the impetuosity of Muslim stones. The stones of the Mussalmāns all flew high, owing to the power of 'the strong cable,' and hit the mark, while the balls of the Hindūs were shot feebly as from a Brahman's thread, and consequently went wrong.

²When the *sabats* and *gargajes* were completed and rose so high that the garrison of the fort was placed suddenly on a lower elevation, the fort-ditch began to talk of its great depth to the Muslim army. Though the latter looked sternly at it and took measure of its depth, it would not allow the army to cross; and opening wide its two lips, spoke of the security of the fort. Ultimately, the Mussalmāns threw mud into its mouth, and filled it in so completely that its two lips were joined together. Of this there could be no doubt. Further, one wing of the fort-wall, for about the length of a hundred hands, was broken so thoroughly by the stroke of large stones, that it could not rise high enough to embrace the Hindūs below the arm-pits. On the other side, also, the havoc wrought by the *maghrabi* stones had created new doors in the gate-wall. All these doors of victory which Divine assistance had opened for the Imperial officers. *Yes every crack in the enemy's wall is a door of victory for the friend.* ³When owing to the continuous piling up of the earth, a mound had risen from the bottom of the ditch to the waist of the fort, and the mud wall of the fort had become a heap of dust from the strokes of the stone-balls, they desired to construct a *pashib* so wide that files of hundred men abreast may ascend over it to the fort. But the construction of the *pashib* would have taken a few days; and Victory, in her haste, was dancing on the sword's point. The rightly guided *Wazir* called the *Maliks* to a council of discussion, and their correct judgment was to the effect, 'that before the construction of the *pashib*, a hand-to-hand struggle should be attempted, and as Victory is on our side, may be she will come running.'

¹ Allusions to *Munjanis*.

² Allusions to structures for reducing forts.

³ Allusions to sieges.

¹ The night of Tuesday, the 11th Ramaṣān, was so bright that its shining moon imparted it the brilliance of *Lailatul Qadr*.² The *tarawih* prayers asked for heavenly help with a loud voice. The blessing of the fasting day had collected the rewards of the victors, and Fortune used the lock of the night as her ladder for descending from heaven to earth. *The Pleiades had lifted their hand in prayer that key of victory may fall into them!* ³The exalted *Wazir* ordered high ladders and all other requisites to be constructed in every division (*khail*) in the course of the night; whenever the drum beat to action, everyone was to come out of his entrenchment and carry the ladders to the fort, so that the work of victory might be exalted step by step. When in the morning the sun in Gemini had clothed the sky with a waist-band of light, the holy warriors ran towards water and took off their socks in order to put on their armour. ⁴After performing their ablution—and every drop of ablution-water is a sharp arrow for Satan's heart, for ablution is a Mussalmān's armour!—they were ready for prayer and turned their faces towards God. The *Sah-kash* also bowed in the obligatory prayer, and raised his hands to ask Heaven for victory and success. He begged the 'King of Khaibar'⁵ to plead before God, from whom all good originates, for the reduction of the fort, and instantly the keys of victory fell into his hands from the Unseen Gate. Some waiting was, however, still necessary, for everything has its appointed time.

⁶ When the golden shield of the sun had risen a spear high, the *Malik Naib* ordered his men to begin the attack and the blood of the '*gabrs*.' was shed in the worthless fort even as the Censor of morals throws away carnation-coloured wine. The beat of the leathern drum—and the thunder declares His glory with His praise—resounded through the vault of the sky. The trumpets of the holy warriors raised their voices on every side. 'Here! I am

¹ Allusions to the month of Ramaṣān.

² Or the 'grand night', being the night on which the *Quran* was first revealed.

³ Allusions to ladders.

⁴ i.e. to perform their ablution, which, as stated by the following sentence, is the Mussalmān's armour. The army first said its morning prayer; the attack did not commence till the sun was 'a spear high.'

⁵ The Fourth Caliph, Hazrat 'Alī, who conquered the forts of Khaibar in Arabia.

⁶ Allusions to attack on the fort.

for you,' cried Victory as she came running. Bold men with scaling ropes began to jump up to the fort-wall like lions in the forest. The arrows fell thick like showers of the rainy season and pierced the breast of the Hindūs even as rain drops get into the mothers-of-pearl. Powerful diggers, with the greatest noise, sat down to open a way into the fort. One half of the earthen fort flew up like dust to the sky; the other half threw itself down to seek protection from the ground. The excellent bow of the Turks rubbed its sides with the sky and claimed to be the bow of Rustam, while their arrows, all flying together, looked like the cloud of Bahman. Others had applied their spades to the fort-wall; you would have thought they were 'arguing away' the foundations of the edifice with their eloquent tongues. Some had thrust their sword-points into the solidified earth as if determined to carve fine figures out of it. The wooden ladders raised their feet to the highest elevation from the greatest depth for the sake of Islām; and the earthen fort threw the Hindūs down from its height in order to degrade infidelity. The *maghribis* outside exchanged shots with the *'iradas* inside the fort; it seemed as if young men and veiled brides were throwing loving stones at each other; for either side exercised the greatest attraction, and with unclosing eyes marked the thousand tricks of the other. If one ball was discharged from outside, it fell as two balls within; but if two balls were discharged from within, no misfortune befell the proclaimers of the one God. Praise be to God for his exaltation of the Muslim faith! There can be no doubt that stones are worshipped by the *gabrs*; but, as they were unable to give their worshippers any assistance, the *gabrs* threw them up to the sky and then down to the earth. *And it was proper that the stones should be struck against the ground.* Next some footmen of the Muslim army climbed with their hand-nails over the earthen fort; and having found the moon in the Taurus, they permanently purchased the land and buildings of that territory with the Alāi coin.¹ Though the fort had been so excellently constructed, that there was nothing on its walls that one could catch hold of or lay one's finger on, yet the besiegers clung to it with the edges of their nails; and even as a wise man overcomes a fool, they

¹ Meaning, as the following sentences suggest, that the footmen took possession of one wing of the fort and retained it in spite of all counter-attacks.

boldly climbed to the summit of the fort. And God enabled them to bring one wing of the fort into their strong and powerful hands. *That night they established themselves there in force, and broke the legs of those who wanted to dislodge them.*

On Sunday, the 13th Ramaṣān—Sunday, being a day dedicated to the Sun—the sun had so illuminated the night, that it merged insensibly into the day, thus giving the holy warriors a greater time for action. As the moon withdrew its shield beyond the western horizon, the men of the army drew their swords and attacked the fort from the east. The drummers awakened the sleeping war-drum which leapt up from its sleep at their beats; and it seemed that the four elements of the sphere would dissolve into chaos at its noise. The war cries of the warriors, the sounds of 'Huzza! Huz!' and 'Khuzza! Khuz!' resounded through the world.¹ The assistance sent from the smoky sky for the Muslim army descended through the ethereal sphere; and bringing fire with it from there, fell on the *gabr's* places of refuge. And in its liberality with human life, the fire turned these stingy people into enormous heaps of ashes. When the tongues of fire had descended low, the standard of the Sultānate rose on the fort. All praises are for Allah who raised it so high!

²By Wednesday, a day dedicated to Mercury (Archer), the Emperor's fierce troops had as easily entered the mud fort as a warrior's arrow breaks through and upsets a bubble. The inner fort, which resembled the (Arabian) Khaibar, was invested. No Hindū was allowed to cross the line of the besiegers just as dogs had not been allowed to come out of Khaibar (by the Mussalmāns); if a Hindū had attempted to do so, his heart would have been cut open by the arrow that could pierce through seven plates of steel. When the Alexandrian lines had surrounded the inner fort by a wall of iron, they saw a building, the stones of which rose up to the sky; and even the sky had raised its mirror higher (lest it might break from contact) with the rocky towers. Its stones were joined so carefully together that the head of a needle could not get in between them; its walls were so smooth that a fly attempting to sit on them would have slipped down. Its stones and plaster had been welded so excellently together that the tongue of the

¹ 'An early eastern use of Huzza! huzza! The same exclamations occur in the *Miftāḥul Futūḥ*.'—(Elliot.)

² Allusion to instruments of war.

spade was unable separate them. In addition to this, there was such a wonderful charm in its walls and buildings that no *maghrabi* had the heart to do them any wrong. You might say that the fort was a stiff spear, which the ant could not climb, or else that it was a flute, in which the wind lost itself as in a wooden pipe. Its towers stood upright in the air and ascended to the moon; its foundations sank deep in the earth, down to the Fish. The watchman on its towers bathed his head with the clouds; the digger at its foundations washed his feet with water.

¹ When the multitudinous army came to the lip of the ditch, they found its mouth full of water; if anyone talked to it about crossing to the other side, it tried to drag him down to the bottom. The swordsmen of the army, however, would not float any boat on the ditch but determined to swim through it together. They practised on the face of the water every rule of mensuration they knew, and, in a moment, crossed the ditch, file after file, more easily than a boat would have done. They determined to sum up all their resolution and to bore holes into the stomach (of the fort) as in a reed. With the passion of Farhād, they wished to knock down the edifice so completely that it may not be propped up by a thousand columns and to pull down its towers with such force that the 'heads' of the towers would come down while their 'feet' went up. In short, they resolved to seize the fort so effectively from the Hindūs that even its dust might not be left in the latter's hands. *Yes, Yes, Even the dust is reluctant to remain with the infidel.* ² Rāi Laddar Deo sat inside the fort like a snake over buried treasure and called his people around him. His elephants pulled their chains in pride of the gold they bore; but the Rāi was thinking of his war with the golden scorpions and watery pearls trickled down his inner eye at the thought (of losing his enormous treasures). He wished to look into the future, but his eyes refused to obey him. He had been brave and courageous in the siege; yet whenever he reflected on the situation in which he was placed, his stout heart began to palpitate; and if he wished to remove the heaviness of his heart by saying farewell to all his treasures, his heart struck against his breast, and told him that it could not, at least,

¹ Allusions to fort and ditch.

² Allusions to treasures. Buried treasures, it is believed, are guarded by snakes.

separate itself from so much gold as remains sticking to a black touchstone.¹ He had fastened his hopes on being able to place before the invaders an obstacle, which would cause them to stumble and retrace their steps. But the Emperor's prestige overawed him; all his courage melted away and he was left a broken man. In his helplessness, he first collected in heaps the treasure he had buried under stones more heavy than can be dragged from the hills, in order to provide for his ransom. Next he constructed a golden image of himself, and in acknowledgment of having become a tribute-payer, he placed a golden chain round its neck and sent it through ambassadors, whose honest word was more unchanging than the purest gold, to the Commander of the Imperial army.

'The opposition of the rice-made Hindū,' ran the Rāi's petition, 'to the iron bodies of the Mussalmāns is like a silver-faced beauty challenging Rustam to battle. This being the case the servant, Laddar Deo, has been forced to lay aside his own bronze body in a corner. Fear of the Emperor's Hindi sword has turned me pale, or, rather, my body of stone has become golden in the rays of the Imperial sun. Consequently, I have constructed an exact image of myself, which is being sent to promise tribute and obedience at the review. I hope the Imperial officers will intercede for me at the Court, and inform the Emperor that fear of him has rendered the broken body of this servant even more lifeless than this golden statue, and that I will only feel signs of life in myself on the day when the wind of Imperial favour blows over my dead body.'

'If the good-will of the officers of the world-protecting Court is to be won by treasure and valuables, I have as much gold with me as will suffice to gild all the mountains of Hind. All this immense gold belongs to the Emperor and I will not turn my face to it again. But if the world-adorning Imperial will, as a favour to the weak, gives back a few gold coins to this unfortunate Hindū, it will exalt him (Laddar Deo) to a dignity superior to that of all other Rāis. For the desire of gold is found in every heart. It is only the mirror (heart) of the Second Alexander that can turn its back towards this metal, for his sword has absorbed the gold of the whole world. Concerning his sword only can the proverb, that 'magnet draws iron and iron draws

¹ The Rāi desired to retain at least a part of his treasure.

gold', be true. And if the Emperor really wants the gold possessed by a poor man like me, so much the better! For what principality is more fortunate than the one which draws the Emperor's heart towards itself. I will keep none of this gold-dust for myself, for my heart has been broken by the fear of Emperor's infidel-slaying sword. *And every one knows, that when an earthen vessel breaks, you cannot repair it with gold-dust.* ¹If precious stones, gems and pearls² are demanded, I have a stock of them such as the eyes of the mountains have not seen and the ears of the fish have not heard of. All these will be scattered on the path of the Imperial officers. *For if I do not scatter rubies on the road, over which the Emperor's army comes advancing through hill and plain, my blood will be soon shed there.*

³Of horses, too, I have twenty thousand, being of the mountain and foreign (*bahri*) breed.⁴ The foreign horse flies like wind on the surface of water, without even its feet becoming wet. And when the mountain-horse steps on a hill, the hill trembles like a Hindī sword.⁵ All these horses will be handed over, along with the slaves, to the royal stables. Nevertheless, in the extremity of shame, 'the bride of self-possession' is slipping away from my hands, and I feel like using my shame as a horse and flying away upon it. *For it is improper for me to display my potsherds and amber in the company of the noble.* ⁶There are also a hundred elephants, who will go to the Imperial Court with the greatest pleasure. They are the mad elephants of Ma'bar, not the vegetarian elephants of Bengal. Most of them are new born and young, and are growing their teeth. They have heard of the elephant-slaying warriors of the Imperial army and, their ears have been opened; they draw a deed on the ground with their trunks to the effect that henceforth they will never turn their faces towards the Ka'ba of Islām except in worship. They are coming with

¹ Allusions to precious stones.

² Or, literally, 'the nephews of showers, the sisters of raindrops, the orphans of pearls and the livers of mines.'

³ Allusions to stables.

⁴ The text says Kohī (mountain-horse or country-breed) and *bahri* (sea-horse or imported breed). As the latter variety was Arabian, its main feature was fleetness of foot.

⁵ Various countries in medieval days were famous for different weapons; Persia for its bows, Tartary for its lance and India for its sword. Reference to the Indian or Hindī sword is often found in Persian literature.

⁶ Allusions to elephants.

their feet like pillars and their heads like the dome of the gate of obedience—so that, if the Imperial officers choose to be angry at them, the elephants will submit to it with the 'skirts' of their ears; and if order for the punishment of rebels is given, the elephants will execute it with their teeth. God has given them a forehead peculiarly fitted to render obedience at the Imperial Court. *They are now scattering dust over their heads before the Hindū's door, but in the Emperor's presence their foreheads will have the vermilion colour of good fortune.*

¹In short, the servant, Laddar Deo, places all the treasures, elephants and horses he possesses in one scale of the balance and his life in the other. The servants of the Emperor can choose whichever they like. It is certain that life and property have the same weight as honour. If my wealth is taken and my life is left to me, I will be broken by the heavy anxiety of earning a livelihood; if my life is taken, the scale holding my wealth will sink to the ground. In either case the balance will be upset. This being the case, I consider myself a broken stirrup; it is for the just Emperor to set the balance right. If means of livelihood are left to me, I will collect all my 'leaves' and hand them over to the Emperor's officers at his command. If the forgiving Emperor (May the measure of his good deeds be heavy!) allows me to retain such wealth as is proportioned to my weightless life, after all I hold the stout heart of a Rāi and not the balance of a grocer. I will take the brave iron spear, which befits my hand, and measure myself against other Rāis. I will seize treasures from them, and send to the Emperor such tribute as is fixed on me. *And if there is the slightest deficit in the tribute, I will send my own life as a make-weight.*²

³When the messengers of the Rāi came before the red canopy, the honoured harbinger of victory and triumph, they rubbed their yellow

¹ Allusions to weights and balances.

² A curious quibble of which it is difficult to find the exact significance. Laddar Deo seems to have meant that if either his life or the whole of his property was taken away, the balance would be upset. If they took away his life, 'the scale holding my wealth would sink to the ground'—perhaps a veiled threat that in the last extremity he would subject his jewels to the hammer. What he desired was that the victor should leave him some part of his wealth, and take instead of it a portion of his prestige by subjecting him to a yearly tribute. When equals are taken from equals the remainders are equal; and Laddar Deo, left with a part of his prestige and a part of his wealth, would straight-away attack the other Rāis and pay the Imperial tribute out of their pockets.

³ Allusions to jewels and treasures.

faces on the earth till the ground itself acquired their colour: next they drew out their tongues in eloquent Hindī, more sharp than the Hindī sword; and delivered the message of the Rāi. The idol-breaking *Malik* comprehended the gilding of the Hindūs and paid no regard to their glozing speech. He would not even look at the golden statue, which he wished to throw back at their faces. But he communicated to the army the command of the Second Alexander, which is more firm than seven walls of steel and the garden of *Shaddād*.¹ The Imperial officers swore by the head of *Khizr Khān*, the emerald in the ring of the kingdom, that they would accept the gold and raise the siege. As the mountain-rending troops were unable to violate the oath, and the coin of forgiveness had also been repeatedly issued from the Imperial Court, the decision arrived at was to the effect that they would subject the Rāi to a tribute, but as a charitable offering for the life of the forgiving Emperor, they would spare his life in exchange for the golden statue. They would take away and deliver at the Court all animals, vegetables and minerals which the Rāi's territory contained; and if there was the slightest deficit in handing over the treasures agreed upon, they would render the Rāi as lifeless as the golden image and reduce the fort to a heap of ashes like a goldsmith's forge. On this condition, the fort-conquering *Malik* stretched forth his right hand, placed his sword in its scabbard, and struck his open hand, by way of admonition, so forcibly on the backs of the ambassadors that they bent under the blow. Though the agreement was permanent and not provisional, yet the poor ambassadors trembled like quicksilver; and thus trembling and impatient, they hurried back to the fort. Their influence fell on the Rāi and he too began to shake like a gold-leaf. The ambassadors ornamented their speech, but the Rāi could not regain his stability, and wished to turn into mercury and run away. With some difficulty they ran this quicksilver into a vessel, and through soft speech put a little wax on its mouth². *Next they busied themselves with alchemy in order to pay the gold they had promised.*

¹ Both Ferishta and Barnī state that 'Alāuddin had ordered the *Malik Nāib* not to take any extreme measures against Laddar Deo and to remain content with seizing his treasures.

² The soft words of the ambassadors brought self-possession to the Rāi as closing the mouth of a vessel brings 'self-possession' to the mercury it contains.

¹ The Rāi's council spent the night in collecting their precious stones and valuables in order to present them next morning to the Imperial officers. When next day the sun showed its face through the enamelled fort, the ambassadors proved their promises to be as truthful as the dawn. With their elephants, treasures and horses, they arrived before the red canopy which is the roof of the eastern sun. The *Malik* summoned the leaders of the army and took his seat at the high place to which he had been appointed by the Emperor; the other great officers took their seats according to their positions, while the nobles and commons collected round like stars. Then the ambassadors were called. They placed their heads on the ground before the canopy of the 'Shadow of God' and presented their elephants to the assembly.² *The 'Maliks' sat while the elephants passed; you would have thought the planets had become stationary while the constellations had begun to move.*

³ The elephants were such as neither the brush of the artist can portray nor the pen of the panegyrist describe. Every one of them was a throne fit for a king, and an ivory factory inside. It moved without props and yet stood on four columns. Its back was adorned by a jewelled litter; it sometimes carried a litter and sometimes a load. Its banner (trunk) rose from its back like a spear into the air, while its feet cast their shields (foot-prints) on the ground. It wore a dress of living velvet. Its furious onslaught could uproot a tree. Its tusks came out of either side, and in spite of their strength, had been plaited over with gold. Contented to live on rice, in its anger it could, nevertheless, drink up a whole pond. It threw forward its trunk like a rope, while its eyes remained behind as if in ambush. It would sit down respectfully when its driver wished to climb to its back. Entrusting the guardianship of its eyes to its ears, it had surrounded its two lamps (eyes) with soft cartilage and fed them with a gentle breeze by the movement of its ears. Its teeth were set firmly inside; its tusks rose like ivory pillars surrounded by gold. A tall building on four columns, it raised its head into the air, while its nose came to the ground; there was a crescent on its forehead, and its tail rested on its buttocks. It looked like a hill with a long sash

¹ Allusions to stars.

² The canopy was the symbol of Imperial authority, and people bowed before it even when the Emperor was not personally present.

³ Allusions to elephants. I have not translated literally this paragraph which has no historical significance.

for a nose, or else like a camel with a crocodile stuck to its front. It carried its wine-glass in its head, and liquor was distilled from its ears. Without any particular sorrow, it scattered dust over its head; without any weakness, its body felt heavy. It looked like a cloud arisen out of the sea-shore, wearing vermillion tulips on its forehead and green leaves in its ears. Every one of them had these qualities, and yet each was better than the other—for each was like the mountain and yet like the wind; soft to walk and firm to stand; Hindū-slayer and yet infidel property; baggage-carrier as well as warrior; it carried a load on its back and its face looked towards the Court, for if strong-necked, it was also obedient; the ebony-coloured manufacturer of ivory, it carried its head high and at the same time kissed the ground; a meet seat for the king, and a servant of the Court, its body was heavy and its paces were gentle; it could break the enemy-lines, and yet tight in ordered ranks. *And when they move together in a row, there is an earthquake of Fad! Fad! and Saf! Saf!*

¹ After the elephants had passed, the treasures they carried on their backs were displayed. The boxes were full of valuables and gems, the excellence of which *drove the onlookers mad*. Every emerald (*sabarjad*) sparkled in the light of the sun, or, rather, the sun reflected back the light of the emerald. The rubies (*yaqūt*) dazzled the eye of the sun and if a ray from them had fallen on a lamp of fire, the lamp would have burst into flames. The 'Cat's eye' (*'ainul hirrat*) was such that a lion after seeing it would have looked with contempt at the sun; and the 'Cock's eye' (*'ainud dik*) were so brilliant that the 'Cat's eye' was afraid to look at it. The lustre of the rubies (*la'l*) illuminated the darkness of the night and *the mine, as you might light one lamp from another*. The emeralds had a fineness of water that could eclipse the lawn of paradise. The diamonds (*ilmās*) would have penetrated into an iron heart like an arrow of steel, and yet owing to their delicate nature, would have been shattered by the stroke of a hammer. The other stones were such that the sun blushed to look at them. *As for the pearls, you would not find the like of them, even if you kept diving into the sea through all eternity*. The gold was like the full moon of the twelfth night; it seemed that in order to ripen it, that *alchemist, the sun,*

¹ Allusions to jewels.

had lighted its fire, and the morning had blown its breath, for years.

¹ When the horses were brought, the prestige of all that the ambassadors had previously displayed flew away like the wind. Lest the struggle should be further prolonged, every horse in the Rāi's palace and stables had been brought; even the wind of them was not left in his hands. The sight of these fleet-footed animals captivated every heart—*the heart of the Mussalmān was broken, and the soul of the Hindu flew away from his breast*; for the horses were such as their eyes had never seen.

² When the Rāi had sent through his clever ambassadors all that he had received by way of inheritance from his ancestors, the 'Artis-i Mumalik went to examine the jewels. He divided them into 'genus' and 'species', 'class' after 'class', and had everything written down. He then stood up and turned to the ambassadors. It was clear to his perfect judgment that the wealth and property of the Rāi had been wholly confiscated, and that no jewel had been kept away from its proper place. Yet as a diplomatic formality, he propounded 'propositions' before the wise ambassadors, and ultimately unfolded to them the 'major' and the 'minor premises'. In an address, full of a variety of meaning, he put it to them: 'You are acquainted with every "species" (of this treasure). If on investigation a single item is found missing, though your life is "indivisible", yet will I destroy it; and with the stroke of the sword, I will divide your parts (limbs) into indivisible "atoms". Take care and state the true premises! Tell me, as all the gems of the Rāi are excellent, has he sent the best of them hither? How has he classified "talking" and "neighing animals" (men and horses) and what portion of them has he retained?'³

¹ Allusions to horses.

² Allusions to philosophy that confound the understanding.

³ Khwāja Rāji's meaning is obvious. If the Rāi had failed to send any valuables, which by the agreement he was bound to, the ambassadors would be held responsible for the default, provided they were cognisant of it. As the Imperial army could not enter the fort, the only method of getting the agreement enforced was by superfluous threats. For the rest, Amir Khusrāu's ornamentation may be ignored; such logical language would not be used even in the inter-university negotiations of to-day; and the Rāi's ambassadors, with their eloquent Hindī, could not have used the logical terms put into their mouths.

'By the God, who has created man, the finest of "substances"!' ¹ swore the philosophic ambassadors, 'Each of these jewels is of a "kind" of which no man can calculate the value. And among them is a jewel, unparalleled in the whole world, though according to perfect philosophers such a substance cannot exist.' ² Before this time we had been advising the Rāi to send a part of the jewels, that had never been cut or divided, ³ to the Imperial Court. 'This jewel (treasure) is unique according to the opinion of all men,' and he would reply, 'Let him who wishes to cut and divide (share) it, attempt the task. It is impossible for such a jewel (treasure) to be divided; he who talks of doing so is in a great error'. Thus was he accustomed to speak, but then the sword of the Imperial officers began its lecture; the Rāi understood that its stroke would divide up those singular 'substances,' and has sent all his jewels to the Imperial muster. There is no stone left in the Rāi's treasury that can be considered 'precious'; nor is there any neighing creature in his stables that can be designated a 'horse'. As for the elephant, it is a famous 'body' and a large animal; if man is superior to it in dignity, he is also smaller in size. If there had been another 'species' of the same 'genus,' the Rāi, with the sense he possesses, would have sent it to the muster along with other 'varieties' and 'kinds'. The affair is as we have represented. For the rest, your exalted judgment is higher, and even wiser.'

(The *Malik*) saw from the propositions of their speech, that their logic was clear of all confusion. He applied to them such 'terms' ⁴

¹ The Persian word '*jauhar*', which in common parlance means a precious stone, also means 'substance' in Arabian logic; the sense in which '*jauhar*' is used by Muslim scholars is the same in which 'substance', as distinguished from 'accident', is used by Western writers. Amir Khusrau, in this paragraph, constantly plays on the two meanings of '*jauhar*'.

² This is the famous Koh-i-Nūr, which according to many later writers (including Khafī Khan) was brought by 'Alāuddīn's army from the Deccan. 'Though logicians', to put the ambassadors' words in a different form, 'declare that there is no such thing as a 'unique substance', except the Divine Being, yet the Koh-i-Nur diamond has no peer and stands in a class by itself. You cannot find a diamond to match it in the whole world'.

³ That is, no one had overpowered the Rāi and divided up his treasure before and he imagined that it was one and indivisible like 'substance'. But the Imperial sword proved that it could cut and divide everything.

⁴ Apparently of threats. The 'terms' really used by Khwāja Hājī were not to be found in the ancient logic of Aristotle.

as had never been applied to them in ancient times, and that, too, in a way never to be forgotten. *But if any of their premises had been wrong, the conclusion would have been drawn with the sword.*

When the singular *Sah-kash* had fixed on the Hindū a tribute that surpassed all computation, the latter made a straight figure and put ten ciphers beside it, ¹ and below it he wrote promising to send untold wealth to the treasury of the Emperor (May God preserve him to the Day of Reckoning!). When the account of the *jazia* had been settled, the '*Ariz-i Hasib*' ² ordered the *Amirs* and the *Katib-i Mohasib* ³ to take the roll of those who were present in, or absent from, the army. On the 16th *Shawwāl*, the *Sah-kash*, having achieved his object, turned his horse towards the meadows of the Capital, and guided it in such a way that its feet went on making half-ciphers ⁴ on the ground. This figure indicated that in comparison to the spoils he was searching for, the untold treasures he had obtained were less than even half-a-cipher. *And since a cipher means absolute non-entity, you can well see how much less than non-entity half-a-cipher is.* ⁵ The month of *Zil Hijjah* was spent in crossing the extensive forest. On 11th *Muharram*, A.H. 710 the Imperial officers reached Delhi, the deputy of the sacred Mecca. 'And whoever enters it shall be secure.' On Tuesday, the 24th *Muharram*, a black pavilion was erected on the *Chautra-i Nāsiri*, like the Ka'ba on the navel of the earth. The kings and princes of Arabia and Persia took up their places around it. The *Maliks*, who had been sent on the expedition from the Capital, came before the Emperor, and after moistening the ground with the sweat of their brows, presented the spoils. Elephants of the size of Marwa, Safā, Tūr and Bū Qabīs, ⁶ horses that raised a dust (cloud) out of the sea like western winds, and treasures under which a thousand camels would have groaned, were all displayed. The day looked like a second '*Id*' for the people, when the pilgrims, after wandering through many

¹ He promised to pay 10,000,000,000—ten thousand millions only(?). The figure seems to be purely suppositious. But we are here dealing not with the revenues but the heirlooms of states.

² i.e., Khwāja Hājī, the '*Ariz-i Mumalik*'.

³ Keeper of the Army Roll.

⁴ Which is the shape of a horse-shoe.

⁵ Allusions to Holy Mecca.

⁶ All four are hills famous in Muslim traditions.

valleys, had at last reached the sacred precincts of the Imperial Court, and their wishes, compared to which the ambitions of Ḥajjāj Yūsuf¹ were slavish longings, had been realized. The spectators went round and round the Court; everyone present was allowed, without any hindrance, to see the display and obtain the reward of his pilgrimage. But the reward, that could not have been obtained by the labour of a life-time, was that the Emperor's eyes should suddenly fall on one with favour.

¹A famous governor of Persia, whose cousin Moḥammad bin Qāsim invaded Sindh.

(Translated by Prof. Mohammad Habib, Aligarh.)

Reviews

'HINDU ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS'

BY

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[University of Madras, 1929; pp. xxv + 401; Price Rs. 6 or 8s. 6d.]

THE Orient has for long been associated in Western imagination not with barbaric pearl and gold alone, but also with despotism, and that in the popular, not in the original, sense of mere mastery. This latter conception has been so widely entertained that even philosophers seeking to exemplify an absolute will with no respect for any laws, logical or moral, have instanced the Oriental despot. It has been said that God must not be thought of as an Oriental despot.¹ How far the Indian conception of God is that of a despot is a question to which the answer is not far to seek. A God who respects karma in His dispensation of good and evil endowments, who cannot annul karma except on its being worked out, albeit the continuance of karma causes suffering to His creatures and in a way to Himself, a God that does not (perhaps cannot) devise short cuts to the world's release, is very far removed indeed from being a despot; He is limited in as real a sense as the monarch of the most limited Western monarchies.² If the people who conceived of such a God drew on their knowledge of earthly kings, it is exceedingly unlikely that these kings were such despots as they are often thought to be.³ One begins to suspect that, though we do not seem to know of democratic institutions and checks and balances as they are understood in the West to-day, there may yet have been very real limitations on the monarch, limitations which, perhaps, he could have set at nought in theory, but rarely, if ever, in

¹ Pringle-Pattison, *The Idea of God*, 403; also Ward, *The Realm of Ends*.

² See a paper on *Divine Omnipotence*, by the present reviewer; *Trivani*, March 1928.

³ The argument is, of course, not conclusive. The benevolent God-conception may have arisen in reaction against the actual despotic monarch, as Christian slave-morality arose, according to Nietzsche, in the reaction to their persecution.

practice. A study of Hindu administrative institutions becomes necessary at least to combat Western misconceptions which extend not merely to our political institutions but to the whole of the culture that lies at the back of them.

There is yet another call for the study. The vaunted democracy of the West has proved of late not to be as attractive or infallible as it was thought to be. The system of counting heads is not an infallible test of the soundness of a person or a policy. The party-system which proved to be successful in a measure only in one Western country (and that, they say, is due to historical accidents) is being decried by responsible thinkers in that very country. The man who takes thought for the future of India, cannot but realize that making the country fit for democracy and teaching the average man how to cast a vote intelligently may not be the highest goal for the country. He may be tempted to turn to the past and seek to know what, if any, were the ideals of government which appealed to the people of this country. That an urgent stimulus of this kind is acting on many cannot be gainsaid. The working of the newly granted democratic institutions, the corruptions and schisms, the moral fervour of a few which lacks direction, because there is nothing but the moral turpitude of the many on the other side, the ill-conceived social legislation that is rushed through the highest legislative bodies, all these make one pause and consider whether we are not hastening towards a catastrophe, because the future we seek is not rooted in the past and grown out of the past.¹

These practical interests, combined with the pure love of research, have led to the appearance of many interesting and valuable volumes

¹ The extent to which the minds of the people are unsettled may be gathered from the expressions of opinion for and against the recent Child Marriage Restraint Act. The opponents based themselves mainly on the ground of religious neutrality promised to them by the Proclamation of 1857. They were countered with the argument that the Government was no longer foreign, that it was becoming their own government in an increasing measure, and that there was no sense in giving the hands of such a Government in respect of social legislation (See H. E. the Viceroy's reply to the Moslem deputation). The distinction between society and State, made clear in Mr. Dikshitar's work and more particularly in Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar's learned introduction, would seem to show that in the past, the State, though not foreign, did not claim sovereignty over social questions that it was society which dictated to the State and not *vice versa*. The demand for religious neutrality would thus appear to be grounded on the *ethos* and the political sense of the people, not on any Queen's Proclamation.

on ancient Indian polity, within the last decade and a half. The general trend of these works, which undoubtedly derived considerable stimulus from the discovery and publication of the *Kautilya Artha-Sastra* has been to show that the government of the country in ancient days was not irresponsible, that there was public opinion with recognized channels for the expression thereof, that that public opinion was respected in almost all cases by the powers, that it could grow at times even so powerful as to lead to the abdication or dethronement of the ruler, and so on. The institutions revealed by these studies have by some been called corporate, democratic, and representative. Some (like Mr. Jayaswal and Mr. Dikshitar) would hold that there were definite elective representative assemblies, for the town and the country. However that may be, this much cannot be gainsaid that the king was nowhere near as absolute as he is imagined to have been, that he had very real limitations in the matter of legislation, that he had a minister or council of ministers responsive to public opinion, whose counsel he almost invariably took and mostly followed, and that his comparatively limited rights, went with correspondingly onerous obligations to the people.

The portions of Mr. Dikshitar's book dealing with these topics are interesting and informing reading. He draws not merely on his predecessors in the field and the material they used but also on ancient Tamil literature. In view of the practical issues involved, even a bare repetition of such fundamental ideas would not be uncalled for. When to the repetition there is combined a fresh (if at times naive) presentation and the utilization of new material, the book does more than justify its existence.

One cannot but feel, however, that Mr. Dikshitar's work stands, in a sense, on the border-line between adoration and appreciation, the tendency to find and stress Western parallels and the appraisal of what he finds on the basis of its independent worth. This is promising, in so far as it does not commit him finally to the former attitude; but one cannot help feeling curious as to the line he may follow in the future, so much of which lies before him. Reaction against Western misconceptions is very well in its place, but it may be overdone.¹

¹ One may recall with amusement how a Madras audience was told by an eminent Professor (some fifteen years ago) that Maine was grievously wrong in having called Ranjit Singh a mere tax-gatherer, since Ranjit Singh had

The taunt that India is unfit for self-government may not have been without its share of influence in the retort of earlier writers that we had democratic institutions long before they were dreamt of in the West. But surely the time has come when, with the impending grant of self-government in a fuller measure and the not very inspiring spectacle of democracies in the West, stock must be taken of our ancient institutions in a cooler spirit. It will no longer do to allow ourselves to be misled by considerations of mere etymology and nomenclature.

To take one or two cases in point. Mr. Dikshitar, following Mr. Jayaswal, holds that the *paura* and the *janapada* were corporate representative institutions. Mr. Jayaswal's arguments have been very thoroughly examined by Dr. Law¹, who comes to the conclusion that the terms mean, in none of the instances cited, anything more than assemblages of the people of the town or the people of the country. The difference between an *assemblage* and an *assembly* is very vital, and is one of structure and organization. *Prima facie*, the words used like *paura* or *janapada* or *samuha* would signify the more general concept. The burden of proof is on him who alleges the more specialized sense. And yet Mr. Dikshitar (who has relegated the topic to an Appendix) says that 'Dr. Law is rather dogmatic in his statements'.² But surely the charge of dogmatism lies on him who asserts, without meeting adequately the objections to his assertion! Mr. Dikshitar does little to meet Dr. Law except to urge one or two general considerations³. 'The audience of His Majesty by the people must not and could not be so

employed Pandits to compile the code known as the *Vivādārṇavasetu*. The allegation, if true would have been beside the point, as compiling a code is not necessarily the same as law-giving or legislating. It was shown later that the work in question was compiled at the instance of Warren Hastings and that the romantic association with the name of Ranjit Singh was a myth. Mr. Dikshitar, too, cannot help tilting at Maine and with as little profit. 'The theories of early writers like Maine' he says (on p. 190), 'who called the Hindu States "tax-collecting institutions" have little justification at any rate in regard to Mauryan times.' And this in a section where he shows not that the Mauryan State legislated for the people or even compiled codes, but that 'the principles of taxation were sound and the administration was efficient.' Surely, Maine had no quarrel with the principles of taxation whether of the Mauryas or of Ranjit Singh. His contention that the Hindu sovereign was not, like the Parliament, the supreme legislative body, has not been met. Nor is it likely to be met, if the contention about the Hindu distinction between society and the State is well-founded.

¹ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, II, 385-407, 638-650.

² p. 157.

³ p. 158.

cheap' he says, 'as Law would imagine.' This, of a country where accessibility to all has been lauded as almost the principal virtue of a King! The justest of South Indian monarchs (Maṇu-ñeṇi-kaṇḍa-Çolan) is reputed to have granted audience to a cow! The reference to காமம் நாமம் is not any more helpful. What is more likely than that a poet should describe the entire town and country as flocking to witness a prince's festivities? Corporations have not a pre-eminent right to mention, in a poetic description, as against the peoples in general. The mention of the கிம்பெருங்குழு and the என் பேராயம் is not conclusive either. They would seem to represent either professional or caste guilds, as in the case of the ministers of religion and the physicians, or bodies of officials appointed by the king, such as account officers, officers of the treasury, and so on. It is not shown that the மன்றம் of the Tamil classics was a representative assembly any more than the Mahājana Sabhas of to-day.

A government not responsible in the modern sense is not necessarily a non-responsive government. One may note with interest, in this connection, an incident in the *Mahabharata* (XV, 8, 9 and 10), where Dhṛtarāṣṭra takes leave of the inhabitants of Kurujāṅgala and retires to the forest. He wishes to make some gifts, 'inviting all the people' to his place. 'Many Brahmanas living in Kurujāṅgala, many Kshatriyas, many Vaishyas, and many Shudras also came to Dhṛtarāṣṭra's palace, with gratified hearts.' The old King addresses them, tells them of his resolve to retire to the forest and the permission given him by Vyāsa and Yudhiṣṭhira, and requests them to add their permission. He reminds them of the past services of his ancestors, of himself, and his son and of the present grief-stricken plight of himself and Gāndhārī, recommends them to cherish Yudhiṣṭhira, begs their pardon for any injury done them by his sons, and prays for permission to seek retirement. 'The citizens and inhabitants of the provinces' who were thus addressed began to weep. They settled among themselves what was to be said and charged a certain Brāhman to say it. That Brāhman praises the rule of the old King, his ancestors and his son, says that the frightful carnage was due to Destiny, not to Duryodhana or to any other individual, assures Dhṛtarāṣṭra of loyalty to the Pāṇḍavas, and gives the old couple the assent so eagerly sought for. Here we have the existence of public opinion and the seeking of public approval. With all that, however, we have

but an *ad hoc* concourse of the inhabitants, not an assembly in any technical sense. There were no writs to the members, no election through which they were returned, no system of voting, nor even a permanent spokesman. Were these 'citizens and inhabitants of the provinces' an assembly?'¹

Mr. Dikshitar suffers from a weakness for drawing conclusions from inadequate data. From an inscription, which, according to his translation, advises the ministers to act in such a manner as would secure the approval of the Jānapada assembly, he concludes² that the position of the ministers was secure so long as the sovereign assembly had confidence in them. This makes several assumptions, none of which is established, viz., that there was a sovereign assembly, that the king could not remove a minister who had the support of that assembly, and that the notion of an assembly having confidence in a minister was current in those times³. Again, he infers that ladies could take part in the assembly discussion 'from the fact that Maṇḍodari goes to Rāvaṇa's court after the death of Prahasta and dissuades him by several arguments to desist (*sic*) from fighting Rāma.'⁴ A righteous, devoted and peace-loving wife pleading with her husband to desist from damning himself here and hereafter—does it prove anything more than that there was no purdah for Maṇḍodari to observe? Or was she the first of the Dravidian women to have a vote?

Mr. Dikshitar's arguments to show that there was trial by jury in ancient India are almost as weak as his assertion that cannon were used⁵ in the warfare of those days. The instances cited from literature are the trial of Cārudatta in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* and Draupadi's

¹ Quotations are from M. N. Dutt's translation. On the Kūlu and the Āyam, see Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, 33.

² p. 145.

³ One effect of such hasty conclusions is to rouse the sarcasm of the Westerner. See, for instance, the following words put by Aldous Huxley in the mouth of a notorious waster, whose literary activity was but a pretence for his amorous intrigues. 'There is a point about those wretched Indians' he explained, 'that I ryahly must clyahr up. I think I may find it in Pramathanatha Banerjea's book. . . . or it may be dealt with by Radhakumud Mookerji.' He rolled out the names impressively, professionally. 'It is about local government in Maurya times. So democratic you know, in spite of the central despotism. For example. . .' (*Point Counterpoint*, 364-365.)

⁴ p. 160.

⁵ The assertion owes its plausibility almost wholly to a mistaken transliteration (Śatagni for Śataghni; p. 277)

appeal for a judgment about the propriety of her husband gambling her away after having first lost his own independence. In the former case, the jury, we are told, consisted of the judge, the provost and the recorder or scribe.¹ What a Gilbertian jury! Was there even one who would not have been disqualified or challenged according to present-day notions? Could either the provost or the scribe claim to be a 'peer' of the rich Brāhmin merchant who stood in the dock? In Draupadi's case, again, which juror was there who was not a courtier at the court of Dhṛtarāṣṭra? It says much for the moral sense of some of them like Vidura that they spoke up and pressed the claims of justice. But if that kind of concourse is to be taken as a jury, is it not, on the face of it, a packed jury? Mr. Dikshitar's literary instances are not very happy. In dealing with local administration, however, he cites a passage from Śukra, which indicates that there were separate forest-courts, warrior courts, and village courts.² This passage, if authentic, would give some support to the notions of trial in the venue and by one's peers, the two cardinal notions of trial by jury. One wishes Mr. Dikshitar had noted more fully the significance and importance of the passage.³

The book covers extensive ground and a variety of topics, each of which requires considerable further research. Mr. Dikshitar's preliminary survey of the ground, though necessarily imperfect because of the extent, is yet full of promise. There are many problems he casually mentions, which would repay a lifetime of investigation. He mentions, thus, the existence of both law and equity. What was the relation between the two? In Roman Law, law meant civil law, and equity the law formulated for the non-citizens, on the basis of a hypothetical Law of Nature. But in India law was dharma; and dharma played for us the same part as the Law of Nature in the West. Did law and equity, then, flow as twin streams of dharma? What was the occasion, if any, for the second stream? And what was the scope of rāja-śāsanas? Did they supplement the dharma or supplant it or interpret it? Was there any State legislation in the Western sense?

¹ p. 248.

² pp. 341, 347.

³ On p. 347, Mr. Dikshitar says 'This has made B. K. Sarkar draw a parallel from modern English history where a peer was not subject to the ordinary Common Law court; and his case was to be decided by a body of peers.' But surely, trial by one's peers was the right of every citizen, not of a Peer of the Realm alone.

If there were in India sovereign assemblies like the British Parliament, did they at any time claim or exercise the right to do everything except make a man or woman or *vice versa*? If they did not, what is the significance of the reservation? These and many other questions of interest await solution at the hands of disinterested and patient students of Indian history. Mr. Dikshitar, we feel sure, will be a welcome addition to their ranks.

S. S. S.

THE MAKERS OF CIVILIZATION IN RACE AND HISTORY

BY

L. A. WADDELL, LL. D., C.B., C.I.E.

[London, Luzac & Co., 1929, pp. lvi + 646. Price Rs. 28 nett.]

THIS sumptuous volume belongs to a class of books which, while they impress the reader by the vast learning and labour that have gone to their making, fail to carry conviction to him and leave him with a sense of misdirected effort. Such books are the result of strong convictions firmly held by their authors who devote much time and effort to the task of accumulating all the evidence that can possibly be taken to support their views and presenting their theses in an attractive and popular form. In Col. Waddell's case, the strain of his very ambitious enterprise must have been very great indeed. Over twenty years ago he got a suspicion that the names of some of the Sumerian kings resemble some names of kings in the Indian Puranic lists and he sought the aid of one of the foremost of English Assyriologists in comparing the two lists of names, and the expert refused his assistance on the ground that such a comparison was not likely to lead to any results of value. This naturally did not satisfy Col. Waddell, and this is what he writes about the sequel: 'It now became a question of only two alternatives. Either I must give up all hope of comparing in detail the Indian king lists with the Sumerian, and abandon my long search for the lost Aryan origins, despite the innumerable clues I had elicited; or I must begin late in life the acquisition of another and extremely difficult new language, with a new and formidable hieroglyphic and cuneiform writing, in order personally to compare at first hand the Indian king lists of the early Aryan kings with the Sumerian. I chose the latter alternative, and leave the results to speak for themselves.' (p. 54).

These results challenge all the established views of pre-historic archæology without exception, and anybody who reads the book with a working knowledge of the current ideas on the subject will find himself overwhelmed by an avalanche of strange surprises as he turns over section after section. According to the author's results, the Sumerians were themselves the celebrated Aryans, the makers of civilization in all lands. 'In short, the new evidence shows that civilization was essentially racial, and that it was Aryanization.' (p. 495)

This evidence is, for the most part, the comparison of the Indian and Sumerian king lists based on the author's own personal study of both. It may be of interest to the readers of this Journal to learn how the Indian lists have fared at the hands of the author. The 'solar' and the 'lunar' lines are, according to him, not different lines, but only different versions of the same line of kings and 'of these main-line lists the solar are the most complete.' (519) 'The later Indian Brahmins have taken great liberty with the Puru line'; 'the succession is usually gratuitously expressed in the modern MS. versions of the Puranas by the later Indian copyists as "son" even when a new dynasty appears' (520) 'And several of the so-called brothers are clearly merely different titles of the king himself arbitrarily separated out as brothers by the later copyists.' (521) For these reasons, the author feels justified in taking fresh liberties with the Puranic lists and he introduces arbitrary changes in the list as can be seen by a comparison of the table in Appendix I with the tables of either Wilson's *Vishnu Purana* (Hall) or Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*. And after all this bother, we are told, to take one out of several such instances, that Sargon is both Sakuni (not the notorious gambler of the Mahabharat, but a less-known grandson of Ikshvaku, who becomes a world-emperor in our author's account) and also Sagara (Ch. XIII) who is identified, again in Appendix I, (p. 524-5) with another Sakuni of the Puranas.

It is not possible or necessary to discuss in a review all the new ideas put forward by the author. What has been said above is enough to give a general idea of the methods of the author and of the nature of his work. Whatever may be said about the author's main thesis, the book is packed with many facts of unusual interest.

K. A. N.

'A SURVEY OF SOCIALISM'

BY

F. J. C. HEARNshaw, M.A., LL.D.,

[University of London : Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd.
London, 1928 : Price 15/-net.]

ONE of the few fascinating subjects of the period wherein we are living is the history of socialism. Perhaps the observations of the learned German economist L. Mises in '*Die Gemeinwirtschaft*' are not without truth : 'Socialism is the keyword of our day. The socialist idea at the present moment dominates the minds of men. The masses hang upon it ; it engrosses the thoughts and feelings of every one ; it gives to the age its distinctive character'. The movement towards socialism came into prominence in the early nineties, though its origin might be traced to much early times, commencing with communism of primitive man.

Professor Hearnshaw, who seems to have been attracted to the subject for nearly forty years, presents to us in the book under review an analytical study of the subject. No doubt there are ever so many books dealing with the various aspects of the socialist movements, its merits as well as defects. But still the subject is far from being understood in any satisfactory manner. In this elaborate survey Professor Hearnshaw has tried to present a clear and lucid picture of what one means by the term socialism, its history and its merits and defects. In fact the author has divided the book into three parts,—analytical, historical and critical. After explaining in the whole of the first chapter the meaning of the terms 'socialism' and 'socialist', we are introduced to the six essentials of socialism—exaltation of the community above the individual, equalising human conditions, elimination of the capitalist, expropriation of the landlord, extinction of private enterprise and also of competition.

The second part is more interesting and here there is a genuine attempt to study the evolution of the subject and trace the course of events connected with the movement by true historical methods. There is a useful chapter on ancient and mediæval communism including a section on early Christian communism. The story of the movement is continued in Chapter V where there is a good survey of early modern communism. The next chapter is devoted to an enquiry into

the modern movements of socialism in different European countries such as France, England and Germany. These three countries have profoundly influenced the movement and modern socialism is what it is due to that influence. While France contributed the sociological element, England and Germany provided the economic and political elements respectively (p. 207). Then follows a long chapter devoted to the all important but much misunderstood subject of Marxian socialism.

The last and more useful part of the work constitutes Chapters IX and X where the merits of socialism and defects are examined with ability. We are not, however, sure whether the modern economists and thinkers will agree with Professor Hearnshaw in his views regarding the movement which has contributed to the elevation of the labouring classes and humanity generally. For example, there is the statement of the Professor : 'It is in the political and social, not in the economic, doctrines of socialism that such merits as it possesses reside (p. 332). He continues : 'These merits of course are not peculiar to socialism.' The learned author seems to feel that the contribution of the socialist movement is not much, and economically the movement has not benefited the community. In our view, though the capitalist is yet at the helm of the industrial world, and though competitive impulses sway the minds of business men, still the movement towards socialism has enabled the modern community to take a broad outlook on men and things in general, and has done much to promote the well-being of the manual workers and other members of the labouring classes. Towards this end its merits on the economic side are no less important.

V. R. R. D.

'A HISTORY OF INDIA : PART II—MUHAMMADAN INDIA'

BY

MESSRS. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI AND M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYANGAR.

[Published by Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 3.]

THIS handy volume is a continuation of a History of India projected to be published in three volumes by Professors C. S. Srinivasachari and M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar. Like the first part, this part is an able survey of the history of the so-called Muhammadan India. The

title 'Muhammadan India' like the title 'Buddhist India' is a misnomer. But there is nothing in the title of the book. The real importance of the work lies in the contents of the book which gives an intelligent summary of the modern works published on the subject. Professor Mohammad Habib, who has contributed a learned introduction, draws attention to the chief feature of the work, free from all religious and racial prepossessions so common in modern writers on the subject, and pays a tribute to the authors in the remark: 'The present work marks a healthy departure from the noxious text-books of the past.' We very much wish that some more space is devoted to the history of South India. The usefulness of the work is very much enhanced by a lengthy chronological table, a fairly good bibliography and five maps. We hope that the work will be popular among the students for whom it is primarily intended.

V. R. R. D.

'MALABAR AND THE PORTUGUESE'

BEING A HISTORY OF THE RELATION OF THE PORTUGUESE
AND MALABAR FROM 1500-1663

[Messrs. Taraporavalla, Sons & Co., Bombay.]

THIS is a work, the first comprehensive and connected history of the dealings of the Portuguese with the Indians on the West Coast of India. Mr. Panikkar deals with this subject from the first beginnings of the Portuguese connection to the final collapse of the Portuguese power. Mr. Panikkar had, in addition to the advantage of a knowledge of some of the sources for this topic of Indian history in his own mother-tongue, access to the records in Portugal itself. He has exploited the opportunity he had to purpose and has presented us with an account which is in many ways informing and exhibits an enterprise of the first European power, in no very lovely light. For this character of the account Mr. Panikkar is not exactly responsible. The work enjoys an introduction by that Doyen of Indian historical research, Sir Richard Temple. As was to be expected from him, Sir Richard brings out in ten pages the salient features of the history, perhaps mollifies to some extent the account as we find it in the book. The book confines itself, as Sir Richard takes care to point out, to one section of the Portuguese activities in the East, namely, the dealings

with Malabar. This part of the subject presents them perhaps in a worse light than their transactions elsewhere. But, on the whole, even including the achievements in other fields there is a great deal to discount from the glorious character generally given to their achievements in the East. Greed and fanaticism seem to have dominated in their transaction in one form or another, the one based on an attempt at securing commercial dominance, and the other—assuming a charter from Heaven—the conversion of the whole world to Christianity. In the carrying out of these two objects they generally had no scruples as to the means they had employed.

Sir Richard takes care to point out in the introduction that their whole outlook was medieval and in that medievalism they were no better or no worse than their contemporaries in India. Mr. Panikkar's account indicates the balance the other way. The Portuguese came to India ostensibly for purposes of trade. They found others already in possession of it, particularly, the much-hated Moors of the West Coast. If it was perhaps a simple question of trade, they may not have experienced much difficulty in securing facilities for their trade. It immediately assumed the form of a monopoly of the trade. They tried to secure this monopoly in one way or other from the Indian princes who had their own obligations to discharge to the Mahomedan traders of the coast, of course from outside as well as those that had settled in the country. As is usual in such cases, such as, for example, the early Mahomedan invasions, they adopted a policy of terrorising and thus tried to secure mastery of the sea. In their prosecution of this enterprise they naturally came into hostility with the rulers of the coast and they did not shrink from breaking pledges and carrying on wars as they pleased against them. It is in their transactions with the coast powers that they managed to infuse the principle of fanaticism and made an effort as far as might be at Christianizing. They had some success on both sides at first; when they went beyond and attempted to carry it out systematically, they surrendered their judgment to a body of Jesuit priests who directed the policy of the state in this particular. That brought them up against the Mahomedans as well as the Hindus, the latter of whom all the time were not unfriendly to peaceful missionary work.

They hardly came in sufficient number to make a community by themselves. They attempted to form a community by inter-marriages,

which produced a community which could hardly be Portuguese, nor could they be exactly Indian. They had but a few forts on the coast of their own and had secured more or less the alliance of Cochin and Cannanore, which early threw them into hostility with the rest of the small states into which the whole of the West Coast had been divided. The chief antagonist against them was the ruler of Calicut, who was, as a matter of fact, the sovereign suzerain over all the petty states of the West Coast. So long as they had trade relations with the powerful states such as those of the empire Vijayanagar or the kingdom of Adilshah, their trade prospered to a considerable extent; but when these states declined, their trade also declined. With the decline of the trade synchronized the infusion of their religious fervour and an effort to uproot the Muhammadan horde. They could do neither.

The fact of the matter is that, although the Portuguese came to India not as a private company as that of the other European powers, and were sent over under the auspices of the Portuguese rulers directly, they came here with no definite idea as to what exactly they were to do. They had no well-understood policy either in regard to the one item or the other, except in the case of Albuquerque who wished to create a number of fortified bases on the coast and maintaining themselves on the sea. They would not carry it out systematically. Even in respect of the securing of the monopoly of trade, they might have done it easily even without the countenance of the country powers, if they had set about it in a systematic fashion and ceased from interfering in other matters. As Mr. Panikkar points out, the whole body of the Portuguese in India were not under one control, as it were, and could not therefore pursue a great policy. The tendency to private trade and the gaining of private profits dominated to the detriment of the more general interests, which interests the officials of the East India Company generally had an eye to even when they pursued their own selfish interests most unscrupulously. Having regard to the distance of their base and the states that they had to operate against, they could hardly succeed in this. They were able to achieve the success that they did in securing the control of the sea, and for a period of time even the monopoly of the sea-going trade, simply because the larger Indian powers neglected completely the development of the navy, and thus laid themselves at the mercy of anybody that had the means of securing this supremacy. The Arab-

Muhammadans generally gradually superseded Indian enterprise in this direction, and they were able to hold their own only so long as they had the support of the civil power, and when this support failed for one reason or another, they found it impossible to hold their own as against the superior equipment and the far more unscrupulous treatment that the Portuguese accorded to the vanquished. The Portuguese succeeded ultimately in crippling the nautical power of the Muhammadans without establishing their own on a solid basis. When the next European companies came upon the scene, the Portuguese had nothing to fall back upon and disappeared rapidly, the Dutch being able to sweep them out of their position with comparative ease.

Mr. Panikar has done his work with creditable impartiality, although he has not succeeded in suppressing his own feelings as an Indian, and born in Malabar. Whether it was possible for the Portuguese to have done better may be a speculative question; but one may perhaps hazard it that, even in those circumstances, perhaps the officials of the English East India Company as a body might have achieved more success.

MANDU: THE 'CITY OF JOY'

BY

G. YAZDANI

[Published by the Oxford University Press for the Dhar State]

THIS is a work quite worthy of the 'City of Joy' and has been brought out not a whit too soon for those interested in the history and archæology of India. Mr. Yazdani claims to have written the book for the use of the ordinary visitor and seems almost to regret that it does not incorporate details, which might be of interest to the more initiated. He has succeeded in producing a book, however, which, while it serves the purpose of the ordinary reader, is not without information for the elect. He would refer the reader to two previous writers, whose works he commends as of value. We may almost say that this little book supersedes even those two others and is quite a handy book for those sufficiently interested to visit the 'City of Joy', as it was called by Muslim monarchs, who had a peculiar taste for the natural scenery. The book, it need hardly be said, is beautifully got up with forty illustrations including the frontispiece, the picture of the young Maharaja of Dhar, thirty-nine others

representing the remnants of the buildings of the locality. There is also a plan of the approach to the city and a map of the parts which constituted the fort of Mandu.

Mandu rests on a plateau of the Vindhya mountains, rather an extensive plateau lying nestled in the hills which run in and out here rising gradually northwards from the valley of the Narmada through the comparatively extensive plains of Nimar on the northern side of the river. In the middle ages of Indian history, the trunk road from the south seems to have passed through it between the Dekhan, Burhanpur and the farther south, to Agra. Even now it is not very far from the Bombay Agra trunk road, though it does not actually pass through Mandu. The place is now reached easily from Indore by bus. One has first of all to pass through Dhar, associated with the name of Raja Bhoja, the scholar and patron of letters alike, and a comparatively easy drive of twenty-three miles in a motor car takes you through the Alamgir gate across to the Bhagwaniya gate by which one descends slowly down the plateau in the plains by a comparatively easy gradient. Much of what one has to see can be seen along this road making one or two short detours. As it is now, it consists of a number of buildings, mosques and tombs, the two generally going together, and the remnants of a few palaces. All of them bear the look on the surface of being Muhammadan structures. The city received its present form, and the large number of buildings given their present shape only during the period of the dynasty of Muhammadans, who set themselves up independently in Malva as a result of the confusion created by the invasion of Timur. And this history extends from A. D. 1400 to the conquest of Malva by Adham Khan for Akbar. Dilawar Khan was the first ruler who ruled from Dhar, and it was his successor, who made Mandu the capital. This is the famous Shah Hoshang, whose name lives in the mosque and tomb in Mandu and the town on the Nerbada. The chief feature of the whole locality is the Sagar tank, a large spread of water almost in the middle of the plateau and two smaller ones called Munja Talao and Kapur Talao. There are three or four other tanks on the plateau and provide a comparatively full water supply. Of Shah Hoshang the great mosque and Hoshang's tomb equally are the characteristic buildings. The latter is set in a large courtyard surrounded by colonnaded halls of Hindu pillars, perhaps even the roofing, which Mr. Yazdani

considers a later addition. Hoshang Shah having set the example, each succeeding ruler naturally thought it necessary to leave his own monuments excelling if possible those of his predecessor. So every ruler has his own building, generally a tomb with which went a mosque, and sometimes even a caravanserai. They are all well described and very good illustrations are given of them. Mr. Yazdani had spared no pains in explaining the peculiar features of each. He divides the buildings into three groups, those of Hoshang and his immediate successors. He calls the buildings purely Islamic, having been constructed by architects imported from Persia, the buildings thus partaking of the character of purely Muslim structures. Then according to Mr. Yazdani follows a period when Hindu workmen at any rate, were allowed to take part in these structures, having received apparently training from those that were imported. According to Mr. Yazdani, they were given the freedom to indulge their fancy to some extent in regard to the ornamentation of the structures that they were employed to construct. In this period, he regards the combination attempted to be brought about proved rather clumsy, the Hindu architects and workmen not understanding the real inwardness of the Islamic structures to make an effective combination of Hindu and Islamic work. The third period, according to him, is the last fifty years before the Mughal conquest and the period following under the Mughals, when the Hindus had assimilated sufficiently the spirit of Islamic architecture to combine elements Islamic in Hindu architectural principles to purpose. He may be correct in this classification; but the particular point that he makes out, as in the case of Hoshang's tomb, that the Hindu structure round the tomb itself is a later addition, as much as to say that wherever Hindu work does appear, it actually belongs to a period later than that of Shah Hoshang, when alone, according to him, Hindu workmen were allowed to participate in the work, seems to hit beyond the mark.

To the student of history the question actually arises whether Mandu was actually a place constructed by Muhammadans after the Muhammadan conquest, although it must be said in fairness to Mr. Yazdani, he does not say so. In the *Khazainul Futuh* of Amir Khusru a somewhat graphic description is given of Ala-ud-Din's campaign against Mahalak Dev of Mandu. Then the fort was considered a very strong one, and Ala-ud-Din exercised his ingenuity

to select the best of his generals, and nominated no less a personage than Ain-ul-Mulk to conduct this expedition. He goes on naively to say that the fort could not be captured at all till a Hindu guide showed him a secret way into the fort. If a ruler like Mahalak Dev lived in the fort and could stand a siege for a considerable length of time to the despair of the first general of the age, it must have been a city of importance. Some few of the remnants of Hindu structures and one or two inscriptions, recently brought to light show that the fortified place did contain several of the elements that went to constitute a Hindu city. The question naturally would arise whether a structure like the colonnaded pavilion round the court of Shah Hoshang's tomb were not the colonnaded pavilions of a Hindu temple or a college, as in the case of the Kamaliya mosque in Dhar or the *Adai dinka Jhonpra* in Ajmer or the Quatul Islam mosque in Delhi. If this were so, it would mean that the Hindu work was the earlier of the two, and there is absolutely nothing novel in it. Hoshang Shah would simply have followed the example of his predecessors. There seems to be something like a tell-tale evidence in another case, the prayer hall and the mosque of Malik Mughith, of which an illustration is given to face page 86. There the colonnaded hall seems obviously to be a Hindu structure, and not originally intended to bear the three Islamic domes that are placed on the top of the roofing, and in this case perhaps it may well be said that it was a kind of Hindu building turned to Islamic use. The Jahas Mahal and the Hindola Mahal and such remnants of the palace as do remain to this day seem Hindu structures, not totally transformed, but rather partially transformed for Islamic purposes. The very principle of the structure and the structures in the interior part show them to be more or less Hindu in character made Islamic by outside additions and superficial veneer of brick and mortar. One could see in the compound wall of the Hindola Mahal stones with Hindu sculptures turned inside out, but occasionally laid sideways to tell the tale of this transformation.

While it would be hazardous to call into question the conclusions of an expert like Mr. Yazdani, he has done the work excellently and with thoughtful care, a more careful study may not be uncalled for to see how far this suggestion is possible. It is hard to believe that a city of such importance as Mandu did not contain Hindu structures, or

that structures were completely destroyed by Muhammadan rulers of the place. There is enough left to show, even on the details given by Mr. Yazdani's work, that there were temples and places like that. But the existence of names like the Munja Talao associated with the name of Munja of the Paramara dynasty of rulers, and the name given to the fountain Nilakant, by which name perhaps the city was at one time known, would show that there must have been considerable structures in Hindu days partially transformed by the Muhammadans. A careful investigation perhaps might throw a little more light on this side of the question. Perhaps then we could understand more closely why the commingling of Hindu and Islamic work in some cases does not prove happy and in other cases actually does. We welcome the book as a necessary addition to that class of literature and congratulate the Durbar of Dhar and Mr. Yazdani for having produced it so well, both in regard to form and matter.

NOTE

Other reviews have to be held over owing to pressure on space. We expect to be able to allot more space for review in the next issue.

Select Contents from the Oriental Journals

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)

October, 1929—

L. D. BARNETT: 'Genius: a study in Indo-European Psychology.'

STEPHEN JANICSEK: 'Ibn Battūta's Journey to Bulghār: Is it a Fabrication?'

H. R. DIWEKAR: 'Bhāmaha, Bhaṭṭi and Dharmakīrti'. Mr. Diwekar concludes this learned article with the remark that Bhāmaha must have lived before Bhaṭṭi and in a period between Dinnāga and the visit of Hiuen Tsang.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

VOL. XXIV, 1928, No. 3.

PRAYAG DAYAL: 'Sitarami gold coins or medals.'

C. R. SINGHAL: 'Some more coins of the post-Mughal period from Ahmadabad.'

PRAYAG DAYAL: 'Rupees of Shāh Ālam II, Ujhāni—Āsafābād and Ābdullānagar Pihāni.'

S. H. HODIVALA: 'The Chronology of the Zodiacal coins.'

C. R. SINGHAL: 'Bibliography of Indian coins.'

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (New series)

VOL. XXIV, 1928, No. 4.

September, 1929—

SIR J. C. COYAJEE: 'Astronomy and Astrology in the Bahram Yasht.'

L. BOGDANOV: 'The Afghan Weights and Measures.'

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS: 'Lunar and Solar Eclipses in Hindu Astronomy.'

C. W. GURNER: 'Two notes on Bhavabhūti.' The first note aims to place 'literary criticism of the plays of Bhavabhūti on a fair basis, especially for the Western critic. The second draws attention to the phenomenon of verses repeated from one play in another which is so distinctive a feature of Bhavabhūti's text.'

SELECT CONTENTS FROM THE ORIENTAL JOURNALS 423

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI: 'Date of the nīti section of the Garuḍa Purāṇa.' The nītisāra of the Garuḍa Purāṇa, it is concluded, cannot be earlier than the ninth or tenth century.

The Calcutta Review

October, 1929—

K. C.: 'The Permanent Settlement in Bengal and the Loss to the Exchequer.'

NARENDRA KRISHNA SINHA: 'Was the British Empire of India the Result of Design?'

November and December, 1929—

S. C. GHOSH: 'Paundravardhana to Karnasvarna.'

PARIMAL RAY: 'History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company.'

SATKARI MOOKERJEE: 'A critical estimate of the Mimāṃsā theory of Soul from the Buddhist standpoint.'

SASHIBHUSAN CHAUDHURI: 'Popular Elements in the Purāṇas.'

January, 1930—

PARIMAL RAY: 'History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company.'

PRIYARANJAN SEN: 'The Avestan Gathas.'

GOKULDAS DE: 'Original Nature of Jātakas.'

The Indian Historical Quarterly

VOL. V, No. 3

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA: 'Puṣyamitra and the Śāṅga Empire.'

N. N. LAW: 'The Machinery of Administration as depicted in the Kautaliya.'

N. K. SINHA: 'Ranjit Singh and the North-West Frontier Problem.'

N. DUTT: 'The Doctrine of Kaya in Hinayana and Mahayana.'

K. P. JAIN: 'The Ādipurāṇa and Bṛhat Kathā.'

The Indian Antiquary

August, 1929—

A. VENKATASUBBIAH: 'Vedic Studies.'

K. N. DANIEL: 'An Inscription of Iraya Chinka (Raja Simha) Perumal.'

September, 1929—

R. R. HALDER: 'An Inscription of the Time of Allata of Mewar.'

- P. C. NAHAR: 'A Note on the Svetambar and Digambar sects.'
- J. N. SAMADDAR: 'Anusamyana'. Prof. Samaddar criticizes the explanation of the term—a system of transfer from one station to the other suggested by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and explains it as 'tours of piety.'

November, 1929—

- SIR AUREL STEIN: 'Note on Explorations in Makran and other parts of Southern Baluchistan.'
- C. S. SRINIVASACHARI: 'The Early Development of the Government of the Presidency of Fort St. George.'
- K. P. JAYASWAL: 'Evidence of an Asokan Pillar at Bhuvaneshvar in Orissa.'

Epigraphia Indica

VOL. XIX, PART VI

- K. N. DIKSHIT AND D. B. DISKALKAR: 'Two Harsola copper-plate grants of the Paramara Siyaka of V. S. 1005.'
- E. HERZFELD: 'A new Asokan Inscription from Taxila.' Herzfeld who deciphered this inscription holds that the word Priyadarçana stands here for Asoka, and asks: 'Who, unless Asoka himself, in his endeavours to propagate the new faith, could have had any interest to employ, in India at that period, an occidental, the Aramaic script and language?'
- V. RANGACHARYA: 'The Pulibumra plates of the Eastern Chalukya king Jayasimha I.'
- R. D. BANERJI: 'Dhauili Cave Inscription of Santikara.'
- Y. R. GUPTA: 'Konedda Grant of Dharmaraja.'
- R. D. BANERJI: 'A Note on the Vappaghoshavata Grant of Jayanaga.'

Journal of Oriental Research, Madras

VOL. III, PART IV

- T. R. CHINTAMANI: 'The Works of Prabhākara.'
- K. A. SUBRAMANIA AIYAR: 'Studies in the Imagery of the Ramayana.'
- D. T. TATACHARYA: 'Definition of Poetry or Kavya.'
- P. S. SUBRAMANYA SASTRI: 'A Note on the 102nd stanza in Purāṇanuru.'

Round Table

Summary of the Articles in the December Number

THE December number of *The Round Table* opens with an account of the Anglo-American naval negotiations in an article which sets out with force and clarity the difficulties which will have to be overcome if 'The London Conference' in January* is to be a success. There follows a friendly appreciation of 'Mr. MacDonald in the United States' from an American pen, which gives a vivid account of the Prime Minister's personal triumph and the beneficial results which his visit should have on Anglo-American relations. The author also prints in full the joint statement issued by President Hoover and Mr. MacDonald, and discusses the London Conference from the American point of view.

In the next article, 'The Prerogative of Dissolution' is dealt with. The writer gives an historical account of the development of the Conventions of the Constitution and deals with the new situation created by the advent of the three-party system.

The article entitled 'India and 1930' is a timely account of the working of the Reforms inaugurated in 1919 and a re-statement of the facts which the Simon Commission will have to take into account in their Report. It also puts a number of questions to which the Commission may be expected to give an answer.

'The United States of Europe' is a lucid account of the political concept and the economic aspects of the idea which has been so much discussed at Geneva this autumn. It shows the difficulties in the way of the practical realization of such a scheme and indicates possible ways in which they might eventually be overcome.

An article on 'International Aspects of the Coal Problem' points out how far the conditions in the coal mining industry in this country are affected by those obtaining in other countries. The author gives the results of the inquiry recently held by the economic organization of the League of Nations which has just issued an interim report. Finally, he suggests certain forms which international action might take. The article is a most valuable addition to the literature on the coal problem.

The Great Britain article this time deals with 'Labour's first six months'. It includes their achievements in foreign affairs, the excitement caused by the announcement of the Viceroy with regard to the future status of India, and finally Mr. Thomas' plans for coping with unemployment. The Irish correspondent gives his usual lively account of 'Events in the Free State' both from the political and economic standpoint. The Canadian article is particularly interesting in view of the conference now sitting in London on the operation of Dominion Legislation. It deals with the growth of 'Law and Custom in the Canadian Constitution' and makes some suggestions with regard to Appeals to the Privy Council. The Australian section gives a valuable summary of the 'Report of the Tariff Commission'. It also describes the events which led up to Mr. Bruce's defeat at the General Election. The South African contribution is an account of the 'Customs Conference with Rhodesia', in which the writer points out the far-reaching results which the failure to come to an agreement may have upon the future of the two countries. Another section describes the competition between railways and roads in the Union. New Zealand continues the account begun in the last issue of the political developments under the premiership of Sir Joseph Ward.

OUR EXCHANGES

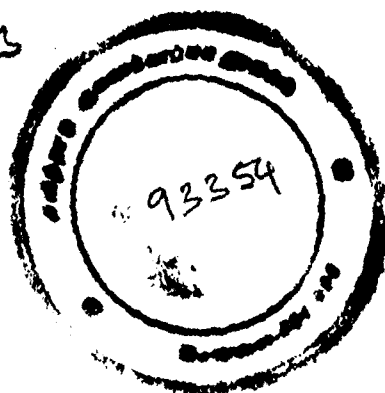
1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., 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 Gackwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
34. *The Superintendent*, Government Museum, Madras.
35. *Social Science Abstracts*, 611, Payerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.
36. 'Tarikh' *Kollah Akbar Jah*, Hyderabad (Deccan).

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Proposed Reproduction of the Statutes of the Realm

WE are asked by the University of London Institute of Historical Research to call attention to a project for the photographic reproduction of the *Statutes of the Realm*, published by the British 'Record Commission' between 1810 and 1828. This work, which is of course indispensable for research on any aspect of English history prior to the accession of George I, has long been partly or wholly out of print, and as second-hand copies are not only very costly, but difficult to obtain at any price, the Institute has undertaken to investigate whether there exists a sufficient demand to make reproduction practicable.

The format proposed is a crown folio (13" x 10"), printed on all rag paper and bound in full canvas, and it has been ascertained that, when reduced to this handy size, the text remains easily readable. All the plates would be reproduced full size. The price would necessarily depend upon the number printed, but it is expected that, if 300 sets were ordered, it would be possible to supply the twelve volumes to subscribers for between £40 and £50 (\$200-250). The volumes would reproduce exactly those of the existing edition, and would appear at regular intervals over a period of two to three years. Payment for sets would be made by instalments, due on receipt of each volume, and arrangements would be made for the purchase of single volumes at a price only slightly higher in proportion, probably between £3-10-0 and 4-10-0 (\$17.50 and 22.50).

Before issuing a prospectus and inviting promises of subscription, the Institute is anxious to obtain some idea of the probable volume of demand, since the expectation of 250 or 300 orders might enable sets to be offered at prices lower than those suggested. Libraries or individuals who would be likely to purchase sets or single volumes if the work were carried out on the lines indicated, are asked to write at once to the Secretary, Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, London, W.C.1., indicating what their probable needs would be. Response to this invitation will not be taken as a promise to subscribe.