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NOTE

IN the article on 'Raja Desing of Gingee' in the *Journal of Indian History* for April 1930, one of the terms often used in its Tamil form was the term *Dainātt* as applied to one section of the forces under the command of the Killadhar of Gingee, and (2) more generally to the officials of Killadhari office at Gingee. In the Tamil form in which the term is used, I was not quite clear as to the actual form and the import of the term. I find now that that is the equivalent of the Persian term which has been used in the *Āini Akbāri* and literature bearing upon Mughal administration generally. The *Mansabdars* seem to have been divided under the Mughal administration into two classes, *Hāzir-i-Rikāb*, that is, Mansab in attendance at court and *Tā-i-nāṭian*, those detailed for duty in the provinces. Troops as well as the civil officials attached to a particular *Mansabdari* seem to have been known by the name *Tā-i-nāṭian* as distinct from the other group, those that attended at court,¹ and that seems the general sense in which the term is used in the Tamil document relating to the history of Gingee. Comparatively small detail as this is, it gives to the manuscript document something of a realistic touch that the term should be known in the form in the distant Tamil south, and at a period when Muhammadan rule was practically at an end in the locality. Perhaps this would enhance the value of the source from which the author of the manuscript drew for his information.

S. K.

¹ See Mr. Abdul Aziz: *Article on Shah Jahan*, p. 33 post.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

Seven Days at Vijayanagara

BY

REV. H. HERAS, S.J.

I HAD been at Vijayanagara twice. But the wish of some of my postgraduate research students to visit those wonderful ruins of the ancient capital offered me a chance to see Vijayanagara again. They also were studying subjects more or less connected with Vijayanagara History. And we were going to spend eight days there! Such an opportunity could not be rejected.

At the end of the academic year, on the 26th of April, 1929, we left Bombay for the plains of Kārnāṭaka. Our party consisted of five research students: Mr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Mr. R. N. Saletore, B.A., Mr. James D'Silva, B.A., Mr. S. J. R. Ramdas, B.A., B.T. and Mr. Earnest Alvares, B.A., and their Professor, the present writer.

After a short stay at Belgaum, Khanapur and Gadag, where we saw the ancient monuments of these cities, we arrived at Vijayanagara on April 28, at about 5 p.m.

APRIL 28

On the evening of our arrival we paid a short visit to the monuments near the P.W.D. Bungalow:—

Well.—A beautiful structure just outside the wall of the royal enclosure. It is well preserved and contains some carvings.

Chandra Sekara Temple.—This is a small temple, but it contains good carvings on the pillars and on the outer walls. Elsewhere I have affirmed that 'the style and the good state of preservation show

that the building belongs to the latest period of Vijayanagara.¹ Indeed the carved pillars and the sculptures on the walls are similar to those of Achyuta Rāya's temple.

Octogonal Bath.—This is a building of purely Hindu style. On account of its plain appearance one is forced to assign the structure to an early period. In the centre of the bath there is still an octagonal island on which a pavilion was erected. The sockets for the pillars of this pavilion are still to be seen.

Pattabhi Rāma Temple.—This is, as noted by Longhurst, 'the largest temple among the ruins' of Vijayanagara.² It was built by Achyuta Dēva Rāya. The above author states that it 'is remarkable for little but its size;' yet one cannot but notice the beauty of its proportions. It was undoubtedly one of the most beautiful temples of the city, when it was finished. The lofty *mandapa* in front of the temple and the side *mandapa* are specially remarkable. In the former *mandapa* there are several mutilated statues of gods. One nevertheless seems to be a statue of a king totally similar to those at Tirupati. The statue unfortunately is beheaded. Most likely it was a statue of Achyuta Rāya.

There are similar mutilated statues in other Vijayanagara temples:—

Vitthalaswami Temple.—When entering through the south gateway, in the *mandapa* to the left, there are a headless statue of a king broken into three portions, and a similarly headless statue of a queen, both with clasped hands. They were most likely Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya and his main queen. The statue of the queen is very beautiful. (Plate I. 1.)

Achyuta Rāya's Temple.—In the second *prakara* next to the northern gate there is the torso of another statue of a king with clasped hands, probably Achyuta Dēva Rāya.

It seems to have been customary among the later Vijayanagara Emperors to place such statues in the temples as permanent votive images to the deity, a usage also imitated by the Nāyaks of Madura.³

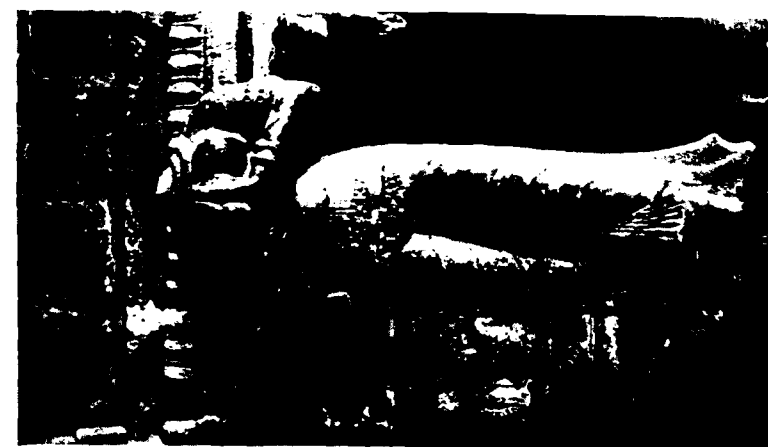
¹ Heras, *Historical Carvings at Vijayanagara*, Q.J.M.S., xvii, p. 87, note.

² Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 137.

³ Cf. Heras, *The Statues of the Nāyaks of Madura in the Pudu Mandapam*, Q.J.M.S., xv, pp. 209-18.



Vijayanagara
Vitthalaswami temple. Carvings on a
pillar of the Kalyana mandapa:
a musician.



Vijayanagara
Headless statue of a Queen, probably
of Kṛishṇa Deva Rāya, in the
Vitthalaswami temple.

APRIL 29

We devoted this day to the study of *Vitthalaswami temple* and its surroundings.

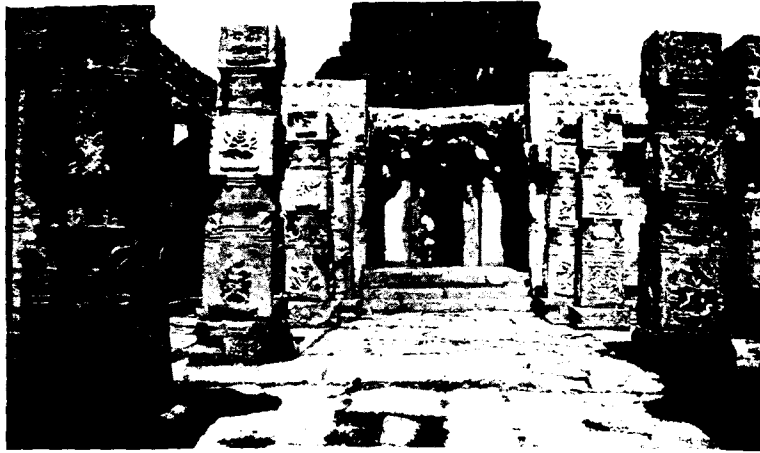
Half a mile before reaching the temple where the road branching off leads to Talarigattu, the tourist finds a small *mandapa* with a throne in the centre, probably used to place an image on public festivals or during a procession. It is almost opposite to the bazaar. To the left, there is a small temple, the shrine of which is totally gone. It must have been built at the same time as the temple of Vitthalaswami, as the pillars of the *mandapa* evidently prove. To the right of Vitthalaswami temple, reckoning from the blocked eastern gateway, there is another bazaar leading to another temple which is the northernmost building of Vijayanagara. The board placed at the entrance of the temple, as well as a local printed guide and plan prepared by Rao Bahadur C. Hanumantha Gowda, state that this is a temple of Śiva; but according to Mr. Longhurst it is a Vishṇu temple.¹ When was this temple built? Comparing its ornamentation with that of Vitthalaswami temple, the former seems to point to an earlier period; yet two inscriptions found in the walls of this temple belonging to Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya may perhaps be a proof of its being built in the reign of this Emperor.² Even in this case the simplicity of style may be easily explained if one remembers the state of the Empire during the reign of this Emperor. The decay of the time Sadāśiva Rāya did not allow the lavishness of the time of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, specially when Sadāśiva himself was apparently still finishing the marvellous temple of Vitthalaswami.

As regards this temple, which was the object of our study for the rest of the day, it has often been said that it was commenced by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, continued by Achyuta Dēva Rāya and Sadāśiva Rāya and never finished.³ One fails nevertheless to see the grounds for this statement. Certainly the main portion of the *navaranga* is now roofless. But there are evident traces of the roof over the cornice running round; hence we may safely conclude that the roof once existed. Similarly the stucco remains on the roofs of the

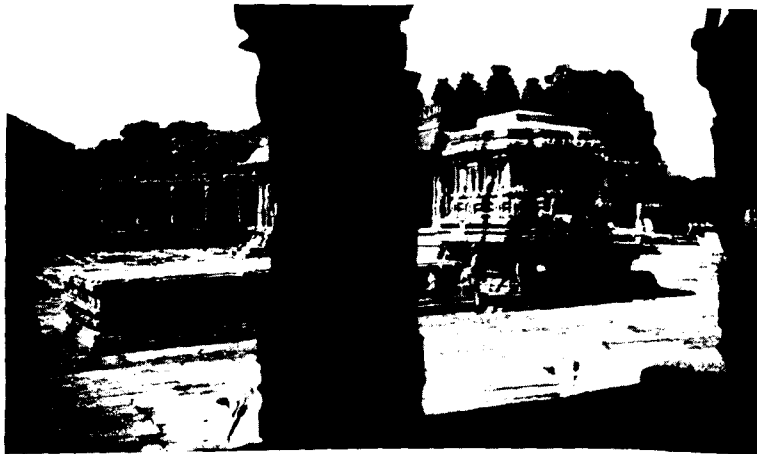
¹ Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 132.

² *S.I.I.*, iv, Nos. 279 and 288. The inscriptions nevertheless do not refer to the foundation of the temple.

³ Cf. Sewall, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 163; Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 121.



Vijayanagara
Roofless navaranga of the Vitthalaswami temple.



Vijayanagara
Vitthalaswami temple. The stone car and partial view of the prakara.

different buildings, as well as the *stūpi* that crowns the central shrine, clearly show that these were already finished when the Muhammadan invasion took place.

The first thing that strikes the curiosity of the archæologist when visiting Vijayanagara is the difference between the style of Vijayanagara and the previous styles in Kārnāṭaka. In particular the Vijayanagara rulers, although the racial and political successors of the Hoysaḷas, developed a style totally different from the Hoysaḷa style. The lofty *gopurams* over the doorways are never seen in the ancient Mysorean temples. Similarly the stone *vimana* of the temples built by Vishnuvardhana was in Vijayanagara converted into a round *stūpi* or unto the vaulted pavilion so common in Pallava architecture, from which (according to Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil) the round *stūpi* has finally developed.¹ Even the material itself used in Vijayanagara is not the same as that of the ancient Hoysaḷa temples. For the *gopurams*, and for these decorations on the roof of the temples the Vijayanagara architects used brick-work covered with stucco, these materials being perhaps cheaper than stone, and certainly not so heavy as a stone structure. This stucco-work was so beautifully done that it could vie with the stone sculptures of Halebid and Somnathapur. Even now one may sometimes see brick-work figures totally detached from the stuccoed parapet.²

All these reflexions will naturally occur to the archæologist who spares a few hours within the enclosure of Vitthalaswami temple. Yet one may forget that the great temple we now see at Vijayanagara was a manifestation of the later architectonical development of the time of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya and his successors. What was the link between the Hoysaḷa style and that of the palmy days of Vijayanagara it is difficult to say, for there seem to be very few temples of the time of the Saṅgama Emperors. In the course of our stay at Vijayanagara we could trace some of them.

The *garbhagṛha* of the Vitthalaswami temple has moreover a feature not to be found, as far as I remember in the Hoysaḷa temples. I refer to the *pradakshina*, imported undoubtedly from the Chalukya

¹ Cf. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Dravidian Architecture*, p. 47.

² Sometimes small pieces of wood were inlaid in the stucco, as a skeleton of the whole work. Such pieces appear for instance in the *Kalyana Mandapa* of the Vitthalaswami temple.

temples.¹ That of the temple of Vitthalaswami is much lower than the floor of the *sukanāsi* and *garbhagṛha*; and it would be in absolute darkness but for one or two holes in the ceiling. The two entrances to this *pradakshina*, placed at right angles to the entrance of the *garbhagṛha* itself, lead to a flight of four steps descending to the *pradakshina*. The two *dvarapālas* that once stood next to the *garbhagṛha* door are now removed; but one of them, mercilessly beheaded perhaps by a Muslim iconoclast, is found in the *navaraṅga* next to the south door. It is of huge size, differing from the ordinary type of the ancient Hindu temples. It is a male figure, armed with a huge mace, with one leg bent and resting upon a stool. Similar *dvarapālas*, but not of the same size, are also found in other Vijayanagara temples of the same period—for instance in the compound of Hazara Rāma's temple.

Longhurst rightly states that the *Kalyana Mandapa*, destined for the annual festival of the wedding of the god, is the most ornamented of all the buildings within the Vitthalaswami enclosure. The pillars are gorgeously carved; several of them have horsemen. Some of these, on account of their features, beard and dress, are easily recognized as Mussulman soldiers a fact that confirms the statement of Frederick about the existence of Muhammadan regiments at Vijayanagara.² The lower part of the projecting roof running round these buildings is beautifully carved in imitation of wooden panels and beams. One may trace such beautiful work to some of the Hoysaḷa temples; for instance the Siddhēśvara temple at Hāveri, Dharwar District, and the Hoysalēśvara temple at Halebid, Belūr Taluka. This *mandapa* has still portions of the painting that covered all the carvings and figures of ceiling and pillars; some beautiful designs in red and green may be seen, specially in the former. This custom of painting the interior and the exterior of the stone-built temples, was also inherited by Vijayanagara from the Hoysaḷas. Some of the beautiful figures of the Hoysalēśvara temple at Halebid have also retained portions of red colouring.³ (Plate I. 2.)

¹ The *pradakshina* round the *garbhagṛha* is also a common feature in Pallava temples. Yet the geographical position of Vijayanagara has inclined me to trace the genesis of the Vijayanagara *pradakshina* to the Chalukya buildings.

² Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, x, p. 92.

³ The *Mahāmandapa*, called also *Kalyana Mandapa*, of the Vaikunta Perumāḷ temple at Little Conjeevaram, also built by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, seems even more gorgeous than this one of the Vitthalaswami temple.

Opposite the *Kalyana Mandapa* on the north side there is another similar *mandapa* but not so richly decorated. There is also a throne-platform in the centre. The purpose of this building is not known; yet the fact that the carvings running as a freeze round the base of the temple are all representations of musicians and dancing girls, may perhaps suggest that the building was for dancing before the King. Some of the carvings represent a king, probably Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, seated on his throne, witnessing the clever dancing of some of the girls. These friezes of the carvings, running round the bases of those buildings, as well as some of those carvings on the pillars of this temple, are of great importance for the history of the social life of Vijayanagara. Elsewhere I have already emphasized their historical importance, when identifying the Portuguese merchants leading horses to Vijayanagara in the carving of the main building of the Vitthalaswami enclosure.¹ (Plate III. 1 and 2.)

Before leaving this enclosure it is worth while comparing the sculpture of Vijayanagara with the Hoysala sculpture, as we have previously compared the architecture of both Empires. Certainly the Vitthalaswami temple marks the apogee of the Vijayanagara sculpture; but prescinding from the gorgeousness of its whole appearance, the Hoysala sculpture is far superior in minuteness of detail and in perfection of execution. Indeed the delicate filigree of the *dvārapalas*, or of the figures at the back of the shrines in the Hoysalēśvara temple at Halebiḍ, cannot be compared with the figures of the Vitthalaswami temple—not even with those of a dancing girl and a drummer which are real statues attached to two pillars of the *navaranga* of the Vitthalaswami temple. (Plate II. 1.) Perhaps the cause of this difference was the kind of stone used at Vijayanagara. It seems to be much harder than that of the Hoysala sculptures.

APRIL 30

This day we visited some of the buildings of the royal enclosure and its neighbourhood.

Underground Temple.—This is a temple of Śiva with a *pradakshina* round the *garbhagṛha* altogether similar to that of Vitthalaswami temple. One doubts whether the temple was originally underground.

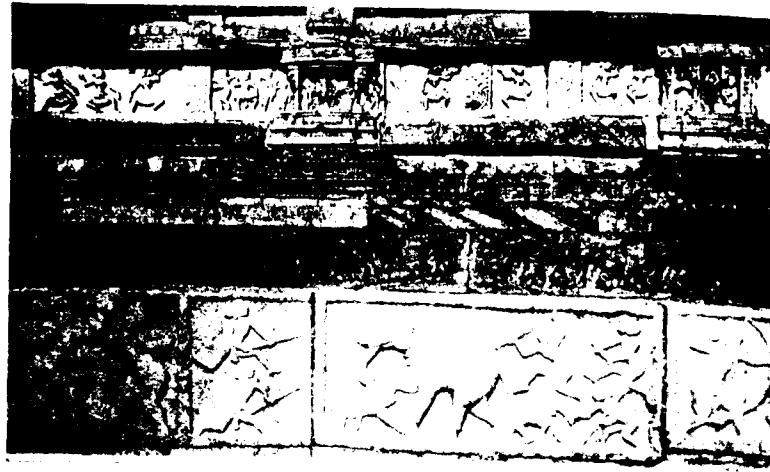
¹ *Q.J.M.S.*, xvii, pp. 87-8.



Vijayanagara
Vitthalaswami temple. A dancing girl before the Emperor.

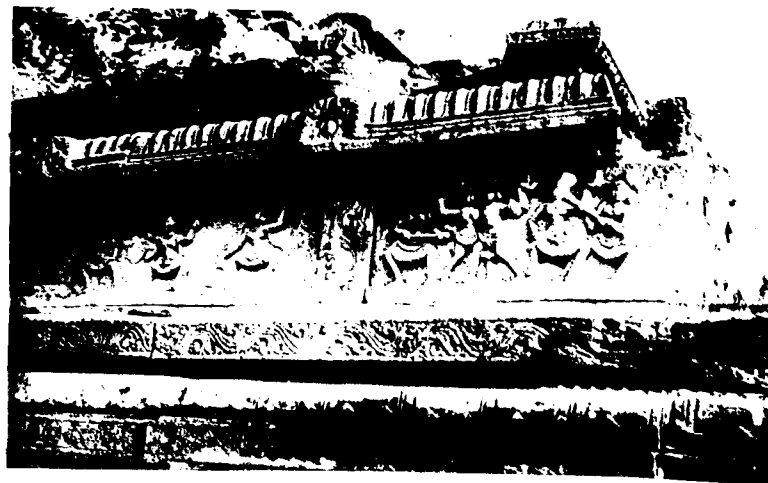


Vijayanagara
Vitthalaswami temple. Dancing girls carved on the mandapa that is supposed to be for dancing.



Vijayanagara

House of Victory. Photo showing the old granite carvings below, and the encasement of dark green chlorite stone above.



Vijayanagara

House of Victory. Dancing girls and the Holi Festival.

It was certainly built on a low level and that is the reason why in the time of the decay of the city the whole pit came to be covered with rubbish. The temple was built in a pit in order to have the linga always surrounded with water. A small canal, branching out of another one near the road to Hampi, surrounds the whole temple and actually enters it so that the linga could be 'bathed' continuously. This is the reason why the temple seems to have been known as *Prasanna Virūpaksha*, i.e. delighted Virūpaksha.

Hindu-Muslim Buildings.—In my history of *The Araviḍu Dyanasty* I advanced the theory that these buildings had been built by the Muhammadan conquerors during their occupation of Vijayanagara.¹ Yet this statement was perhaps a little hasty. One of the buildings in Hindu-Muslim style is, for instance, the so-called *Lotus Mahal* in the *Zenana* enclosure. This building has several Hindu figures in the interior of the cupola or tower, which would never have been put there by any Mussulman builder. Moreover I discovered numerous *Kirtti-mukhas* crowning the arches of the ground floor.

Accordingly one feels bound to infer that these buildings were constructed by the Hindu sovereigns, most likely after the splendour of the reign of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya; for the style is totally different from the style of the buildings of that great monarch, and they are much better preserved. Such buildings are the following :—

Queen's bath.

Octagonal pavilion.

Lotus Mahal.

Three Watch Towers in the so-called *Zenana*.

Low house in the corner of so-called *Zenana*.

Upper portion of gate before reaching Talarigattu.

Upper portion of a house to the right of the same road after passing the said gate.

Elephant Stable.

Building that looks like a mosque near the Danaik's enclosure.

Square building to the west of Kṛishṇa's temple.

The style of the palace of Chandragiri, most likely built by Veṅkaṭa II, is the same as that of all these buildings. Perhaps we may give this style the denomination of Araviḍu Dynasty style.

¹ Cf. Heras, *The Araviḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, I, pp. 227-8.

Hazara Rāma's Temple.—This temple, built by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya,¹ has beautiful carvings which ought to be studied by the historian as precious documents for the internal history of Vijayanagara. Even the outer wall is covered with such carvings. Many of them represent dancing girls. By comparing these carvings with those of other buildings (specially those of the so-called *House of Victory* and of the Vitthalaswami temple), we conclude that there were these classes of dancing girls, as far as their dress is concerned :—

1. Dancing girls wearing trousers under the skirts.
2. Dancing girls wearing skirts without trousers.
3. Dancing girls absolutely nude (these are found on the top row of the outer wall of Hazara Rāma's temple near the gateway, and in a few carvings on the pillars of the temples). Running above the wall round the *prakāra* of this temple there was a series of merlon-like decorations that have all fallen away, and are lying within the *prakāra*. In some of them there are beautiful carvings. In no other temple of Vijayanagara I have seen such ornamentations; but the wall surrounding the Mallikārjuna temple at Śrisailam, Kurnul District, has similar beautiful sculptures on top.²

House of Victory.—As noted by Longhurst, it was 'originally faced with carved granite blocks and slabs, which have subsequently been partly refaced with dark green chlorite stone on the front or west side of the platform.'³

This facade was in fact encased within a cover of black stone, the carvings of which are smaller but more delicate than those of the previous facade. When and where was this black cover added to the *House of Victory*? This is a puzzle which has not so far been solved. Certainly this dark green chlorite stone seems to have been imported from somewhere else, for in Vijayanagara and its surroundings there is no other stone than granite blocks.

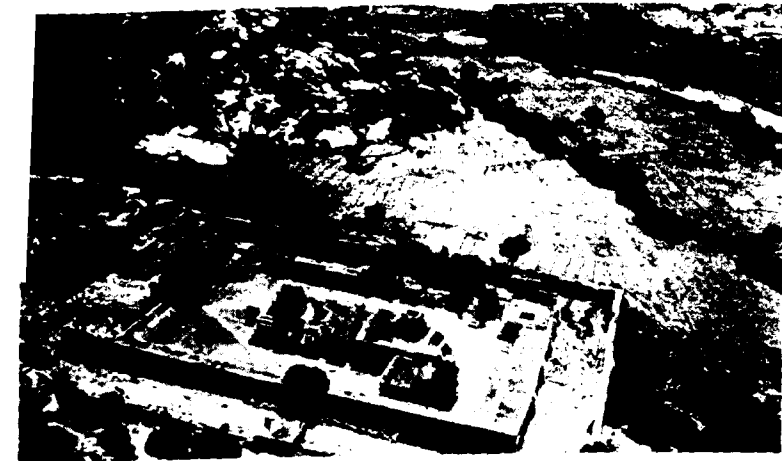
MAY 1

This day we continued our exploration of ancient buildings along the road to Hampi and along the way from Hampi to Achyuta Rāya's temple. (Plate VI.)

¹ Cf. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, 1917-18*, p. ii.

² *Ibid.*

³ Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 57.



Vijayanagara
Achyuta Raya's temple. Bird's-eye-view from the top of Matunga Parvatam.



Vijayanagara
Achyuta Raya's temple. A corner of the inner prakara.



Vijayanagara

So-called Jaina temples on the Hemakuta hill, built in Kadamba style, influenced by the styles of Northern India.



Vijayanagara

Dancing girls' bath near the bazaar in front of Krishna's temple.

Uddana Virabhadra Temple.—Opposite this temple towards the west there is a strange construction totally overlooked by Longhurst. In the map of the Survey of India it is marked as 'Mantapa,' yet it seems really to be a covered bazaar. There are at least two roofed streets with shops on both sides.

Vishvapada Temple.—This small temple is one of the oldest in Vijayanagara. The plain pillars and the flat roof reveal a very early date.

Sasivekalu Mandapa.—One is bound to say the same about this building, covering a huge statue of Ganesha. Probably all the buildings of the Hemakuta hill belong to a very early date, since it was one of the famous spots of the town from the time of Bukka I.¹

Jaina Bastis.—This is a very interesting group of buildings on the northern slope of Hemakuta, overlooking the Virūpāksha or Pampāpati temple. They evidently belong to an early date, most likely to the reign of Harihara II or Bukka II, when Jaina influence was great at the court of Vijayanagara. The *vimānas* and the whole appearance of the temple remind one of the ancient Kadamba temples, of which there are many specimens in Kārnāṭaka.² Nevertheless there is here a feature evidently imported from the north, namely the vertical plain zone in the centre of each face of the *vimāna*. South Indian *vimānas* show horizontal lines by preference. (Plate V. 1.)

Virūpāksha Temple.—Beyond the front *prākara* this temple cannot be seen by non-Hindu visitors. Close to the entrance there is a Nandi with three heads. To the left of the *gopuram*, outside, there is a large inscription on a slab partly buried in a heap of dirt and rubbish. It is pitiful to see how the trustees of this and other temples in South India neglect such ancient monuments and precious historical documents. Similarly we were informed that underneath the *linga* worshipped at the temple there are numerous sets of copper-plates—probably those recording the grants made to the temple—which are daily spoiled by the water or oil used in the *puja* falling over them.

Hampi Bazaar.—This is the best specimen among the four big bazaars that are still clearly seen at Vijayanagara. It is half a mile long. Those in front of Achyuta Rāya's, Krishna's and Vitthalaswami

¹ Cf. *Ep. Carn.*, v., Ca, 256.

² Cf. Heras, *A Historical Tour in Search of Kadamba Documents*, J.B.H.S., II, pp. 97-142.

temples have a beautiful tank with a handsome pavilion in the centre. But the houses are almost totally destroyed. The houses of the Hampi bazaar are still well preserved. Some of them have a very high verandah, corresponding to two storeys of the house.

Nandi.—At the foot of Matanga Parvatam close by the first steps leading to the top there is a huge Nandi. The roughness of the sculpture as well as the simplicity of the pillars show that it belongs to an early period—probably earlier than Bukka I, the real founder of the city to the South of the Tūṅgabhadrā.

Achyuta Rāya's Temple.—This temple has two *prakāras*. The style of the whole temple is the same as that of Viṭthalaswami temple, though without the gorgeousness of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's time. Some of the carvings of the pillars are very well made, and are excellent documents for studying the social life of the Empire. The small temple at the right is specially worth seeing; some of the carvings of the pillars are exceedingly fine. The cloister-like *mandapa* running round the second *prakāra* is as beautiful as it is interesting. The scenes represented in the fascia along the base of this *mandapa* show elephants, cows, camels, horses, tigers, etc. Among them, and next to a loaded camel, there is the representation of a Chinese merchant. (Plate VI. 1 and 2.)

Jaina temple near the river.—Such is the name given to this temple by Longhurst, only on account of its style.¹ But this supposition is totally wrong for there are in Karnāṭaka many Hindu temples built in the same style. In fact this is the style commonly used by the Kadamba monarchs.² This building examined at present was evidently a Hindu temple as the image of Gajalakshmi on the dedication stone and other images of gods clearly disclose. The *vimāna* of this temple is purely southern, as no vertical lines appear on it. Consequently this temple seems to be older than those of Hemakuta.

MAY 2

We visited the *Zenana* and buildings close to it.

Zenana.—We cannot convince ourselves that this was the *Zenana*. The number of women mentioned by the two Portuguese chroniclers as forming the *Zenana* of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya could not move within the

¹ Longhurst, op. cit., p. 118.

² Cf. Heras, *A Historical Tour in Search of Kadamba Documents*, J. B. H. S., op. cit., II, pp. 98-9.

walls of this relatively small place. What was therefore the purpose of this walled spot with at least three watch towers? The style of these three towers suggest that they had been built in the latest times of Vijayanagara. This circumstance reminds us of an event we have discussed at length in our history of *The Araviḍu Dynasty*. Sadāśiva Rāya, the lawful emperor, was imprisoned and superseded by his regent Rāma Rāya. The puppet sovereign was in the beginning shown to the people once a year, but even this practice ceased later on. Several times in my wanderings through the ruins I had asked myself; where was the poor Emperor imprisoned? In the end I have come to the conclusion that this enclosure was most likely the prison of the puppet king. The three towers were probably built by Rāma Rāya—as their style suggests—and served splendidly for the purpose of watching the surroundings and of showing the King to his subjects, as recorded by Frederick.¹ Within the same enclosure there are two other buildings constructed in the same Hindu-Muslim style—so that there is only one building that looks older, viz. the basement of the central palace. One of the two buildings referred to above, the so-called *Lotus Mahal*, is most suggestive. This edifice is built in a pit that could at times be filled up with water, for the platform of the building itself is as high as the surrounding level. Hence the building formed a sort of island in the centre of a small lake. Could this be the palace constructed by Rāma Rāya for himself, 'surrounded by extensive gardens adorned with statues, which contained cool tanks abounding with swans' as we read in the *Svaramēlakalanidhi*?² To this palace he seems to have retired at times, while he was acting as Emperor, to discuss literary and artistic subjects.³

Rāga's Temple.—This building, on the south side of the so-called *Zenana*, seems to be a very early structure. The pillars look like those of the *mandapa* in front of the main Jain basti at Tiruparuttikunram, near Conjeevaram, built in the time of Bukka II. On one of the walls there is an inscription of the Emperor Sadāśiva, inscribed in later times. The only thing of interest in the temple is a colossal stone image of Hanuman, nine feet high. (Plate VIII. 1.)

¹ Cf. Heras, *The Araviḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara I*, pp. 31-7; Canto VI, p. 383, expressly says that the prison of Sadāśiva was surrounded by sentries.

² S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 190.

³ *Ibid.*

Mandapa.—This is next to Ranga's temple. It is profusely decorated; but unfortunately the whole building is in a pitifully ruinous state. The pillars with horses attached to them are like those of the Vitthalaswami temple. The ceiling presents some new and interesting features. There are two stone beams, one above the other, separated by a frieze of beautiful carvings. The second beam is supported by lions.

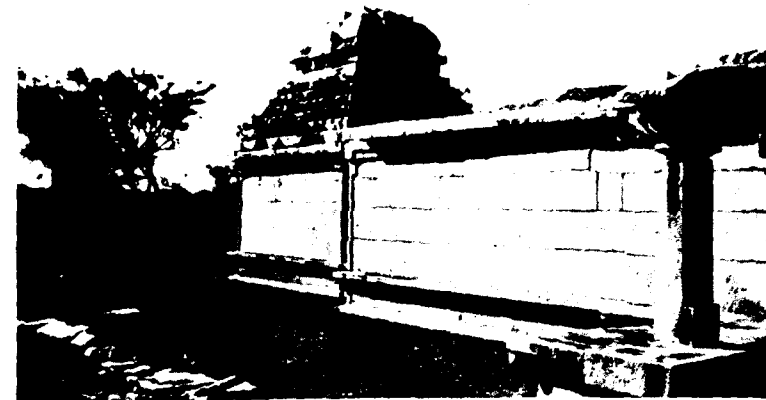
Behind the Elephant Stable.—These buildings are not usually visited by tourists, though some of them are worth studying by the archaeologist. We find:—

1. A small temple in ruins.
2. A pretty big Jaina basti. A nude squatting Tirthankara appears carved on the dedication stone of the lintel at the entrance of the temple and in the door to the *garbhagṛha*, which is now empty. The whole basti is very plain, and unfortunately partly buried.
3. Not far from this a *mandapa* (also half buried). The pillars are like those of the *Kalyana Mandapa*. The carvings on the pillars are high class. One of the carvings represents a nude dancing girl.
4. Next to this a much ornamented temple. Ceiling similar to the one described a little while ago. There is a *pradakshina* round the *garbhagṛha*. The building seems to belong to a later period. The carvings on the pillars are most interesting.

5. Just near this temple there is one of the monumental gateways of the Vijayanagara walls, probably of the palace enclosure. This gate opens to the east. It seems that there used to be two doors between which is a large square. On each side of the second door one may see two sentry boxes. Next to this at the foot of the jambs of the monumental door is a life-size figure of a Mussulman soldier. Does this figure represent the sentry or *dvarapala* of the gateway?

Water Pipes.—While returning home we discovered numerous fragments of a water pipe conduit. By comparing this with others we came across on the previous days, we may affirm that there were at least five kinds of water conduits:—

1. Stone aqueducts, elevated and uncovered.
2. Ditto, not elevated and covered.
3. Round canals made of mortar.
4. Square canals with mortar bed and stone walls.
5. Clay pipes under a bed of mortar. Many different branches of these may be seen near the octagonal pavilion on the way to Hampi.



Vijayanagara
The Ganigitti temple in early Karnataka style.



Anecondi
A small temple in early Karnataka style in front of the gateway to Anecondi.

MAY 3

This day was reserved for an excursion to *Matunga Parvatam*. The following buildings were found on the way :—

1. A small temple built on a boulder near the so-called *Zenana*. It is very difficult to climb to the summit. The temple seems to be inhabited by monkeys.

2. Several temples in ruins in front of Hazara Rāma's temple.

3. Several guddies half buried in the fields.

4. A very primitive temple with *vimāna*, almost at the foot of Matunga Parvatam. The slabs forming this *vimāna* are each smaller than the preceding one without any ornamentation. This seems to be the primitive *vimāna* of the Karnāṭaka temples which was somewhat decorated by the Kadambas. There are no inscriptions, carvings or images inside or outside the temple. This seems to be one of the oldest buildings in Vijayanagara, evidently much earlier than the Saṅgama Dynasty. The primitive shrine of the Ganigitti temple belongs to the same period, though some structures have been added in front of it in later times. Another similar shrine is found near the landing place at Ānegondi, in front of the gateway, though this perhaps is not so old. (Plate IX. 2.)

5. A very old *mandapa*, very plain, built in front of a rock where an image of Viṣṇu has been carved. In front of the *mandapa*, there are two rather large slabs with images of Garuḍa and Māruti. These are still being worshipped. (Plate XII. 2.)

6. *Turuthu Canal*.—Over it, there is an old bridge, all made of stone.

7. A small, plain, apparently very ancient temple with a small Nandi; *garbhagṛha* empty. The dedication stone on the door lintel bears a Nandi to the left.

8. The steps leading to the top of Matunga Parvatam are well and solidly constructed.

9. The temple on the top and the *mandapas* near the temple are very ancient, some of them probably earlier than the Saṅgama Dynasty. Longhurst assigns them to the fourteenth century.¹ People say that the image of the god is Virābhadrā; but it is evident, (as already noted by Longhurst) that the image represents Viṣṇu.

¹ Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 115.



Vijayanagara
A gateway of the royal enclosure.



Vijayanagara
A temple in early Karnataka style at the foot of Matunga Parvatam.

Longhurst says that next to the god's image there is an image of his consort.¹ This might have been so when he visited the hill; but this second image has now disappeared. Vishnu is widowed. Strange to say, in front of this image of Vishnu there is a Nandi, an image only found in temples to Śiva; and if this is not enough, there are two other Nandis outside the door to the *sukanasi*. Moreover there is a loose carving representing another Nandi in front of a linga. This is not mentioned by Longhurst.

The dwarfs supporting the abacus of the door to the *sukanasi*—which are unfortunately covered by several coats of white-wash—seem similar to those one finds in Chalukya or Hoysala architecture. May not this be a clue to the probable date of the building?

From the terrace above the temple one discovers a fine view of the whole city of Vijayanagara, of the Tungabhadra and of the city of Anegondi beyond the river. Specially the three broad bazaars in front of the Pampāpati, Kṛishṇa's and Achyuta's temples attract the interest of visitors. A bird's-eye-view of the latter temple is specially useful for realizing the most common plan of the Vijayanagara temples.

MAY 4

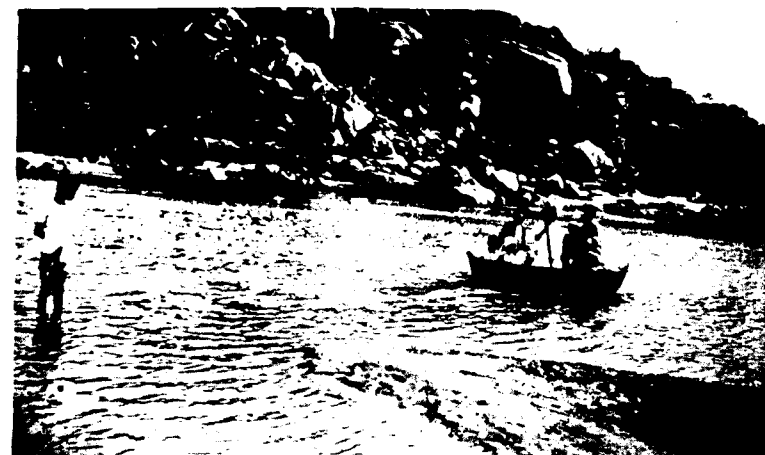
This last day of our stay at Vijayanagara was devoted to Anegondi, the cradle of the great Empire.²

Gate.—Opposite the landing place there is a beautiful gate, preserved intact; and next to it the walls may be discovered.

Tomb of Kṛishṇa Deva Rāya.—Opposite Anegondi where the river turns towards the north and therefore impossible to see from the present site of the Vijayanagara ruins, there is the funeral monument of the great Emperor Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, built in the centre of the Tungabhadra. It consists in a plain *mandapa*, supported by sixty-four equally plain pillars. There is a small pit in the centre of the edifice. That was most likely the place where the corpse of the great monarch was committed to the flames. A similar monument is found in front of Vitthalaswami temple, in the centre of the river, with sixty pillars only. This is pointed out as the funeral monument of the

¹ Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 116.

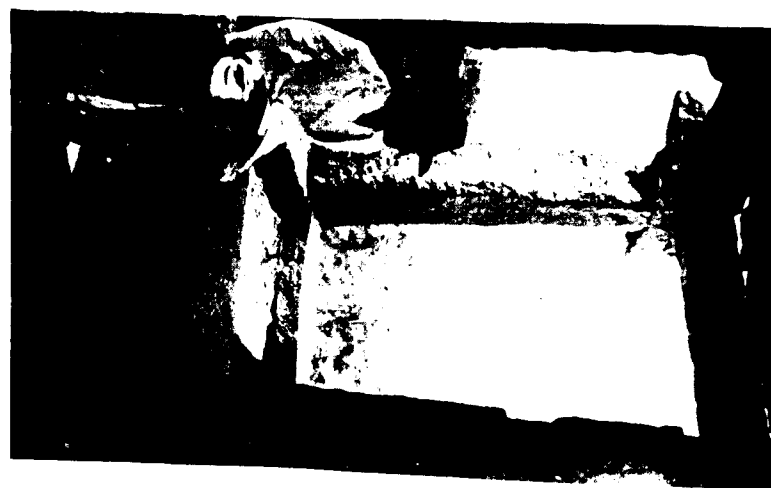
² Cf. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 127-32.



Vijayanagara
Crossing the Tungabhadra on a basket boat.



Anegondi
Funeral monument of Krishna Deva Raya in the centre of the Tungabhadra. In the foreground, ruins of the Palace of the Rajas of Tanjore.



Vijayanagara
One of the mandapas on the top of
Matunga Parvatam.



Anegondi
Durga, as Mahishasuramardini carved
on a boulder in the premises of the
Chintamani temple.

Achyuta Dēva Rāya. This confirms the statement of Nuniz that Anegondi was the 'burying-place of the kings'.¹

Palace of the Rājas of Tanjore.—In front of the mausoleum of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya there are the ruins of a big building with steps still leading to the river in front of it. This is the building said by local tradition to be the palace of the Tanjore Rājas. Unfortunately only huge slabs and pillars are scattered here and there. These Rājas of Tanjore undoubtedly were not the Maratha Rājas, but the Nāyak Rājas of the family of Śivapa Nāyaka, who were feudatories to the Vijayanagara Emperors and even related to the Tuluva Dynasty.² (Plate XI. 2.)

Gagana Mahal.—An old palace, said to be for the ladies, on the north-eastern side of the town. The style of this building is the same as the one of the so-called *Lotus Mahal* and of the Chandragiri Palace.

Chintamani Temple.—On the river side. A small *mandapa* at the entrance. When entering the compound of the temple to the left there is a beautiful image of Durga as Mahiśasuramardhini, and next to it a beautiful *dīpastambha* with some Kanarese characters inscribed on it. The image of Durga in the *garbhagṛha* is much defaced with oil and painting. The people say that this image once spoke to Rāma Rāya. Further on there is a large natural cave formed by several big boulders, and called Rāma's cave. It contains a small carved figure of Rāma. (Plate XII. 2.)

Three-storied Temple.—Also overlooking the river. The third storey has been spoiled by building two small rooms for occasional guests. The temple is unique at Vijayanagara.

Ranganathaswami Temple.—This is the largest temple at Anegondi. Originally there was one *prakāra* only; but in recent times a new wall and entrance were built, parallel to the main entrance, and now there are apparently two *prakāras*. In first *prakāra* there are two *mandapas*, one on each side. The one to the left is totally in ruins. The two *mandapas* as well as the whole covered cloister running round the original *prakāra*, are evidently of the time of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya or Achyuta Dēva Rāya, as the pillars and carvings show. The temple itself seems to be somewhat older. The

¹ Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 295.

² Cf. Heras, *The Āravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 173.

beautiful cloister-like *mandapa* is mercilessly spoiled by building walls between pillar and pillar. Several black pillars are lying in a corner of the first *prākara*. They evidently belong to an older temple, probably occupying the same site. Their style is purely Hoysala. One of these pillars, more ornamented than the others, and its beautifully carved capital, have lately been presented by Mahārani Kuppamma, Rani Saheba of Ānegondi, to the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. It is now in the museum of the same Institute. (Plate VIII.)

The whole day we were entertained under orders of the said Rāni, by her private Secretary Mr. Hanumantappa, by the late Raja's brother Śrīmant Sadāśiva Kumāra Raj and by the heir-apparent Śrī Kṛishṇa Dēva Rayālūgāru. The latter is a very congenial youth, sixteen years old, at present studying in the Jagirdar's College, Hyderabad. He is the descendant of the old Emperors of the Āravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara. It is a pleasant duty to thank Mahārani Kuppamma and the gentlemen who attended us, for their kindness and hospitality.

On the following morning, Sunday, May 5, we left Vijayanagara for Hospet, always carrying away a grand impression of those ruins that witnessed the glory of the greatest and most glorious Empire in Southern India and a desire some time to visit them again.¹

¹ It is with great regret that I record here the state of neglect in which some of those monuments are. There may be a watchman in charge of the ruins, but we did not come across him during our seven days' visit. Some of the carvings on the walls of Hazara Rāma's temple and on the House of Victory, which were in good condition at the time of my earlier visits have now disappeared, being chipped off by some unscrupulous visitors. Here and there we read the usual notices about fines or imprisonments to be inflicted upon those who destroy or deface the monuments. But some of them are continuously being defaced by visitors who wish to perpetuate their (not creditable) names, by inscribing them on the plaster. Thus the walls of the beautiful *Lotus Mahal* are disgracefully spoilt. I took a fancy to copy in my note-book the following recent writing which appears on the wall of the first floor of this building, deeply inscribed on the plaster on the same day we had left Bombay. The letters are two inches high.

J. V.
S. S. ACHAR.
G. H. R.
26-4-29.
Kampli.

I think that this falls under the denomination 'defacing monuments.' These three visitors could be easily found since they have given their address. Is the Archaeological Department going to take any steps?



Vijayanagara
Colossal statue of Hanuman in Ranga's temple.



Vijayanagara
Figure of an old man carved on a pillar in the mandapa next to Ranga's temple.

Vijayanagara
A pillar in the small temple to the right
of Achyuta Raya's temple.



Vijayanagara
A carving on the pillar represented
in the opposite plate.



Gleanings from Sanskrit Literature

BY

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(2) RĀJASEKHARA'S WORKS

THE importance of Rājasekhara's Works—Moral degeneration, superstition, religious disunion and the rigidity of caste in the so-called 'ideal period' of Indian History—Ornaments, dress, toilet, and accomplishments of women—Fairs and festivals—Some miscellaneous information—The Agnikula myth—Purely political information.

1. The works of Rājasekhara, the court-poet of the Pratihāra Kings Mahendrapāla and Mahipāla, form an invaluable source of information for the ninth and tenth centuries. They supplement admirably the accounts left by the Arab travellers of the period, and, containing as they do the observations of a man on the spot who had every opportunity of studying at first hand the conditions of India, are far more valuable and authoritative than the descriptions left by casual observers, travellers and traders. They further enable us to dispense with the unreliable information of the Smritis and to rectify the wrong notions made current by their cursory reading and surface study. On all topics, religious, social or economic Rājasekhara is a safe guide. In fact, with his works at our disposal, we need not complain like Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya that 'we have unfortunately no native writer like Bāṇa to assist us in this period,' or even assert 'that on the point of dress our informants are the Arab travellers alone; for we have no other material to rely upon except sculpture on ancient temples which it is difficult to interpret.'

2. In the first place, the reading of this 'native writer's works' who might in some respects be likened to Bāṇa, makes it clear that the tenth century was far from being that ideal period which it is made out to be by the learned author of the *History of Medieval India*. The loss of moral balance and superstition to which he ascribes the fall of Hindu India in the twelfth century existed in full measure in the

tenth and were undermining slowly but surely the strength of the country. The audiences and courts, that allowed the production of plays which begin with salutations to Kāmadeva and Rati, and descriptions of the sexual act,¹ must have been utterly insensible to the indecency of such proceedings; the period in which the heroes could describe their love by speaking of night pollutions² they had, and the Vidūshakas could speak out things which are too indecent to quote, must have cherished no high ideal of love. The century, in which men of culture and wide reputation could propound theories justifying such descriptions, and support them by means of quotations from the scriptures,³ must have been given to gross voluptuousness, and must have forgotten wholly the high literary standard set by rhetoricians like Dandin. In fact this decadence of morals which set in with the decline of the early puritanic Buddhist religion, and made itself increasingly manifest with the lapse of time in the works of Kālidasa, Bhāravi and Māgha, seems to have reached its climax in the writings of poets like Rājaśekhara, Harsha, and a host of other minor writers.

If any further proof of the laxity of morals in the tenth century be needed, it would be found in the popularity of the Kaula system. How or when this system arose hardly concerns our enquiry. But the fact is that by the early decades of the tenth century it was being believed in and practised by the people. In the provinces about Kanauj, in particular, it seems to have enjoyed a good vogue, for in the whole of *Karpūramanjari*, there is not a single word which might be constituted as dispraise of the Kaulas or Bhairavānanda, the boozy exponent of the cult in the drama. In spite of the repulsive doctrines he holds and advocates, the King respects him, the Queen makes him her spiritual teacher, and the other dramatis personæ speak wonderingly of his supernatural powers.

Karpūramanjari gives in brief the main details of this system. Exaggerated and repulsive as these might appear to modern readers, they are faithfully represented in the drama, for every word regarding these can be certified as correct by reference to works of recognized authority on the Tantrik cult. Salvation was indeed, as with others too, the final goal with the followers of this system also. But the Kaula teachers did not prescribe knowledge, asceticism, sacrifices or

¹ *Karpūramanjari*, I, 2 and 3.

² *Viddhaśālabhanjikā*, I, 15.

³ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, pp. 27-8.

meritorious deeds for its attainment. The way they showed was far easier to tread, because it combined pleasure with salvation, religion with indulgence in wine and women, and repute for piety with the most unrestricted sensuality.¹ Wine, women, flesh, fish, and *Mudrās* were, according to the *Mahā-Parinirvāṇa Sūtra*, the five *Tatvas* without which men could not attain salvation.² In *Bhairavi Chakra* or the circle of *Bhairavi*, where the Kaulas gathered to worship Śakti, all castes were admitted,³ meat of every sort excepting perhaps beef was allowed, and every worshipper was required to contract a marriage which was to last to the end of the gathering.⁴ If anyone showed the least repulsion towards these things, he was driven out of the community, and threatened with the punishment of hell in the next world.⁵ Young widows, dancing women, wives of barbers, washerwomen, and women of some other castes were specially welcomed at such meetings, and dishonoured with the title of '*Kulāṅga*'.⁶

Such are the chief details of this repulsive system. Can we after knowing that such a system, not merely existed but was popular on all sides, assert with R. B., C. V. Vaidya, that a high moral tone pervaded the society of the ninth and tenth centuries? Perhaps the Arab traveller, Ibn Khurdabā knew better, and referred to the existence of some such cult when he wrote that the people of Hind regarded fornication lawful.⁷

It is no wonder that, in such a period of degeneration, all classes were bound down by gross superstition. People believed in ghosts, fairies, and elves of the forest, and Brahmans and others who could pretend to drive them out must have been highly rewarded for their services. Astrology and magic were fairly honoured professions. In the court of Kanauj, says Abu Zaid, 'there were among the Brahmans

¹ *Karpūramanjari*, I, 22 and 24.

² *Yatrāsti bhogabhluyam,*

Tatra yogasya kā kathā,

Yogepi bhogavirahah

Kaulastūbhayamaśnute.'

Mahā-Parinirvāṇa Tantra, IV, 9.

³ *Mahā-Parinirvāṇa Tantra*, V, 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XIV, 184; VIII, 179-80.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VIII, 177; IX, 268-9.

⁶ Quoted from *Bhairava-tantra* in *Mantra-Mahārṇava*, p. 391.

⁷ *Karpūramanjari*, I, 23.

Mantra-Mahārṇava, pp. 390-91.

⁸ Ibn Khurdabā quoted in Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya's '*History of Medieval India*, vol. II, p. 185.

many diviners and jugglers who could perform most astonishing feats.¹ Evening was the time when ghosts were supposed to wander about and trouble people.² They spoke with a nasal twang which at once convinced the person hearing that a ghost was near by.³ They could, however, it was believed, not harm those people who learnt the right formulae from the old women in the house,⁴ or who had recourse to a Brahman knowing the Vedas and other scriptures.⁵ Tying the *śikha*, or curl of hair which is found on the crown of almost every Hindu's head, was also one of the ways of keeping away these evil spirits.⁶ Among the ghosts again some sort of classification seems to have been introduced by popular imagination. While other kinds of ghosts were generally thought to be malevolent, the *Brahma-rakshasa* was generally believed to be the spirit of some learned Pandit which delighted in learned conversations and occupied temples and schools. Charms were however believed to be efficacious against all of them. Some of these charms were thought to be so very effective that the common people had an idea that they could avert death even, if rightly performed.⁷

The other causes too which led to the fall of Hindu India existed in full measure in this century of India. Internecine warfare was as rampant as in the twelfth century and religious disunion was far from being unknown. The Kaulas looked down on Vaishnavas and others for the path of morality they preached,⁸ and must have been in their turn looked down upon by those sects. Jainas were strong in the south, and the Bauddhas still flourished in Bengal. Śaivas and Panchrātras were certainly strong sects at the time inasmuch as their theories are called by the name of *Samaya-Vidya*⁹ or 'current theories' by our poet. The followers of *Sāṅkhya*, *Vaiśeṣika*, *Nyāya* and other philosophies too, seem to have wrangled at the time about such ideas as God, and the world.¹⁰ The unity which can be brought about by language too had ceased to exist in the ninth and tenth centuries. As Al-Masudi, 'an acute writer of A.D. 953' remarked, 'there prevailed in India of the tenth century a difference of language and religion,

¹ *History of Medieval India*, vol. ii, p. 181.

² *Viddhaśālabhaṅgikā* (Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition), p. 72.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁸ *Karpūramahjarī*, I, 24.

⁹ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsa*, p. 38.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-7.

and the diverse kingdoms into which the country was divided were frequently at war with one another.'¹

The caste system also, to the rigidity of which R. B. Vaidya ascribes all the misfortunes of India,² was far from being very fluid. The arguments that he brings to prove that it was so in the ninth and tenth centuries are extremely weak and can be refuted point by point. In the first place, we can prove that subdivisions existed among Brahmanas and Khsatriyas, and were a matter of much pride with them. Rājasekhara did not call himself a Bhāradvāja or Vāśiṣṭha, but a Yāyāvara, and cited all his opinions under that name. Among the Khsatriyas too, *kula* itself had, as R. B. Vaidya admits, begun to be called *gotra*.³

In the second place, the Brahmanas, being the highest class, and the recipients of many favours which others could not enjoy, were surely objects of envy. When a Vaiśya might have seen a Brahman marrying women from all the three castes, and himself confined to one, he might have cursed the gods who made him a Vaiśya. In this respect, the situation is better now when the four castes need not at least envy one another in this respect. Further this envy is not a mere matter of conjecture. Speaking about the illiterate Brahmana, Kapinjala, the maid-servant is made to say in *Karpūramahjarī*, 'There's no rivalling you, for you though unlettered as the iron beam of a goldsmith's balance, are employed as part of a balance for weighing jewels, while I though lettered like a (common) balance am not employed in the weighing of gold.'⁴ This as the commentator Pandit Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara rightly remarks, means that Kapinjala being a Brahmana was respected by the people, while she, though much more learned than he, was not, because she was a maid-servant.⁵ That Brahmanas regarded themselves entitled to certain privileges will be also evident from Kapinjala's exclaiming, 'commend me to such a royal court as this, when it's a devil of a way off, a (court) where a slave-girl sets up a rivalry with a Brahmana.'⁶

¹ C. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval India*, vol. ii, p. 165.

Compare with this the account of Al-Idrisi quoted on p. 196 of the same book.

² C. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval India*, vol. iii, p. 363.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 177.

⁴ *Karpūramahjarī*, p. 18 (H.O.S.).

⁵ *Karpūramahjarī*, p. 28 (Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19 (H.O.S.).

In the third place, the Brahmanas did not dine with Śūdras, though R. B. Vaidya thinks they did, and is so sure of the position he takes up that he remarks that his statement though it might startle many a reader cannot be gainsaid. The *śloka*, however, he relies on cannot give the meanings he assigns them. The first *śloka*, he gives in support of his theory is from the *Vyāsa Smṛiti*, and runs as follows :—

Napitānvaya-mitrārdhasṛiṇo dāsa-gopakāḥ

Śūdrāṇam-āpyamīṣhām tu bhuktvāṇnam na dushyati.

This according to the Rao Bahadur means that a Brahman taking food with a barber, a friend of the family, a coparcener in cultivation, a servant, a cowherd, even though these be Śūdrās incurs no sin. In translating thus he is certainly wrong, for the words are *Śūdrāṇam annam bhuktvā* (eating the food of Śūdras) and not *Śūdreṇa saha annam bhuktvā* as they should have been to bear the meaning given to them by the learned writer. Moreover this *śloka* occurs almost verbatim in the *Manu Smṛiti*, a book whose bias against Śūdras is well known, and has been translated in the sense given by me by the late eminent orientalist G. Buhler.¹

The Rao Bahadur's second quotation too suffers from the same defect of misinterpretation. It is from the *Atri Smṛiti* and runs as follows :—

Śudropi dvi-vidho jñēyo

Śraddhi Chaitvātara-s-tatha,

Śraddhi bhojya-s-tayo-r-ukto

Hyabhojya-s-tvitarah smṛtah.

According to the Rao Bahadur it means 'The Śūdra is of two classes, one who can perform Śraddha, and the other who cannot. The first class of Śūdra, viz., Śraddhi is fit to be dined with, though the other is not.' But the translation, as already pointed out is wrong. The word *bhojya* instead of meaning 'one to be dined with' means the same thing as the word *bhojyāna* of Manu's *śloka* referred to by us; and *bhojyāna* is a *bahubhrīhi* compound meaning 'one whose food can be eaten' and not 'one who is to be dined with.'

¹ Chapter IV, 253.

The occurrence of the *śloka* in *Manu Smṛiti* which has never been suspected of having liberal views about Śūdras should in my opinion be argument enough to prove that the *śloka* quoted does not carry the sense given to it by the Rao Bahadur.

That interdining was out of question on account of the ideas prevailing would again be clear by reference to the *Parāśara* and *Vyāsa Smṛitis* which the Rao Bahadur regards as specially representative of the social conditions existing in the ninth and tenth centuries. In the twelfth chapter of his book, *Parāśara* declares that he did not know to what births those were consigned who accepted food from Śūdras.¹ Similarly the *Vyāsa Smṛiti* too from which the Rao Bahadur's first quotation comes seems to go hard against the poor Śūdras and the theory of interdining, when it asserts that a Brahman, accepting food from a Vaiśya became a Śūdra, and one accepting food from a Śūdra was to go to hell.² Such quotations from many other later Smritis can be easily given here. But these alone, I think, should suffice to show that Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya is wrong in ascribing interdining with Śūdras to the Brahmanas of the ninth and tenth centuries.

3. For our information about dress, ornaments and other things of that sort too, we need not always look to the Arab travellers as our only source of information. To show the nature of information supplied by Rājasekhara on these points we just quote a passage from *Karpūramanjari* after omitting the comparisons instituted by a fond lover.

'Vichakshaṇā.—They made her toilet, sire, and decorated her with her sectarial mark and ornaments, and entertained her.

King.—How so?

Vichakshaṇā.—Her firm limbs were annointed with *paste of saffron-essence* until they were yellow. Her companions put on her feet a *pair of emerald anklets*. She was arrayed in a *couple of silken garments* as blue as the tail-feathers of a king-parrot. Over the expanse of her loins was placed a *girdle bejewelled with rubies*. Upon her two fore-arms—as it were, the stalks of her lotus-like hands—were put *rows of bracelets*. A choice *necklace of monster-pearls* was placed on her neck, and a *pair of ear-rings, studded with gems*, was put on her ears. With *native collyrium* they adorned her eyes. The wreath of curly locks that fringes the crescent of her forehead was arranged. Upon the temple of the bright-eyed maid they heaped the *flowers* her tressy burden hid.

¹ *Śloka*s, 34, 35.

² IV, 66.

Thus the queen adorned the girl with decorations to her heart's content.¹

In his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* Rājasekhara supplements the account given above by describing the *nēpathya* (dress, hair, etc.) of women in the east, north, west and south of India. In the east, women used the *agaru* perfume and had their 'garments kissing the parting line of the hair'.² This shows that the custom of covering the head was common enough in the tenth century, and did not, as R. B. Vaidya thinks originate with the coming of the Muslims to India. In the north, women used two garments, the lower one of these completely encircled the waist and reached as far as the ankles.³ In the south the women were fond of curly locks,⁴ and in the west the style used was a combination of the northern and southern styles.⁵ Bodice seems to have been used in all the parts of India. Men used two pieces of cloth, one the upper and the other the lower.⁶

In winter women used bees-wax for their lips, saffron ointment for their faces, and fragrant oil for the hair which was generally arranged into braids.⁷ In summer they smeared their breasts with sandal mixed with camphor, put on moistened garments, had cool liquor with their husbands in the evening, and songs on flutes, 'tremulous as it were with koil notes,' at night.⁸ In spring they wore fine clothes, put *sindūra* in the line made by parting the hair,⁹ and in other seasons too passed their time in comfort and ease.

Rājasekhara has also something to say about the position and accomplishments of women. In spite of all the evils of polygamy and purdah which certainly existed in a more intensified form, in the tenth century, than they do now, the lot of women was perhaps a little better than that of women in this century. They were, if nothing more, at least better educated and accomplished. They learnt dancing and singing to increase their personal attractiveness,¹⁰ and could play on instruments like the drum, flute and huḍukka.¹¹ Some were good

¹ *Karpūramanjari*, I, 12, 22.

The translation given is by Prof. Lanman.

² *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, p. 8.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Karpūramanjari*, p. 32 (H.O.S.).

⁷ *Karpūramanjari*, I, 13.

Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, p. 102.

⁸ *Karpūramanjari*, IV, 6.

⁹ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, p. 105.

¹⁰ *Karpūramanjari*, III, 14.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-1 (H.O.S.).

painters whose work could be distinguished from that of men by connoisseurs.¹ Some were even poets and writers on rhetoric and other sciences. In the *Viddhaśālabhanjika* and *Karpūramanjari* the heroines are represented as composing poems and writing letters to their lovers.² In royal harems the queens have besides their usual paraphernalia of chowryholders, bath-keepers, betel-box bearers and ladies in waiting, some women who recite *subhashitas* or witty sayings.³ In actual life again we have Avantisundarī, the wife of Rājasekhara, who is not merely fond of having dramas staged,⁴ but can also write books good enough to be quoted by her admiring husband.⁵ Rājasekhara's own opinion on female education is worth quoting. 'Women too,' writes Rājasekhara, 'may become poets like men. Accomplishment is intimately connected with the soul, but does not depend upon the distinction of the sex. There are heard and seen daughters of kings and prime ministers, courtesans, and wives of jesters who are well versed in sciences and poetesses too.'⁶

4. Besides the above details about the character of the period and the toilet and position of women, we have in Rājasekhara's works an account of many fairs and festivals in which sometimes one and sometimes both the sexes had a share. In spring, the season when nature was at its best, and everything assumed a new freshness, the people delighted by the verdure all around, and stimulated to jollity and merry-making by the passing of the dreary winter, worshipped Kāmadeva the God of Love, and Gauri, the Goddess of *Saubhāgya*. On the third of the bright half of Chaitra the image of Pārvatī was set up, women kept a fast in day-time, had a vigil at night and on the next day began their swinging season after breaking the fast. The festival which began thus seems to have lasted some days for we are told that *Karpūramanjari* was to be put in the swing in front of the image of Pārvatī on the fourth day of the swing festival. During the time it continued, or more correctly throughout the season, women spent a large part of their time in swinging,

¹ *Viddhaśālabhanjika*, I, 35.

² *Karpūramanjari*, III, 34; II, 9.

Viddhaśālabhanjika, pp. 109-10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

³ *Karpūramanjari*, p. 79 (H.O.S.).

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 11.

⁵ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, pp. 20, 46, 57.

singing, dancing, and celebrating the deeds of Gauri.¹ Of these recreations again swinging which has inspired Rājasekhara to his highest flights of music and poetry seems to have been specially popular.

The next festival mentioned, and the one of which we find the best account in Rājasekhara's works is the Vaṭa Sāvitṛī Vrata which falls on the 15th of the bright half of *Jyeshtha*, and is even now observed in Northern India, though without those merry-makings which characterized it in the tenth century. On that day the women of Rājasekhara's time enjoyed *challī*, *danḍarāsa* and various other dances, and threw water at one another, as they do now at the time of Holi, by means of jewelled cups and shower and sprays.² Some tried to please the people by parading as mountaineers, some wearing the masks of night-wandering ogresses enacted a cemetery-scene, and some set the people a-laughing by wearing dark dresses, and receding, bowing and laughing themselves. On the whole the night of *Jyeshtha Pūrṇima* seems to have been one of the most joyous ones passed by women in the ninth and tenth centuries.³

Rājasekhara does not speak of festivals in the rainy and winter seasons. In autumn, however, when the rain ceased, and the roads became passable, and the rivers fordable, there were two great festivals of the Kshatriya community. On *Mahānavamī*, which fell on the 9th of the bright half of *Āśvin*, all the weapons were worshipped, and the horses, warriors, and elephants purified and shown respect by means of the *Nirājana* ceremony.⁴ On the day of *Dīpamālīkā*, the 15th of the dark half of *Kārtika*, which has now come generally to be associated with the Vaiśya community, the Kshatriya Kings of the tenth century made ready for conquest, and before starting from their capitals indulged in various sports, pastimes, and merry-makings.⁵

5. Much other material from Rājasekhara can be put under the heading 'Miscellaneous Information'. According to the Arabtravellers, as well as *Karpūramanjari* where Rājasekhara is spoken of as the husband of a Chauhan princess, intermarriage seems to have prevailed

¹ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsa*, p. 105.

² *Karpūramanjari*, IV, 9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁴ *Karpūramanjari*, IV, 10-19.

⁵ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsa*, p. 101.

in the sense that higher castes could marry girls from classes lower than theirs. Child-marriage too was not unknown, for in *Karpūramanjari* we hear of *bala randas* (young widows) who lived like dispossessed chieftains on the sweets of their wishes.¹ Prostitution had its recognized place in society. Marriage was as now a sacred ceremony. Persons marrying put on red dress, wore red threads on their wrists, and went about the holy fire before being declared man and wife.² Joking with a friend's relatives from the wife's or husband's side was common enough, and the modern Hindi saying that a brother-in-law's wife is half a wife had its currency as far back as the tenth century.³

Rich persons lived in spacious buildings which had large verandahs, and gardens all around. In the evening *agaru* was burnt, and lamps lit on all sides.⁴ Parrots, starlings and pigeons were the chief birds tamed. Jewellery of all sorts was profusely used, and pearls which mostly came from the mouths of the River *Tāmraparṇī* were highly prized and sought after.⁵

Rich women most probably passed their time in ease and luxury. The wives of farmers, however, worked hard at their houses, and were in autumn busy with the cleaning of rice, and the consequent use of mortar and pestle.⁶

The chief weapons used were sword and shield, bows and arrows, and lances.⁷

Materials for writing were 'a box, a board with chalk, leaves of the *Tadi* tree, or barks of the *Bharja* tree with iron nails and well-rubbed plates.'⁸

Sanskrit was popular in Bengal and Behar, the people of *Lāṭa* liked *Prākṛit*, the *Mārwāris*, the *Takkas*, and the *Bhādānakas* used *Apabhraṃśa*, residents of *Avanti*, *Pariyātra*, and *Dashapura* employed *Bhūtabhāshā* in their compositions, and the poets living in *Pāṇchāla* could equally use all these languages.⁹

6. Rājasekhara sheds some interesting light on the *Agnikula*-myth. In fact if Rājasekhara's works could have been studied with the

¹ *Karpūramanjari*, p. 75 (H.O.S.).

² *Viddhaśālabhanjika*, p. 53.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁴ *Karpūramanjari*, III, 27.

⁵ *Karpūramanjari*, p. 71 (H.O.S.).

⁶ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsa*, p. 102.

⁷ *Karpūramanjari*, pp. 97-9.

⁸ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsa*, p. 51.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-4.

same zest as the Chanda Raso, the myth would perhaps have never taken its rise. In the prologues of both the *Viddhaśālabhanjikā* and *Karpūramañjarī*, Mahēndrapala, the Pratihāra emperor has been called Raghukula-Chūdāmaṇi or the crest-jewel of the Raghu family.¹ This in addition to the Bhoj inscription of Gwalior, should be evidence enough to prove that the Pratihāras represented themselves and were believed by the people to be the descendants of Raghu, the great grandfather of the solar king Rama.

7. Last of all we come to the purely political information which can be gathered from the works of Rājasekhara. In the *Viddhaśālabhanjikā* which was staged at the court of Kēyūrarvarsha Yuvarājadeva, we find some interesting details about the extent of the Chedi kingdom in the tenth century. King Kēyūrarvarsha, the lord of Karachulis, and the king of Tripurā, who, though mostly disguised under the name Vidyādharamalla, is the real hero of the piece, has been called more than once the king of Trikalīṅga.² If Trikalīṅga means Odra, Kālīṅga, and Āndhra, as believed by some, the Chedis must have ruled over a large empire in Rājasekhara's time. In the time of Kokalladeva the grandfather of Kēyūrarvarsha too, the country was in the hands of the Chedis, and we are, therefore, not to wonder if we find Kēyūrarvarsha ruling over the country fifty years later. Another interesting detail furnished by the king's being called the lord of Ujjain.³ If this appellation is as true as the others in the book, Western Malva including Ujjain must have been in the hands of the Chedis in the earlier decades of the century, and passed on later into the hands of the Paramāras. One of the *ślokas* again speaks of a victory gained by the Chedis over the Kuntala army when they put one of their nominees on the throne by defeating a southern confederacy on the banks of the river Payoshni.⁴ If the *śloka* refers to some actual event, it perhaps does so to the accession of Amoghavarsha III, the son-in-law of Kēyūrarvarsha, with the help of the Chedi army which might have joined hands with the feudatories who are said to have called the

¹ *Viddhaśālabhanjikā*, I, 6.

Karpūramañjarī, I, 5.

² *Viddhaśālabhanjikā*, pp. 43, 139.

That Kēyūrarvarsha is the real hero will be clear from IV, 1 and 18.

³ *Viddhaśālabhanjikā*, p. 10, first line.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

successor of Govinda IV to the throne.¹ Some other facts too of this kind can, I think, be gathered, if some one more experienced than myself in the ways of historical research undertakes the task of going carefully through the works of Rājasekhara. The labour spent will not be great, and will be amply repaid by the new facts supplied for a faithful representation of India in the tenth century.

¹ See the Wardhā grant and Wardhā plates quoted on pp. 149-50 of Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya's *History of Medieval India*, vol. ii.

History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān

BY

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Book II

Mughal Court and Camp

HISTORY, in many respects, presents the widest field for achievement open to an author. Its scope is co-extensive with life. It covers not only the whole field of action and of thought, but also takes account of the half-conscious and sub-conscious tendencies and beliefs, which often more effectively mould the destiny of a nation. The history of a nation is, or ought to be, a mirror in which is reflected its temper, its characteristics, its behaviour under various conditions and at crises, its ambitions and achievement, its intellectual and moral level, its contribution towards civilization and progress.

While the historian's ambition is the highest, his limitations are the severest, for neither the speculative flight of the philosopher nor the imaginative freedom of the creative artist is open to him. There is no star to which he can hitch his wagon.

No wonder then that of all departments of human knowledge and inquiry, history has perhaps been worst handled. Not that it has not obtained its proportionate share of the world's talent. Perhaps it has had more than its share. The historian's handicap lies rather in the fact that the personal equation plays a larger part in history than in any other field of research; so that twenty different writers may write about the same incontestable event, with an equal degree of merit or plausibility, and yet their interpretations of the event or their stand-points may differ radically. And, what is more, instead of this being considered as a defect, a 'history' is very often judged by the value

of this personal element, whether you call it the author's perspective or his art.

The explanation lies in the fact that the writing of history is a composite process: History is, on the one hand, an even and colourless narrative of events, unrelieved by perspective or personal preference, dispassionate, impersonal, mechanical; and, on the other, it is an interpretation, rather than an account, of events, phenomena, and movements, a study of their inner relations and significance, an analysis of problems, situations, motives, and causes. In a manner, the former is the science, and the latter the art, of history. Which of these two factors predominates in a certain treatment depends entirely on the historian's temperament, training or ways of thought. The historian's art lies obviously in the harmonious reconciliation of these somewhat contradictory elements. The facts should ever be the groundwork, and the manipulation of them should be fair; yet the expression of the historian's personality, principles, and ideals should find scope in his way of dealing with the characters and problems that fall under his treatment. A healthy balance should be kept between these opposite tendencies. History should not degenerate into a jejune narrative of superficial events, stodgy with dates and names, conventional, journalistic; any more than it should become purely architectonic, or evaporate into a study in principles, a theory of life—an alembic of fancy, in fact!

About the 'theoretical' part of history-writing we have not much to say. As our insight into life deepens, and our outlook on it extends, the historian will naturally find new and more effective ways of studying and presenting the past history of the human race. The scope for achievement of genius and the future possibilities of treatment and research in this field are almost infinite. It is, therefore, not only impossible but also presumptuous to prescribe the lines on which future development can proceed.

We propose, however, to make a suggestion about the method of presenting facts. Everybody agrees that the necessary details should be dressed up in a readable form. We all know how much a story often loses in the telling.

But there is something more. It is a matter of daily experience that nothing strikes us so much as a picture, a piece acted before us, a sound actually heard, whether produced or reproduced. The

impression received is vivid, and the effort it costs is minimal. An ideal 'history', therefore, is history not written or read, but seen or heard, or both seen and heard.

This will be readily understood when we note that it is the *mise en scène* which makes a picture convincing, the background that lends it the quality of reality, and makes the illusion complete. Much of what passes as history is a catalogue of events: we are often fed on formulæ without being told what they stand for. Who can hesitate when the choice lies between *words* and *things*?

We are reminded of one of the many forecasts of future marvels of science made by Mr. H. G. Wells (*When the Sleeper Wakes*, pp. 60-3), which describes an instrument reducing the history of the future to a mere stage-and-screen panorama. The idea may strike the serious scholar as wild and perhaps as somewhat flippant, but the possibility of the historical past being stored for the happier generations of the future not in dry-as-dust books but in a contrivance in which are synthesized the phonograph, the cinema and the stage, certainly embodies a great ambition of cultured humanity, somewhat fantastic, perhaps, at our present stage of evolution, but by no means beyond the pale of possibility. In any case the value of such a contrivance is incontestable as an ideal.

The day is yet distant when history will be reduced to picture-play, or become a magic mirror of the kind adumbrated above. Meanwhile we can think of as close an approximation to it as is vouchsafed to us.

Pictorial representation of the past, which is the best and the easiest way to teach and learn history, is at present possible only in a partial and fragmentary sort of way, e.g., in classical paintings of historical scenes, episodes or passages from history, more or less accurately adapted and mounted on the stage or displayed on the screen, etc. The value of the histrionic and the cinematographic art (at present the monopoly of the pleasure-seeker) for the teaching of history at school, is, in the opinion of the present writer, very high indeed. But until these are so thoroughly adapted to educational needs as to become the normal and universal method of teaching history to young and old, we can only treat it as an ambition.¹

¹ Recent efforts of the Educational Cinematographic Institute in Rome are interesting in this connection.

But we can learn a lesson from these more or less utopian ideas.—Where a whole history cannot be written in a series of tableaux, the next best thing is to present a pen-and-ink picture.

These remarks apply the more forcibly to Mughal Indian history, partly because this section of history has not yet been fully worked, and partly because social history of the period—which is real history—is yet a thing of the future. Again, in the Mughal period in general and in Shāh Jahān's reign in particular there was so much that appealed to the eye that when we miss the visual imagery we miss everything.

Fortunately a great step has been taken of recent years in the direction advocated here. Quite a number of books have been published of late which embody carefully executed reproductions of paintings and sketches of the best period portraying Mughal court and life, and treating of a wide range of subjects. F. R. Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, Binyon and Arnold, *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, and E. Kühnel and H. Goetz, *Indian Book Painting* are only a few of the typical examples. A large number of pictures have also been reproduced in an occasional and miscellaneous sort of manner by writers dealing with various aspects of Mughal history and Mughal life.

The accessibility to the public of these new treasures of the art-world has not unnaturally raised the ambitions both of the historian and of the reader. Who is there who has not, sometimes, felt his veins tingle at the sight of some noble Mughal edifice, or seen some dim visions of vanished glory rise before him on witnessing a choice work of art, be it a picture, an illuminated manuscript in brilliant gold and blue, some knick-knack of rare workmanship, or a mere decorative detail? Just because these are isolated bits—we might say, cut-glass facets—of a life that once was lived, it is not possible for us easily to reconstruct the *milieu* in which this art flourished, and with which it was organically connected. Only bits have survived—fossils now embedded in an alien matrix. It requires an effort to inspire these dead bones of history with life. For life atmosphere is essential, and the atmosphere for art can only be re-created by reproducing the social conditions which created it: human intercourse and the culture

which inspired it, houses, furniture and decoration, costumes, drapery and ornament, which surrounded it, the whole pomp and pageantry of state so interpenetrated with artistic motifs, the very etiquette and solemnities of the royal court, where the moral and aesthetic ideals of the age coalesced.

In view of the considerations set forth in the preceding pages we propose to devote the whole of Book II to descriptive details of the kind referred to above.

Easily the most conspicuous object in the whole range of Mughal life is the Imperial Court. One would like to have as adequate a mental picture of it as the material at our disposal would allow. But a court is composed chiefly of courtiers; and if we know nothing definite about the courtiers the picture will resemble a Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. We should begin, therefore, with the *umara* and the constitution of their order. Intimately connected with the *mansabdari* system is the Mughal army. The army and the system of its recruitment will, therefore, form the subject of the chapter next following.

We shall still, however, not be qualified to take up the Royal Court; for even a cursory glance over a painting of the full *darbar* will reveal certain minor features of the Royal Court which require an explanation. A whole miscellany dealing with such subjects as the Music Gallery (*Naubat khana* or *Naqqar khana*), the Palace Guard (*Kishk* or *Chauk*), the *Qar*, the court ceremonial and practice, etc., will have to be dealt with in some detail.

These preparatory details being touched in the canvas is ready for the centre-piece—the Imperial *Darbar*. The historiographers and the contemporary travellers have each his own story to tell of the gorgeous spectacle.

When we have witnessed the Emperor in audience, public and private, even watched the full-dress celebration of a festival or two, and surveyed the Emperor in his daily routine of private life and official work, we have made some progress. But the picture still lacks the background which would relieve the principal figures in it. This background is furnished by the Imperial Household and the Haram. The former comprised the various treasuries, a number of offices and departments (technically known as *kar-khanajai* or workshops) concerned with industry and manufacture, storing and supply, of articles

for consumption at court, and with the maintenance of establishments of animals. The Haram, technically a part of the Household, is important enough to call for independent treatment. While the Imperial Household constituted the machinery which regulated and controlled the industrial and economic working of the huge establishment, the Haram shows the Emperor in the midst of domestic relations, in a complete undress of private life.

The glare of history does not fall on the Haram, which naturally was a privileged place, with which no Persian historian has dared to tamper. There are, however, a few prying, audacious, gossiping travellers who have left accounts of the Imperial Seraglio, which we propose to share with our readers, offering here and there a word of advice where the authors appear to overstep the bounds of delicacy and good judgment.

But the Emperor was not always in the metropolis. When he was on tour, whether it was a campaign to the Deccan or a pleasure-trip to Kashmir, he was often for long periods out of station, owing partly to defective modes of communication and conveyance of the time and partly to the luxuriously leisurely pace at which the Royal Court moved. From Akbar's time on the Imperial Camp was a marvel of the age, a model of rigid discipline and neat orderliness. It will take us a whole chapter to study in detail the disposition of the Royal Camp and its main features.

In some respects even more impressive than either the Court or the Camp is the Emperor's Progress. Luckily we possess one or two eye-witness accounts of the Emperor's march from one camp to another. The royal *lashkar* on the move, with its elaborate appointments and a rigid order of precedence, gives a better idea of the magnitude and of the infinite resources of the empire than even the daily pomp and pageantry at Agra or Delhi.

To a reader who can make it convenient to visit the buildings and remains of buildings still standing at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, Delhi, Lahore, and elsewhere, and who is sufficiently interested in the subject to study carefully the pictures of Mughal Court life now available in print—to such a reader, it is expected, the descriptive accounts by contemporary observers brought together in the following pages will help to give a tolerable idea of the gilded scenes of three hundred years ago.

CHAPTER I

THE MANṢABDĀRĪ SYSTEM OR THE
'MILITARY ARISTOCRACY'

The institution of the Army and the *Manṣabdārī* System interpenetrate each other, so that the one is unintelligible without the other. These two, again, have a far-reaching effect on the texture of Mughal Indian society, since the only aristocracy in the land was the military peerage graded according to the *manṣab*, and more than half the population in a court town or a camp was composed of soldiers, their dependants, and the camp-followers—i.e., the 'army'. This will go to show the great importance of the army from the political as well as the social standpoint.

Again, it is an important feature of the Mughal administration that all civil officers, high and low, were chosen from the holders of the military rank, i.e., the *manṣabdārs*. So we find that the *manṣabdārī* system is the army, the peerage and the civil administration all rolled into one. The *manṣab*, although primarily a military rank, really constituted the terms in which official hierarchy, and incidentally social status, was expressed. A *manṣab* did not by itself imply any particular office. Sometimes the conferment of a *manṣab* was equivalent to mere grant of a source of income to a person by way of recognition, it may be, of purely professional services or skill (as those of a physician or a poet).

In a sense the history of the Mughal army is the history of the *manṣabdārī* system; and yet the latter system covers a much wider field than the army, while some portions of the army were not under *manṣabdārs*.

Before we deal, therefore, with the composition of the army, it is necessary to form a tolerably clear idea of the graduated organization, at once military, official and aristocratic, known as the *manṣabdārī* system, and its incidents and implications.

The *manṣab* is a somewhat unique institution. The idea conveyed by a *manṣab* in Mughal times was a complex one. Generally it defined the recipient's order of precedence, or position in society or public service—rank, in a general sense.

A full *manṣab* is expressed thus: *Chahār hazārī ḡat wa siḥ hazār suwār*, or more briefly, *Chahār hazārī siḥ hazār suwār*, which means 4000 personal and 3000 horse rank. We have always denoted it thus: 4000/3000. Or, if the *ḡat* and *suwār* ranks were equal: (1) *Chahār hazārī ḡat wa chahār hazār suwār*, (2) *Chahār hazārī ḡat wa suwār*, or (3) *Chahār hazārī chahār hazār suwār*; i.e., 4000 personal and 4000 horse, or 4000/4000 according to our notation.

A few peculiarities may be noticed first: (1) The *ḡat*, i.e., personal, rank is always either equal to, or higher than, the *suwār*, i.e., horse, rank.¹ (2) The order in the lists and consequently the order of precedence follows the *ḡat* and not the *suwār* rank; the former being presumably more important, so that 4000/2000 was considered higher than 3000/3000. Further, in some lists, such as Abū'l-Faḡl's in *A'in*, only the *ḡat* rank is given. (3) There may be a *ḡat* rank without any *suwār* rank, though it is rare; but there never is a *suwār* rank without a *ḡat* rank.

Now, what exactly is meant by 4000 personal and 3000 horse rank?

Probably no one except Abū'l-Faḡl thoroughly understood this question, and Abū'l-Faḡl has not cared to explain it. The contemporary European travellers (some of whom observed the actual working of the system in practice for years) did not pay sufficient attention to this subject, and some, like Manucci, only succeed in making it obscurer. Among modern writers only William Irvine (*Army*) and Dr. Paul Horn (*Das Heer und Kriegswesen der gross Moghuls*, Leiden, 1894) have made the Mughal army their special study; and they are far from offering even a working explanation. Yet their efforts, as far as they go, are helpful.

Let us, for the sake of simplicity, take a rare case: 500/0, i.e., 500 *ḡat* with no horse rank—there are only two such examples in the list of *manṣabdārs* at the end of *B.N.*, I (which includes rank-holders down to 500 *ḡat*). We ask the natural question, what is the individual or the article for which the number 500 stands? It does not stand for rupees, as Manucci assumes (*Storia*, II, 369–74). Does it stand for horsemen, as Irvine, the editor, says, correcting him (*ibid.*, 369, f. n. 1)?

¹ This is the theory; though in case of a *du aspa siḥ aspa* rank (see below) the *suwār* rank is in fact doubled, and would thus sometimes exceed the *ḡat* rank.

Let us, before deciding, survey the results arrived at by previous workers. Dr. Paul Horn, presumably misled by Blochmann (who, in the list on pp. 248-9, translates *dah hazār*, etc. as the 'commander' of 10,000, etc.) assumes throughout his discussion (pp. 11-21) that the *ḡat* rank, which alone is given in Abū'l-Faḡl's list, is not only the same as *suwār* rank but represents the number of horsemen actually entertained by the officer. This misapprehension, at once so obvious and so fundamental, not only vitiates Dr. Horn's whole account of the *manṣabdārī* system (pp. 11-21), but also renders totally invalid all the calculations by which he tries to square the rank of an officer with the unit or units found under his command in a battle-field (pp. 67-8).

Irvine corrects Blochmann's error and makes it sufficiently clear in his list on p. 8, and again on the following page, that the rank mentioned is the *ḡat* and not the *suwār* rank; but goes on to say that from the cash salary of his *ḡat* rank 'the officer had to maintain his transport, his household, and some horsemen' (italics ours). Hence Irvine, on p. 5, speaks of the *suwār* rank as 'a number of extra horsemen'—a phrase repeated by other writers like V. A. Smith (*Akbar*, 364). Still, so far one would think that Irvine is on the right track, and 'some horsemen' looks like an oversight that might perhaps be overlooked. But his interpretation becomes clear when we read the following:—

'Indeed, if the totals of all the personal (*ḡat*) *manṣabs* in existence at one time were added together, we should arrive at so huge an army that it would have been impossible for the country, however heavily taxed, to meet such an expense. . . . The inference I wish to draw is, that from the grant of rank it does not follow that the soldiers implied by such rank were really added to the army. The system required that a man's rank should be stated in terms of so many soldiers; but there is abundant testimony in the later historians that *manṣab* and the number of men in the ranks of the army had ceased to have any close correspondence.' (*Army*, 58-9).

From the above, and from the succeeding paragraph (p. 59) there is hardly a doubt that Irvine substantially agrees with Horn in that the *ḡat* rank somehow stands, or in any case once stood, for horsemen.

It must be admitted that these authors offer no help towards an explanation. We can, therefore, only fall back on the *Ā'in*. From

the *Ā'in-i-manṣabdār* (Text, I, 179; Blochmann, 238) we know that a holder of the rank 500/0 belongs to the third class. And on reference to the list in *Ā'in* (Text, I, 180-85; Blochmann, 248-9),¹ we find that such a rank-holder drew Rs. 2,100 *p.m.* as his cash salary and had to maintain horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts belonging to the emperor detailed there. It should be carefully noted that this list in *Ā'in* gives only the *ḡat* ranks, and has nothing to do with the *suwār* rank. Blochmann has, by an unlucky oversight, translated *dah hazārī*, etc., as the 'commander of 10,000', etc. It is only an oversight, since Blochmann, we know, fully understands the distinction between the *ḡat* and *suwār* rank (see p. 528). But the slip has proved rather serious, since it has misled later writers on the subject.

It follows from the above that an officer without a *suwār* rank would be under no obligation to maintain any horsemen. Again, it is not quite correct to describe the *ḡat* rank as a brevet rank, as Blochmann does (pp. 241 and 246); since the former, although it carries no command with it, carries a fixed salary, while the brevet rank usually carries neither.

After a careful perusal of the list, however, we are not in a position to say what substantive the cardinal numeral 500, e.g., qualifies. All we know is that a man holding the *ḡat* rank of 500 with no *suwār* rank draws a certain salary and has to maintain some animals and a certain amount of transport. The figure 500 is, therefore, no better than a formula, by which salary and the obligations of the *manṣabdār* could be definitely ascertained from the schedule.

The *manṣab* is called *ḡat*, i.e., self, because it regulates the allowance for himself (and his household) as distinguished from that for the cavalry enlisted by him.

A *ḡat* rank without any *suwār* was, however, as we have said above, exceedingly rare. Usually an officer with a personal rank had also a horse rank, equal or smaller. This brings us to the earlier question, what is meant by 4000/3000?

We know now what 4000 *ḡat* stands for. The question remains, what are we to understand by 3000 horse? Well, it means that the *manṣabdār* with 3000 horse rank had to maintain a number of horsemen, not indeed 3000, but a fixed proportion of it. This proportion

¹ Given below.

possibly varied from period to period and from occasion to occasion. In *Shāh Jahān's* time, for instance, the usual practice was that where a *manṣabdār* held *jāgīr* in the province in which he served he had to present for the *daḡh* horsemen equivalent in number to one-third of his horse rank; e.g., an officer with the rank 3000/3000 had in such a case to brand 1000 horse. If, however, he was told off to serve in a province of the Empire other than that in which his *jāgīr* was situated, he had to present only one-fourth of his horse rank; so that a 4000/4000 officer branded in this case only 1000 horse. At the time of the despatch of an expedition to Balkh and Badakhshān (*Rabī'* II, 1056 A.H.), in view of the difficulties and of the distance of the seat of operations, a further concession was made, and it was decided that during that campaign officers need only brand one-fifth: an amir with 5000/5000 branded on that occasion only 1000 horse. (*B.N.*, II, 506).

So, in a sense, both figures in the term 4000/3000 are nominal, that of the *ḡat* rank because there is no definite thing we know of for which the number 4000 may be said to stand, that of the *suwār* rank because at no time was such a rank-holder required to furnish 3000 horsemen.

Now we are in a position to consider in detail the conditions and obligations of the *ḡat* and the *suwār* rank respectively:

First as regards the *ḡat* rank:—Before we proceed further, we must know that all *manṣabdārs* at a given time fell into three classes. Thus Abū'l-Faḡl:

و در عور سوار [و از کما بیشی سوار] در ماهواره دگرگونگی رفت * هر کرا
سوار موافق منصب باشد اولین پایداد و نیمه و زیاده را دوم و کمتر از آن را
سوم بر مساعت چنانچه جدول باز گوید *
(Text, 179).

Translation: The monthly [*ḡat* rank] salary of the *manṣabdār* varies with his *suwār* rank. An officer with equal *ḡat* and *suwār* rank was placed in the first class, one with a lower *suwār* rank down to half the *ḡat* rank got a second class, while another with a yet lower *suwār* rank belonged to the third; as is shown in the table.

In the table on Text, I, 180–85 (Blochmann, 248–9), which follows, the *manṣabdārs* above 5,000 personal are not thus classified, as they all belong to the first class. For the other ranks, the monthly cash salary

of each of the three classes is given. Blochmann thinks (p. 241) that the classes of salaries in the table do not refer to the three classes described in the quotation from Abū'l-Faḡl given above, on the ground that the difference in the salaries of the three classes is inappreciable; and Dr. Paul Horn follows in his footsteps (p. 16). But there is no other classification to which these different salaries can correspond. Besides, the last words of the text quoted above, where the table is clearly referred to, place the matter beyond doubt.

Out of these emoluments were to be maintained horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts belonging to the state, the number and specification of each being given in the table. This was technically known as the *khurak-i-dawabb*. Out of the balance the *manṣabdār* had to maintain his household.

This maintenance charge was calculated according to the following scale, given in *Ā'in*, Book II, *Ā'in* 2 (B. I. Text, I, 177–8):—

HORSES:	Dams.
<i>'Iraqī</i>	680
<i>Mujannas</i>	560
<i>Turkt</i>	480
<i>Yabū</i>	400
<i>Tazī</i>	320
<i>Jangla</i>	240

ELEPHANTS:	
<i>Shergīr</i>	1,100
<i>Sada</i>	800
<i>Manjhola</i>	600
<i>Karha</i>	420
<i>Phandurkiya</i>	300

BEASTS OF BURDEN AND CARTS:	
Camels	240
Mules	240
Carts	600

It is now time to give the table so often referred to above:—

ESTABLISHMENTS AND SALARIES CORRESPONDING TO THE ZAT RANK

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No.	Zat Rank	Horses						Elephants				Beasts of Burden and Carts		Monthly Salary in Rupees		
														Classes		
		Mujannas	Turki	Yabu	Tazi	Jangla	Shaygi	Sada	Manjhol	Karha	Phandurkiya	Qilars ¹ of camels	Qilars ¹ of mules	I	II	III
1	10000	68	136	136	136	136	40	60	40	40	20	160	40	60,000	...	...
2	8000	54	108	108	108	108	35	50	36	34	15	130	34	50,000	...	...
3	7000	49	98	98	98	98	30	42	29	27	12	110	27	45,000	...	...
4	5000	34	68	68	68	68	20	30	20	20	10	80	20	30,000	29,000	28,000
5	4900	33	67	67	67	67	20	30	19	19	10	77	19 4/5	27,600	27,400	27,300*
6	4800	32	66	66	65	65	20	29	19	19	9	77	19 2/5	27,600	27,400	27,300*
7	4700	31	65	65	63	63	19	29	19	18	9	75	19 1/5	26,800	26,600	26,500
8	4600	31	63	63	62	62	18	28	19	18	9	74	18 4/5	26,400	26,200	26,100
9	4500	31	61	61	61	61	18	28	19	17	8	72 3/5	18 3/5	26,000	25,800	25,700
10	4400	30	60	60	59	59	18	28	19	16	7	71	18 1/5	25,200	25,000	24,800
11	4300	29	59	58	58	58	17	27	19	16	7	69 3/5	18	24,400	24,200	24,000
12	4200	28	58	57	56	56	16	26	19	16	7	68	17 3/5	23,600	23,400	23,200
13	4100	27	56	56	56	55	16	26	18	16	6	68	17 2/5	22,800	22,600	22,400
14	4000	27	54	54	54	54	16	25	18	15	6	65	17	22,000	21,800	21,600
15	3900	26	53	53	52	52	16	24	18	15	6	63 3/5	16 4/5	21,400	21,200	21,100
16	3800	26	51	51	51	51	16	23	18	15	6	62	16 2/5	20,800	20,600	20,500

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17	3700	25	25	50	50	50	49	16	23	17	15	6	60 3/5	16 1/5	121	20,200	20,000	19,900
18	3600	25	49	48	48	48	47	16	23	17	14	6	59	15 4/5	118	19,600	19,400	19,300
19	3500	24	47	47	47	47	46	16	23	17	14	5	57 3/5	15 3/5	115	19,000	18,800	18,700
20	3400	23	46	46	46	46	44	16	22	17	14	5	56	15 1/5	112	18,600	18,400	18,300
21	3300	22	45	45	45	44	43	15	22	17	14	5	54 3/5	15	109	18,200	18,000	17,900
22	3200	21	44	44	44	42	42	15	21	17	14	5	53	14 3/5	106	17,800	17,600	17,500
23	3100	20	43	43	43	41	40	15	20	17	14	5	51 3/5	14 2/5	103	17,400	17,200	17,100
24	3000	20	40	40	40	40	40	15	20	16	14	5	50	14	100	17,000	16,800	16,700
25	2900	19	39	39	39	39	39	15	19	16	13	4	48	13 1/5	96	16,400	16,200	16,100
26	2800	18	38	38	38	38	38	15	18	14	12	3	46	12 2/5	92	15,800	15,600	15,500
27	2700	17	37	37	37	37	37	14	17	13	11	3	44	11 3/5	88	15,200	15,000	14,900
28	2600	17	36	36	36	35	35	13	15	12	11	3	42	10 4/5	84	14,600	14,400	14,300
29	2500	17	34	34	34	34	34	12	14	12	10	2	40	10	80	14,000	13,800	13,700
30	2400	17	33	33	33	33	33	12	13	11	10	2	38	9 2/5	76	13,600	13,400	13,300
31	2300	16	33	33	33	32	32	12	12	10	10	2	36	8 4/5	72	13,200	13,000	12,900
32	2200	16	32	32	32	31	31	11	12	9	10	2	34	8 1/5	68	12,800	12,600	12,500
33	2100	15	31	31	31	31	31	10	12	9	9	2	32	7 3/5	64	12,400	12,200	12,100
34	2000	15	30	30	30	30	30	10	12	9	7	2	30	7	60	12,000	11,900	11,800
35	1900	14	29	29	29	29	30	10	12	9	7	2	28 4/5	6 3/5	58	11,750	11,650	11,450

¹ Steingass assigns ten camels to a *qilār*; but we know from *Ā'in* (Bibl. Ind. Text, I, 147, top) that it contained only five.

* That the salaries for 4900 and 4800 should be equal, class for class, is improbable. This is almost the only instance where the list of variants has not enabled us to remove the apparent anomaly.

ESTABLISHMENTS AND SALARIES CORRESPONDING TO THE ZAT RANK—(continued)

No.	Zat Rank	Horses					Elephants					Beasts of Burden and Carts			Monthly Salary in Rupees			
		'Idagi	Mujannas	Turki	Yabu	Zati	Jangla	Shergir	Sada	Manjholia	Karha	Phandurkiya	of Qitars camels	of Qitars mules	Carts	Classes		
																I	II	III
36	1800	14	13	28	28	28	29	10	11	9	7	2	27 3/5	6 1/5	56	11,400	11,350	11,300
37	1700	14	13	27	27	27	27	9	11	9	7	2	26 2/5	5 4/5	54	11,225	11,000	10,800
38	1600	13	13	26	26	25	25	9	10	9	7	2	25 1/5	5 2/5	52	10,600	10,400	10,200
39	1500	12	12	24	24	24	24	8	10	8	7	2	24	5	50	10,000	9,800	9,700
40	1400	12	12	24	24	23	23	8	10	8	7	2	23 2/5	4 4/5	49	9,600	9,400	9,300
41	1300	12	12	23	23	23	22	8	10	7	7	2	23	4 3/5	48	9,200	9,100	9,050
42	1200	11	11	22	22	22	22	7	9	7	7	2	22 2/5	4 3/5	46	9,000	8,900	8,800
43	1100	11	11	22	22	21	21	7	9	7	7	2	22	4 2/5	44	8,700	8,500	8,400
44	1000	10	10	21	21	21	21	7	8	7	7	2	21	4 1/5	42	8,200	8,100	8,000
45	900	10	10	20	20	20	20	7	8	6	7	2	20	4	40	7,700	7,400	7,100
46	800	10	14	17	17	9	3	7	8	5	5	2	17 3/5	3 2/5	34	5,000	4,700	4,400
47	700	6	13	9	13	14	7	5	6	4	4	1	15 2/5	3	27	4,400	4,000	3,800 ¹
48	600	5	7	11	9	4	4	4	3	5	2	1	13	2 2/5	21	3,500	3,200	3,000
49		4	7	8	8	4	3	4	2	4	2	1	14	2	15	2,800	2,750	2,700
50	500	4	6	8	8	4	...	3	4	2	2	1	10	2	15	2,500	2,300	2,100
51	400	3	4	5	6	2	...	2	2	2	2	1	5	...	12	2,000	1,751 ²	1,500

52	350	3	4	4	4	2	...	1	1	2	3	1	4 2/5	...	11	1,450	1,305 ³	1,350
53	300	3	3	3	4	2	...	1	1	2	2	1	4	...	10	1,400 ⁴	1,250	1,200
54	250	3	3	3	4	1	...	1	1	2	2	...	3 2/5	...	8	1,150	1,100	1,000
55	200	2	3	3	3	1	...	1	1	1	2	...	3	...	7	975	950	900
56	150	2	3	3	3	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	2	...	6	875	850	800
57	125	2	2	2	2	2	...	...	1	1	2	...	2 1/5	...	5	780	760	740
58	120	2	2	2	3	2	...	1	1	1	2	...	2 1/5	...	5	745	740	730
59	100	2	2	2	2	2	...	1	1	1	1	...	2	...	5	700	600	500
60	(Yaz-baqat)	2	1	2	2	1	...	...	1	2	...	...	2	...	3	410	380	350
61	60	1	1	2	2	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	1 2/5	...	2	301	285	270
62	50	1	1	2	2	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	1 2/5	...	2	250	240	230
63	40	1	2	2	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	1 2/5	...	1	223	200	185
64	30	...	1	1	2	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	1 1/5	...	1	175	165	155
65	(Tar-kash-band)	...	1	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 1/5	...	1	135	125	115
66	10	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	82 1/2	75

¹ To avoid equality of pay between 800 III and 700 I, I should prefer the variant given by the MSS. $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$: I, 4000 ; II, 3700 ; III, 3600—which does not interfere with the rest of the scheme.

² The 1700 given by certain MSS. seems a more likely figure.

³ An odd and incongruous figure ; but the variants offer no help.

⁴ I have let this figure stand out of respect for Blochmann's scholarship. Personally I would certainly prefer the 1,300 given by two of the MSS.

NOTE

In the construction of this Table, I have not confined myself to the copying out of the figures accepted as correct by the editor of the Bibliotheca Indica Text. Minor improvements have appeared to me possible here and there. It is impossible, for instance, that the first class salary of a lower rank should equal or exceed the third class salary of a higher, or that the salary of a lower class should equal or exceed that of a higher one. Acting on this principle, I have allowed myself the latitude offered by the variants given in the foot-notes of the B. I. Text (I, 185-6). In several cases the adoption of the variants gave a better sense and consistency to the whole scheme. In these cases I have not hesitated to depart from Blochmann's text readings. Of course I have refrained from needless interference.

Abū'l-Faḥl has been generous enough to give us fuller information about the salary of a *manṣabdar* of 100 *ḡat*. We assume that the example given by him is typical. If so, the information thus furnished is important.

The monthly salary of an officer with 100/100 rank, he says (Text, I, 179), is Rs. 700, while that of a rank-holder of 100/0 (who is generally counted as a *daḡhilt*)¹ is Rs. 500. For every increase of 10 in the horse rank the officer gets an addition of Rs. 20 to his monthly salary. So we get the following scale :—

<i>Manṣab</i>	Monthly pay in Rs.	Class
100/100	700	I
100/90	680	II
100/80	660	II
100/70	640	II
100/60	620	II
100/50	600	II
100/40	580	II
100/30	560	III
100/20	540	III
100/10	520	III
100/0	500	III

For the sake of clearness we have added the class in the third column. The reader will notice at once that this corresponds with

¹ Blochmann's translation of this passage (p. 238) is defective, and has misled Horn (p. 15).

the rule given for the classification and with schedule on p. 147 above ; for the first-class officer gets Rs. 700, the second-class one from Rs. 680 to Rs. 600, and the third-class one from Rs. 580 to Rs. 500. So not only do we get yet another proof of the fact that these are the classes referred to in the table, but we get a further bit of information not given in the said table, presumably for brevity—viz., that the salaries entered in II and III class columns in that table are the *minimum* salaries for those classes respectively.

The reader should bear carefully in mind that the salary detailed here is for the *ḡat* rank, and although it varies with change in *suwār* rank, is *not* the *suwār* rank pay in any sense. The caution is all the more necessary since Dr. Horn is deceived into imagining (pp. 15-16) that the increase of Rs. 20 for every 10 horses added to the horse rank is for the maintenance of the 10 horses thus added ; while Rs. 500 alone throughout the ascending scale is the salary of the *ḡat* rank. The way in which our interpretation fits in with the other known facts makes it abundantly clear that his explanation is not possible. Our interpretation receives further corroboration from an unexpected quarter.

'The custome is,' says Hawkins (Purchas, III, 44-5), 'they [the *manṣabdars*] are allowed so much living to maintaine that Port which the King hath given them, that is to say ; they are allowed twentie Rupias of everie horse by the Moneth, and two Rupias by the Moneth for every horse Fame, for the maintenance of their Table. As thus : A Captaine that hath five thousand horse to maintaine in the warres, hath likewise of Fame other five thousand, which he is not to maintaine in the warres, but onely for his Table, allowed upon every horse by the Moneth two Rupias, and the other five thousand, twenty Rupias by the Moneth : and this is the pay which the greater part of them are allowed.'

So Rs. 20 is the monthly pay of each horseman entertained by an officer under his horse rank ; while 'horse Fame' is Hawkins' picturesque translation of *ḡat* rank 'which he is not to maintaine in the warres.' The rate of two rupees for every horse is precisely that on which the table given above has been constructed. Hawkins, we see, is remarkably well informed on this subject ; his only misapprehension being that he assumes that an amir of 5000 horse actually entertained 5000 horsemen. But more of this presently.

While, on the one hand, our explanation is beautifully illustrated by Hawkins' remarks, it is perhaps equally true that his account remains a riddle without our interpretation. Hawkins' remarks, further, go to confirm our conjecture that Abū'l-Faḡl's graduated scale given above is not confined to the *ḡat* rank of 100 but is of general application, being only omitted from the schedule for brevity, as we have said. The increment of Rs. 20 *p.m.* for every increase of 10 in the horse rank does not, however, apply to the other ranks.

To return: Dr. Horn's view of the matter lands him in the obviously absurd position that, calculating the expenses the holders of the ranks detailed in this table have to meet, the *manṣabdar* with the horse rank 0 is the best off pecuniarily.

The scale of salary given in Abū'l-Faḡl's table was apparently revised in later times. The *dastūr-ul-'amals* prepared late in Aurangzeb's time or soon after his death are extant; but no *dastūr-ul-'amal* of Jahāṅgīr's or Shāh Jahān's time is available to us. It is, therefore, difficult to make sure at what time the changes were introduced. The scale of pay in force in Aurangzeb's reign is therefore of sufficient importance to be given *in extenso*. We have taken the following list from a carefully transcribed copy of a carefully written book by a well-informed man:

امین الدین خان by معلومات الآفاق (P.U.L. MS.), probably written soon after Aurangzeb's death; and have verified the results by comparison with a few other MSS. dealing indirectly with the subject.

TABLE OF YEARLY SALARY OF THE *ZAT* RANK

No.	<i>Zat</i> Rank	YEARLY SALARY					
		First Class		Second Class		Third Class	
		<i>Dāms</i> in thousands	Rupees	<i>Dāms</i> in thousands	Rupees	<i>Dāms</i> in thousands	Rupees
1	20,000	40,000	10,00,000	...	...	...	...
2	15,000	30,000	7,50,000	...	...	...	...
3	12,000	24,000	6,00,000	...	...	...	...
4	10,000	20,000	5,00,000	...	...	...	...
5	9,000	18,000	4,50,000	...	...	...	...
6	8,000	16,000	4,00,000	...	...	...	...

TABLE OF YEARLY SALARY OF THE *ZAT* RANK—(contd.)

No.	<i>Zat</i> Rank	YEARLY SALARY					
		First Class		Second Class		Third Class	
		<i>Dāms</i> in thousands	Rupees	<i>Dāms</i> in thousands	Rupees	<i>Dāms</i> in thousands	Rupees
7	7,000	14,000	3,50,000	...	...	...	...
8	6,000	12,000	3,00,000	...	...	...	...
	5,000	10,000	2,50,000	9,700	2,42,500	9,400	2,35,000
10	4,500	9,000	2,25,000	8,700	2,17,500	8,400	2,10,000
11	4,000	8,000	2,00,000	7,700	1,92,500	7,400	1,85,000
12	3,500	7,000	1,75,000	6,700	1,67,500	6,400	1,60,000
13	3,000	6,000	1,50,000	5,700	1,42,500	5,400	1,35,000
14	2,500	5,000	1,25,000	4,700	1,17,500	4,400	1,10,000
15	2,000	4,000	1,00,000	3,700	92,500	3,400	85,000
16	1,500	3,000	75,000	2,700	67,500	2,400	60,000
17	1,000	2,000	50,000	1,900	47,500	1,800	45,000
18	900	1,500	37,500	1,450	36,250	1,400	35,000
19	800	1,250	31,250	1,200	30,000	1,150	28,775
20	700	1,100	27,500	1,050	26,250	1,000	25,000
21	600	950	23,750	900	22,500	850	21,250
22	500	800	20,000	750	18,750	700	17,500
23	400	500	12,500	480	12,000	460	11,500
24	300	400	10,000	380	9,500	360	9,000
25	250	350	8,750	330	8,250	310	7,750
26	200	300	7,500	280	7,000	260	6,500
27	150	250	6,250	230	5,750	210	5,250
28	100	200	5,000	180	4,500	160	4,000
29	80	140	3,500	130	3,250	120	3,000
30	60	100	2,500	95	2,375	90	2,250
31	50	85	2,125	80	2,000	75	1,875
32	40	70	1,750	65	1,625	60	1,500
33	30	55	1,375	50	1,250	45	1,125
34	20	40	1,000	35	875	30	750

NOTE

The MS. gives the salaries in *dams* only. We have added the equivalents in rupees to facilitate comparison with the list on page 8 of *Army*, as far as it goes.

While Abū'l-Faḍl has given monthly allowances in his list, here we have the yearly pay—a fact which seems to show that while in the former case the allowance was probably not paid for all the twelve months of the year, in the latter it was a consolidated annual salary. This consideration will reduce the great inequality between the two scales which Irvine notices (p. 8), calculating the salaries in *Ā'in* for all the twelve months of the year. If the salaries in the *Ā'in* list be calculated for from about six to about nine months in the year no change in the scale need be imagined. The actual facts, however, are not known to us.

It should be remembered that we are not justified in comparing the lists in Aurangzeb's *Dastūr-ul-'amals* with that in *Ā'in* (as Irvine does, *Army*, 8), until we make sure for how many months in the year the *gāt* rank salary was drawn by a *manṣabdar* of Akbar's time.

This list, we are glad to find, tallies completely, as far as they cover the same ground, with the one reproduced by Irvine from some *dastūr-ul-'amals* (British Museum MSS.) on p. 8 of *Army*. These *dastūr-ul-'amals* were prepared about the same time as *Ma'lūmāt-ul-Ālaq*.

Now about the *suwār* rank: The *suwār* rank was generally *yak aspa* (i.e., with one horse); occasionally in case of a more favoured *manṣabdar* it was *du aspa sih aspa* (i.e., with 2 or 3 horses). This does not mean, however, that each soldier had one horse in the former, and 2 or 3 horses in the latter case; for, as we shall see, there were many soldiers with 2, and some with 3, horses in the *yak aspa* rank.

But we must know, before we proceed further, what was the pay of a trooper. I have not been able to find this point in *Ā'in*, so rich in facts and details on other points. Bernier tells us that the minimum salary of a trooper with only one horse was Rs. 25 a month (p. 217);¹

¹ The Editor's reference to the Fifth *Ā'in* (p. 217, f. n. 1) is not in my opinion accurate, since *Ā'in* 5 (Text, 187-8; Blochmann, 251) does not refer to the *tabīnān* of the *manṣabdārs*, but to the *barāwardī* troops.

Hawkins (p. 149 above) gives Rs. 20, without naming the number of horses kept; and Manucci puts it at Rs. 30 (*Storia*, II, 376). Possibly it varied within limits with the class to which the horse belonged.

Irvine, calculating from tables in MS. *dastūr-ul-'amals*, arrives at 8000 *dams* or Rs. 200 a year as the pay of a horseman with one horse, while a two- or three-horsed man got Rs. 275. This is substantiated by such works (like *Ma'lūmāt-ul-Ālaq*) as are available to us. The period covered by all these authorities is roughly from 1070 to 1120 A.H.

We may note in passing that in all directories of the Mughal period, called *dastūr-ul-'amals*, salaries, from the highest to the lowest, are calculated in *dams*—a money of account, to be distinguished from the coin of that name. The reason is thus given by Dr. Horn: 'Dass das Gehalt nach Dāms nicht nach Rupien bestimmt wurde, geschah weniger, um mit hohen Zahlen zu prunken, als weil der Wert der Rupie schwankte.' (Horn, 16).

We agree with above, though Irvine (*Army*, 6-7) and those who follow him hold the contrary view.

In *suwār* rank the soldiers did not draw salary for all the months of the year; but the matter was more complicated here than in case of the *gāt* rank.

The salary of the *yak aspa suwār* rank was drawn, in Shāh Jahān's reign, for instance, for 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, or 5 months in the year, and while the number of the horsemen remained constant, the number of horses maintained by them varied with the number of months for which the salary was drawn. From the details given by 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī (*B.N.*, II, 507) we have constructed the following table:—

A *manṣabdar* with 4,000 or 5,000 *suwār* rank, who had to maintain, say, 1,000 horsemen, had to keep

Number of months for which salary drawn	<i>Sih aspa</i>	<i>Du aspa</i>	<i>Yak aspa</i>	Total number of horsemen	Total number of horses
12	300	600	100	1,000	2,200
11	250	500	250	1,000	2,000
10	...	800	200	1,000	1,800
9	...	600	400	1,000	1,600
8	...	450	550	1,000	1,450
7	...	250	750	1,000	1,250
6	...	100	900	1,000	1,100
5	...	...	1,000	1,000	1,000

If, however, the *suwar* rank was *du aspa sih aspa* the number both of horses and horsemen was doubled. Thus a *manṣabdar* of 4000 horse *du aspa sih aspa*, who drew salary for twelve months, had to maintain under the $\frac{1}{2}$ rule :

600	<i>sih aspa</i>	} i.e., 2,000 horsemen with 4,400 horses ;
1200	<i>du aspa</i>	
200	<i>yak aspa</i>	

and so on with 11, 10, etc., months.

So the salary of the *tabīnān* in *du aspa sih aspa* rank was exactly double the salary in the corresponding *yak aspa* rank—a fact incidentally verified by a statement in *B.N.*, I, 113.

Irvine's deduction from a statement in a *dastūr-ul-'amal*, that the total number of horses was always double that of the number of men, though supported by Bernier's allegation that 'two horses are generally allowed to one trooper' (p. 212) is obviously irreconcilable with what we have detailed above, unless we assume either that the salary was generally drawn for from nine to twelve months, and mostly in fact for twelve or eleven months—which was not the case, or that the *dastūr-ul-'amal* is not referring to the *tabīnān* of the *umara* at all, but to some other class of troopers such as that mentioned in the Fifth *Ā'in* referred to in a foot-note above.

Further, there is another difficulty. 'The pay of the men with the extra horses,' says Irvine, 'was higher, but not in proportion. Thus, a one-horsed man received 8000 D. or Rs. 200 a year (Rs. 16 10 a. 8 p. per mensem), while the two- or three-horsed man got 11,000 D. or Rs. 275 a year (Rs. 22 14 a. 8 p. per mensem).' (*Army*, 10). The obvious objection arises that the two- and the three-horsed men receive the same pay; yet we know from the table given above that the difference was important. The difficulty becomes insurmountable when we calculate the actual salary paid according to the table on the basis of Rs. 200 for a *yak aspa* and Rs. 275 for a *du aspa* or a *sih aspa* horseman. We find that while twelve months' salary works out to 2,67,500, and eleven months' salary to 2,56,250, ten months' salary amounts to 2,60,000; so that a *manṣabdar* with ten months' salary fares better than one with eleven months'—which is absurd. The only possible escape is through the hypothesis that Irvine's calculations refer to a later period, and that a different scale obtained in *Shāh Jahān's* time.

Irvine's estimate failing for *Shāh Jahān's* reign, we fall back upon Bernier and Manucci, and take the salary of a *yak aspa* trooper as lying between Rs. 25 and 30 according to the horse presented by him. But Bernier himself says that there were not many troopers with one horse; and we know from the table given above that in case of *manṣabdars* who drew salary for from twelve to nine months the troopers with two or three horses predominated. So these authorities do not carry us very far either.

But does this table really mean that in the first case 300 men with three horses, 600 men with two horses, and 100 men with one horse drew salary for all the twelve months; while in the second case, 250 men with three horses, 500 men with two horses, and 250 men with one horse drew salary for eleven months in the year, and so on?

This would be the apparent meaning. But we are not at all sure if this is the real interpretation. For we find that the salaries calculated (on whatever basis) for 12, 11, etc., months are not proportionate to the number of months to which they correspond; i.e. the salaries for twelve and eleven months respectively are not in the proportion of 12:11; nor does the salary for twelve months work out to double that for six months, or the salary for ten months to double that for five months.¹ It raises a doubt whether the number of months really refer to the salary of the *tabīnān*. Is it not possible that the *duwāzda māha* and *yāzda māha*, etc. refer to the months for which the *manṣabdar* drew his *ḡat* salary; and the number of men with three, two or one horse varied according to the months for which the *ḡat* rank salary was drawn.² In that case we should not know for how many months in the year the troopers drew pay. We can only quote Irvine on the subject, however: 'Pay [of the *tabīnān*] was not always allowed for a whole year; often only for six, five, or four months.' (*Army*, 11). He does not give his source. Are we to assume, then, that the *tabīnān* remained with their chief on the footing of a standing army for so many months in the year?

This salary did not all go to the trooper; but the *manṣabdar* was allowed to retain 5 p.c. of the pay of the men under him for his own expenses. (*Ā'in*, Text, I, 196).

¹ Yet there is a rough correspondence between the total number of horses and the number of months for which salary was drawn.

² A rather interesting sort of interlocking between the two ranks.

Certain other deductions were also made, which need not be recapitulated here. The reader can consult Irvine, *Army*, Chapter II, and the authorities quoted there.

The *manṣabdar* had in addition to maintain a subordinate establishment. Irvine has the following, based on a MS. written in 1118 A.H. :—

‘An establishment of farriers, blacksmiths’ forges, and surgeons had to be maintained by each *manṣabdar*, according to the following scale. . . . The *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, ii, 118, states that thirty men on foot were required to be entertained for every 1000 of *manṣab* rank. These included water-carriers, farriers, pioneers, matchlockmen and bow-men.’ (*Army*, 52-3).

It should be remarked that, as regards payment of salary, *manṣab-dars* were of two kinds. Usually a *manṣabdar* was assigned a *jāgīr*, the assessed income of which was equivalent to the total of his *gāt* salary and the pay of his *tabīnān*.¹ Occasionally the pay was disbursed in cash from the treasury in lieu of the income of the *jāgīr*. ‘A certain number of officers and soldiers, chiefly those of the infantry and artillery, who were, as a rule, on the pay list of the emperor himself, were paid in cash. This seems to have been the case in all reigns up to quite the end.’ (*Army*, 14).

The peerage consisted of a single graded list of rank-holders. The princes were naturally placed at the top, often by themselves. But no division was shown in the names that followed. Yet those above a certain rank were known as *umarā-i-kibār*, *umarā-i-‘uzzām* or *nū‘īnān-i-wālā tabār*. Next came the *umarā*; and last came the *manṣabdars*, who were at the bottom.

The ranks ranged from 20 to 10,000 in Akbar’s time. The upper limit rose much higher in later reigns.

The *dah bāshī* was not entitled to promotion to a *manṣab*, and was a sort of non-commissioned officer.

I have not come across any original authority clearly indicating the lines demarcating the *umarā-i-‘uzzām* from the ordinary *umarā*, and the latter from the *manṣabdars*. We can, however, quote Irvine: ‘In

¹ See an excellent account of the *jāgīr* system in Irvine, *Army*, 14-16. The institution of the *jāgīr* is found in Tīmūr’s time, and is derived from the Arabs, says Dr. Horn (p. 16), referring to Von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, I, 255.

addition to the simple division by *manṣab* alone, there was also a grouping of officers into three classes. From 20 to 400 they were merely ‘officers with rank’ (*manṣabdar*); from 500 to 2500 they were Nobles—Blochmann, i, 535 (*Amīr*, pl. *Umarā*, origin of our form ‘Omrah’); from 3000 to 7000 they were Great Nobles (*Amīr-i-A‘zam*, pl. ‘*Uzzām*, *Umarā-i-kibār*—Blochmann, i, 529, note), or Pillars (*‘Umdah*).’ (*Army*, 9):

The authority relied on by Irvine is no other than Blochmann; and the second reference given does not at all bear out the opinion for the support of which it is cited. In fact, the footnote on p. 529 (mentioning the *Ṭabaqāt*) gives the impression that in Blochmann’s opinion *umarā-i-kibār* are the ‘commanders of 5000’ and upwards.

But Blochmann himself is not sure of his position, as is evident from the passage quoted below :—

‘From the fact that Abulfazl only gives names up to commanders of 200, and the *Pādishāhnāmāh* up to 500, we may conclude that, at Akbar’s time, *Manṣabs* under 200, and at Shāhjahān’s time, *Manṣabs* under 500, did not entitle the holder to the title of *Amīr*. To judge from Nizām’s *Ṭabaqāt* and the *Maāsir i Rahīmī*, *Manṣabdars* from the Hazārī (Commander of 1000) were, at Akbar’s time, styled *umarā-i-kibār* or *umarā-i-‘izzām*, great Amīrs; and I am not quite sure whether the title of Amīr is not restricted to *Manṣabdars* from the Hazārīs upwards. Nizām does restrict his phrases *ba martabah i imārat rasīd*, or *dar jargah* (or *silāh*, or *sumrah*) *i umarā muntaxim gasht*, to commanders from Hazārīs.’ (Blochmann, 239-40).

Among the earlier authorities Nizām-ud-Din Aḥmad is the only person who renders some help. He has the following note on p. 389 of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Nawalkishor Press), which should be quoted in the original Persian to guard against error :

پوهيده نه ماند که هرکس از ملازمان درگاه که پانصد نوکر دارد اطلاق امارت و امرای بر نه نموده و هرکس که مذکور شد مرتبه او از پله امارت بالاست *

Translation : Let it be known that the title *Amīr* has been applied to every officer who has 500 servants, and every one in the above list holds a rank above *amārat*.¹

¹ A MS. of *Ṭabaqāt* transcribed in 1050 A.H. (in possession of my friend, Prof. Hāfiz Maḥmūd Shairānī) reads this passage as follows :—

پوهيده نه ماند که هرکس از ملازمان درگاه که از پانصد نوکر کمتر دارد اطلاق امارت و امرای بر نه نموده و هرکس که مذکور شد مرتبه او از پله امارت بالاست *

So in the author's opinion the officers holding rank of 500 and upwards were *umara*.

The sense is not much affected, but the reading seems better than the text of the printed edition.

Having quoted these authorities, we proceed to examine them. As for Blochmann, no conclusion, I think, can be drawn from the fact that Abū'l-Faḡl's list comes down to the rank of 200, while that in *B.N.* stops short with 500—a circumstance very possibly due to the fact that the total number of *manṣabdars* in Shāh Jahān's time far exceeded that in Akbar's time, so that Shāh Jahān's historians could afford to be more select.

But Blochmann presents this only as a tentative inference. His second equally tentative conclusion, based on *Ṭabaqāt* and *Ma'aṣir-i-Raḥīmī*, that officers of 1000 and upwards were, in Akbar's time, styled *Umarā-i-kibar* or *Umarā-i-'uẓẓām*, is equally unsatisfactory. But his general impression or guess that an amir was a *manṣabdar* of 1000 and upwards even in Akbar's time, is more correct than either. It is supported by what we learn from authorities for later reigns. In the list at the end of *B.N.*, I, for instance, after the ranks of the princes, we have the following heading

نوابان، الامکان و امراء عاليشان و دیگر منصبداران

where it is perfectly clear that the list includes all three classes: (1) *nā'inān* or *umara-i-'uẓẓām*; (2) *umara* and (3) *manṣabdars*. Now this list, as has already been mentioned in the above discussion, does not go below the *ḡat* rank of 500. When we know from the heading that this list includes *manṣabdars* also, and, further, that the line is to be drawn either at 500 or at 1000, the inference seems justified that the officers in this list below 1000 are *manṣabdars*. Again, we note that Manucci, in his account of the *manṣab* (*Storia*, II, 369–77) applies the term *umara* to rank-holders from *hazārī* upwards (372–74 and particularly 377).

Similarly Bernier, speaking of the *umara*, in the passage quoted below, begins with *hazārī* and goes on to *duwāzda hazārī* (p. 212), and, again, refers to their rank as 'from one to twelve thousand' (p. 213).

From this cumulative evidence the conclusion is irresistible that *amara* ranged from 1000 upwards, at least during the reigns of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb. In view of this Irvine's declaration quoted above seems to be dogmatic.

As regards the other point—the line where the *umara* ended and the *umara-i-'uẓẓām* began—we have nothing to say. The authority quoted by Irvine does not satisfy us; and we have found no other.

In this connection it is worthy of note that in the table of the *ḡat* rank pay based on the *dastūr-ul-'amals* of Aurangzeb's time (given above) we find a jump in pay between the *ḡat* rank of 400 and 500, and then another between 900 and 1000—which shows that special importance attached to the promotion to the *ḡat* rank of 500 and 1000; though it must be admitted that the promotion from 800 to 900 also carried an excessive increase which is clearly out of scale. These remarks, however, apply only to the table given on p. 151 above. The table in the *A'in* furnishes no basis for any such inference.

A remark on the use of the terms *manṣabdar* and *manṣab* may not be out of place here. '*Manṣabdar*,' in a general sense, means simply a rank-holder, and is often so used as to include all officers. The word *دبیر* in the heading in *B.N.*, I, quoted above, shows that '*manṣabdar*' sometimes included *umara*. In fact we ourselves in this discussion have often used the term in the wider sense, for the sake of brevity. In a stricter sense, of course, a *manṣabdar* stands lower than an amir. Conversely 'amir' is occasionally used for *manṣabdar* in the general sense, i.e., any rank-holder; as in Budā'ūnī.

Again, the word *manṣab* is often used specifically for *manṣab-i-ḡat* as distinguished from *manṣab-i-suwār*; as by Abū'l-Faḡl in the passage quoted on p. 142 above.

Below follows an account of the *manṣabdārī* system by a careful writer who observed the actual working of it in practice.

Bernier's description of the Mughal peerage and the way in which it was created and recruited is clear; and his remarks on their condition, their number, their state and their etiquette are full of interest. Although the following passage involves some repetition of what has been said above, it deserves to be quoted in full. He begins with the *umara*:

'It must not be imagined that the *Omrahs* or Lords of the *Mogol's* court are members of ancient families, as our nobility in *France*. The King being proprietor of all the lands in the empire, there can exist neither Dukedoms nor Marquisates; nor can any family be found possessed of wealth arising from a domain, and living upon its own patrimony. The courtiers are often not even descendants of *Omrahs*,

because, the King being heir of all their possessions, no family can long maintain its distinction, but, after the *Omrah's* death, is soon extinguished, and the sons, or at least the grandsons, reduced generally, we might almost say, to beggary, and compelled to enlist as mere troopers in the cavalry of some *Omrah*. The King, however, usually bestows a small pension on the widow, and often on the family; and if the *Omrah's* life be sufficiently prolonged, he may obtain the advancement of his children by royal favour, particularly if their persons be well formed, and their complexions sufficiently fair to enable them to pass for genuine *Mogols*. But this advancement through special favour proceeds slowly, for it is an almost invariable custom to pass gradually from small salaries, and inconsiderable offices, to situations of greater trust and emolument. The *Omrahs*, therefore, mostly consist of adventurers from different nations who entice one another to the court; and are generally persons of low descent, some having been originally slaves, and the majority being destitute of education.¹ The *Mogol* raises them to dignities, or degrades them to obscurity, according to his own pleasure and caprice.

Some of the *Omrahs* have the title of *Hazary*, or lord of a thousand horse; some, of *Dou Hazary*, lord of two thousand horse; some, of *Penge*, lord of five thousand horse; some, of *Hecht*, lord of seven thousand horse; some, of *Deh Hazary*, lord of ten thousand horse; and sometimes an *Omrah* has the title of *Douazdeh Hazary*, lord of twelve thousand horse; as was the case with the King's eldest son. Their pay is proportionate, not to the number of men, but to the number of horses,² and two horses are generally allowed to one trooper, in order that the service may be better performed; for in those hot countries it is usual to say that a soldier with a single horse has one foot on the ground. But let it not be supposed that an *Omrah* is expected to keep, or indeed that the King would pay for, such a body of horse as is implied by the titles of *Douazdeh* or *Hecht Hazary*;³ high-sounding names intended to impose on the credulous, and deceive *Foreigners*. The King himself regulates as well the effective number

¹ A rather sweeping remark, and on the whole unjust.

² The pay of the *suwār* rank is obviously meant, and the reference seems to be to the *sih aspa*, *du aspa*, and *yak aspa* soldiers.

³ It is unfortunate that in this sentence Bernier is not distinguishing between the *gāt* and *suwār* rank.

that each *Omrah* is to maintain, as the nominal number which he need not keep, but which is also paid for, and usually forms the principal part of his salary.¹ This salary is increased by the money that the *Omrah* retains out of every man's pay,² and by what accrues from his false returns of the horses he is supposed to provide: all which renders the *Omrah's* income very considerable, particularly when he is so fortunate as to have some good *Jah-ghirs*, or suitable lands, assigned to him for the payment of his salary: for I perceived that the *Omrah* under whom I served, a *Penge-Hazary*, or lord of five thousand, whose quota was fixed at five hundred horses,³ had yet a balance over after the payment of all expenses, of nearly five thousand crowns a month, although, like all those who have no *Jah-ghirs*, he was a *Nagdy*, that is to say, one who drew his pay in cash from the treasury. Notwithstanding these large incomes, I was acquainted with very few wealthy *Omrahs*; on the contrary, most of them are in embarrassed circumstances, and deeply in debt; not that they are ruined, like the nobility of other countries, by the extravagance of their table, but by the costly presents made to the King at certain annual festivals, and by their large establishments of wives, servants, camels, and horses.

The *Omrahs* in the provinces, in the armies, and at court, are very numerous; but it was not in my power to ascertain their number, which is not fixed. I never saw less than five-and-twenty to thirty at court, all of whom were in the receipt of the large incomes already mentioned, dependent for the amount upon their number of horses, from one to twelve thousand.

It is these *Omrahs* who attain to the highest honours and situations of the State,—at court, in the provinces, and in the armies; and who are, as they call themselves, the Pillars of the Empire. They maintain the splendour of the court, and are never seen out-of-doors but in the most superb apparel; mounted sometimes on an elephant, sometimes on horseback, and not unfrequently in a *Paleky* attended

¹ This will cause confusion, unless the reader is very careful. 'The effective number' seems to refer to the actual number of horsemen maintained, i.e., $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the *suwār* rank according to rules; while 'the nominal number' apparently refers to the *rāt* rank. Bernier seems to imagine, however, that this number represents horsemen—a common mistake.

² The 5 p. c. mentioned on p. 155 above.

³ *Dānīshmand Khān's* rank was 5000/2000, and he had to maintain 500 horse according to the 1/4 rule.

by many of their cavalry, and by a large body of servants on foot, who take their station in front, and at either side, of their lord, not only to clear the way, but to flap the flies and brush off the dust with tails of peacocks; to carry the *picquedent* or spittoon, water to allay the *Omrah's* thirst, and sometimes account-books, and other papers. Every *Omrah* at court is obliged, under a certain penalty, to repair twice a day to the assembly, for the purpose of paying his respects to the King, at ten or eleven o'clock in the morning, when he is there seated to dispense justice, and at six in the evening. An *Omrah* must also, in rotation, keep guard in the fortress once every week, during four-and-twenty hours. He sends thither his bed, carpet, and other furniture; the King supplying him with nothing but his meals. These are received with peculiar ceremony. Thrice the *Omrah* performs the *taslim*, or reverence, the face turned toward the royal apartment; first dropping the hand down to the ground, and then lifting it up to the head.

Whenever the King takes an excursion in his *Paleky*, on an elephant, or in a *Tact-Ravan* (or travelling throne, carried upon the shoulders of eight men, who are cleverly relieved from time to time when on the march by eight others), all the *Omrahs* who are not prevented by illness, disabled by age, or exempted by a peculiar office, are bound to accompany him on horseback, exposed to the inclemency of the weather and to suffocating clouds of dust. On every occasion the King is completely sheltered, whether taking the diversion of hunting, marching at the head of his troops, or making his progresses from one city to another. When, however, he confines his hunting to the neighbourhood of the city, visits his country house or repairs to the mosque, he sometimes dispenses with so large a retinue, and prefers being attended by such *Omrahs* only as are that day on guard.¹ (Bernier, pp. 211-15).

The author then goes on to talk of the *mansabdars*:

'*Mansebdars* are horsemen with *manseb* pay, which is a peculiar pay, both honourable and considerable; not equal to that of the *Omrahs*, but much greater than the common pay. Hence they are looked on as petty *Omrahs*, and as being of the rank from which the *Omrahs* are taken. They acknowledge no other chief but the King, and have much the same duties imposed upon them as the *Omrahs*, to whom they would be equal if they had horsemen under them, as formerly

was sometimes the case; but now they have only two, four, or six service horses, that is, such as bear the King's mark; and their pay is, in some instances, as low as one hundred and fifty *roupies* per month, and never exceeds seven hundred.¹ Their number is not fixed, but they are much more numerous than the *Omrahs*: besides those in the provinces and armies, there are never less than two or three hundred at court.' (*Ibid.*, 215.)

We learn incidentally that the number of *umara* about Aurangzeb's court at Bernier's time was about twenty-five or thirty, and that of the *mansabdars* about 200 or 300. The entire *mansabdari* personnel was divided into two classes: (1) Those present at court (*hazir-i-rikab*), and (2) those on duty in the provinces (*ta'inatian*). The officers were periodically transferred from one list to the other.

THE MUGHAL ARISTOCRACY AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON

The *mansabdari* system was an interesting institution socially. It was an aristocracy, but it differed from the other aristocracies in history in that the nobility and the *jagir* appertaining to it were held, both in theory and practice, at the pleasure of the emperor, and were in all cases limited to a life-tenure; and—what is even more important—all cash and valuables belonging to a *mansabdar* escheated, at his death, to the crown, in theory the owner and heir of all real and personal property in the land. The descendants of the deceased *mansabdar* were occasionally, however, given a small rank by way of opportunity to prove personal merit, or some cash or allowance as a means of sustenance—in both cases, a pure act of grace.²

Economically this redistribution of wealth at the end of each lifetime was something of an approach to some of the communistic

¹ Some of the statements in this sentence are either ill-informed or obscure. We find no authority for them.

² This is the generally accepted opinion. But Sir Jadunath Sarkar contends with considerable show of reasoning and plausibility that in reality there was no escheat in Mughal India, what is commonly known as such being only a temporary expedient to settle the outstanding accounts between the State and the deceased. The Emperor, Sir Jadunath holds, never claimed to be heir of a dead subject's property, except when he died heirless.

The point is too big to be pronounced upon lightly; and adequate discussion will take us too far afield. We, therefore, content ourselves with referring the reader to Sir J. N. Sarkar's *Mughal Administration* (Second Series) (Patna University, 1925), pp. 46-50.

ideals. Though based on the oriental theory of king as a shadow of God (*Zillu'l-lah*), it was, as a factor in social and economic history, much in advance of the times. In fact the theory of divine kingship enabled the social philosophers to get over the difficulties found to be all but insurmountable by the modern socialists and communists.¹

The Mughal aristocracy, whether it appears as an ornament of the imperial court, embroidering the central figure of the emperor, or, else, as itself a cynosure of dependents and admirers, is a picture without which Mughal life and art would have missed much of their colour and beauty.

Again, the Mughal nobility constituted a sort of agency through which the ideals of art and morals and manners, which were supposed according to the ideas of the time to coalesce in the personality of the emperor, were diffused among the lower classes. The court etiquette was the official code of manners, which was followed in smaller assemblies on a gradually diminishing scale down to audiences given by private men as a purely social function.²

The standard of life was set by the court and its *entourage*. It constituted the *style*. The habits and customs of the people, their ideas, tendencies and ambitions, their tastes and pleasures, were often unconsciously fashioned on this model. The peerage acted as the conduit-pipe for this stream of influence. The patronage of art and culture followed the same lines; and even where the interest was not genuine the enlightened pursuits were followed and encouraged as a dogma dictated by fashion. The current of public opinion and social conventions was set by the practice followed at the court or by the nobility.

Probably the best contemporary account of the Mughal aristocracy is Pelsaert's. There is an air of mystery and romance about his description of Mughal nobility, its life and ways. The picture is slightly overdrawn, but on the whole there is something singularly well-informed about the graphic details.

Speaking of the nobles in Mughal India, he says, 'their position is as unstable as the wind, resting on no firm foundation, but rather on

¹ Sir J. N. Sarkar holds the opposite view on this point. He has a poor opinion of the Mughal nobility as a class. See *Mughal Administration*, pp. 52-4.

² In the old Mughal houses at Agra, Delhi, or Lahore, one still sees a miniature replica of a many-columned *diwānkhāna* with a *bijou* flower-garden in front of it and many other details characteristic of the domestic architecture of the period.

pillars of glass, resplendent in the eyes of the world, but collapsing under the stress of even a slight storm.

Their *mahals* are adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, superfluous pomp, inflated pride, and ornamental daintiness, while the servants of the lords may justly be described as a generation of iniquity, greed and oppression, for, like their masters, they make hay while the sun shines. Sometimes while they [the nobles] think they are exalted to a seat in heaven, an envious report to the King may cast them down to the depths of woe. Very few of them, however, think of the future, but they enjoy themselves to the uttermost while they can. As a rule they have three or four wives, the daughters of worthy men, but the senior wife commands most respect. All live together in the enclosure surrounded by high walls, which is called the *mahal*, having tanks and gardens inside. Each wife has separate apartments for herself and her slaves, of whom there may be 10, or 20, or 100, according to her fortune. Each has a regular monthly allowance for her *gastos* [expenditure]. Jewels and clothes are provided by the husband according to the extent of his affection. Their food comes from one kitchen, but each wife takes it in her own apartments; for they hate each other secretly, though they seldom or never allow it to be seen, because of their desire to retain the favour of their husband, whom they fear, honour, and worship, as a god rather than a man. Each night he visits a particular wife, or *mahal*, and receives a very warm welcome from her and from the slaves, who, dressed specially for the occasion, seem to fly, rather than run, about their duties. If it is the hot weather, they undress the husband as soon as he comes in, and rub his body with pounded sandalwood and rosewater, or some other scented and cooling oil. Fans are kept going steadily in the room, or in the open air, where they usually sit. Some of the slaves chafe the master's hands and feet, some sit and sing, or play music and dance, or provide other recreation, the wife sitting near him all the time. They study night and day how to make exciting perfumes and efficacious preserves, such as *mosseri*¹ or *salonj* ['presumably named from the seed *salanja*, which

¹ My friend, Prof. Muḥammad Shafi' of the Lahore Oriental College, makes a shrewd guess, and interprets *mosseri* as *mufarriḥ* (exhilarating medicine), s and f being closely alike in German text, as in old English printing.

is used as a perfume.'—*Foot-note*],¹ containing amber, pearls, gold, opium, and other stimulants; but these are mostly for their own use, for they eat them occasionally in the day-time, because they produce a pleasant elevation of the spirit. In the cool of the evening they drink a great deal of wine, for the women learn the habit quickly from their husbands, and drinking has become very fashionable in the last few years. The husband sits like a golden cock among the gilded hens until midnight, or until passion, or drink, sends him to bed. Then if one of the pretty slave girls takes his fancy, he calls her to him and enjoys her, his wife not daring to show any signs of displeasure, but dissembling, though she will take it out of the slave-girl later on.

Two or three eunuchs, or more, who are merely purchased Bengali slaves, but are usually faithful to their master, are appointed for each wife, to ensure that she is seen by no man except her husband; and, if a eunuch fails in this duty, he, with everyone else to blame for the stranger's presence, is in danger of losing his life. They are thus held in high esteem by their master, but the women pay them still greater regard, for the whole management of the *mahal* is in their hands, and they can give or refuse whatever is wanted. Thus they can get whatever they desire—fine horses to ride, servants to attend them outside, and female slaves inside the house, clothes as fine and smart as those of their master himself. The wives feel themselves bound to do all this, in order that what happens in the house may be concealed from their husband's knowledge; for many, or perhaps most of them, so far forget themselves, that, when their husband has gone away, either to Court, or to some place where he takes only his favourite wife, and leaves the rest at home, they allow the eunuch to enjoy them according to his ability, and thus gratify their burning passions when they have no opportunity of going out; but otherwise they spare no craft or trouble to enable them to enjoy themselves outside. These wretched women wear, indeed, the most expensive clothes, eat the daintiest food, and enjoy all worldly pleasures except one, and for that one they grieve, saying they would willingly give everything in exchange for a beggar's poverty.

¹ The same gentleman reads this word as *philonia* (L. *Philonium Romanum*), which Jahāngīr used to take (*Tūzūk*, 124-5; *Tūzūk*, R. and B., I, 308).

The ladies of our country should be able to realize from this description the good fortune of their birth, and the extent of their freedom when compared with the position of ladies like them in other lands; but this topic lies outside the scope of my task, and I shall now speak of the houses which are built here. They are noble and pleasant, with many apartments, but there is not much in the way of an upper story except a flat roof, on which to enjoy the evening air. There are usually gardens and tanks inside the house; and in the hot weather the tanks are filled daily with fresh water, drawn by oxen from wells. The water is drawn, or sometimes raised by a wheel, in such quantity that it flows through a leaden pipe and rises like a fountain; in this climate water and plants are a refreshment and recreation unknown in our cold country. These houses last for a few years only, because the walls are built with mud instead of mortar, but the white plaster of the walls is very noteworthy, and far superior to anything in our country. They use unslaked lime, which is mixed with milk, gum, and sugar into a thin paste. When the walls have been plastered with lime, they apply this paste, rubbing it with well-designed trowels until it is smooth; then they polish it steadily with agates, perhaps for a whole day, until it is dry and hard, and shines like alabaster, or can even be used as a looking-glass.

They have no furniture of the kind we delight in, such as tables, stools, benches, cupboards, bedsteads, etc.; but their cots, or sleeping places, and other furniture of kinds unknown in our country, are lavishly ornamented with gold or silver, and they use more gold and silver in serving food than we do, though nearly all of it is used in the *mahal*, and is seen by scarcely anybody except women. Outside the *mahal*, there is only the *diwan-khana*, or sitting-place, which is spread with handsome carpets, and kept very clean and neat. Here the lord takes his seat in the morning to attend to his business, whatever it is, and here all his subordinates come to salaam him. This is a very humble salute, in which the body is bent forward, and the right hand is placed on the head; but persons of equal rank or position merely bend the body. If strangers desire admittance, their names are first announced, and they are then introduced. After saluting, they take seats appropriate to their position in a row on each side of their host, and that so humbly that they seem unlike themselves, for it is more like a school of wise and virtuous philosophers than a

gathering of false infidels ; and no one will move from his place, though they should sit the whole day. There is a certain gravity in their mode of speaking ; they make no loud noise, and do not shout or use gestures. If they talk secrets, which they do not wish to be heard by everybody, they hold a handkerchief, or their girdle, before their mouths, so that neither speaker shall be touched by the other's breath. Everyone leaves as soon as he has obtained an answer to his request, but friends, acquaintances, and persons of position remain until the lord retires into the house, or unless the audience is prolonged until meal-time, though there are no fixed hours for meals. Before eating they first wash their hands ; then the tablecloth is brought and spread on the floor. The food consists of *birinj* [dressed rice], *aeshalia* [? *shulla* or *shu'la*], *pollach* [*pulao*], (yellow, red, green, or black), *zueyla* [? *thalt*], spiced wheaten cakes], *dupiaza* [meat with onions, etc.] ; also roast meats, and various other good courses, served on very large dishes, with too little butter, and too much spice for our taste. The *tsaftergir* [? *safrachī*], table-servant, or *sharbatdar*, butler¹, or head servant, sits in the middle, and serves each guest according to his rank, the senior first. In eating, they use little in the way of spoons or knives except their five fingers, which they besmear up to the knuckles soldier-fashion, for napkins are not used, and it is very bad manners to lick the fingers. Each guest confines himself to the portion served before him ; no food is touched with the left hand ; and little or nothing is drunk while eating, whether water or wine, until they have said their prayer and washed their hands. Alike at midday and in the evening the guests rise and take their leave with scanty compliments, saying merely, God grant a lasting blessing on the house ! and the host then goes into his *mahal* to sleep until the evening, when he usually comes out again to the sitting-place. Such are the usual customs, but detailed descriptions such as this must show some discrepancies. Some rich people, and many who are economical, take their meals in the *mahal* in order to save the heavy cost of the outside service ; and again they cannot hold their reception when they are in the King's camp, because they are on duty continuously from morning to night. Some of the nobles, again, have chaste wives, but they are too few to be worth mentioning ; most of the

¹ Thus the Editor. Prof Shafi suggests *chāshānigir* as the more likely reading of this corrupt word.

ladies are tarred with the same brush, and when the husband is away, though he may think they are guarded quite safely by his eunuchs, they are too clever for Argus himself with his hundred eyes, and get all the pleasure they can, though not so much as they desire.' (Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, 64-8.)

We have placed before the reader the whole of this account, unabridged and entire ; because we have wished to be fair both to the reader and to the good *padre*. The inclination to omit the more risky passages has been resisted in the belief that an author is best judged by judging the integral piece.

It is our duty, however, to drop a word of caution to the reader : None can deny that the spicy scandal of the purple patches reads like a chapter from the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*. There is also perhaps a conscious or sub-conscious seeking after effect in these sensational disclosures. But we have no wish to be unfair to the author.

In fact, we think, the verisimilitude which characterizes these details points to the personal experience of the author as their source. And this is supported not only by the fact that Father Pelsaert had effective knowledge of Persian, but also by the evidence that Pelsaert, during his seven years' stay at Agra (1621-27), did not live a straight life. Mr. Moreland, the Editor, tells us that 'some years after his death, an inquiry was held into irregularities at the Dutch factory in Agra, and the report, in dealing with the immoral life of the staff, observed incidentally that Pelsaert's private life also had been open to similar censure.' (Pelsaert, Introduction, xii.)

In view of these revelations one is driven to conclude that Pelsaert mixed freely with a certain class of womankind at Agra, and, basing his generalizations on his experience, arrived at an indiscriminate condemnation of all classes, including the highest, with which presumably he had no opportunity to associate.

Further, it is an accepted principle of the law of equity that a man who seeks equity must himself come into court with clean hands. Obviously it is much more true that a man who occupies or appropriates the judgment-seat must himself come with clean hands. This raises a presumption against the author of this diatribe.

Not prejudice or ignorance but passion is the refracting medium which distorts Pelsaert's vision of things. Making every allowance for

the seducing influences of wealth and luxury, and the laxity of the moral standard sanctioned by fashion and prestige, we do not at all see our way to subscribe to the charge.

But we can find no fault with the excellent description of the houses of the nobility and their furniture. In the details of their daily life, their manners and customs, we have a fine commentary on the amenities of private and social life among the higher classes. We can judge better of the ethos of a people by these externals of social life than by setting up a school for scandal.

A few characteristics of the *manṣabdārī* mode of recruiting the army may next be noted :

The *manṣabdārī* system of raising an army may be said to be a sort of compromise between the ancient system of tribal chieftainship and the mediæval feudal system of levying forces. Certain chiefs were under certain conditions made responsible for the levy, and the force under each chieftain belonged wholly or mainly to his own clan, at any rate in the early period. It was, therefore, an advance on both those earlier systems, for it combined to a certain extent their advantages. The loyalty of the men to their chief was assured by racial kinship, and a large army became possible without a gigantic central organization for its recruitment and upkeep, while there was not much fear of the chief's revolting or assuming independence.

The system had some further advantages : The *manṣabdars* holding civil or military offices in the provinces (i.e., the *ta'wātīān*, as distinguished from those about court, who were called *ḥaṣīr-i-rikāb*) who, in many cases, held *jāgīrs* in their place of appointment, constituted an automatic distribution of forces, handy for all military or administrative contingencies.

Again, each unit, from its composition, could be utilized precisely for the purpose to which it was best suited ; so that the best use was made of every ounce of fighting strength. This finds an apt illustration in Bernier's remarks about the Rājput rājas, where he describes how one unit of the Mughal army could be, and often was, diplomatically used against one enemy, and another against another. The Rājas, he says, 'are necessary to keep in check such *Rajas* as are not in the *Mogol's* pay ; to reduce to submission those who take up

arms rather than pay tribute, or refuse to join the army when summoned by the *Mogol*.' 'It is the King's policy,' he goes on, 'to foment jealousy and discord amongst the *Rajas*, and by caressing and favouring some more than others, he often succeeds, when desirous of doing so, in kindling wars among them.' Again, 'they are always at hand to be employed against the *Patans*, or against any rebellious *Omrah* or governor.' 'Whenever the King of *Golkonda*,' he continues, 'withholds his tribute, or evinces an inclination to defend the King of *Visapour* or any neighbouring *Raja* whom the *Mogol* wishes to despoil or render tributary, *Rajas* are sent against him in preference to *Omrahs*, who being for the most part *Persians*, are not of the same religion as the *Mogol*, to wit *Sounnys*, but *Chius*, as are the Kings of *Persia* and *Golkonda*.' (p. 210).

Further, 'the *Mogol* never finds the *Rajas* more useful than when he is engaged in hostility with the *Persians*. His *Omrahs*, as I have just remarked, are generally of that nation, and shudder at the idea of fighting against their natural King ; especially because they acknowledge him as their *Imam*, their *Calife* or sovereign pontiff, and the descendant of *Aly*, to bear arms against whom they therefore consider a great crime.

The *Mogol* is also compelled to engage *Patans* in his service by reasons very similar to those I have assigned for employing *ragipous*.' (p. 211).

The policy detailed above, which would have been impossible without a clan system in the units, is not unknown to the British Indian military administration of to-day, where we find regiments recruited on the basis of castes and tribes, and somewhat similar use made of them.

From the political point of view, the *manṣabdārī* system, besides assuring the steady loyalty of the officer, who always felt his direct dependence on the emperor, was, in its very theory, a standing safeguard of efficiency and discipline. The very insecurity of rank and wealth acted as a powerful incentive for individual distinction : every *manṣabdar* knew that his promotion and reduction ever depended upon the quality of his service.

The *manṣabdārī* system of recruitment made a wise use of the attachment of men to their leaders : tribal patriotism occupied the place of territorial patriotism.

This system of military organization had a touch of the chivalrous. Just as in the machine age of economic history we deplore lack of originality, individual initiative and pride, so in the modern armies, where perfect mechanical action constitutes the ideal of efficiency, we look in vain for an expression of personality and individual enterprise—which was a distinguishing feature of the age of chivalry. Every soldier must have realized that the honour of his division and therefore of his tribe (which constituted it) was staked on the issue of the battle. The ideal of tribal honour must have appealed where there was no national unity to look to.

There was something morally beautiful, to use a Greek expression, in the age of chivalry.

The official list of the *manṣabdars* resembles a modern 'Civil List', or rather the 'Army List', more closely than a 'peerage' in a modern European country, where genealogy is the prominent feature.

A bigger peerage meant (1) a larger total of estates or *jāgirs* assigned; or (2) a larger total of cash expenditure from the treasury; or of both; and (3) a bigger army in case of need.

Socially it meant a bigger aristocracy, and economically a greater concentration of wealth.

The Rise of the Mahratta Power in the South

BY

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(HONY.) PH.D.

It was Akbar's vision of empire that has to be regarded as perhaps the root cause of the rise of the Mahrattas to political power, and it may equally well be considered that the collapse of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar was as much of a contributory, as the Mughal advance in the Dekhan, to the rise of the Mahrattas as a nation and as a political power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Akbar conceived his empire not exactly as an empire of the Mughals in India, but as an Indian empire, in which the Mughals, Afghans and the Hindus alike were citizens on an equal footing politically, and entitled to be regarded as the subjects of an Indian empire. The conception of such an empire seems to have come early to Akbar, and there is evidence in the earliest acts of even young Akbar as emperor when he was moved towards the accomplishment of this ideal. He almost began after the dismissal of Bairâm Khân from his position of authority and the overthrow of Adham Khân, getting rid thereby of sinister influences in the way of this ideal. The first practical steps that he took were to accept the Hindus as his own subjects, as much entitled to privileges of position and power as his own Mughals, and, needless to say, as the Afghans. In the course of carrying this idea into practice, he experienced the difficulties of antagonism in religion as prejudicial to the bringing about of that complete unity among his subjects, which for some little time perhaps exercised its opiate influence upon his imperial mind. That is what induced him, after elaborate preparation by way of open discussions and arguments between the best votaries of the prevalent religions of the land, to formulate a common religion for all. That religion was matter not capable of being thus ordered even by imperial authority was borne in upon him, when perhaps the most intimate among his courtiers plainly told him, after all his travail, that this was a hopeless feat. Bhagavândās

is said to have made the remark: 'Islam I understand, Hinduism I know, but this new religion, I protest, I do not understand,' thus putting the whole position in a nutshell. Religion is not made to order, except for agnostics and plain atheists. It is something more secretive and has an appeal to much beyond reason. That was a truth that was recognized in India ages ago; and the religion of each one was left entirely to himself alone. That was the cardinal principle that contributed to the success of Hindu administration during the best of its days. Rulers regarded themselves as the preservers of the *Dharma*, not the propounders and the promulgators thereof. In a country of the vastness and variety of India, even admitting that it never was under an empire as a whole before the establishment of the British Empire, any other principle would have been impossible as an operative principle of action. This truth Akbar learned when his Dîn Ilâhî failed, and, like a statesman of distinct vision, he learned the truth and laid it to heart and did not go into sackcloth and ashes, like a fanatic, to mourn the sad fate that had overtaken his pet scheme. The empire of India that he wanted to form fell short, to this extent, of the unity that he wanted to impart to it; but short of this, his liberal policy had knitted it as closely as may be, and had put it on a footing on which it showed promise of permanence.

On this basis, having firmly established himself in the Indian empire of Hindûstân, the next natural effort would be to make the attempt, which failed before under Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, of extending the empire to take into it peninsular India as well. The first effort at expansion was the successful advance across the Vindhya and the establishment, without much ado, of a viceroyalty of the Dekhan at Burhânpur. To the Dekhan states, which were Islamic in character though of another form, the expansion of imperial authority meant their incorporation in the imperial rule and therefore political extinction. The states fought as hard as they could, but succumbed to the imperial forces when the time came. Akbar's policy of expansion was pursued by his successors. Jahângîr in his own way tried to go a step further and employed in the enterprise the most promising among his sons, who ultimately succeeded to the throne and carried out the policy of his father still further; so that at the unexpected termination of Shâh Jahân's rule, the two Musalmân States, Bijâpur and Golkonda, were alone left in the Dekhan. The three States that had been

overthrown successfully had been incorporated in the viceroyalty of the Dekhan, which gave the surest indication of what the states could expect by submission to imperial authority. The two States therefore felt that they must fight to bitter end and be extinguished fighting, rather than undergo the political extinction, which, as they might well imagine, submission to the Mughal Empire meant. In this fight naturally they utilized all their resources, and the Mahrattas as such emerged into view as auxiliaries rendering valiant services in this cause of Dekhani independence of the Indian empire of the Great Mughal.

Ever since the overthrow of Yâdava Râmdev by 'Alâu'd-dîn and the flaying alive of his son-in-law Harapâla, the Mahrattas lost their independence. The planting of military colonies, as it were, of the 'Amirs of 100' by Mubârak Khaljî drove another nail into the coffin of their independence. Politically therefore they had become extinct as a nation; but in practical life they played a very considerable part in the administration of the Islamic states of the Bahmani kingdom as a whole, and rose to rank and importance even in some of the separate states into which this kingdom broke up. They were found largely employed even in the State of Bîdar under the Bahmani Sultâns themselves. It was a quarrel between the Mahratta Controller of the finances and Yûsuf 'Âdil Shâh, the general, that brought about the rebellion which ultimately dismembered the Bahmani kingdom. They found scope for further service in the States of Bijâpur and Ahmadnagar particularly, and it is common knowledge that Shâhjî began his career as a petty military commander and Jâgîrdâr in the State of Ahmadnagar. A valiant man in comparatively humble circumstances, he naturally looked up to those high in position and through the agency of another Mahratta chieftain, who had influence at court, he found opportunity for honourable entry into service and for achieving distinction in the wars that Ahmadnagar had to wage against the Mughals. Unfortunately for him, Ahmadnagar was too far gone to appreciate even the valiant services of a loyal officer of their own. Shâhjî's achievements only provoked jealousy and, instead of meeting rewards for services rendered, he found that he had the counteracting machinations of court intriguers against him. He tried his fortunes with the other rival State, Bijâpur. There again, he achieved the same distinction, and he met with almost the same kind of a reward.

After trying his fortunes with Ahmadnagar, once again chastened after defeat, he found he was in no better position to prosecute his ambition for a career and changed again to Bijâpur. There was the possibility of service in the empire. He might have elected to enter imperial service and risen to a certain degree of importance. Had he done that, as in fact he attempted to do in A.D. 1637, Shâhji might have ended his days as the holder of a big *mansab* in the empire at the very best, not without the possibility of an inglorious end to a brilliant career, having regard to his character and high ambition. Fortune had willed it otherwise. Shâhji finally threw in his lot with Bijâpur, which first gave him an opportunity to round off his small estate by further accretions of territory, so that in Mahârâshtra he could count himself a Sardâr of a fairly high rank. It was then that the territory south of the two Musalmân kingdoms opened out vistas for accomplishing his ambition, and Shâhji found an opportunity to take the tide at the full flood.

The empire of Vijayanagar, which had suffered a shattering blow at the hands of the united Muhammadan states of the dismembered Bahmanî kingdom in the battle of Talikota so-called, was able soon to rehabilitate her resources and restore herself, in the course of a score of years, to something of the position that she had held before as arbiter of the fortunes of the Islamic states. Tirumala, who fled from Vijayanagar soon after the battle of Râkshasataṅgaḍi, ordinarily called Talikota, regained his power so far that, from Penugonda as his capital, he began to exercise the same commanding authority for intervention in the affairs of the Bahmani kingdoms. At the end of the sixteenth century therefore Vijayanagar still was an important power capable of using and willing to use her power as before in regard to the Muhammadan kingdoms. On the contrary, the two Muhammadan states in the immediate neighbourhood had pursued a policy, with the advantage that they acquired after the great battle, of not playing into the hands of the Hindu power. They came to an understanding in the course of the years that followed the battle that in their career of expansion they ought to follow a policy of respecting each other's spheres of activity. Bijâpur was allowed for its share of expansion the plateau region covering the greater half of the Mysore plateau on the eastern side and leading into the middle country of Tamil India, the South Arcot District of to-day. Golkonda had for

its sphere the whole of the Karnâṭak below the Ghâṭs leading southwards towards Madras and terminating with perhaps the borders of the Chingleput District. Each of them therefore laid itself out to pursue a policy of aggression along the lines thus indicated and ultimately to bring the Hindu state to extinction. They were prosecuting this policy with vigour, and, if not with immediate success, at least with chances of assured ultimate success. Tirumala passed away and was succeeded by his son Śrīraṅga sometime about A.D. 1575. Śrīraṅga had hard work to do against Golkonda. He had to fight and win many battles to keep the power of Golkonda within limits. He had also reverses of a very serious character.¹ He fell into the hands of the Muhammadans and was taken prisoner. He was rescued by the efforts of a loyal chieftain, a feudatory of the empire. Occupied as he was in this fashion, he provided for the administration of the empire by creating two viceroyalties, one at Śrīraṅgaṭam, which controlled all the territory on the plateau extending northwards to the frontiers of the Southern Mahratta country. The other viceroyalty had its head-quarters at Chandragiri. This viceroyalty had for its sphere of authority all the territory extending southwards along the plains down to the extreme south.² When Śrīraṅga died, Golkonda's expansion did not go very much beyond the Krishnâ, which marked the boundary on this side. Even Bijâpur was kept more or less within her bounds. The exposed parts however were under the direct rule of the empire including as they did the viceroyalties of Udayagiri, Penugonda and Vijayanagar itself or Haḷabid, as it used to be called before that, and the plateau part at any rate Muḷbâgal. These were earlier provincial governments, and it is because of the warlike operations that were necessary in this region that the south was otherwise provided for. When Śrīraṅga died, the empire was left more or less intact. The next brother Râma, who was viceroy at Śrīraṅgaṭam, had died before him, leaving the viceroyalty to his eldest son, Tirumala. The next brother was Venkaṭapati, who was viceroy at Chandragiri. He had with him his younger nephew, the brother of Tirumala, and being the eldest member of the family and the only surviving brother of four, he succeeded to the empire at the death of Śrīraṅga.

¹ *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 232.

² *Ibid.*, p. 302.

Venkaṭapati died in the year A. D. 1614. During the score of years and more of his reign, he managed to keep the empire intact, and there is a record of his having stood a siege in Penugonda which he ultimately managed to beat off with great success with the assistance of Rāṇa Jagadēva Rāya, the viceroy of Channapaṭṇa and the Bāramahāls and Raghunātha Nāyaka, the heir-apparent of Tanjore. The empire, however, suffered a dismemberment in that the vicerealty of Śrīraṅgaṭaṃ underwent an extinction, as it were, and a new family of rulers, the Uḍayārs of Mysore set themselves up instead with the countenance, as it seems, of the emperor himself. Beyond these and the successful aggressions of the Golkonda rulers in the north-eastern corner of the territory, the empire remained intact. His death brought about a disputed succession which rent the empire in twain and left it permanently damaged. Venkaṭapati married four queens, but apparently had no children by any of them. One of them who belonged to the family of Gobburi chiefs, claimed to have brought forth a son and was bringing him up as their child. Venkaṭapati himself seems to have shared the general unbelief in regard to the matter and continued to bring up his nephew, Raṅga, the brother of the Śrīraṅgaṭaṃ viceroy and son of his elder brother Rāma, almost as his adopted son, and had even raised him to the dignity of 'Chikkarāya' (Yuvarāja), meaning either prince or perhaps the prince heir-apparent. According to contemporary accounts, Venkaṭapati on his death-bed declared this Chikkarāya as his successor and handed over to him the imperial seal. For the moment the other party led by Gobburi Jagga, the brother of the queen concerned, was silenced. The discontented powers in the empire rallied round the infant son and were only waiting for an opportunity to overthrow the reigning ruler. Jagga managed to work himself into the confidence of the new ruler and found a suitable opportunity to put an end to the emperor and all his children and secure the throne for his own nephew. Practically all the governors of provinces, big and small, joined in this disloyal enterprise excepting one chief, Yāchamanāyaka, who was in touch with the court and had heard of the plot. He managed, through the good offices of the imperial washerman, to smuggle one of the boys, the second of the three sons of the emperor, out of the palace in which the royal family was held in prison by Jagga. The only ruler of importance on whose loyalty Yāchamanāyaka depended was, as mentioned

already, the ruler of Tanjore, Achyutappaṇāyaka, and his son Raghunātha, who played an important part in his father's administration.¹ Yāchamanāyaka therefore wanted to carry the prince off for safety to Tanjore. Getting wind of this, Jagga attacked and defeated him in the field, but Yāchama dodged his pursuers successfully and reached Kumbhakonam in safety, wherefrom an escort sent from Tanjore met them and took the prince and Yāchamanāyaka into Tanjore. This led naturally to Jagga's organizing his party, and a great battle was fought just two miles above the Grand Anicut of to-day, where the confederated enemies were defeated in behalf of Rāma, the prince. Among the enemies, the principal were the Gobburi chiefs, who were the leaders, along with the other petty chiefs excepting perhaps those of Venkaṭagiri and Kālahasti in the territory dependent on the empire. The newly-founded family of Mysore stood aloof. We do not hear of the viceroy of Channapaṭṇa taking any part. The Nāyak of Gingee took a very prominent part and ultimately fell in the battle. So did the Nāyaka of Madura; and, if the Tanjore account is correct, there was even a Portuguese contingent on the side of the malcontents. This movement and its result damaged the empire much more than anything else and threw the gate open for the entry of the Muhammadan neighbours more effectively into the imperial territory. This Rāmarāja succeeded, however, in tiding over his difficulties through the assistance of Tanjore so long as Tanjore maintained itself in full power. But Tanjore itself was at constant war with the Madura chiefs, and this intermittent warfare ultimately weakened both States. This weakness of Tanjore diminished the power of resistance of the empire and paved the way to its downfall.

The breakdown of the vicerealty of Channapaṭṇa prevented the newly-founded kingdom of Mysore, obviously occupied by Bijāpur movements on the northern side, from taking any part in the general *mélée* in the empire. Whatever it was, we may take it that the Bijāpur movements began to be more active and disconcerting. The empire being involved in its own struggle for existence, the distant chiefs were thrown upon their own resources for defending themselves against the enemies on the north. This gave an opportunity at once for distinction, which would lead on ultimately to independence. It was

¹ Extracts 86, 80 and 24, *Journal of Indian History*, vol. v, pp. 164 ff.

about this period that the chiefship of Ikkêri, Keladi or Bednore was coming into prominence. The Channapaṭṇa viceroyalty was the first to suffer by the Bijâpur invasions. Invaders from Bijâpur seem to have begun their attacks on the territories under the Government of Bednore. Gradually absorbing the territory that constituted afterwards the Nawâbship of Śîra, they marched southwards against the territory dependent upon Channapaṭṇa and Bangalore, and they were able to overthrow that by a series of invasions first under Ranadullâh Khân and then under Mustafa Khân, the general-agents of Bijâpur. The Bijâpur armies were able to march farther south-east to the end of Bâramahâl and Salem districts, which constituted a part of the government of the viceroy at Channapaṭṇa and advanced from there into the province of Gingee, destined to play a very important part in the history of the Mahrattas. This process took a considerable number of years and was not complete before A.D. 1649, when Gingee actually fell into the hands of the invaders.

In the meanwhile, Golkonda activities began to receive a fresh stimulus through the genius of a new minister, well-known to history later on as Mîr Jumla; Golkonda made gradual advance till it took possession of the territory round Pulicat, the Dutch settlement not far off, and absorbed all the territory right down to the province of Kâlahasti and Conjeevaram in the immediate neighbourhood of Madras. It was this double pressure, one from the eastern, and the other from the western half of the northern frontier of the empire, that occupied all the available time and energy of the imperial headquarters and left the larger viceroyalties of the south to pursue their own particular plans of self-aggrandizement without much fear of active intervention on the imperial side. This general aspect of the forces in operation must be borne in mind in any discussion of the activities of any of these individual provincial governors, or of even the interloping activities of States like Bijâpur. Râma was succeeded by another Venkaṭa about A.D. 1635, and it was he who was responsible for granting the charter to the two factors of the English East India Company, Cogan and Day, for erecting the factory at Fort St. George, which more than a century and a half later blossomed into the Madras Presidency of to-day.

The accession of this second Venkaṭapati to power was almost coincident with important changes in the frontiers of the Dekhan.

The kingdom of Ahmadnagar passed out of existence in A.D. 1633, and just three or four years later, the war for the division of Ahmadnagar spoils between the Mughals on the one side and the Sultâns of Bijâpur and the Mahrattas on the other came to an end by the definitive treaty entered into between the parties arranged by the emperor Shâh Jahân. It was this treaty and the specific obligations it imposed upon the powers concerned that set Bijâpur free from the entanglements of the Mughals, as it did Golkonda to some extent, though Golkonda was not directly concerned. It was after this arrangement that Shâhji the Mahratta cast in his lot with the state of Bijâpur and entered its service with the influential support of the commander-in-chief Ranadullâh Khân and his chief adviser Morar Pant. Shâhji's entry into Bijâpur service was followed almost immediately by Bijâpur activities in the territory of what at present constitutes the state of Mysore.

To understand what brought about this Bijâpur intervention, a short retrospect of the history of Mysore is required. The state of Mysore came into being with the capture of Śrîraṅgaṭam by Râja Woḍeyar in A.D. 1610. The possession of Śrîraṅgaṭam was ratified by a charter issued by the emperor Venkaṭapati Râya just at a time when his position at Penugonda was actively threatened by a vigorous Golkonda attack. Whether there was any connection between the one and the other or no, Venkaṭapati Râya accepted the accomplished fact and allowed Râja Woḍeyar to rule the territory that hitherto was under the viceroy at Śrîraṅgaṭam in A. D. 1612. This charge comprised at least two governments, possibly three, viz.,—(1) that under Śrîraṅgaṭam itself; and (2) the territory with its headquarters at Channapaṭṇa, which happened to be under a governor, Jagadêva Râyal, who gradually extended the little province by the accession of the so-called Bâramahâl districts of Salem. On the north, this territory seems to have taken in the area ruled over by the Nâyak of Ikkêri, not to mention the petty chieftains and Poligars between Ikkêri and the frontiers of Śrîraṅgaṭam. But Râja Woḍeyar's claims to all these were not acknowledged without question. He was able to take actual possession of Śrîraṅgaṭam; and unless he took similar possession of the others also, he could not well establish his title. But Râja Woḍeyar, active man that he was, was not able to accomplish all these things in his life-time. It was left to his successor, his grandson, Chamarâja Woḍeyar by name, to achieve gradually the conquest of the

territory immediately adjoining his own, that is, the Channapaṭṇa viceroyalty without the Bāramahāls, and having acquired this, he made an attempt upon the territory of Ikkēri. But Ikkēri was able to defend herself so long as the northern frontier was safe. Chamarāja was not able to accomplish much in that direction before he died. What he failed to do, his successor tried to effect. In order to divert the attention of his Ikkēri contemporary he brought about a Bijāpur invasion, from which he had himself to suffer. Among the petty Poligars that surrounded the territory of Ikkēri was one ruler by name Kengē Hanuma of Basavapaṭṭana. This general and other discontented Poligars in the neighbourhood were set up against Vīrabhadra Nāyaka of Ikkēri by Kanthīravanarasa. Vīrabhadra quelled the rebellion and dispossessed Kengē Hanuma, referred to in Persian authorities as Kengē Nāyaka, of his own Pālayam. The latter went to Bijāpur to solicit the aid of the Pādshāh there. He found there another Poligar, Channaya of Nāgamaṅgala, similarly dispossessed by Chamarāja Wodeyar himself. The one invitation and the other prevailed against such doubts as the Bijāpur court entertained as to the wisdom of this intervention, as about this time, A. D. 1638-39, the definitive treaty dictated by Shāh Jahān had established peace on the northern frontiers of Bijāpur. The invitation was accepted, and the first invasion of Mysore was undertaken. The commander-in-chief of Bijāpur, Ranadullāh Khān, was despatched at the head of 40,000 men for the purpose of reinstating Kengē Hanuma. Having succeeded easily in doing this, the Bijāpur army marched onward, taking possession of the three provinces of Ikkēri, Śīra and Bangalore, the last being under the viceroyalty of the great Jagadēva Rāyal, lately conquered by the rulers of Mysore. Having succeeded in taking possession of these, as it is claimed, the army laid siege to Mysore and Śrīraṅgaṭam simultaneously. The siege was prosecuted with great vigour, but the defence was equally vigorous. Ultimately the whole campaign ended in a treaty, which left the Mysore ruler all the territory south of the Kāvēri, that on the north of the river being taken over by Bijāpur; that is, Mysore lost her new conquests in the province of Jagadēva Rāyal. This invasion is said to have taken place in the year of Kanthīravanarasa's accession, that is A. D. 1638-39. Though Kanthīravanarasa agreed to the humiliating treaty in his distress, he seems never to have thought of fulfilling it, as his subsequent attitude

would clearly show. Ranadullāh Khān, on the contrary, considering the arrangement satisfactory, left Kengē Hanuma in charge of the newly-acquired territory and returned to Bijāpur. It was now the turn for Vīrabhadra Nāyaka of Ikkēri to appeal to headquarters. He sent an ambassador to Bijāpur and pointed out the unsatisfactory character of the arrangements and the unreliability of Kengē Hanuma, the agent left by Ranadullāh Khān. A Commission of which Nāgamaṅgala Channayya was a member was appointed to conduct an enquiry. Hanuma was none too ready to facilitate the enquiry, and Kanthīravanarasa showed as little inclination to act up to the treaty. Kengē Hanuma managed to get rid of the only member of the Commission who had knowledge of the locality and was likely to be troublesome. This management seems to have brought Ranadullāh Khān into disgrace, and another general was sent in his stead. This commander-in-chief and his successor Mustafa Khān were both alike unable to do much against Śrīraṅgaṭam, which had been completely repaired and put into condition for standing a much longer siege than the previous one. A subsequent invasion by Abdullāh Khān and Hemajī Paṇḍit did nothing more than occupy the post of Turuvēkere, north-east of the Mysore district of to-day for a short time. The turn had now come for Kanthīravanarasa to break out of the boundary by which he was confined. He marched eastwards, took back the territory of the Channapaṭṇa viceroyalty, and entering the territory of Koṅgu, he defeated the guardian of the passes and took possession of Satyamaṅgala, Sāmbaḷḷi, and Bombaḷḷi, all on the south and west of the Kāvēri, thus coming into hostility with the ruler of Madura. He incorporated territory to the extent of bringing his frontiers into direct touch with those of Ikkēri, Śīra and Chittaldurg on the north, Coorg on the west and the Koṅgu country on the south. This was the position during the reign of Kanthīravanarasa of Mysore, that is, through the twenty years¹ A. D. 1639-59, so far as this area is concerned.

This period of Kanthīravanarasa's activity was almost coeval with the rule of Tirumal Nāyak, in many respects perhaps the greatest of the Nāyaks of Madura. Tirumal Nāyak apparently came to the throne about ten years earlier and had borne an influential part in the

¹ *Ancient India*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, pp. 292-5.

administration of Madura some years before that. The great civil war of Vijayanagar consequent on the massacre of the royal family after the death of Venkaṭa I threw all the great Nāyaks excepting the Nāyak of Tanjore into opposition to the empire. During the rule, therefore, of the emperor Rāma and his successor Venkaṭapati II extending from A.D. 1616 to 1642, the position was one of comparative inactivity resulting in no harm to the empire, as the two Mussalmān powers in the neighbourhood were occupied in their own struggles against the advancing tide of the Mughals. Venkaṭapati during his life-time pursued a policy of non-intervention, letting his feudatories fight it out among themselves, if need be, unmolested from the imperial headquarters. This is how we can explain the aggressions of Rāja Woḍeyar, and particularly his successor Chamarāja Woḍeyar against the province of Channapaṭṇa and the Bāramahāls. Chamarāja advanced as far east as Hoskoṭe which he besieged, but did not capture. In the meanwhile, a change seems also to have come over the southern viceroyalties, namely, those of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura. It will be remembered that Tanjore remained thoroughly loyal and was primarily instrumental in setting up Rāmarāja on the throne. After the death of Raghunātha Nāyaka and under his successor, Vijayarāghava, the same relations seem to have continued substantially, Tanjore and Madura fighting out their wars between themselves whenever occasion offered. Throughout the reign of Venkaṭapati, the administration seems to have been carried on for him by his brothers-in-law, the Velugoṭi chiefs of Kālahasti. Among these two names figure prominently, Damarla Venkaṭa and Damarla Ayya. It is the administration of the brothers-in-law, as the Company's correspondence¹ describes their

¹ *The Dagh-Register, 1640-41*, p. 185 gives an account in some detail, which Sir Wm. Foster describes in the following words:—

'The name of this Nayak appears to have been Damarla Venkatadra or Damarla Venkatappa. The Dutch records use the latter form, which seems the more correct; and they add that he was lord of from twelve to fifteen thousand soldiers; his chief abode, they say, was at "Wandawas" (i.e., Wandiwash, about sixty miles south-west of Madras), but he spent most of his time at court, leaving his brother, Ayappa Nayak, who resided at Poonamallee (thirteen miles west of Madras), to administer his territories for him. We infer that Damarla Venkatappa was the chief supporter of the then Raja of Chandragiri, who, as the representative of the ancient dynasty of Vijayanagar, claimed dominion over all the Nayaks of the south; and this inference is borne out by an entry in a list compiled at Fort St. George in 1750 of the old Madras farmans and grants, noted the grant obtained by Day, which is stated to have been given by "Damarla Moodu

relationship to Venkaṭa, that seems to have brought Venkaṭapati's administration into some little contempt, as the viceroys seemed to have pursued their own policies unmolested by the Emperor. It is in these circumstances that the chief factors of the East India Company, with its chief factory at Armagam at the time, obtained a charter which gave them Fort St. George and laid the foundations of the southern Presidency. The Viceroy Damarla Venkaṭa, with his headquarters at Wandiwash, was ruler of a big province with a very large revenue. He remained, however, at headquarters and directed the administration for the emperor. His province was actually managed by his brother Ayyappa, who seems to have held the government of Poonamallee, thirteen miles west of Madras. It was from these two that was obtained the grant of Fort St. George, which, in the Company's correspondence, is ascribed to the great Nāyaka Damarla Venkaṭa. Naturally, therefore, when king Venkaṭa died childless, the brothers-in-law were not anxious that his nephew Śrīraṅga should succeed. They seem to have ingratiated themselves with the other governors and brought about a possibility of united action in opposition to this succession. Venkaṭa died in October, 1642, and after a delay of about a month or two, Śrīraṅga succeeded to the throne.² The discontent among the viceroys in regard to this

Venkatapa (*sic*) Naick, son of Damarla Chenama Naick, the Grand Vizier of the foresaid sovereign (i.e. the Chandragiri Raja) and Lord General of Carnatica" (*Treaties*, vol. vi). . . . It is clear that Damarla Venkatappa was a person of great influence whom neither the Dutch nor the Portuguese could hope to intimidate, and whose support would be of great value to the proposed English settlement.'

² In a later volume (*The Dagh-Register, 1643-44*, p. 244) the yearly value of the Nayak's district is put at about 6,00,000 *pardaos*. Ayappa Nayak is described in the 1641-42 volume of the same series (pp. 272, 289), as brother-in-law of the then "King of Carnatica," i.e. the Raja Venkatapati.' (See note 2, p. xxxvii, *The English Factories in India, 1637-41*).

³ 'The Golconda army had overrun part of his territory, and the rest (including Armagon itself) had been occupied by a neighbouring Nayak, to whom apparently the defence of the frontier had been entrusted by his uncle, Venkatapati, the King of Vijayanagar. At the beginning of October the King died, and after a short delay this nephew was elevated to the throne as Śrī Ranga Rayalu, though many of the other Nayaks were opposed to his succession, and gave him a great deal of trouble.'

⁴ 'The Naique of Armagon is absolutely beaten out of all his country, it being possest part by the King of Golquondah[s] people and the major part by Rayalwar. The Moors have encamped themselves, or rather seated themselves for the warr, at a place called Cowle Geldancke, the chiefest place in all that country; and Rayalwar hath a strong garrison Vinquatagery and Armagon. Indeed, wee

succession showed itself immediately. The reason seems to have been that Śrīraṅga somehow already showed himself to be a man who disapproved strongly of the policy of the *roi fainéant*, his predecessor, and wanted to pursue a more vigorous policy by bringing about the active union of all the provinces of the empire under the lead of the emperor himself.¹ This was not exactly a mere personal predilection of the emperor. The circumstances of 1642 actually demanded the pursuit of a more vigorous policy than that of the score of years previous. The definitive treaty between the Muhammadan states of the Dekhan and the Mughals set free the states of Bijāpur and Golkonda on the northern side, and their intervention was sought no doubt against the Nāyak of Ikkēri by Kanthiravanarasa of Mysore. Bijāpur showed itself quite ready to intervene in the affairs of the south. Either about that time or a little later, it seems to have been more or less as a direct result of the accession of Śrīraṅga, that Tirumal Nāyak made a similar appeal to Golkonda for intervention. Tirumal Nāyak's policy must have been directed by the movements of Mysore which, under Chamarāja, the predecessor of Kanthirava, had, as already stated, been active in the direction of Channapaṭṇa. The next advance of Mysore would be into the Koṅgu, directly menacing the northern frontier of Madura. Whether this led Tirumala to bring about the invasion of Mysore soon after the succession of Kanthiravanarasa does not appear clear in our authorities. But that he pursued the policy of his predecessor, namely, of hostility towards the empire, and sought the intervention of Golkonda soon after the accession of Śrīraṅga is fairly on record. Tirumal Nāyak's effort to bring about the alliance of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura, failed through Tanjore betraying the secret to the empire, and Tirumala turned for assistance to Golkonda, and contrived that an attack should be made therefrom upon Vellore.² It was probably

are of opinion that the Moores will have all this country ere many years; for what with the Kinge of Vizapore [Bijāpur] on one side and the Kinge of Gonquondah on the other, the Gentues themselves being divided among themselves, it is even impossible their country cann continue.'

O. C. 1792 contains substantially the same information in a slightly different version. See note 2 on p. 44. (See *The English Factories in India, 1642-45*, p. xxviii and p. 44 respectively.)

¹ See paper on Śrī-Raṅga by R. Satyanatha Aiyar, *Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference*, Madras, pp. 365-75.

² See *The Nāyaks of Madura*, by R. Satyanatha Aiyar, pp. 126-35.

during this attack that Śivappa Nāyaka marched from Ikkēri to the assistance of the emperor and caused the Golkonda army to raise the siege. It was then that Śrīraṅga realized that he must somehow or other instil into the southern feudatories a policy of loyalty to the empire. The accession of Śrīraṅga naturally brought about the dismissal of the most powerful of the two brothers, Dāmarla Venkaṭa, from his position of authority. Dāmarla Venkaṭa, as early as December 1642¹ hardly two months after the succession of Śrīraṅga, intrigued with Golkonda and was put under arrest by Śrīraṅga's orders; but his powerful brother Ayyappa brought pressure to bear from both the northern and southern provinces in 1643, and the Company's records mention that Venkaṭa was likely to be released on account of this pressure.² It was then that Śrīraṅga sought the

¹ 'The warrs and broyls increasing in this country, and now (by reason of our Great Naiques imprisonment (*) drawing nere to us, wee latelie raised a third bulwark of turfe; and wanting gunns to mount thereon, have resolved that the *Advice* shall spare us foure minion for that purpose, because there is noe danger of enemie in her way to Bantam, and when shee comes there shee may be againe supplied.'

² 'If this cannot be supplied, the surplus should be returned in gold; for as for other commodities, they will not of (f) of our handes, this countrie being all in broiles, the old Kinge of Karnatt being dead. Soe is the Naique of Armagon, whose countrie is all in the handes of the Moores, and (*sic*) whoe will ere long by all likelihood bee maisters of all this countrie; for our Naique, not findeing the respect from the new Kinge as he expected, did make profer to assist the Moores; but ere he could bringe his treason about, 'twas discoverd d(and) he apprehended by the Kinge, who hath seaz'd greate parte of his countrie. But wee beleve hee will be forc'd suddainely to restore it againe and relaease him, for our Naiques brother and kindsmen are levying an armie for his rescue; whoe, with the helpe of the Moores on the other side (whoe are within halfe a dayes) a journey of each other † will force his libertie or ruine the whole kingdome.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1642-45*, p. 80.)

'And from Pullicat about a moneth since a piscash was sent by the hand of their merchant Moileya (alies Chinana Chitty) unto the present King of Karnatt, estimated to be worth 4,000 (pagodas). The Portugauls from St. Thoma have likewise been with their piscash with the Kinge; but it comes far shorte of the former, for all that they carried could not amount to full 200 pa(godas). Somewhat is expected from us; but until our Naique and the Kinge bee eyther reconcyled or absolutely outed, wee intend to stand uppon our guard and keepe what wee have' (*The English Factories in India, 1642-1645*, p. 81.)

³ 'Damarla Venkatappa had been detected in intrigues with Golkonda and had thereupon been imprisoned by the new King and deprived of all his territory, with the exception of Punamallee and the surrounding districts (see p. 80); also *The Dagb-Register, 1643-44*, p. 244 (*The English Factories in India, 1642-45*, p. 70).

† Some particulars of the advance of the Golkonda invaders will be found at p. 244 of the *Dagb-Register* for 1643-44. They had just occupied Venkatagiri. The release and reinstatement of Damarla are mentioned on p. 259 of the same volume.

assistance, probably of Mysore, but certainly of Bijâpur. Bijâpur agreed and marched to his relief for a consideration of 1,50,000 pagodas and twenty-four elephants.¹

It was about this time that the Company made the first move to get from Śrīraṅga a confirmation of their charters, after this initial success against Golkonda and the machinations of Dâmarla Venkaṭa.²

Śrīraṅga found the time to undertake active operations against the rebel vassals of the south. There is a note in a letter of the Company's servants, dated October 1645, that Śrīraṅga had

¹ 'This countrey hath byn, and still is at present, all in broyles, one Nague against another, and most against the King; which makes all trade at a stand. But the King, by means of the King of Vizapore, whoe for 15 lacke of pagothaes and 24 elephants hath sente some thousands of horse for his assistance, is like to have the better.'—(*The English Factories in India, 1642-45*, pp. 115-6.)

² 'The wars in these parts made them glad to entertain some of these men as soldiers; for the Moores but five weekes past had advanced with there armes within three myles of Pullicatt, and sent unto the Dutch Governor to surrender up these castle; and we did suddenly expect the same. But shortly after the Jentues came down with a greate power, gave the Moores battle, rowted there armie and put the Moores to flight beyond Armagon* where they are now agathering a head againe;

* The Dutch Governor of Pulicat, writing to Batavia some months later, reported that on reaching that fortress from Masulipatam on July 15 (N.S.), he found that the forces of the King of Golconda, under 'Casy Aly' (? Kasim Ali), had subdued the whole of the neighbouring towns without opposition and were demanding the submission of Pulicat itself, promising at the same time that the Dutch should retain all their privileges. Of this demand no notice was taken and the invaders, finding the fortress amply equipped, contended themselves with a demonstration at a safe distance. The Nayak of Gingi, who was then in rebellion against Sriranga, advanced with the intention of joining the Golconda army; whereupon the King recalled Kistappa Nayak, who was operating against the Gingi chief, and restored Chinnana to favour. Kistappa fell unexpectedly on the Moors and completely routed them, killing their commander and several other men of importance. (*Hague Transcripts*, series i, vol. xiv., No. 431; *The Dagb-Register, 1644-45*, p. 325, September 8, 1644.)

'Nay, such a storme is prepareing for us that tis to bee feared will even whorle us from this coast. Our neighbours the Dutch have bine longe a projecting and now they have wrought it that Mollay, their merchant, is like to bee as powerfull with this King as the Serkayle is att Gulcundah; and, to ingratiate him thoroughly into his favour, they have assisted Mollay with men and guns for the subdueing of castles of our Nague for the king, or rather their owne use; by which means our Nague is cashered and hee substituted, and is also made his Treasurer and dus even in a manner command all.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1642-45*, pp. 193-4 and note, September 8, 1644; also *Ibid.*, p. 154.)

brought the enemies under control and had restored himself to his original position.¹

It was then that Greenhill's mission went to Vellore and obtained a charter for the grant of Fort St. George. Mīr Jumla nominally in behalf of Golkonda, was not likely to take his defeat quietly. We

¹ 'Wee have bin often tymes solicited by this Kinge to give him a vissitt, which never was yett done to him or his predecessours since our first arrivall heere, which is now seven yeares allmost; soe, if wee any longer deny his reasonable request, wee may suddainely expect his just displeasure and peradventure have a seidge about us, as our neighbours the Hollanders of one syde and Portugalls of the other, which are seldome free, notwithstanding their great power and defence, who hath twenty for one more then wee; soe that, if the like should happen unto us, what can you expect of 50 well and sicke men to defend your estate and fort against the kings power, when one of his merchants hath queld the Hollanders soe, that they dare not stirr out of their fort or putt their feete ashoare in this kings dominion? And now the King himselfe hath taken it to hart, in the behalfe of Mollay, his cheife counsellor, to commence warrs against the Hollanders. Tyme will produce the event thereof; for it is growne to that height that the Hollander must leave this Kings country, or Mollay fall into utter distruction. Soe that wee have nothing more to trust unto then our civil comportment and respect to the Kinge and great ones, which hath hetherto prevayled before the Hollanders potencie; and at present are in such esteeme with the King and great ones that the whole trade of this kingdome is proffered unto the Honourable English East India Company. And for the mayntenance of the same and the Kings favour, wee are . . . resolved within this few dayes to send upp Mr. Henry Greenhill, with foure other English souldiers for his attendance, for the reconfirmation of what was graunted unto Mr. Cogan by the Great Nague, under whose protection formerly wee liv'd, but now the Kinge hath taken his power and this cuntry from him; soe that his power and protection is of noe longer value. Soe now findeing a fitting oppertunity, wee doubt not but to have our old priviledges reconfirm'd, with the addition of a great many more, by this now reigneing King, which hath brought all his great lords unto his comand, which hath not bin this 40 yeares before. This by Mollayes assistance wee make noe question to obtayne. And another reason for the sending of Mr. Greenhill to the King is because that our powerfull friends the Governur etc., of Pullicatt would make us beleive that Mollay is a villiane and a heighway robber and that wee, in receiveing those goods of our merchants which Mollay hath stollen and sould to them, are as bad as hee, and therefore will take those goods out of our shippes where soever they meete them, and to this effect hath given their commissions to all their commanders to search out shippes wheresoever they meete them thinkeing thus to buncke us out of 400 bales of goods which our merchants hath in Fort St. George and at our washers in possession; soe should we disappoint our Surratt President of his Mocho shippes ladinge of goods (and better goods wee know hee cannot have for that place). Therefore, untill wee have his approbation, wee are resolved to our power to maynetayne our merchants in that just cause that wee well know they are in, in regard wee finde they doe truely indeavour your proffitt and their owne credditts; and for these goods, wee well know they have paid to the uttermost value of them, and soe must wee likewise. Therefore, because the Hollanders shall not say that wee are the receivers of stollen goods, wee doe send Mr. Greenhill and four other English mett unto the Kinge, to boosech his hand and signett to testifie to the whole world that Mollay is noe

find him working with Bijâpur as against Śrīraṅga. He also made proposals to Kanthirava Narasa of Mysore for assistance. We find a record again, dated January 1646, that Śrīraṅga was attacked by Golkonda and Bijâpur.¹

villiane nor theife, and what warr is commenced against the Hollanders is by His Majesties command, as well as the goods taken from his subjects belonging to the Hollanders, sould by his officers with the same command. Soe that when wee have this from the Kinge under his owne hand and signett, and that by his owne hand is delivered when wee shall have sent the coppie thereof to the Governour of Pullecatt, hee will no longer threaten us for the receiveinge of stollen goods.'

The King of Vijayanager at 'Arlour' to the Agent at Fort St. George, September 25, 1645 (O. C. 1948)

'Zree Seringo Raylo, King of Kings, a God in his kingdome, in armes invincible, etc., unto the Captain of the English, these. The Hollanders, who have their residence in Pallacatt, not valuinge my letters, hath constrained mee to commence awarre against them, the charge whereof is committed unto Chenana Chetty [Malaya: see p. 50], whom you are to assist therein with artillery, powder, shott, fireworks; and in soe doing you shall pleasure us. Whatever goods appertained unto the Hollanders in my kingdome I accompt it as my peculiar and proper wealth which, being all come to Madraspatam, wee will that you buy and pay monies for the same, proceeding therein as Chenana Chety and Seradra shall prescribe, not failing at all in its performance. And whereas I am given to understand by Chenana Chety that you intend to send upp a man of quality unto us (I) am very well pleased, for that you have allwaies esteemed my ordinances; and as Chenana Chety will advize, soe shall you bee sure to receive content; nor bee you induced to beleive the contrary, but confide upon our word and along with him; for whose secure repayre unto our court this our firman shall suffice. As for the other matters, Chinana Chety will advise you.'

'Then comes a long silence, but from the Dutch records, we learn that Sri Ranga, after suffering a severe defeat under the walls of Vellore, was forced to pay a heavy indemnity to the leader of the Bijapur army, and that the Nayaks, sobered by the successes of the Muhammadans, returned to their allegiance and promised to assist the King in maintaining the independence of his country.'

The English Factories in India, 1642-45, pp. 289-91 October 1, 1645, and p. 285, Sri Ranga's letter; also p. xxv, Volume for 1646-50 of the same series.)

¹ 'How the warres stand betwixt the King and Vinagar [Vijayanagar] and the Hollanders.' 'Ever since the seige of Pullacatt, which was begune the 12th August last, the King hath bine in warres with the King of Vizapore [Bijâpur] and in civell wares with three of his great Nagues; soe that he to this tyme never had opportunitie to send a considerable foorse aginst Pullacatt, more then 4,000 souldiers that lay before it to stopp the wayes that no goods should goe in or out. And now the King of Gulcondak hath sent his generall, Meir Gumlack [Mīr Jumla], with a great armie to appose this King; who is advance [d] to the Jentues cuntry, where the King hath sent Mallay, who hath got togeather 50,000 souldiers (as reporte saith), whereof 3,000 souldiers he sent for from Pullacatt, to keepe the Mores from intrenching upon this Kings country.'

'Among the *Hague Transcripts* at the India Office (Series i, vol. xv, No. 484) is an interesting diary kept at Pulicat at this time. According to this the three rebellious Nayaks were those of Tanjore, Madura, and 'Sinsier [Gingī?], who inflicted a severe defeat on the royal forces in December, 1645. It also says

It was then that Mīr Jumla was able to take possession of Udayagiri, which was the capital of the eastern viceroyalty from Mallaiya, the successor in command in these parts of Dāmarla Venkaṭa.¹

The surrender of Udayagiri threw Mallaiya into disgrace and the change of command in the face of the enemy gave them the advantage. Golkonda and Bijâpur now laid siege to Vellore together and defeated Śrīraṅga Rāya.² Mīr Jumla, in consequence, conquered all the districts and was within two days' march of Madras on his way to Ginjee.³

that the English had sent a mission to court with a present of about 1,000 *pardaos* in spices, looking-glasses, etc., and had promised at the King's request to buy the goods taken from the Dutch. In return they had asked for the confirmation of their *previous qaul* and this had been granted.'

¹ 'This countrey is at present full of warrs and troubles, for the King and three of his Nagues are at varience, and the King of Vizapoores armie is come into this country on the one side and the King of Gulcondah uppon the other, both against this King. The Meir Jumlah is Generall for the King of Gulcondah, whoe hath allreadie taken three of the Kings castles, whereof one of them is reported to bee the strongest hould in this kinkdome; where Molay was sent to keepe it, but in a short tyme surrendered it unto the Meir Jumlah, uppon composition for himselfe and all his people to goe away free; but how hee will be received by the King we shall advise you by the next, for this newes came unto us but yesterday.'

'In the Dutch document already quoted this fort is called "Oudegiere" (Udayagiri?). Its situation is not known. (It is Udayagiri in the Nellore Dt., always known one of the strongest of Vijayanagar Forts and the stronghold at the Eastern Viceroyalty.) It could hardly be the place of that name in Nellore District, as this would be too far north.'

(E. P. 25, January 21, 1646, and note 1; p. 26, February 10, 1646 and note 2, *The English Factories in India, 1646-50*).

² 'Then comes a long silence, but from the Dutch records we learn that Śrīraṅga, after suffering a severe defeat under the walls of Vellore, was forced to pay a heavy indemnity to the leader of the Bijâpur army, and that the Nâyaks, sobered by the successes of the Muhammadans, returned to their allegiance, and promised to assist the King in maintaining the independence of his country. The siege of Pulicat ceased with the fall of Malaya from power; and in May a fresh lease of the town and district was obtained from Sri Ranga.'

The English Factories in India 1646-50, p. xxv.

³ The warres and fammine doth still furiously rage in these parts, and wee thinke that there wilbe a period sett unto the former before the latter; for the Anna Bobb * Meir Jumlah hath taken the government of Pullicatte and St. Thome, settinge the country all in order as hee goeth along, and is new within two dayes martch of the Kings court and noe body commeth to oppose him, the fammine havinge almost destroyed all the kingdome; for out of our little towne there hath dyed noe less than 3,000 people since September last; in Pullicatte as report saith, 15,000; and in St. Thome no less.

The English Factories in India, 1646-50 (January), p. 70.

* Al-Nawab.

There is a note in October 1647 that the Company obtained a renewal of the grant from Mîr Jumla and that the Râyalu had fled the country.¹

Mîr Jumla marched upon Gingee, having strengthened himself by an alliance with Bijâpur. In front of the walls of Gingee, the Bijâpur contingent went over to the side of Golkonda, and Golkonda allowed the Bijâpur troops to occupy Gingee. The Bijâpur army assumed possession of Gingee and Tegnapatam near Cuddalore. It was then that the Râja of Karnâtak, that is, Śrîraṅga, found his position untenable and fled to Mysore, which was then at war with Bijâpur.²

¹ 'Wee had almost forgotten to advise you that the 16,000 rials of eight President Baker left us indebted at the coast at his goinge to Bantam was lent us by the King of Gulcondah(s) Generall, who hath almost conquer'd this kingdome and reigneth as King under the title of Annabob (see p. 70). This 16,000 rials hee lent us for one twelve months gratis; which debt wee discharged at the arrivall of the *Farewell*. So, in requitall of the Annabobs curtezie, wee gave him one of the two brass guns you sent out by the *Mary*, which hee would not bee denied of, whither hee had lent us this money or no; otherwise he would not have confirmed our old priviledges formerlye graunted us by the now fledd Jentue King. So upon the deliveringe of this gunn hee gave it us here under his hand that hee received the gunn in full and contentable sattisfaction for the loan of 16,000 rials of eight to the Company the whole space of one twelve month, and never hereafter would desire any thing elce for the same; and withall confirme'd under the King of Gulcondah(s) great seale all our former priviledges in ample manner, as it was graunteed unto us by the aforesaid fledd Jentue King. Soe by this means the gun hath saved you three tymes the vallue of it, by accomplishing too good acts at once.'

A letter he carried declared that food was dear and cotton goods were difficult to obtain, as the country was being harried by fresh incursions of the Golconda and Bijâpur armies, with the result that Porto Novo and Pondicherry were 'in a manner ruin'd,' while Tegnapatam, the other chief centre of the piece-goods trade in that region, had to buy immunity from a like fate by 'continueall presents.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1646-50*, pp. 166-7, October 9, 1647, and also Letter by *Ivy* to Bantam same vol. p. xxx August 19, 1648.)

² 'On the eastern side of India, at the beginning of the period under review, the Carnatic was still being harassed by the incursions of its Muhammadan foes, and by their constant dissensions and conflicts. The forces of the King of Bijapur had conquered the whole of the district centring in the famous fortress of Gingi, including the seaboard round Tegnapatam, of which Malaya was made Governor; and the Dutch promptly took advantage of this to obtain (August, 1651) a grant of trade at that and the neighbouring ports (*Hague Transcripts*, series i, vol. xvii, No. 532; vol. xviii, No. 539). The unhappy Raja of the Carnatic had taken refuge with the Nayak of Mysore, who was at war with Bijapur (*Ibid.*, vol. xvii, No. 518). Meanwhile, to the northwards, the Nawab Mir Jumla, as general of the Golconda forces, was busy consolidating his position.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1651-54*, pp. xxiv-xxv.)

It was about this time that the activities of Mîr Jumla brought him into hostilities with Bijâpur, and war broke out soon after the fall of Gingee, possibly in the year 1651.¹

The contest between the two lasted for some time and ultimately Mîr Jumla was able to enter into a treaty with Bijâpur, paying six hundred thousand pagodas for the retention of his conquests made in the territories of Śrîraṅga.²

The war was apparently waged for the division of the spoil. Bijâpur, in her turn, now became very active, marched across and captured Penukonda and wanted permission to march on to Gingee through the territory belonging to Mîr Jumla. Mîr Jumla declined to grant them free passage through his territory and sought the assistance of Mysore, and made direct overtures to the emperor Śrîraṅga. This was in 1652. The Bijâpur army marched up to Vellore, took possession of it, and left the emperor with Chandragiri for his capital and a few districts dependent thereon. This was soon after March A.D. 1653.³

¹ 'Warrs being commenced betweene the Moors of Gulcondah and Vizapore, who, haveing shared this afflicted kingdome, are now bandying against each other, whilst the poore Jentue, hopeing their mutuall destruction, watches oppertunity to breake of his present miserable yoke. In the interim many bickerings have bin within two daies journey of this place, and tis reported that the Nabob with his whole army is besieged among the hills of Gulcondah, whither hee retired for the more safty, by the Vizaporias; which hath soe distracted this country that wee could not adventure your monies abroad without to much Hazard.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1651-54*, p. 99, January 14, 1652.)

² 'Have already advised the troubles 'ariseing from the quarrell betweene the Vizapore and Golcondah Moores; but lately peace is concluded betweene the two Kings, being bought by the last for 600,000 (some say 900,000) pagodas; for which sume hee is againe restore'd to possession of his late conquests, part whereof had in this bickering beene surprized by the Vizaporeans, whose King for these many months was reported dead, though now resuscitated and said to bee in better health then for diverse passed yeares.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1651-54*, p. 111, January 27, 1652.)

³ 'The war in the Carnatic was continued as strenuously as ever. According to the Dutch records, the Bijâpur commander-in-chief, having mastered the important fortress of Pennukonda in March, 1653, thereupon requested permission to pass through the districts held by the Golconda troops on his way to Gingi; but this was refused by Mir Jumla, who, alarmed at the success of the Bijâpur troops, was animating the Nayak of Mysore against them and also making overtures to the Carnatic Raja. The latter, relying on Mir Jumla's promises, returned to Vellore and raised a large army, hoping to drive the Bijâpuris out of the country (*Hague Transcripts*, series i, vol. xix, No. 550 (i)). The issue of all this is told in a letter from Batavia of November 7, 1654 (N.S.), which states that the Bijapur general had, after a long siege, captured Vellore and concluded a treaty with the Raja, by which Chandragiri was left to the latter, with the revenues of certain districts (*Ibid.*, No. 551). Meanwhile the Dutch were endeavouring to live

Soon after followed the attempt of Mir Jumla at independence, which Abdullâh Qutb Shâh had long suspected. His efforts to bring his powerful lieutenant to heel threw him first into the hands of Bijâpur and then into the hands of the Mughal Prince, Aurangzeb, actively operating in behalf of his father in the Dekhan at the time.¹

as peaceably as possible with both contending powers. This was not easy in the case of Mir Jumla, who (as we have seen) was much irritated by their refusal to grant passes to Indian ships desirous of trading with Ceylon, Achin, and all districts in which the Dutch were striving to establish a monopoly.²

(*The English Factories in India, 1651-54*, p. xxxiii.)

¹ 'It is interesting to note that the Dutch at this time were negotiating with the Danes for the purchase of Tranquebar, mainly in order to prevent its falling into the hands of the Portuguese or the English. The Danes, however, though in a somewhat critical position, decided to hold out in hope of relief from Europe, though they promised to give the Dutch the first offer, should they be compelled to give up their settlement.'

'In September 1654, the English factors reported a fresh development in the unstable politics of the Coast. The King of Golconda, Abdullâh Qutb Shah, had long been jealous of the power wielded by his servant, Mir Jumla, and an open breach had now occurred between them. (p. 290). The latter was suspected of an intention of making himself an independent sovereign of the territory he had conquered in the Carnatic; but he was well aware of the difficulty of standing alone, and after making overtures to the King of Bijapur, he finally succumbed to the intrigues of Aurangzeb, who, as Viceroy of the Deccan, was eagerly watching for an opportunity to interfere. Mir Jumla agreed to enter the service of the Mughal Emperor; but rumours of his intention so alarmed Abdullâh Qutb Shah that he sought to win back the friendship of his former minister, and the latter hesitated until the imprisonment of his family at Golconda towards the end of 1655—an act provoked by the haughty behaviour of his son—precipitated the crisis and drove Mir Jumla into the arms of Aurangzeb, with disastrous results to the Golkonda kingdom.'

'It hath been no small miserie that this poore heathen country hath suffered any tyme these ten years almost, since the Moores of Vizapore on one side and those of Gulcondah on the other side first made inroads upon it. And now, when wee hoped all would have bene put in some good posture of government, to continue still those miseries (or rather to adde a greater burthen to it) our Nabob is lately up in armes against the King of Gulcondah his master, whose commands he slighteth, intending (soe farre as is conceived) to keepe what part of the country hee hath conquered to himselfe; which if hee can accomplish, hee will soone bee as great a king as his master, and his yearly renew little inferiour to it. What the issue to those things wilbee, the Almighty only knoweth; in the meane tyme wee that live here amongst them shalbee sure never to want troubles on every side.'

In the booke (1) of transactions with the Nabob [you will] read how hee hath intrenched on our privileges [in Madras]—patam; which was begunn by the Braminees me[n]tioned in Mr. Bakers tyme, who would take no notice of their [actions, but] supported them. . . . In the meane tyme wee le str[ive] to keep what] wee have, until better tymes. The said Nabob is [in opposition] to the King his master; nor can wee divine the [issue of this un] certaine warr from such varrious reports as pass in [these parts; but] suppose, if the King

Mir Jumla got confirmation of his possession of the Karnâtak from Shâh Jahân, and continued his trading activities in the region up to July 1656.¹

In November 1656, Srîranga had recovered a good deal and was laying siege to Pulicat as against Mir Jumla.²

oremaster him, heele fly to the [Mogull for] shelter, who already begins to take his part.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1650-55*, p. xxxiv, also p. 290, September 18, 1654; and p. 46, February 4, 1656, *ibid.* vol. for 1655-60.)

¹ 'The report runs that this King will send an army against Golconda and Decan [i.e. Bijapur] in favour of Miere Jimla, lately generall of the King of Gulcondah[s] forces, who, haveing subdued the large territory of Ram Rajah, (1) is reported now to bee in rebellion, proffering Sha Jehan to doe his best to subject the whole country of Gulcondah to his more absolute command. If this warr goe forwards, it may perhaps bee as dangerous to send the saltpeeter by the way of Brampore [Burhanpur] as Ahmedabad, for if the prince Oran Zaeb have occasion for any, noe doubt but hee will stop it, and then it may bee a businesse very troublesome to gett mony for it.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1655-60*, pp. 62-3, February 6, 1656.)

² 'This long imprisoned King at last returned to his citty, after (by reporte) the receipt of good news from the Mogull, who they say keepe the Nobob by him and will not permit him to returne to these countreys againe, and hath given him all the Curnatt [Carnatic] country to his disposall and yeares tribitt free. This is reported for truth; whither soe or noe, [I] knowe not. But for certaine hee [i.e. Mir Jumla] hath lately sent an army of neare 10,000 horse to take possession of Curnatt, and at his comeing into the citty had not lesse then 50,000 horse and foote, richly acoutred, which are all in pay, that marched before him.'

'The story regarding the disposal of the Carnatic was, in effect, true. Abdullâh Kutb Shah had done his best to retain that rich province, which had been conquered on his behalf by the Nawab; but Shah Jahan decided that it must be treated as Mir Jumla's *jagir*, held directly from the Emperor, and the Golconda monarch was ordered to recall his officers from the province.* As a Madras letter of July 7, 1656 (written, it is true, before the decision was known there), says:—

'As for this country about us, tis indifferent quiett; continueing yett under the Nabobs government, whose officers still remaine in theire places of command, though the army bee much lessened by his departure.'

'In which respect wee have not as yett broake their seales, but deferre their opening until wee bee better informed to whome they belong, or the countrey settled in the Gentue Kings possession, which would not only secure us from future trouble but much advance your affaires in these parts, for some good service wee have done him in assisting Conar Citte [Koneri Chetti], his generall for these quarters; which business, if the success be sutable to the beginning, this place will bee better worth your owning then ever.'

'Alsoe it was reported that the king of Gulcondah had lett the countrey of Carnaticum again to the Roylaes; uppon which the Kinge of the Jentues father-in-law, called Vengum Rajah, with a partye of souldiers tooke parte of the

* See Professor Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, vol. I, p. 245.

According to the Dutch records of January 1657, Koneri Chetti who was entrusted with the operations in behalf of Śīraṅga betrayed him and made overtures to Tupāki Krishnappa, Mīr Jumla's lieutenant.¹

countrye, and came to Peddapollum; * which newes when Sidelee heard, not raising siege nor coming hither, returned to Pullecat.

'And all the country hereabouts (Punnamalee castle excepted) rendered to the Jentue Kings obedience, who, now, in the nabobs absence, is up in arms for the recovering of his kingdome, and hath already recovered a large part.'

'Nor are our Dutch neighbours in Pullecat altogether secure, for all their strength, should the Gentue King overcome, who yet is able to counterpoize the Nabobs party and may happily get the day at last, if the Nabob come not in person to conserve his conquest; which is much to bee doubted, though his party report that hee is on the way from Agra as farre as Brampore with a formidable army; but tis supposed Vizapore (Bijapur) will take him up by the way. As for Conarcittee, hee rendered himselfe up to the Moores as a prisoner, but was received in state by the comandars with more then accustomed honour in such cases; which, considered with his alliance, and neere relation to Topa Kistnappa, the Nabobs generall together with other circumstances, and observations in his present deport and continued respect from ditto Kistnappa, are sufficient to ground the generall suspicion of his betraying the kings army.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1655-60*, pp. 91, 94, 95, 97 and 98.)

¹ 'And all the country hereabouts (Punnamalee castle excepted) rendered to the Jentue King's obedience, who now, in the Nabobs absence, is up in armes for the recovering of his kingdome, and hath already recovered a large part.'

'Next from a letter sent by the Madras factors to Bantam, dated, November 5, we learn that—

'All these countries that were formerly conquered by the Nabob are now of late (in his absence at the Moghulls court) upon the revolt, the Jentue King with diverse Nagues being in arms; some of whose forces are now at the seidge of Paleacatt, where tis said most of the Nabobs riches are stowed. Here is nothing but takeing and retakeing of places, with parties of both sides, in all places; soe that tis very dangerous giving 'out monies for goods in these tymes. But wee hope ere long 'twill be settled, especially for us, if the King recovers his countrye.

'And finally we have the report made to the Company by Greenhill and Chamber on January 28, 1657.

'The warres in these parts have been an exeeding hinderance to the progress of your business in this place; and the more through the treachery of Conarcity, whom the Jentue King made his generall in these parts about Punnomalee; which castle might have been easily brought in subjection, but hee delayed the time until the Nabobs party had united their forces and formed a body to overpower him; whereupon hee basely fledd to this towne with his army.'

'Nor are our Dutch neighbours in Pullecat altogether secure, for all their strength, should the Gentue King overcome, who yet is able to counterpoize the Nabobs party and may happily get the day at last, if the Nabob come not in person to conserve his conquest; which is much to bee doubted, though his party report that hee is on the way from Agra as farre as Brahmpore with a formidable army; but tis supposed Vizapore [Bijapur] will take him up by the way. As for Conarcittee, he rendered himselfe up to the Moores as a prisoner, but was

* Possibly Peddanaikpetta (a ward of Madras) is meant.

This latter is said to have inflicted a defeat upon Śīraṅga in September of that year.¹

This brought about the siege of Madras in behalf of Mīr Jumla.²

received in state by the comandars with more than accustomed honour in such cases; which, considered with his alliance and neere relation to Topa Kistnappa, the Nabobs generall, together with other circumstances and observations in his present deport and continued respect from ditto Kistnappa, are sufficient to ground the generall suspicion of his betraying the king's army.'

'A letter from Batavia, written towards the end of January, 1657 (*Hague Transcripts*, ser. i, vol. xxi, No. 612), gives some additional particulars. It says that the Chandragiri Raja with an army of 8,000 men captured the pagoda of Tirupati, and then designed the conquest of the districts of Conjeeveram, Chingleput, 'Carmigaelpatam', and Pulicat. He wrote secretly to the Dutch chief at the last-named place, asking him to secure for him the Nawab's treasure (which had presumably been hurried thither for safety), or at least to prevent its being carried away by sea. Reply was made that the Dutch had no jurisdiction in the town of Pulicat, which was guarded by the Nawab's troops. The Raja then besought the Dutch to remain neutral in the event of his attacking the place; but to this they answered that they were under a contract with the Nawab to assist him in such a case.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1655-60*, pp. 97, 98 and 99.)

¹ 'Since when the nuse heare touching the Nabobs proceeding in Decan differs litteli from your relationes, only the takeing of Colburge,* reported by that party, is contradicted; but tis said he is now at the siege of another strong place, called Callinarra [Kalyani], where many bloody conflicts hath passed on both sides, which hath much retarded the expectation of his speedy conquest, and detained him from succoring his party in these quarters; who were lately so invironed by the Gentues that they could not have long subsisted, had not the gennerall, Topa Kistnappa, an old souldier, layed an ambuscada for a greate party of the Kings horse that hath bene plundering, and returning confidently (or rather carelesly) fell thereinto; where though they lost not 100 men killed, yet fled so amazedley that thay put all the company in such a feare as most of them disbanded and fled, leaving the King and [his?] adjutant shangee [Shanji] only with 1000 horse [and] foote; who staid behind two dayes and then retreated two miles to Arni, a strong castell on the borders of Chinge [Gingi]; whar thay are recruiteing the army with the Vizaporians [i.e. Bijapurs'] assistance and intended er long to be in the field with greater force then before. In the meane time Topa Kistna strengthens himselfe by all possible menes and Leiknrely [leisurely?] follows them, to see if he can get another advantage before thare whole powers be united. This unexpected defeate was about forty miles from this place; which is now so well provided as [we] do dot much feare the worst [that] can happen, especially [as] our cause is soe just.

(*The English Factories in India, 1655-60*, pp. 135-6.)

² 'Since when the nuse heare touching the Nabobs proceeding in Deccan differs littell from your relationes, only the takeing of Colburge † reported by

* (Kulbarga or Gulbarga, now in the Hyderabad State, about seventy-five miles north-east of Bijapur. It does not seem to have been attacked in this campaign, the course of which has been described on p. 118.)

† Kulbarga or Gulbarga, now in Hyderabad State, about seventy-five miles north-east of Bijapur. It does not seem to have been attacked in this campaign, the course of which has been described on p. 118.)

Now that Mīr Jumla was in Agra, Golkonda began to take a strong line to assert its claims to what had become Mīr Jumla's territory. In August 1658, there was fighting between Tupakki Krishnappa and the Golkonda forces round Poonamallee. Tupakki Krishnappa came to terms with Fort St. George in order to be free for this.¹

In the December of that year, Mīr Jumla's son Tapa Tapa demands the restoration of Mīr Jumla's Junk.²

that party, is contradicted; but tis said he is now at the siege of another strong place, called Callinara [Kalyani], where many bloody conflicts hath passed on both sides, which hath much retarded the expectation of his speedy conquest, and detained him from succoring his party in these quarters; who were lately so invironed by the Gentues that they could not have long subsisted, had not the gennerall, Topa Kitsnappa, an old souldier, layed an ambuscada for a greate party of the Kings horse that hath bene plundering, and returning confidently (or rather carelesly) fell thereinto; where though they lost not 100 men killed, yet fled so amazedley that they put all the company in such a feare as most of them disbanded and fled, leaving the King and [his?] adjutant Shangee [Shanji] only with 1000 horse [and] foote; who stade behind two dayes and then retreated two miles to Arni, a strong castell on the borders of Chinge [Giugi]; whar they are recruiteing the army with the Vizaporians [i.e. Bijāpuris] assistance, and intended er long to be in the field with greater force then before. In the meane time Topa Kisna strengthens himselfe by all possible menes and Leiknrely [leisurely?] followes them, to see if he can get another advantage before thare whole powers be united. This unexpected defeate was about forty miles from this place; which is now so well provided as [we] do not much feare the worst [that] can happen, espetially [as] our cause is soe just.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1655-60*, p. 135-36.)

¹ 'We for our parts hitherto enjoy all freedome and quietnesse, though the noyse of warre and thundering of ordinance are day and night within our hearing. The castle of Pulomolee, about ten miles off, having revolted to the King of Gulcondah, is beleagred by Topa Kisna's forces, that formerly besieged us and Pulicat; to whom it had been rendered ere this time, but that they expect help from the Gulcondah forces, which are said to be marching this wayes. So as you may easily gusse at the misery these Countrys suffer, being covered with many severall armyes, and is very destructive to the trade thereof and consequently to our present affaires; so as we are forced for the most part to fetch our goods thirty leagues on each side from this place.'

(1) From the Dutch records we learn that in October Kuli Beg, commanding the Golconda forces, inflicted a serious defeat on Tupaki Krishnappa, who was wounded and taken prisoner. The victor subdued all the district round Madras, and the Dutch at Pulicat found themselves obliged to come to terms with him, while San Thome also submitted (*Hague Transcripts*, ser. i, vol. xxiii, no. 639).

(*The English Factories in India, 1655-60*, p. 176.)

² 'Tapa Tapa came to this towne with Orange Zebes firmaund, demanding of Mr. Winter the Nabobs juncke; which he denying, secondarily required her of us, as also the Persia[n] comonly called Cajee [Kaji], who Mr. Winter conveyed to your port, to whome the Nabob, upon his leaveing Carnatt, left him Cheife Salaskaree [sar-lashkar, head of the troops] in those parts, on whome is pretended

In December 1659, Revington writing from Dandarajapur on the West Coast refers to Rustam-i-zamân as a friend of Shâhji and Shivaji, and among the Umras who declined to recognize Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's succession are mentioned Rustam-i-zamân Bahlol Khân, Shâhji and Shivaji, as though all the four of them were Amīrs of similar rank.¹

It is also stated in the course of the letter that Shâhji was expected to march up from his government extending to Gingee with 17,000 troops in a month and overthrow the government of 'Alī 'Âdil Shâh who could put into the field only 10,000.²

very large somes to be in his hands of the Nabobs; of whome, as well as the juncke, if there be not a surrender made, the Company, as well as their servants, are like to be sufferers in these parts.

(1) Bernier (1670 ed., vol. ii, p. 180) says that Mir Jumla's son had so much influence at Masulipatam that "le tap-tapa, son commis, en est quasi le maistre". He seems thus to use "Taptapa" as a title; but, as Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out to me, it is really a personal name, Tapa Tapa, implying descent from the great-grandson of Ali of that designation. In the Dutch Records at the India Office (*Hague Transcripts*, ser. i, vol. xxiii, No. 651) he is called "Miermameth Hosseyn Taffa Tappa."

(*The English Factories in India, 1655-60*, p. 187, December 22, 1658.)

¹ 'The person that is cald King of this country is knowne to bee the bastard of this Queenes husband,* and she, notwithstanding that, would have the crowne settled on him; but some of the Umbraves of this country, knowing to bee spuriously begotten, will not give him homadge and refuses to goe to court; and these are Rustum Jemah, Bull Ckaune,† Shawgee [Shahji Bhonsla], and Sevagy; which latter lyes with an army to the no[rth] ward and commands all alongst the coast from the upper Choul† unto Dabull; against whom the Queene this yeare sent Abdle Ckaune‡ with an army of 10,000 horss and foote; and because shee knew with that strength hee was not able to resist Sevagy, shee counceild him to pretend friendship with his enemy; which hee did.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1655-60*, pp. 249-50.)

² 'One months tyme more will, wee beleive, put an end to this trouble; for Sevagyes father, Shawjee, that lyes to the southward, is expected within eight dayes with his army, consisting of 17,000 men, and then thay intend for Vizapore [Bijapur], the King and Queenes residence, whose streng(t)h consists onely in

* 'The question of the legitimacy of Ali Adil Shah II is examined by Professor Jadunath Sarkar at p. 285 of the first volume of his History of Aurangzeb. He accepts Grant Duff's view that the boy was really the son of the late king, and suggests that his mother was a slave-girl in the harem. Bernier and Tavernier say that he was simply an adopted son, and Aurangzeb made the same assertion as an excuse for his invasion of Bijapur. Manucci and Fryer stigmatize him as an illegitimate son of the Queen herself.'

† 'The general Bahlol Khan. Fryer calls him "Bullul Caun". See also Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i, p. 256.

‡ Chaul (near Alibag, in Kolaba District) is divided into Upper and Lower Chaul, the latter (also called Revadanda) being the Portuguese settlement.

§ 'Afzal Khan. Fryer speaks of him as "Abdul Caun." The name appears to have been Abdullah, "Afzal Khan" (the pre-eminent lord) being merely a title.'

In a letter, dated October 1661, Shâhji is referred to as the Bijâpur general and his having taken Porto Novo from the English is stated in clear terms.¹

Shâhji's imprisonment and the treaty between Shivaji and Bijâpur are under reference in a letter dated January 1663.²

men, and they are not above 10,000 souldyers; so that in all probability the kingdome will bee lost. and if it proves so, all that Rustum Jemah hath promised us, of a tancksall, or remitting you part of the saltpeeter costomes, and of assisting you in taking Danda Rajapore Castle, which are three things wee doe desire to bee instrumentall in, will as certainly bee performed. Wee onely want power and means, and a good head at Suratt.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1655-60*, p. 251.)

¹ 'If this bee indured by these governours, they will presume further; and wee have the like complaint to present concerning Xaigee* (whoe is father to him that is the Visapore [Bijapur] generall and hath Mr. Revington in Curance); for hee came in July last to Porta Nova and robbed and pillaged the towne; whereof the Companies merchants were the greatest losers, having taken from in ellephants, callicoes, broad cloth, copper, benjamen [benzoin], etc., goodes to the value of 3,0000 pardawes, and are utterly unable to pay the Company their remaynes in their hands, being about 4,000 pa[godas], unless our masters will licence us to vindicate them by their shipping at sea, for this Xaigee hath now Porta Nova in possession.'

² 'By the mediation of Shahji Bhonsla (his father), Sivaji had come to terms with his nominal overlord, the King of Bijapur, with the result that Bijapur, amongst other districts, had been recognized as part of his territories.†

'But he told us what was past must be forgotten, and that for the future never any such thing should happen again, nor should wee ever suffer by his master to the value of a corn of rice loose; giving in severall reasons for what had happened . . . as, his master then having warr with the King of Deccan (which since is ended and they now certainly at amity), and therefore he robd his countrey; as also the great necessity that then were upon him, occasioned by his warring with two potent Kings and Oran Shaw having spoiled him of great parts of his dominions, etc., but now his master had no such great necessity depending; but although any such should happen again, yet he now was fully resolved never hereafter to commit the like outrages as formerly, and would give us his inviolable oath wee should never be any wayes injured againe; shewing us with all a

* 'Shahji, the father of Sivaji. His depredations in the Carnatic, nominally on behalf of the King of Bijapur, have been alluded in the preceding volume.

† It was declared that there was now no reason for ships to call at Porto Novo, since 'the towne is wholly destroyed and the merchants totally ruined by Xagee, the Visapore King's Generall.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1661-64*, p. 50, October 19, 1661; also p. 51.)

† 'The Bijapur Government granted all Shivaji's demands (A.D. 1662). He was left in possession of his conquests from Kalyan in the north to Phonda in the south and from Dabhol in the west to Indapur in the east, and his complete independence was acknowledged. Both parties undertook to defend the other from foreign aggression. And Shivaji took a solemn oath not to molest Bijapur during Shahji's lifetime.' (*A History of the Maratha People*, by Kincaid and Parasnîs, vol. i, p. 175.)

In letters, dated the 19th and 20th July 1663, Shâhji's position of influence with Bijâpur is referred to. Bahlol Khân was summoned to court, but would not go unless Shâhji accompanied him. There is also a reference to a Bijâpur invasion against Snep-Nayak (obviously standing for Sivappa Nâyaka of Ikkêri), the Karnâṭak Râja, and his being forced to 'a composition of 7,000,000 Pagodas.'¹

In the accounts so far given there is no reference to Shâhji in our sources relating to the history of Mysore. There is clear reference to Shâhji in the Company's records from the year 1657 onwards, that is, more or less after the disappearance of Mîr Jumla from the scene of his activities in the Golkonda Karnâṭak. One may therefore fairly argue that Shâhji was playing but a very subordinate part all through,

writing from his master with his own chop [i.e., seal] and others accustomed to it; also the print of the Rajah's hand on the top of the paper, done with sandall, declaring his resolve to tend as permentioned. To all which wee answered that, in confidence of the truth of what he had allegged, wee did believe our masters would be perswaded to trade againe to these ports, that are now in the Rajah's possession, provided reparation be made to their former losses; which wee hoped would be done, and assured him his master would not be a looser thereby.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1661-64*, p. 230 and note, and p. 231.)

¹ 'Rustum Jeamah, returning from whence the King had placed him to Hookery, his owne towne, by the Kings order is denied entrance. This jessud swears before he came out of Buncapore, he saw irons put on Bussall Ckan* and Shagee [Shahji] (Shevgy's father), but taken off of the latter in two dayes; who is now with the King without any command. Bussall Ckan's mother denying the King entrance into Buncapore, the King wrote to Shagee to perswade Bussall Ckan to come and stand to his mercy, for the King, being denied entrance, was so incenced that, if he stood out any longer, would never have pardoned him, and now he could not hope to be able to withstand him, the kingdome being at peace since the King conquered Snep-Nayck, a Carnattick Rajah, and brought him to a composition of 7,000,000 pagodas.† The rebelling of this Rajah was the cause of the Kings going for Buncapore. At last Shagee perswaded Bussall Ckan to goe to the King, upon condition that he would accompany him; which he did, and so the King trapann'd them both. The King hath likewise wrote Syddy Mussad (Sidi Mas'ud), Syddy Zoars sonne in law, and to Syddy Zoars eldest sonne‡ (the former of which hath 14,000 horse, the latter 10,000) to come to him; but they returne him answer that they dare not trust him that had murdered their father; § upon which the King wrote them againe, that they had no reason to mistrust him, he having now imprisoned Bussall Ckan, who was the only cause of their death.'

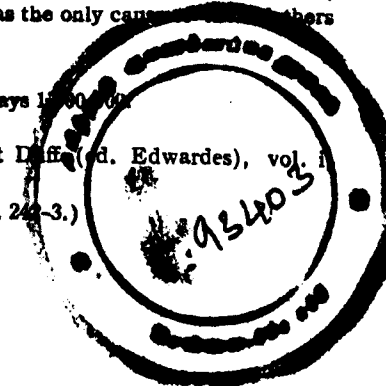
* 'An error for Bahlol Khan.

† The Batavia Dagb-Register, 1664 (p. 323) says 15,000,000.

‡ Sidi Azz.

§ For the murder of Sidi Johar, see Grant Duff (ed. Edwardes), vol. i, p. 146.

(*The English Factories in India, 1661-64*, pp. 242-3.)



although the position that he is said in the Company's records, to have occupied after A.D. 1657 would give the clearest possible indication that he must have been occupying a position of some importance before that.

In this connection we shall have to consider the new light that is brought to bear upon the subject by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the *Modern Review* for July 1929. Sir Jadunath claims to have acquired two manuscripts relating to the reigns of the Bijâpur Sultâns, Muhammad 'Âdil Shâh (A.D. 1627-56) and 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh (A.D. 1627-72). These are described by him as contemporary official histories, the first by Zâhîr bin Zâhîrî and the second by Nûrullâh. He also notes that these two sources were not available to the author of the *Basâtînu's-salâfîn* written in 1824, and which 'hitherto was our source of information for Bijâpur history.' 'In the light of these first-rate materials and the annual Jesuit letters from Madura, it is now possible to trace step by step and in clear detail the story of how the Muhammadans seized the heritage of the recently shattered empire of Vijayanagar and crushed its numberless, disunited, mutually jealous and warring Hindu feudatories, across the entire Indian peninsula from Goa to Madras. The Adil Shah of Bijâpur conquered what are called in his Persian history "Malnad and Karnatak", i.e. first the Kanara country of Bednur, then Mysore, starting from the Ikeri or Nagar district in the west, on to Sera and Bangalore in the centre and the north Salem district in the south east corner, and finally descending the Eastern Ghats the Madras plains up to Vellore, Jinji and Waligandapuram within sight of Tanjore. The Qutb Shah of Golkonda seized the Hindu principalities due south and south-east of his capital, i.e. the country beyond the Krishna, lying north-east of these new Bijapur acquisitions.'

'Between these two streams of invasion, Sir Ranga Rayal, the last representative of Vijayanagar royalty, was completely crushed out. He offered a long and desperate resistance. But his worst enemies were his own people. The insane pride, blind selfishness, disloyalty and mutual dissensions of his Hindu feudatories rendered all his efforts futile and the Muslims conquered Hindu Deccan piecemeal with the greatest ease and rapidity. As the Jesuit missionary Antoine de Proenza wrote from Trichinopoly (1659): "The old kings of this country appear, by their jealousies and imprudent action, to invite

the conquest of entire India by the Muslims"' (*Mission de Madure*, iii, 42.)

Before proceeding to exhibit his material, Professor Sarkar indulges in a comparison of the overthrow of the Hindu kingdoms of the south and the Muslim conquests of Hindûstân, and draws the conclusion that in the course of the years 1637-64 the extinction of Hindu rule in the south was brought about, and this period corresponds exactly to the life of Shâhji as a servant of Bijâpur. He lays himself out to indicate that 'the popular Maratha tradition that he was the leading general or conqueror of Mysore finds a complete refutation in the authentic historical sources described above. These sources prove that Shahji was not the supreme army chief, nor even the commander of an independent division, but only one of the many Bijâpuri generals serving under the eyes and orders of the Muslim generalissimo, throughout the conquest of Mysore; and it was only very late in his life, in the invasion of Tanjore in 1660-62 (which was, however, followed not by an annexation, but by withdrawal), that he rose to be second in command.' Then he proceeds to state categorically under six heads the invasions of this country and the results achieved by these invasions.

The campaigns of the years 1638-39 ended in the capture of all the territory up to Bangalore according to this account. Shâhji was placed in the fortress of Bangalore to carry on the government of the conquered parts. Rustam-i-zamân himself proceeded to lay siege to Śrī-raṅgapaṭam, which under Kanṭhirava Narasa Râja Wodeyar, according to this account, submitted after a month's fight, paying five lakhs of gold pieces. The learned historian next proceeds to state 'when Rustam-i-zamân returned from Mysore at the approach of the rainy season, Kenge Nayaka rebelled, and there was a general rising of the Hindu Rajas throughout the Kanarese country against Bijâpur. So, the war was renewed.' Rustam-i-zamân returned, and Basavapaṭana, belonging to Kenge Nayaka, was taken after an elaborate siege, in which Shâhji played a part with Afzal Khân and other generals. While Rustam stayed in Basavapaṭana, Afzal Khân was ordered forward. He took Chik-Nayakan-halli and Bellur belonging to Venkaṭapati, and Tamkur. Rustam is next stated to have taken possession of Balapur (Ballapur) and Kulihal (Kunigal). That closes section I.

So in this official account, no cause is given for the war, and the Bijâpur invasion is begun as if it came upon Mysore like a bolt from the blue. Historical events did not take place in that fashion, even where the Sultâns of Bijâpur and Golkonda were concerned. The Hindu accounts give it that the intervention of Bijâpur was sought, and the invasion was launched accordingly; nor can this court account be regarded as thoroughly historical. It was not such a beautifully unopposed march down to the walls of Gingee, nor so satisfactory a settlement. The fatal weakness of the account is that it gives no explanation of the part that Kenge Nayaka, as he is called, played. He figures in the second campaign, without any mention of his name in the first. It is he who was the author of all the mischief; and the person concerned was not Kenge Nayaka, but Kenge Hanuma, the son of Kenge Nayaka. He invited the Bajâpur army and brought about Bijâpur intervention. The renewal of the Bijâpur invasion again was caused, according to the Hindu accounts, because Kenge Hanuma, who was placed in charge of the territory on the northern bank of the Kâvêri, as against Kanthirava Narasa holding the territory south of the Kâvêri, played false and brought on the invasion, this time perhaps by the incitement of Nâga-maṅgala Channayya, who had to go from his territory to Bijâpur as a combined result of Mysore expansion and Hanuma's administration. The treaty that Kanthirava Narasa entered into was only to gain time, so that Śrîraṅgaṭam might be fortified and put in a position to withstand a siege. In this campaign, Shâhji is stated by this court historian to have been placed in the fort of Bangalore, and to have been charged with the administration and garrisoning of the district dependent on it, which would perhaps constitute a somewhat important position, subordinate, of course, to that of the commander-in-chief Ranadhoola Khân, as he is called in Hindu histories, sometime also described as Khân-i-Zamân.

The next section, division IV of Sir Jadunath's article, simply says that the war was renewed in A.D. 1644. No reason for this renewal of the war seems called for so far, at any rate, as Sir Jadunath is concerned. The fort of Tikri, as it is called, is supposed to have been taken, and Śivappa Nâyaka is stated to have wrested it from the Bijâpur commander. The fort was not Tikri, but Ikkêri, the capital of the Nâyaks of Beḍnur. The next commander that was despatched, Khân

Muhammad, is said to have taken both Tikri and Sagar, four miles from it. The names ought to be Ikkêri and Sâgar, which latter is actually situated between Ikkêri and Keladi, the two capitals of the Nâyaks of the place. The following year Khân Muhammad is supposed to have marched into the Karnâtak and gained a succession of victories, until, in A.D. 1646, he is said to have captured Nandyal and eight other forts in the Kurnool district. It is pointed out that in this campaign Shâhji played no part, and did not deserve to be 'mentioned' in the despatches. The campaign, beginning in 1644 and ending in 1646, is described as a mere rhodomontade by this official historian. Apart from what we find in the Hindu accounts, we see in the Company's records that a great change was taking place. Early in the year 1643, the chief Governor of the Vijayanagar empire, Damarla Venkaṭa, was found intriguing with the Wazîr of Golkonda, Mîr Jumla. He was promptly placed under arrest. His influential brother Ayyappa was raising forces against the emperor Śrîraṅga with a view to compel him to release Venkaṭa. In the course of the year 1643, Śrîraṅga obtained the assistance of Bijâpur, and Bijâpur undertook an invasion to assist him for a consideration of 15 lakhs of gold pieces and twenty-four elephants. The campaign of 1644 began as a result of this agreement between the Vijayanagar emperor Śrîraṅga and the Bijâpur Sultan, and naturally, therefore, the sphere of the campaign would extend to the region indicated in the official account. It shows the Bijâpur activity not only in the Shimoga district, but along the whole frontier eastwards into the Kurnool district, undoubtedly the territory of Golkonda, under Mîr Jumla's actual administration. This would be inexplicable, notwithstanding the first-rate importance of the court historian, unless it was a war undertaken by Bijâpur against Golkonda as well. Golkonda's intervention was naturally sought by Venkaṭa's brother Ayyappa. In 1644 under pressure of this joint effort, Śrîraṅga was compelled to restore Damarla Venkaṭa to his freedom, but apparently not to his former position, Mallaiya taking his place. Mallaiya, in his turn, captured Dutch goods and pressed them hard at Pulicat, but fell into disgrace by surrendering Udayagiri to Mîr Jumla. It was during this period of the restoration of Śrîraṅga that the East India Company's factors in Madras obtained a renewal of the grant from him.

The next campaign, according to this account is that of 1646. When the Prime Minister of Bijâpur, Mustafa Khân led the expedition. He is taken again in glorious career across the whole territory. But unfortunately the details given of the campaign give the lie direct to this glorious success. Âsaf Khân and Shâhji had been ordered ahead, it is said, 'for the defence of the Karnatak frontier.' Why? No explanation is given. The next march was to Śakrēpaṭana. Śivappa Nâyaka and a number of others are supposed to have joined the expedition. He marched as far as Śivagaṅgâ in the Tumkur district, where he is said to have received the envoy of Śrīraṅga Râyulu of Vellore. There is a note in the Company's records that before January 21, 1646, Śrīraṅga Râyulu was attacked by the combined armies of Bijâpur and Golkonda, which would mean that after the previous campaign, in which Bijâpur assisted Śrīraṅga, they changed front and joined Mîr Jumla. It is in the course of the operations connected with this joint attack that Mallaiya surrendered Udayagiri, as it was thought, too readily, and fell into disgrace. That was in February, 1646. The combined armies succeeded in inflicting a defeat upon Śrīraṅga Râyulu in Vellore. This is apparently what is referred to in the official account, where the ambassadors of Śrīraṅga Râyulu are said to have waited upon Mushtafa Khân. The Râyulu apparently made an effort to detach Bijâpur from its alliance with Golkonda. The three rebel Nâyaks of the south, viz. those of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura, who were apparently opposed to the succession of Śrīraṅga, and were consequently ill-affected towards him, if not positively disaffected, countenanced the rebellion of the influential brothers, Dâmarla Venkaṭa and Ayyappa. Śrīraṅga Râyulu's efforts all along were to bring them to reason and to loyalty. He had not as yet succeeded. It is likely that ambassadors from them also met Mustafa Khân at Shivagaṅgâ. What is said in this court history is inexplicable unless these details from other sources are put in their setting. Mustafa Khân refused to be dissuaded from his enterprise on account of these three officers and would not stop till he heard that the Râyulu's projected invasion was given up. There is a note in the Company's records, dated October 1, 1645, that Śrīraṅga Râyulu had obtained a distinct success against the southern rebels, who were coerced into some kind of submission. It was subsequently to that, that the mission to Mustafa Khân must have taken place. The Râyulu's ambassador was sent

back with Mulla Ahmed to get the Râyulu to agree. Mustafa waited at the head of a pass 28 miles from Vellore. The information is added here that Mustafa's original idea was to detain the Hindu ambassador and send Mullâ Ahmad alone. Shâhji is said to have persuaded him in the belief that he had obtained a promise of loyalty from the Brahman envoy. The pass here referred to must have been the Nâyakanêri pass, which leads from the present-day Chittoor district into Gudiyâtam. The ambassador is said to have gone and advised Śrīraṅga Râyul to attack Mustafa and his army at the pass. Mustafa wanted to make a détour into the territory of Jagadêva Râyul, that is, the Bâramahâls of the Salem district by what is called 'Kanvi Pass'. There is no Kanvi Pass. *Kanvi* means 'pass'. Instead of descending into the basin of the Pâlâr, which apparently was guarded in force by Śrīraṅga Râyul, Mustafa wanted to make a détour into the Salem district, perhaps with a view to take the Râyulu in the rear. There again he was attacked by Śrīraṅga's armies. The Râyulu himself advanced against the main line and attacked the division left there under Shâhji and Asad Khân. Asad Khân is said to have been absent from his command, leaving it to his Dîwân, so that Shâhji was in sole command. After a bloody fight, the Râyulu's troops were hurled back and a victory won by Shâhji. All the same, the army is said to have marched through the Bâramahâl by way of Ankuṣagiri to Krishnagur, which must be the present-day Krishnagiri, sometimes called Krishnagiri Durga. Then taking Vṛabhadra Durga, the capital of that région, the army is said to have marched across and descended into the Pâlâr basin. From this account it is clear that, Shâhji's victory notwithstanding, the army was not able to take the direct line to Gudiyâtam, but had to make a détour, which discounts the victory considerably.

The next section of Sir Jadunath's historians' account speaks of the Bijâpur army marching by way of Ânandâbâd, Amarâvatî, and Gudiyâtam and reaching what is called *Uranipur*. This is not *Daran-chur*, as stated, but *Vrinchipuram*, the capital, in the days of the Hindus, of the Bâpa country in the Pâlâr valley. After giving his army some little rest, Mustafa Khân arrived ultimately in front of the walls of Vellore. In the battle that followed, the Râyulu's general was defeated. Vellore was invested, and ultimately the Râyulu submitted and agreed to pay 50 lakhs of gold pieces and 150 elephants

as indemnity. After a month's halt at Vellore, Mustafa is said to have returned with his army by the same route by which he had approached Vellore. In this decisive battle of the war, Shâhji is said to have commanded, along with a certain number of other Hindu officers, the right wing of the Bijâpur army; and when Mustafa returned to Bijâpur, Asad Khân and Shâhji, with many other officers, were left behind to hold the conquered country. Here again there is a very significant omission, without which it is difficult to appreciate the position. The part that was taken in this campaign by the Golkonda troops is conspicuous by its omission, notwithstanding the fact that these are official historians, who had access presumably to the despatches and other official documents. There is a note in the Company's records bearing the date January 21, 1646, that Śrīraṅga was attacked by Golkonda and Bijâpur. Mallaiya played the craven and surrendered Udayagiri on February 9, 1646. The Râyulu's defeat at Vellore is mentioned, and, significantly enough, it is added that the rebel Nâyaks returned to their allegiance. This looks rather unlike the complete conquest of Vellore and the territory dependent thereon by Mustafa Khân, the general of Bijâpur. We have another dated January 1647, that Mîr Jumla's agents were active on the eastern side, had taken the Dutch settlement at Pulicat and were marching towards St. Thomé reaching within two days' march of the Râyulu's forces. It was this march of the Golkonda troops that demoralized the Râyulu's Dîwân and made his position untenable in Vellore. He had to fly for the time being for safety and spent some time on forest frontiers of the Tanjore Nâyak's territories, the regions of Ariyalûr, Udayarpâlayam, etc., on the banks of the Coleroon. In October 1647, the East India Company's factors at Fort St. George felt that the territory had become so far Mîr Jumla's that they obtained from him a renewal of the charter that was first granted by Venkaṭapati in 1639, and was renewed by Śrīraṅga in 1645.

The next section deals with the last of the great campaigns of Mustafa Khân when he marched towards Gingee, the invasion starting in January 1648. Why they should have marched against Gingee or undertaken this invasion is not explained as usual. Tirumal Nâyak of Madura, finding his schemes not prospering by themselves, seems to have striven to effect a combination, as before, between the three Nâyaks of the south, making an effort this time to bespeak the

sympathy and good offices of Mîr Jumla in their cause. The Tanjore Nâyak betrayed the scheme by divulging it to the emperor. Thus balked, he succeeded in bringing about an invasion of the Râyulu's territory by Golkonda.¹ Having achieved considerable success, as indicated by the Company's record already quoted, Mîr Jumla marched south and laid siege to Gingee. He sought the good offices of Bijâpur and obtained its co-operation. When Gingee was thus attacked by the victorious Golkonda troops, whom Tirumal Nâyak regarded as his allies, Tirumal changed front and came in force to the assistance of the Nâyak of Gingee. The siege by the combined Muhammadan troops seemed not to prosper particularly, and Tirumal Nâyak nearly succeeded in getting the siege raised, when the Golkonda troops left. Seeing that it would require a lengthy investment, Mîr Jumla left the siege to be conducted by the Bijâpur troops. These succeeded in putting a garrison into the fort. Mustafa Khân, according to this official account, is brought up to the walls of Gingee, which offered to surrender, 'except, of course, for the disobedience of his chief subordinates like Siddi Raihan and Shâhji.' Shâhji was put into fetters and brought back to Bijâpur. Mustafa Khân died on the way, and the command passed on to Khân Muhammad. Shâhji is said to have been brought in fetters to Bijâpur, where the Sultân set him free after negotiating with him for the surrender of the fortress of Kondana, a fortress in the Mahratta country, Bangalore, and a place called Kandarpi in the Bellary district,² restoring him to all his honours and offices. According to the court historian, the Sultân summoned Shâhji to his presence, 'giving him the robe of minister, and settled his former lands to him again.' In these authentic sources, there is no other mention of Shâhji, and Sir Jadunath concludes the section with the remark that the gap in our knowledge from A.D. 1649 onwards in regard to Shâhji's doings can be but inadequately filled by references to Jesuit letters.

The section which relates to the other sources of authority, namely, the letters of Abdullâh Quṭb Shâh, really gives some valuable information as to the character of the changes that took place in the kaleidoscopic arrangements and re-arrangements of the forces in the Karnâṭak. It refers to the agreement between the two Muhammadan

¹ *The History of the Nâyaks of Madura* quoted above.

² Kandarpi was then a fortified place, now in the Anantapur district.

Sultâns in regard to the division of the territory of the Râyâl, Bijâpur being given two-thirds and Golkonda retaining a third. The Quṭb Shâh complained that the 'Âdil Shâh had broken the agreement and had attempted to retain more than his share, whereas the *Muhammad nâma*, one of the court chronicles, already referred to, states 'that the ungrateful Abdullâh—whose forces had been defeated by the Râyâl, and who could not have won an inch of the Karnâṭak without Bijâpur support—had formed a secret alliance with the infidel, i.e. the Râyâl, and sent his general Mîr Jumla to destroy the Hindus in defence of Gingee, but that Mîr Jumla arrived too late. He was subsequently defeated by another courtier.....of.....the Bijâpur general, Bâjî Ghorpare.' On the authority of a letter written by Abdullâh Quṭb Shâh to his Agent in Bijâpur of a date corresponding to December 23, A.D. 1647, according to Sir Jadunath, reference is made to a petition from Shâhji Bhonsle begging to be taken into the Quṭb Shâh's service. The Quṭb Shâh is said therein to have repeatedly rejected Shâhji's prayer, and advised him to serve the 'Âdil Shâh. Another Hindu Râja is supposed to have done so, whose name could not, however, be made out clearly. Shâhji's arrest by Bijâpur is generally ascribed to this attempt on his part to prove traitor to Bijâpur. The story of this arrest is given entirely differently in Mahratta sources of history, but the cause may have been perhaps to some extent what it is stated to be here. But even so, it would be rather difficult to accept it altogether as correct without confirmation in the face of the contradiction in Mahratta sources. The fact that Shâhji was let off so easily by the Bijâpur monarch and his court, according to the court chroniclers, would go a long way to show that perhaps this statement is not exactly the truth.

The account of these Muhammadan historians, which is by no means friendly to Shâhji, makes it abundantly clear, Sir Jadunath's verdict notwithstanding, that from the commencement of his career in the Karnâṭak, Shâhji had occupied a position of importance. The first general under whom he had to serve, Ranadhoola Khân, or as he is called, Khân-i-zamân seems to have been particularly friendly to him, and this very chronicle itself admits that he was appointed to the charge of Bangalore when it was first conquered. It is nowhere stated in the chronicle itself, or anywhere else, that it was taken away from him, even after his treason so-called. As a matter of fact, he

seems to have continued to govern those parts of the conquered Chan-napaṭna viceroyalty, but shifted his government from Bangalore to Chikbalapur, with Kolar as his headquarters and Nandi as his summer residence. There are vestiges of his own work in the fortifications and other structures which bear witness to his occupation of the place. The fact that the Mysore ruler, Chikkadeva Râja Wodeyar ultimately effected the purchase of Bangalore from Ekoji, Shâhji's son in A.D. 1684 would go to show that the family retained possession of Bangalore, notwithstanding the statement in the chronicles that Bangalore was one of the three forts that Shâhji was to surrender as a price for his release by the Sultân of Bijâpur. His treason with Golkonda and his arrest consequent thereon are not mentioned in the correspondence of the Company's servants, who were likely to have heard about it, as, in their own particular interest, they kept their eyes and ears open for all possibilities of changes in fortune of the important personalities concerned in the administration of the territory. The fact that Shâhji occupied the position of the leader of the campaign against Tanjore and the southern viceroyalties, Mullâ Ahmad, called 'Mula' in Jesuit letters, going as only second in command, would go to show that he retained the important position with which he was entrusted at the very commencement of the Bijâpur invasions of the south. That important position he occupied is vouched for by letters of the factors of the East India Company in Madras and the letter of Revington in connection with Dandharajâpuri on the Bijâpur coast. But the Mahratta tradition, which Sir Jadunath lays aside almost with contempt, claims absolutely nothing more than that he occupied a position of confidence under the commander-in-chief. It was the latter who entrusted him with the charge of administering the great territory, which was ultimately confirmed by the Sultân himself; and it was retained by Shâhji even when his patron Rustam-i-zamân had fallen into disgrace and lived away from court. The *Śiva Bhārata*, which is a work compiled, perhaps in Tanjore, tells in a summary fashion much the same story as that recorded by the court chroniclers, to which Sir Jadunath attaches such high value: 'Afterwards along with the commander-in-chief, this great man, the strong-armed, mighty one, reached the Karnâṭaka Maṇḍala; he conquered successfully the ruler of Bindupur (Beḍunur) by name Vîrabhadra, the strong one; he also

conquered the well-known Kenge Nâyaka, the ruler of Vrishapattana (Basavâpatna); the ruler of Kâvêripattinam, the strong armed Jagadêva, he likewise conquered, as also the cruel Kanthîrava, ruler of Śrîraṅgapaṭṇa. Then he overthrew the brave Vijayarâghava, the lord of Tanjore, as also the master of Gingee, the great Venkaṭa Nâyaka. He followed with the overthrow of Tirumala Nâyaka, the lord of Madura; then the ruler of Piluganḍa (Penugonda?), by name Venkaṭa Nâyaka, then the brave Śrîraṅga Râja, ruler of Vidyânagara (Vijayanagara), and then the well-known Tammé Gauḍa of Hamsakûṭapura. In this manner bringing under his control these and other kings, Râja Shâhî made the commander-in-chief Ranadhoola delighted with his achievements.' Then follows the statement, in two *slokas*, that after a continuous fight for days and nights, 'he took the delightful place, Bangalore from Kempe Gauḍa, who delighted in war, which was presented to him for his own maintenance by the delighted Ranadhoola Khân. He the victorious one (Shâhî) resided in the city called Bangalore.' This is a literal rendering of *slokas* 37 to 44 of *adhyâya* IX of *Śiva Bhârata*, a work composed poetically, of course, in the lifetime of Shivajî himself, probably in Tanjore, far away from the Mahratta country proper. This is confirmed by an account compiled in Tanjore in the days of Râja Sarfojî by his *Chitnîs* in the Śaka year 1725, Rudrodgâri, month Chitra, corresponding, as it is given there, to March 25, A. D. 1803. The account begins with a chronological discrepancy in this particular context, where it says that he was despatched on this mission by 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, whereas the invasion actually started under Muhammad 'Âdil Shâh, years earlier. The object of the invasion is given as an effort to bring under Bijâpur control those feudatories and states of the south which were likely to become friendly with Aurangzib, who was operating in the Dekhan, and whose attitude towards the southern states of Bijâpur and Golkonda was anything but friendly. Here again the account says that 'Shâhî went on the southern invasion with Ranadhoola Khân sent by 'Âdil Shâh. The rulers that he conquered in the south are given as the Râja of Bedanûr, Virabadra Nâyaka; Koṅgé Nâyaka, ruler of Koṅgu [which may be an error—a copyist's error—for Kengé Nâyaka of the territory of Kengé, Kengé being the place of birth of the ruler]; Jagadêva Râya of Kâvêripattinam Kanthîrava of Śrîraṅgapaṭṇam, Vijayarâghava

of Tanjore, Venkaṭa Nâyaka of Gingee, Rangâsâyi Nâyaka of Vidyânagar [another form of the name Raṅga Râyā]; Tirumala Nâyak of Madura, Harikâra Venkaṭa Nâyaka of Vaḷikondapuram, Danakoṭi Nâyaka of Hosakota.' Pleased with all these conquests, 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh is stated to have given to Shâhî the territory of Bangalore for his personal expenses. 'Being pleased with the sight of Bangalore, the security of its fortress, and the salubrity of its climate,' Shâhî made up his mind to fix his headquarters there. This is one of the Mackenzie manuscripts noted by Wilson in volume ii, page xlv, which purports to be a genealogical account of the Bhonsle Râjas of Tanjore. The claim advanced in favour of Shâhî here may be over-pitched to some extent. The account leaves many details to be filled in, and, in that particular respect, is not much worse than the court chronicles so much valued by Sir Jadunath. In this case as in the other, historical research consists in exploiting all possible sources of information for obtaining details of a reliable character to fill in the gaps, and work out a reasonably trustworthy account of the facts. The mere issue of a testimonial that a certain record or set of records is authentic and genuine, because of some features of its character, viz., that it was an official account, that it was compiled in court, or that it is in a particular language will hardly constitute research work; nor will such contribute to the discovery of historical truth. The first account given above is substantially the same as that given in my *Ancient India*, published in 1911; but the particular thesis, actually published so long ago as 1900, contains the material taken from the works of a writer who was contemporary with the Chickkadêva Râja Wodeyar, who followed not many years (a little over ten years) after the death of Kanthîrava Narasa, who figures in these campaigns. The author was a play-fellow and companion at school of the ruler, Chickkadêva Râja, and ultimately became his minister. He composed a work in poetry, *Chickkadêva Râja Vijayam*, in epic form, as also a prose work, *Chickkadêva Râja Vamsâvali*, cast more in the form of history. Along with that is compared such information as is contained in the late compilation issued by the palace and referred to as the Palace History. It is mainly based on the second of the works above referred to, and such other historical manuscripts as were available at the time before the whole library was accidentally burnt. The third source of information utilized is Wilks, who had access to sources

such as Grant Duff had for his *History of the Mahrattas*; but, as in the other case, all of his sources are not at present available. The account was actually compiled for Wilks by a Hindu Brâhman, by name Nagar Puttaiya Paṇḍit, who occupied a high place in the Secretariat, and who exploited all the records in the archives at Śrīraṅgaṇa to compile an account therefrom. Since then certain other Kanarese and Sanskrit sources have become available, and Mr. N. Subba Rao, a research student working on the subject at the Mysore University, utilizes these, particularly the Kanarese sources. As far as I am able to see these, as exhibited by him in the columns of the *Modern Review*, they go merely to confirm the details already given in *Ancient India*, involving perhaps modification of a detail here and a detail there. Historical research consists really in the study of these various sources, estimating their historical value, each by its own worth, and combining the result of genuine historical criticism of all the sources with a view to compiling a reasonable account of what actually took place.

We have unrivalled means for doing this in the details that lie scattered in the correspondence of the Company's servants, written from all over the Dekhan to their masters at home, English, Dutch and even Portuguese to some extent. The English records have been made available in ten volumes by the indefatigable energy of Sir William Foster, but the details contained therein are not history by design. They are incidental references to the state of affairs in the territories surrounding the factories where their commercial operations were carried on. Their commercial interests required that they should note carefully the smallest changes in the rapidly changing conditions in order to safeguard their interests and their money and promote their trade and profit. They were not particularly concerned with commending one party or condemning another. They had their own personal preferences and predilections, which sometimes showed themselves; but generally they were mainly concerned with noting these political changes accurately—as accurately as was humanly possible—with a view to plying their trade safely and profiting by their business.

Judged by the combined evidence of all these sources of history, Shâhji the Mahratta appears to have been a man of ability, both as a soldier and as an administrator. He first played an important part in

the conquests of the various petty states of the Karnâṭak for Bijâpur. Slowly, but surely, he was able to build up from out of these conquests a pretty big Government for himself, certainly under the authority of his masters at Bijâpur to begin with, but gradually to become more or less entirely his own, as a result of the inefficiency and dissension that were the ultimate bane of the Bijâpur kingdom, with the threat of Mughal conquest hanging, like the sword of Damocles, over its head. It is just possible, although it is not yet satisfactorily established, that he showed himself friendly to the interests of Śrīraṅga Râyal once and that he tried to enter the service of the Quṭb Shâh another time. Shâhji was not the only man that was guilty of such changes. It seems to have been quite common at the time. The supreme example of Mîr Jumla in the same region offers an illuminating comparison. The attitude of Rustam-i-zamân and of Bahlol Khân of Bijâpur presents a close parallel. Nonetheless, it would constitute treason, notwithstanding the fact that such treason was in the air. The officers to whom Śrīraṅga Râyal entrusted his affairs behaved no less badly in regard to this matter, but that would not justify an act of treason morally. Moral justification or denunciation is not, however, the function of the historian. When Bijâpur fell, Shâhji's work was visible in the existence of the Mahratta state in the south nominally called Tanjore, but extending far into the plateau and comprising a comparatively large portion of the Karnâṭak. Shivaji had been only a feudatory of Bijâpur so far as the territory in the Mahratta country was concerned, in spite of the fact that he made himself quite as independent as his father in the south. The southern portion of his father's territory seemed to him more justifiably independent and could perhaps enable him to set himself up as a successor to the now vanished empire of Vijayanagar, with Śrīraṅga Râyal as the last of its rulers. Shâhji, therefore, is entitled to be regarded as the founder of the Mahratta dominion in the south, which survived a number of generations after him before it reached complete extinction.

Before concluding this essay on Shâhji, it would perhaps be just as well to advert briefly to such memorials as we have of Shâhji's position in the south. It is commonly known in Mysore that Shâhji's tomb is still pointed out in a village in the Channagiri Taluq, of the Shimoga District not very far from the headquarters of the jâgir of the Kengé Nâyakas. It was Kenge Hanuma, the contemporary of

Shâhji who was primarily responsible for, at least, one invasion by the Bijâpur Sultâns. His headquarters, Basavâpaṭṇa, is not very far from the famous Sâlagere Tank, one of the most important irrigation tanks in the territory of Mysore. We have already referred to the fortress of Nandidrug, and some vestiges that used to be pointed out in the fort at Kolar. It may perhaps be that there are much more living memorials of Shâhji's rule in the south in the administration of Mysore territory, particularly in the Survey and Settlement departments. Till recently a large number of the officials belonging to the department were men from the neighbouring southern Mahratta country, holding their positions almost by hereditary succession. Farther south, at Gingee, we have not come across anything connected with Shâhji, but farther south again, in the Tanjore District and quite close to the town of Kumbhakonam, is the village now called Sakkottai, which is about a mile to the south of the railway station. The name Sakkottai applied to the fort is a derivative from Shâhji, the full name having been Shâhjikot. The village Sakkottai used to consist fifty years ago of the village itself on the banks of the river Araśâlâr at the southern end of the bridge, and the fort about six furlongs off, containing an old Śiva temple, tanks and other appurtenances of a little fortified town. This Śiva temple is as old as the Têvâram hymnographers, who sang of the place under the name Tirukkalaityattâṅkuḍi, the village of the prosperous vessel. The Sanskrit name for the Śiva image installed in the temple, is Amirthagaṭêśvara, Amirthagaṭa being translated into Tamil as Tirukkalaiyam. It seems to have been fortified only under the Mahrattas, and the forts were dismantled and the stones were used for building the Small Causes Court in Kumbhakonam. I can recollect prisoners being put to this work, and have seen them dismantling the fortress and carrying the stones. It is only within the last twenty-five years that the place has been dismantled of all its fortifications and reduced to an ordinary village. The village itself is associated with another name. The Brâhman street is called Raghunâthapura Agrahâram in honour of the Nâyak, Raghunâtha of Tanjore, the father of Vijayarâghava, from whom Ekoji conquered the Tanjore District. This Raghunâtha it was that met the Vijayanagar prince, Râma, at Kumbhakonam before the battle against the rebels and took him safety at Tanjore. When the victory was won, he celebrated the installation ceremony of the Mahârâja in the newly-constructed

Râmaswâmi Temple at Kumbhakonam. In memory of this Raghunâtha, the son Vijayarâghava, built this Agrahâram and made it over to Brâhman, and it is said that thirty families were established in the Agrahâram. Born in that village and in that Agrahâram, I can recollect that the Brâhman houses were my father's, his maternal uncle's, and that of two families of Telugu Brâhman, and one house which was actually intended to be a Dharmaśâla. Recently there has been an addition to the Dharmaśâla by the construction of a new choultry. Otherwise the Agrahâram consists only of one or two households—a fate which is not unusual with Brâhman villages nowadays. The name Shâhjikot still survives in the Tamilized form Sakkottai, which forms a part of my own name.

In the village itself there is a considerable Mahratta settlement from Tanjore. The Mahrattas settled there and in the village Tiruvâdamaruthûr about four miles to the East, claiming to be of better blood than the great bulk of those in Tanjore. In the confusion that arose in Tanjore time and again, several respectable families left the city, and these are found settled in both the villages, thus providing another memento of Mahratta rule.

The Khaza'inul Futuh

OF

AMIR KHUSRAU

APPENDIX A

THE DECCAN EXPEDITIONS

I. THE DAWAL RANI

SUCH was his fortune, that even at the time when he was an *amir*, he became a Solomon in the country of Deogir (Demon-land). The demon (*deo*) became so submissive in the land of Jamshed, that Ram Deo's country was ravaged and the Rai himself was first captured and then set free. Fate placed in Alauddin's hands a world of treasure, nay, the treasure of the whole world—innumerable elephants and more precious stones than could be carried by a hundred camels.

Next, the army of the Emperor was ordered to march towards Tilang. The Rai of Tilang, a ruler over the world of gold-leaf, possessed a hundred elephants. He wished to raise a tumult with his world-conquering heart, but the prestige of the Emperor overawed him; and as he had not courage enough to resort to dagger-thrusts, he sought refuge in his unlucky fort. The fort was encircled by the Imperial army even as a demon might have been surrounded by Jamshed's soldiers. The Rai saw himself wounded by the talons of the Emperor's good fortune; he asked for the right hand of peace and it was extended to him. The Rai then constructed a golden image of himself with a golden cord round its neck and sent it to the Imperial army with one hundred elephants and a treasure beyond all reckoning. In return for this the *Malik* spared the Rai's life; yet in order to test him—and an arrow is not kept blunt except on purpose—he thundered in rage: 'If the Rai does not come in person, we shall take up the dagger in the hand of peace which we have extended to him.' When the Rai's neck heard this, it felt like rolling itself on its head (to the *Malik's* presence); so before he could be brought out by compulsion, the Rai came out in person with his head still on his neck. This display of submission saved his rebellious neck from the decapitating sword and he was allowed to reign in his own territory. Having been deprived of all his wealth, Saturn was left in his empty constellation. After thus suppressing the rebels, the victorious army returned to the Court; it was distinguished by royal favours and even ordinary horsemen were raised to the status of respectable *amirs*.

Next, the *Barbek* was ordered to make the elephants of Ma'bar the morsel of his falcons, so that the heroes of the army may be intoxicated with Ma'bari blood. He was to conquer the seacoast till Lanka (Ceylon) with his sword; the land right up to Sarandip (Ceylon) was to be perfumed with the amber of faith and the heads of Satan's followers knocked down in quick succession at Adam's feet. Accompanied by Victory herself, the army started with the intention of raising from the sea a dust that would rise up to the moon. When it reached the territory of the Rai Rayan, the ground became invisible under the feet of the quadrupeds, but as Deogir was already submissive, the army moved against the other *deos*, while the earth trembled under its feet. Here, too, was a famous Rai, Bilal Deo, a person of great reputation in those days, who through the strength of his elephants

and his treasure had often done considerable harm to Deogir. At a hint (from the *Malik*) the army began to plunder the country. But the wise Rai refused to fight; he came fearlessly out of his fort and handed over to the Imperial army with all elephants, horses and valuables he possessed.

After this fortunate victory on the way, the army provided itself with the necessary material of war and moved like a wall of iron towards the ocean. It raised such a storm that stones flew about like straws, ships were wrecked in the sea and the villages and towns situated on the line of march shook from seacoast to seacoast. In that vicinity also there was an august Rai, a Brahman named Bir Pandya, the finest gem in the crown of the Hindus. His sway was unchallenged over land and sea, and there were many inland cities and harbours in his dominions, the chief of them being Patan, where the Rai resided, and Marhat Puri which contained a famous idol and temple. The golden temple raised its head to the moon and Saturn felt ashamed of it; the idol was drowned in rubies and precious stones, everyone of which was valuable enough to provide food for a whole city. The Rai possessed a large army and countless boats; Mussalmans as well as Hindus were in his service. He had a thousand elephants and horses more than could be counted. When the Imperial army reached Patan, the misguided Rai forgot his path in fear, and in spite of the strength he possessed, hid himself like an ant in the forest. His subjects wandered disconsolate on all sides, and his elephants and troops went about searching for their lost 'head'. An army becomes a mere mob when its leader is not to be found—what is the use of the body when the head has been cut off? The Muslim troopers of the Rai submitted to the Imperial army; the commander (*Malik Kafur*) forgave them, encouraged them, and treated them with favour. Next, they applied their iron instruments to the golden idol and opened doors into the 'heads' of the temple, which though it was the Ka'ba of the accursed *gabs*, yet kissed the ground of the Imperial Treasury. The gold and treasure of (the temple)—so heavy that it would have caused a hill in the other pan of the balance to fly up—was placed on mountain-like elephants for the Imperial Court. When the Ma'bar expedition was over, the wise Commander brought the army back to the capital, where it was distinguished by royal favours. How great, indeed, is the fortune of the Emperor who conquers the world without stirring from his throne. At a motion of his eyebrows in Delhi, Ma'bar and Bahrain are plundered. He has only to will it, and all the *Deos* of India become submissive to him.

II. ZIAUDDIN BARNI

'Alaaddin, the governor of Karra, marched out of that place to Bhilsan with his uncle's permission. Here an enormous booty fell into his hands; and he brought it, together with a bronze idol worshipped by the Hindus of that place, to the Sultan at Delhi. The idol was buried beneath the road under the Badaun Gate; and Jalaluddin, well-pleased with his nephew, appointed him *Arz-i Mumalik* and bestowed on him the governorship of Oudh in addition to the governorship of Karra. At Bhilsan 'Alaaddin had heard of the elephants and wealth of Deogir and enquired about the routes to that place. He had resolved to collect a large army at Karra for an attack on Deogir without informing the Sultan. Finding the Sultan more kind and affectionate than ever, he applied for some delay in paying the dues (*fawasil*) of Karra and Oudh. 'I have heard,' he represented, 'that within the boundaries of Chanderi and many regions adjoining it, the people are free and ignorant and entertain no apprehension of the army of Delhi. If I am allowed, I will invest the money due from me (*fawasil*) to the *Diwan* in enlisting new horse and foot. With these I will march to those territories and bring the enormous spoils that I win, together with dues of which I am postponing the payment,

to the Sultan's *Diwan*. The Sultan, owing to his simple and trustful heart, did not see that 'Alauddin was so worried by his wife and mother-in-law that he wanted to conquer some distant territory where he might settle permanently without returning home. He allowed 'Alauddin to postpone the payment of the revenues due and to increase his army. The latter returned to his governorship with his object achieved.

'Alauddin's feelings had been embittered against his mother-in-law, the Malaka-i Jahan, while the disobedience of his wife, the Sultan's daughter, had made him sick of life. Fear of the Malaka-i Jahan, who had a great influence with the Sultan, as well as the dignity of the Sultan himself, prevented 'Alauddin from complaining of his wife's disobedience to Jalaluddin; and fear of public disgrace prevented him from speaking of his troubles to anyone else. He passed his days in sorrow and distress and often consulted his friends at Karra about his plan of going out into the world to win a position for himself.

With the dues (*fawazil*) remitted to him by the Sultan and the income of his own governorship (*mahsul*) 'Alauddin fitted out three or four thousand foot-soldiers (*payaks*) with whom he set out from Karra on an expedition to Deogir. Publicly, however, he gave out that he was going to plunder Chanderi and kept his plans about Deogir secret. He appointed as his deputy (*naib*) for Karra and Oudh my uncle Alaul Mulk, one of his chief associates. He marched by stages to Elichpur and thence to Ghati Lajura. Here all intelligence of him was lost. But Alaul Mulk kept on sending the Sultan regular reports from Karra. These contained vague statements that 'Alauddin was busy in chastising and plundering rebels, and that he would send his own reports in a day or two. The Sultan, who had brought up 'Alauddin (as a son), suspected no evil. But discerning men in the City and the Court concluded from 'Alauddin's continued absence, that he had gone out to seek his fortune in a distant land. This news, born of guess-work, soon spread among the people.

When 'Alauddin arrived at Ghati Lajura, the army of Ram Deo under the command of his son, had gone on a distant expedition. The people of Deogir had never heard of Islam before this time, for the land of the Mahrattas had never been invaded by any (Muslim) king, *khan* or *malik*. And yet Deogir contained an enormous quantity of gold, silver, jewels, pearls and other valuables. When Ram Deo heard of the approach of the Muslim army, he collected together such troops as he could and sent them under one of his *ramas* to Ghati Lajura. It was defeated by 'Alauddin, who entered Deogir. On the first day he captured thirty elephants and several thousand horses. Ram Deo then came and offered his submission. 'Alauddin brought with him such enormous quantities of gold and silver, jewels and pearls, that though more than two generations have passed since then and much has been spent in every reign at the devolution of the Crown, a large part of those elephants, jewels, pearls and other goods is still left in the Treasury of Delhi.

I have referred to the consolidation of 'Alauddin's government and his freedom from administrative anxieties in order (to show) that when at last his power was permanently established and his mind relieved from the dangers that had beset him on every side, when the fort of Siri had been built and the town of Siri inhabited, the Sultan applied himself to schemes of conquest. Apart from the army which he had stationed on the route of the Mughal invasions, he organized a second army to overpower the *rais* and *zamindars* of foreign lands and seize the elephants and treasures of the Deccan.

In the first expedition the *Malik Naib* Kafur Hazardinari was sent to Deogir with the *amirs* and *maliks* and the red canopy. Khwaja Haji, the *Naib*

'*Arz-i Mumalik*, was also sent with him to look after the administration of the army and the collection of elephants and treasures. No army had been sent from Delhi to Deogir since the time 'Alauddin had invaded it as a mere *malik*; consequently, Ram Deo had rebelled and refrained from sending any tribute for years. The *Malik Naib* reached Deogir with a well-drilled army, plundered the territory and captured Ram Deo and his sons together with the Rai's treasury and seventeen elephants. Great spoils fell into the hands of the troops. A message of victory was sent from Deogir to Delhi; it was read from the top of the pulpits and drums were beaten in joy. The *Malik Naib* returned to Delhi with Ram Deo and the spoils, and presented them before the throne. The Sultan treated Ram Deo with great favour and presented him with the green canopy along with the title of *Rai Rayan*. He was further given a *lac* of *tankas* and sent back with great honour to Deogir with his sons, family and followers. Deogir was reconferred on him. Thenceforth to the end of his life, Ram Deo always obeyed the Sultan; he passed his remaining days in loyal obedience, never wavered from 'Alauddin's orders and sent regular tribute to Delhi.

Next year, in A.H. 709 'Alauddin sent the *Malik Naib* to Arangal with the *maliks*, *amirs* and a large army accompanied by the red canopy. 'Sacrifice your treasure, elephants and horses in capturing the fort of Arangal,' the Sultan directed him, 'and try to make up for the loss in future years. Be quick and do not persist in exacting too much. Do not insist on Laddar Deo's presenting himself before you in person or on bringing him to Delhi for the sake of your fame and honour. Do not remain there long. Be moderate and polite in your dealings with the *maliks* and *amirs*. Do not undertake any venture without consulting Khwaja Haji and the more important officers. Be kind and gentle to the men and do not show any unnecessary irritation. You are going into a foreign country; it is a long journey from there to Delhi and you should not be guilty of any acts or words which may lead to trouble. Connive at the small speculations and faults of the men. As to the *amirs*, officers, generals and administrators of the army, do not treat them so mildly as to make them bold and disobedient nor so harshly as to turn them into your enemies. Keep yourself well-informed of the good and bad acts of the officers and prohibit the *amirs* from resembling together and visiting each other's camps. Apart from gold and silver, do not be harsh in collecting the fifth. If the *amirs* ask you to leave them a few slaves or horses they have captured, accede to their request. If they ask you for a loan either for themselves or their men, give them the money and take a receipt. And whenever the horse of an *amir*, officer or trooper is killed in battle, or stolen by a thief, or is otherwise disabled, give him from the royal stable a horse equally good or better; and ask the Khwaja to note down the loss or destruction of every horse in the *Diwan-i Ars*, for such a record is necessary for the purposes of the government.'

The *Malik Naib* and Khwaja Haji took leave of the Sultan and went to Rabri, a town in the territory of the *Malik Naib*, where they collected the troops. Then by continuous marches they moved towards Deogir and Arangal. At Chanderi the *maliks* and *amirs* of Hindustan joined them with their horse and foot, and a muster of the army was held. The *Rai Rayan*, Ram Deo, came to the frontier of Deogir to receive the army of Islam with innumerable presents for the *Malik Naib* and the *maliks* and *amirs*. While the army was marching across his kingdom, Ram Deo came and kissed the ground before the red canopy every day, and when it encamped in the suburbs of Deogir, he performed all the duties of a loyal chief. He provided fodder for the *Malik Naib* and the officers, and supplied the royal (*Sullani*) factories the material they required. Every day he came with his *muqaddams* to pay homage to the red canopy. He sent the shopkeepers of

Deogir to the army and ordered them to supply everything to the soldiers at a cheap rate. After staying for a few days in the suburbs of Deogir, the army prepared to move. Ram Deo hastily sent his own men with his order to all the towns on the route to Tilang: 'At all the stages in the Deogir territory up to the frontier of Arangal, they were to keep corn, fodder and all other necessary things in readiness; they were to obey the *Malik Naib* like the people of Delhi, and would be held responsible if a piece of rope was lost; they were to allow stragglers to pass through their land and look after them till they reached the army.' He further ordered several Mahratta horsemen and footmen to accompany the army, while he himself went with the *Malik Naib* for several stages and then took leave and returned. The wise and experienced men of the army appreciated Ram Deo's loyal obedience and sincerity. 'Putting noblemen of noble birth at the head of affairs', they said, 'bears such fruits as we see in Ram Deo.'

When the *Malik Naib* reached the frontier of Tilang, he discovered that the towns and villages on his way had been laid waste. Seeing the superiority of the army of Islam, the *rais* and *muqaddams* had abandoned their own forts and fled for refuge to the fort of Arangal. The mud-fort of Arangal was very extensive and all the veterans of that region had collected there, while the *Rai* with his *muqaddams*, *rais* and relatives had crept into the inner fort of stone with their elephants and treasures. The *Malik Naib* sat down to invest the mud-fort. Every day a fierce battle took place between the besiegers and the besieged; *maghrabi*-stones were shot; and blows were inflicted and received by both parties. After a few days had been spent in this manner, the adventurous and desperate men of the army of Islam planted their scaling ladders and threw up their ropes; then like birds, they flew up to the towers of the fort, the mud of which was harder than stone, and with the blows of their sword, arrow, spear and axe, overpowered the defenders and made themselves masters of the mud-fort. To the garrison within the stone-fort the world now appeared smaller than the eye of an ant. Laddar Deo realized that all was lost and that his stone-fort was in imminent danger. He sent distinguished Brahmans and ambassadors (*basiths*) to the *Malik Naib* and asked for terms, promising to give up all the treasure, elephants, horses, jewels and other valuables which he possessed, and to send every year a certain amount of money and a number of elephants to the royal Treasury and stables of Delhi. The *Malik Naib* gave him terms and refrained from capturing the stone-fort. He took from the *Rai* the treasure which he (and his ancestors) had been accumulating for years—one hundred elephants, seven thousand horses, a large quantity of jewels and other valuables, and a deed promising money and elephants for future years. Towards the beginning of the year A.H. 710, the *Malik Naib* turned back from Arangal with his spoils and returned to Delhi by the same route through Deogir, Dhar and Jhalun. His message of victory had reached the Sultan before him; it was read from the top of the pulpits and drums were beaten in joy. When the *Malik Naib* returned 'Alauddin granted him an audience on the Chautre-i Sultani, in the open country before the Badaun Gate. The gold, jewel, elephants, horses and other valuables brought by the *Malik Naib* were reviewed by the Sultan, while the people of Delhi enjoyed the display.

It was the Sultan's habit, whenever he sent an army from Delhi, to establish posts from Tilpat, which is the first stage, to the army-camp or so far as they could be established. At every stage relays of fast horses were stationed, while runners (*dhawas*) sat at every half or quarter *karok* throughout the way. Moreover, in every town on the way, as well as in the villages where fast horses were stationed, officers and report-writers (*tafiyat-nawis*) were

appointed. Thus every day, or every second or third day, news of the army was brought to the Sultan and the news of the Sultan's safety carried to the troops. Consequently, no false rumours could circulate in the City or in the army camp. This interchange of news was a great benefit to the country. On this occasion, however, while the *Malik Naib* was besieging the mud-fort of Arangal, some posts in the way were disestablished as the passage across Tilang was extremely dangerous, and for more than forty days no news of the army came to the Sultan. 'Alauddin became very anxious, while the leading men of the City began to suspect that some misfortune had overtaken the army or an insurrection had broken out. On one of these anxious days, the Sultan sent Malik Qara Beg and Qazi Mughisuddin of Biana to Shaikh Nizamuddin. 'Give my respects to the Shaikh,' he said, 'and tell him that the non-arrival of any intelligence from the army has made me anxious. He is more concerned for the glory of Islam than I am; if his spiritual insight has revealed anything about the army to him, let him send the news to me. Let me know everything you hear from the lips of the Shaikh, without any additions or deductions.' The two messengers went to the Shaikh, who after hearing the royal message, informed them of Sultan's victory and triumph. 'But what is this victory?' he added, 'I expect victories greater still.' The Malik and the Qazi hastened back rejoicing to the Sultan and told him all they had heard. 'Alauddin was extremely pleased on hearing the Shaikh's reply; he felt certain that Arangal had been conquered and his wishes realized. He took out his handkerchief and tied a knot in a corner. 'I take the Shaikh's reply for a good omen,' he said, 'vain words do not come to his lips. Arangal has been conquered and I may expect further victories.' As destiny would have it, runners bringing the message of victory from the *Malik Naib* came on that very day before the *suh*r prayer. The message was read from the top of the pulpits on Friday; drums were beaten and rejoicings were held in the City. The Sultan's faith in the Shaikh's spiritual power increased; though he never personally met the Shaikh, yet throughout his life no words at which the Shaikh could be displeased ever came to his lips. The Shaikh's enemies and rivals told him everything about the Shaikh's munificence, of the large crowds that frequented his house, of his meals and his liberality, but though he was jealous by nature, 'Alauddin never paid any attention to their reports. During the later years of his reign, he developed a great faith in the Shaikh. But the two never met.

Towards the end of the year A.H. 710 'Alauddin again sent the *Malik Naib* with a disciplined army to Dhur Samandar and Ma'bar. The *Malik Naib* and Kuwaja Haji took leave of the Sultan at Delhi and proceeded to Rabri, where the army was collected. Then they moved on by stages to Deogir. Ram Deo had died. Continuous marches from Deogir brought the *Malik Naib* to the frontier of Dhur Samandar. Bilal, the *Rai* of Dhur Samandar, fell into the hands of the Muslim army in the first attack? Dhur Samandar was captured along with the treasure it contained and thirty-six elephants. A message of victory was received in Delhi.

From Dhur Samandar, the *Malik Naib* proceeded to Ma'bar. Ma'bar was captured without resistance; its golden temple was destroyed and the golden idols, which had for generations past been worshipped by the Hindus of the place, were broken. All the spoils of the temple—the gold from the broken idols and stones precious beyond description—were brought to the army chest. There were two *Rais* in Ma'bar. From both of them the *Malik Naib* took away their elephants and treasures. Then, having sent his message of victory before himself, he turned back victorious and triumphant. In the beginning of the year A.H. 711 he reached Delhi with six hundred and twelve elephants, twenty thousand horses,

ninety-six thousand *mans* of gold, and many chests of jewels and pearls. On this occasion the *Malik Naib* presented the spoils to the Sultan at different times in the *Koshak-i Siri*, while the Sultan gave away half, one, two and even four *mans* of gold as present to various *maliks* and *amirs*. The old men of Delhi declared with one voice: 'No one remembers, nor has it been recorded in any of the histories of Delhi, that such spoils, elephants and treasures have in any age or generation been brought to the City as after the capture of Ma'bar and Dhur Samandar.' At the end of the same year twenty elephants reached Delhi with a letter from Laddar Deo, the Rai of Tilang. 'I hold in readiness,' the Rai wrote to the Sultan, 'the money which I promised *Malik Naib*. If allowed, I will hand over the money at Deogir to anyone commissioned to receive it. I wish to carry out the obligations of my treaty and compact.'

III. FERISHTA

A large army had once before been sent to Arangal by way of Bengal, but unable to effect anything, it had returned dilapidated and ruined. In the year A. H. 709 the Emperor sent the *Malik Naib* with an enormous army on a second expedition to Arangal, but this time by way of Deogir. 'If Laddar Deo, the ruler of Arangal,' such were 'Alauddin's directions, 'gives up his treasure, jewels and elephants, and promises to pay an yearly tribute, rest content with it Khwaja Haji in the direction of affairs. Do not put the *amirs* to task for small offences. If a trooper's horse is killed in battle, stolen by a thief or otherwise disabled, give him a better one in its place.' The *Malik Naib* and Khwaja Haji reached Deogir by continuous marches. Ram Deo came out to receive them with many presents and wonderfully fulfilled all the duties of a host. He sent the shopkeepers of his own army to the *Malik Naib's* troops and directed them to sell their wares at the Imperial tariff-rates. He personally came to pay his respects before the red canopy every day. When the *Malik Naib* started from Deogir for Tilang, Ram Deo accompanied him for a few stages; then leaving a part of his horse and foot with the *Malik Naib* to keep guard over the army and show the way to Tilang, he returned with (the *Malik Naib's*) permission. Moreover, he ordered the merchants, *raiyats* and corn-dealers of his kingdom to continue their duty of carrying grain and all other necessities to the army and to see to it that the (Delhi) troops were not put to trouble on any account. When the *Malik Naib* reached the *pargana* of Indore on the frontier of Tilang, he ordered his troops to kill and plunder without stint. A terror surpassing all description took possession of the inhabitants, and the *rais* of the surrounding country collected round Laddar Deo from fear of the Muslim army. When the invaders approached, Laddar Deo took refuge in the inner fort of Arangal, which was of stone while the other *rais* remained in the very extensive outer fort of mud. The *Malik Naib* invested the fort and closed all exits; but the infidels raised the banner of defence and a great number of men fell every day. After a long time and with great effort, the outer fort was at last conquered and most of the *rais* and *zamindars* were captured with their women, children, families and tribes. Laddar Deo was now helpless. He offered three hundred elephants, seven thousand horses, plenty of jewels and cash, and promised to pay an yearly tribute. The *Malik Naib* (accepts it) and prepared to return. When the news reached the Emperor, drums were beaten in Delhi, the message of victory was read from the pulpits and all the ceremonies of thanks-giving were duly performed. On the *Malik Naib's* arrival, 'Alauddin came out of the City and

sat on the Chabutra-i Nasiri near the Badaun Gate, where the *Malik Naib* presented his spoils and became the object of unprecedented royal favours.

It is said that whenever 'Alauddin sent his army in any direction, posts (*dak chaukis*) called *bam* in the language of former times, were stationed from Delhi to the camp of the army. Two swift-running footmen, known in Hind as *paiks*, were placed at every *karoh* and clerks (*navisandas*) were stationed at every city and town on the route to despatch a daily written report on the events of the place. Now, while the *Malik Naib* was besieging the fort of Arangal, the roads became dangerous owing to the large number of Telangi soldiers and the posts were swept away. For some days no news of the army arrived. The Emperor was perplexed and sent Qazi Mughisuddin of Biana and Malik Qara Beg to Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia. 'Give my respects to the Shaikh,' he said, 'and tell him that my mind is weighed down by the non-arrival of any news from the army. He has even a greater concern for Islam than I have and if he has come to know anything about it through the revelations of the inner light, request him to give me some hints. And tell me exactly whatever comes to Shaikh's lips in answer to this, without adding or subtracting anything.' When the two messengers reached the Shaikh and conveyed their message, the Shaikh referred to an emperor of the past and related the story of his conquests; in the course of conversation he remarked that he (the Shaikh) expected other victories in addition to the conquest of Arangal. 'Alauddin was extremely pleased and felt sure that Arangal had been conquered. As providence would have it, that very afternoon messengers brought the message of victory from Arangal. The Emperor's faith in the Shaikh increased; though 'Alauddin never evinced any desire to see the Shaikh personally, yet by the despatch of messengers and letters he gave evidence of his sincerity and friendship and invoked the Shaikh's blessing.

'Alauddin had conquered all forts from the frontiers of Sindh and Kabul to the border of Bengal, and also the forts of Gujrat and the Deccan; the hereditary dominions of the *rajahs* had come into his hands; and there were not ten *bighas* of land in the inhabited parts of Hindustan where his *khutba* was not read. He now began to aspire for the coast of the Sea of 'Umman' (Indian Ocean) and the remotest corners of the south. The *Malik Naib* and Khwaja Haji were despatched in A.H. 710 to subjugate Dhur Samandar and Ma'bar. The temples of those lands were full of gold and precious jewels and their *rais* had a great reputation for the wealth of their treasures. When the two generals reached Deogir, they found that Ram Deo was dead and had been succeeded by his son. Not reposing the same trust in the loyalty of the son as they had in the loyalty of the father, they left an officer of their own near the town of Jallahpur on the bank of the Ganges (Godavari) before proceeding further. This time they tried to slay the infidels more than ever before, and marched on riotously till after a journey of three months they reached the destined ports. They overpowered Bital (Bilal) Deo, *rajah* of the Carnatic, plundered his country, broke the temples and seized all idols which were set with jewels. They also built a small mosque of stone and plaster, in which they gave the Prophet's call for prayers and read the Emperor's *khutba*. The mosque still exists in the suburbs of Sit Band Ramisar and is known as the Masjid-i 'Alai ('Alauddin's mosque). It can be seen from there that the port of Dhur Samandar, situated on the shore of the Sea of 'Umman (Arabian Sea), has now been destroyed by the inundations of the sea. It is said that the infidels, out of respect due to a house of God, have refrained from destroying the mosque. But, according to others, it is written in the books of the infidels that this land, as well as the whole of the inhabited globe, will finally come under the sway of Muslim rulers; consequently their divines have not permitted the Hindus to destroy the mosque. Be this as it may, the *Malik Naib*,

having seized the treasure of the Rai, prepared to depart. The Brahmins of the place had been spared by the victors and were living with the army. On the night before its departure, some of them took out a part of the treasure, which was buried under the temples; but while dividing it among themselves, they began to quarrel and disputed very loudly. A Mussalman, who came to know of this, informed the *Kotwal*. The *Kotwal* arrested all the Brahmins and brought them before the *Malik Naib*. The Brahmins, from fear of the rack and torture, gave up all they had; they showed where the treasure lay concealed, and also six other spots in the forest where treasures were buried. The *Malik Naib* acquired a world of wealth from those places, loaded it on elephants and started for Ma'bar. Here, too, he broke the temples and seized the cash and jewels, which the *rais* had hoarded for thousands of years. Then, loaded with booty, he started on his return journey and reached Delhi in A.H. 711. He presented to the Emperor before the Hazar Sutun Palace three hundred and twelve elephants, twenty thousand horses, ninety-six thousand *mans* of gold, being equivalent to about ten *karores* of *tankas*, and caskets of pearls and jewels beyond all computation. The Emperor was mightily pleased to see the treasure, before which the '*bad awurd*' of Parwiz was a trifle. Contrary to his usual practice, he opened the door of his treasury and gave five and ten *mans* of gold to each of his *amirs*; the divines, *shaiths* and other deserving persons got a *man* or half-a-*man* each while smaller people also received presents in proportion to their deserts. The rest of the gold was melted in the Emperor's presence and the Alai mint-mark (*muhr*) was put upon it. Since silver has never been referred to in the spoils brought by *Malik Naib* from the Carnatic, it would seem that no particular value was attached to silver in those lands and that it was not current (as a coin). Even now most people in those parts use gold (as a circulating medium). Not to speak of the rich, the very beggars feel ashamed of wearing silver ornaments while most men of the middle class dine in plates of gold.

APPENDIX B

MUGHAL INVASIONS OMITTED BY KHUSRAU—KUTLUGH KHWAJA, SALDI AND TARGHI

As I have explained in the introduction, Khusrāu avoids all reference to events that were not to 'Alauddin's credit. Thus he simply ignores the two invasions in which the Mughals invaded Delhi and 'Alauddin's position became precarious. They were, probably, omitted by the *Fath-i Namah* also. Barani, however, describes them in greater detail than is his habit, for the great historian had little love for military men and their ways. I give below some extracts about the three Mughal invasions Khusrāu has ignored.

I. INVASION OF KUTLUGH KHWAJA

Towards the end of the same year (i.e. in the fourth year of 'Alauddin's reign), Kutlugh Khwaja, son of the accursed Zaidu, invaded Hindustan with twenty *tumans* of Mughals. They started from Mawaraun Nahr equipped and ready for a great war, crossed the Sind (Indus) and by stages reached the neighbourhood of Delhi. Since they intended to capture Delhi, they refrained from attacking the forts on their way and did not plunder the country through which they passed. The coming of these wretches with an army numerous as ants and locusts spread consternation through the City. Young and old were equally dismayed, for they had never been through such a crisis before. All the

inhabitants of the neighbouring towns fled for refuge to the old fort Delhi, which had not been repaired. The City was fearfully overcrowded; the mosques, streets and lanes could hardly hold the people. The price of commodities in the City rose very high for the *caravan*-routes had been blocked.

The Sultan marched out of Delhi with great pomp. The royal camp was pitched at Siri, and the *maliks*, *amirs* and soldiers were summoned to Delhi from all quarters. My uncle, 'Alaul Mulk, *Kotwal* of Delhi, was one of the Sultan's confidential advisers, and when the Sultan left Delhi, he assigned the *harem*, the City and the Treasury to my uncle's care.

'Alaul Mulk, who had gone to Siri to bid the Sultan farewell, represented to him: "Kings and ministers, who have governed the world in the past, have shunned great battles in which it is not possible to foresee on which side victory will lean or what any moment will bring forth. They have advised that wars between equals should be avoided, for such wars are dangerous both to the king and to his subjects. War, it is written in the wills of kings, is like the scales of a balance; the weight of a few coins will raise one scale and depress the other; and everything may in a moment be ruined beyond repair. Though a defeat is not ruinous to monarchs in ordinary warfare and matters can be patched up again, yet kings have been very nervous about a war between equals, in which the whole country is played for at a single stroke; and they have, so far as possible, averted by diplomacy and the formation of strong leagues the mortal danger, which they were unable to face. This is why kings send ambassadors and envoys to each other without hesitation.

"Your Majesty should send in front, in order to block the Mongol advance, the camel-riders, who are as strong as a hundred thousand horse, while you yourself stop here with your army and postpone for a few days an engagement with the enemy, who is swarming like ants and locusts. Beguile them for a while, so that we may see what they are at and how the situation develops. We can then give them battle, if there is no other alternative left. But they are not stretching their hands in plunder; they have collected their men together and crept into the forts. How will their immense army, from which they do not allow ten men to be separated, find fodder? How will they live? If a few days are spent in the coming and going of ambassadors, we will be able to discover their intention. It is possible that they might become tired, take to plunder and withdraw; and then Your Majesty can pursue them for a few stages.

"I am an old and tried servant," Alaul Mulk continued, "I have always placed before Your Majesty my views concerning the management of affairs and Your Majesty has rewarded me for doing so. But the wisest course is that which Your Majesty prefers. The judgment of the great king is superior to the judgment of other men. I have also thought out some schemes for putting a stop to the invasions of the Mughals and shall place them before Your Majesty at a moment of leisure. But this time the wretches have come with an immense multitude, and though God has given us a large and well-equipped army, yet most of our soldiers are Hindustanis, whose lives have been passed in fighting the Hindus; they have not encountered the Mughals before and are ignorant of their tactics and their deceitful retreats and ambushes. If the Mughals, by some wise measure, could be induced to retreat on this occasion, it will be possible for us to organize the army of Delhi so efficiently that our troops will be only too glad to meet them in future."

The Sultan commended 'Alaul Mulk's well-meant advice for its loyalty. Then he summoned the great *Khans* and *Maliks* to his presence and addressed them as follows: "You know that 'Alaul Mulk is a *wazir* and a *wazir-zada*. He is a well-wisher of mine and has been my counsellor from the time when I was a *malik*

He deserves the *wizarat* (ministership) by right, though owing to his corpulence I have only given him the *Kotwalship*. At this moment he has expressed some strong views and brought forward lucid arguments to dissuade me from joining battle with the Mughals. I wish to give him my answer in the presence of you all, for you are the pillars of my Government."

" 'Alaul Mulk !' continued the Sultan, turning towards the *Kotwal*, "You are an old and faithful servant. You lay claim to the *wizarat* of the state and to wisdom. Now hear from me, your patron and your king, the judgment that is wise and true. There is a well-known saying: 'One cannot steal a camel and escape in darkness.' Neither can one retain the Empire of Delhi by following such advice as yours—by shunning war and seeking refuge behind the camel's backs. It would be unbecoming for me to avoid battle by deceit or fraud. Contemporaries as well as posterity will laugh at my beard if I act on your advice, specially when my enemies have marched two thousand *Karohs* from their own country and challenged me to a combat beneath the Delhi Tower. On an occasion like this you ask me to act like a coward, to send my camels in front, while I sit, like a hen or a duck on her eggs, hatching schemes by which my enemy may be subdued. To whom will I be able to show my face, if I acted thus? With what manliness will I be able to go into my *harem* again? Of what account will I remain to the people of my country? How will my bravery and courage keep my turbulent people in obedience? Happen what may, to-morrow I will move from here (Siri) to the plain of Killi and fight Kutlugh Khwaja and his men till it is clear to which of us two God grants victory and success."

" 'Alaul Mulk ! I have given you the *Kotwalship* of Delhi and entrusted the City, the *harem* and the Treasury to your care. It is your duty to kiss the keys of the Treasury and the gates and lay them before the victor, whoever he may be, and serve him faithfully. But do you not, with all your wisdom and experience, see that war could only have been avoided by diplomacy before the enemy had surrounded us. But when he comes before me with such an army, I have no other alternative, no other plan, but straightway to knock him down, and, at the risk of my own life, to take the breath out of his body with the blows of my axe and sword and spear. The household tales you tell me are of no use in the market-place. Subtle things, which may be nicely told on the four yards of a clean carpet at home, are inappropriate on the field of battle, where a stream of blood has to flow from both sides. As to the plans you have thought of for stopping the Mughal invasions, I will hear them the day after the battle is over and I have discharged its duties. You are a learned man and the son of a learned man. By all means tell me everything that comes to your mind concerning this problem."

" 'I am an old servant,' "Alaul Mulk replied, "and I have never hesitated in placing my views before Your Majesty."

" 'You are a faithful man,' the Sultan assured him, "and I have taken your well-meant advice in proper spirit. But the situation before us is one in which our lives and offer battle, to draw our swords and fall upon the enemy."

"Alaul Mulk kissed the Sultan's hands in farewell. He then returned to Delhi and closed all entrances except the Badaun Gate. Young and old in the City were seized with dismay and lifted up their hands in prayer.

'Sultan 'Alauddin marched with the army of Islam from Siri to Killi and encamped there. Kutlugh Khwaja also came forward and encamped opposite. People were struck with amazement and wonder, for in no previous generation or age had armies so large opposed each other in battle. Both armies were arrayed in order and stood waiting for the engagement to commence. Zafar Khan, the

commander of the right wing, and his *amirs* drew their swords, rushed forward and fell upon the enemy. The Mughals were unable to withstand the onslaught; they broke and fled and the army of Islam followed in pursuit. Zafar Khan, the Rustam of his generation, continued the chase; with the blows of his sword he made them fly before him, while he cut off their heads. He pursued them for eighteen *karohs*. The Mughals were so frightened that they could not distinguish their bridles from the crupper of their saddles and had not the courage to turn back. But Ulugh Khan, who commanded the left wing and had many *amirs* and a large army, did not stir from his place. He hated Zafar Khan and would not move forward to help him.

'Now the accursed Targhi with his *tuman* had been placed in ambush as a reserve. His Mughals climbed the trees and discovered that no horsemen (from the army of Delhi) were moving forward to support Zafar Khan. As soon as he found this out, Targhi attacked Zafar Khan from behind and surrounded him on all sides with a ring of Mughal forces. Zafar Khan was hailed with a shower of arrows and unhorsed. But the brave hero, though on foot, continued to fight; he took out his arrows from his quiver and brought down a Mughal at every shot. At that moment Kutlugh Khwaja sent him a message: "Come to me. I will take you to my father, who will raise you to a higher dignity than the king of Delhi has done." But Zafar paid no attention to his offer. Kutlugh Khwaja tried to capture him alive, but as this proved impossible, the Mughals attacked him from all sides and he was martyred. Then they slew his *amirs*, wounded his elephants and killed the elephant-drivers.

'The increasing darkness saved the Mughals that night. But Zafar Khan's attack had filled their hearts with terror; they fled from the battle-field in the early hours of the morning and did not pitch their tents again till they had marched thirty *karohs* from Delhi. Then by marches of twenty *karohs*, and without resting at any stage, they reached their own frontier. But they remembered Zafar Khan's attack for years. "It must have seen Zafar Khan," they would say whenever their cattle refused to drink water. An army so large never came again to give battle in the suburbs of Delhi.'

Perishta does not add anything substantial to Barni's narrative: 'Towards the end of the same year, Kutlugh Khwaja, son of Dawa Khan, came from Mawaraun Nahr with twenty *tumans* of Mughals, i.e., 200,000 horsemen, resolved upon the conquest of Hindustan. After crossing the river Sind (Indus), he considered the towns and villages on his route as belonging to himself and consequently refrained from injuring them. On reaching the bank of the Jumna, he laid siege to Delhi. Innumerable people had fled to Delhi from the "New City" (Kallugarhi) and the surrounding towns and villages from fear of the Mughals; the crowd was such that in the mosques, markets, streets and quarters of the City there was no place either to sit or stand. Men were sick of the overcrowding; the prices of all things rose exorbitantly as the roads for bringing corn and provisions were closed. Sultan 'Alauddin summoned his *maliks* and *amirs* and began to get his army ready. Some of the *amirs*, however, were against giving battle; they urged that the army of Hindustan was weak and hinted that war was a doubtful business, which may have either of two results. The Emperor refused to accept their advice. "It does not become famous kings to shun war and battle," he replied.

'Consequently, entrusting the safety of the City, the *harem* and the Treasury to the *Kotwal*, 'Alaul Mulk, and closing all entrances except the Badaun Gate, 'Alauddin marched out of Delhi with imperial pomp. He had, according to the

¹ Ziauddin Barni, *Tarikh-i Feroz Shahi*, Persian text, pages 254-61.

correct narrative, 300,000 horse and 2,700 elephants. The two armies beat their drums and arranged their ranks on the plain of Kili. Never since the elevation of the Muslim standard in India, had armies so large met each other in battle; nor have they since then till now, A.H. 1015. In short, the Second Alexander placed his army in order of battle. The right wing was entrusted to Hizhabrud-din Zafar Khan, one of the greatest generals of the day, who held the territories of the Punjab, Samana and Multan. The left wing was assigned to the Sultan's brothers, Ulugh Khan and Rukn Khan, while the Emperor, with Nusrat Khan, took charge of the centre with 12,000 young and brave horsemen and many fierce elephants. All the imperial officers were placed in suitable positions. Zafar Khan first attacked the enemy lines in front of him and overthrew them with the onslaught of his elephants and the blows of his sharp sword; then he fell on the lines that confronted his colleagues and broke them also. The Mughals fell dead in heaps in the forest and plain and reduced to helplessness, they took to flight. Zafar Khan pursued them for eighteen *karohs*. But Ulugh Khan, who commanded the left wing, was jealous of Zafar Khan and did not advance to support him. Seeing that Zafar Khan had gone forward alone and that no troops were advancing to his help, the Turkish leader of the Mughal left, who had formed an ambush in the way, suddenly came behind Zafar Khan and surrounded him on all sides. They wounded his horse, but Zafar Khan, though on foot, placed the arrows from his quiver on the ground and shot down a large number of the enemy. Kutlugh Khwaja sent him a message: "Come to me and I will raise you to a position greater than you enjoy." But Zafar Khan did not heed it and kept on shooting his arrows. Kutlugh Khwaja tried to capture him alive, but that having proved impossible, he ordered arrows to be showered on Zafar Khan till he was martyred. The *amirs* of Zafar Khan's army were also slain. Kutlugh Khwaja was so frightened by the Hindi attack that he did not draw his bridle till he had marched thirty *karohs* on that very day; then by continuous marches he moved on to his own country. Zafar Khan's courage and generalship became proverbial among the Mughals, and if one horse refused to drink, they would remark that it had seen Zafar Khan. The Emperor, who was afraid of Zafar Khan, considered his martyrdom a second victory, and returned from Kili to the City, where he gave himself up to rejoicings and pleasures. Those who had behaved bravely in the battle were rewarded with robes of honour and promoted in the service, but an *amir*, who had fled to Delhi from the camp, was paraded through the streets of the City on an ass.¹

II. INVASION OF SALDI

To 'Alauddin's dislike of Zafar Khan, we may also attribute Khusrau's omission of another struggle with the Mughals, which took place sometime before the invasion of Kutlugh Khwaja. 'In the same year that Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan were sent to Gujrat, Zafar Khan was despatched against Siwistar (Sehwan), which had been captured by Saldi and his brother and other Mughals. Zafar Khan invested the fort of Siwistan with a large army and made a way into it with the blows of his axe, sword, javelin and spear. No *maghribis*, *manjanigs* or *'iradas* were brought into action; no *pashib* or *gargaj* was constructed; and though the Mughals from within shot such a shower of arrows on all sides, that even the birds of the air could not go near the fort, yet Zafar Khan captured it with his sword and axe. Saldi and his brother and all the other Mughals with their women and children were sent in yokes and chains to Delhi. This exploit established Zafar Khan's prestige in the public mind and 'Alauddin began to look askance at his generalship and fearless courage, which showed that a second Rustam had appeared in Hindustan. Ulugh Khan, whose achievement (the

conquest of Gujrat) had been surpassed, also conceived a hatred for Zafar Khan. This year Zafar Khan held the territory of Samana. 'Alauddin, who was extremely jealous by nature, was thinking of getting rid of him in one of two ways—*either* by showering favours on him and sending him to Lakhnauti with several thousand horse, so that he may seize that territory and send the Sultan's elephants and tribute from there, *or* by having him poisoned or blinded."¹

Ferishta adds little to the above account. He calls the Mughal leader Chaldi and says that the Mughal captives sent to Delhi, apart from the women and children, numbered seventeen hundred.

III. INVASION OF TARGHI

'No sooner had Sultan 'Alauddin returned (from Chitor), than the Mughal danger arose once more. The Mughals in Mawaraun Nahr heard that Sultan 'Alauddin had gone to lay siege to a distant fort and that there were no troops in Delhi. Targhi collected twelve *tumans* of horse and by forced marches reached Delhi before he was expected. In the same year, when 'Alauddin had marched to Chitor, Malik Fakhruddin Jauna, the *Dad-bek-i Hazrat* and Malik Chajjū, nephew of Nusrat Khan and governor of Karra, had been sent to Arangal with the *amirs* and horse and foot of Hindustan. But when they reached Arangal, it began to rain in torrents, and harassed by the rainy season, the army of Hindustan could achieve nothing there. Towards the beginning of the winter, it returned to Hindustan, greatly reduced in numbers. It had lost all its baggage. The army of Sultan 'Alauddin had also lost its baggage at the foot of the Chitor fort in the siege operations and the rain.

'The Sultan had not been in Delhi for a month, no muster of the troops had been held and the *material* lost had not been replaced, when Targhi, all of a sudden, arrived with thirty or forty thousand horsemen and encamped on the bank of the Jumna. The people of the City, therefore, found their communications with the outside world cut off. The condition of Sultan 'Alauddin's army was pathetic. The Sultan, as explained above, did not get sufficient time to replace the horses and *material* he had lost at Chitor. Malik Fakhruddin Jauna returned to Hindustan after losing his army and its *material* in Warangal, and as the Mughals had so encamped as to close all the roads, no horse or foot from the army of Hindustan could reach the City. At Multan, Depalpur and Samana there was no force strong enough to break through the Mughal lines and join the Sultan at Siri. The army of Hindustan was summoned, but as the Mughals had captured all the fords, it was compelled to remain at Koil (Aligarh) and Barran (Bulandshahr).

'Sultan 'Alauddin, therefore, came out of the City with the few troops he had and encamped at Siri. He laid aside all thought of open battle and dug a trench round his camp; on the outer side of the trench he constructed a wooden defence of stakes made from the doors of the houses of Delhi in order to prevent the Mughals from breaking into his camp. He ordered the garrison to be watchful and awake; they were to keep an armed guard at the trenches, so that the Mughals may not be able to cross them, and five armed elephants were made to stand in the trench of every detachment. The Mughals swarmed round the camp and wished to make a sudden assault on the Sultan's army. Never before had the Mughal danger been so great in Delhi as in this year, and if Targhi had remained for another month, there was a great likelihood that the Citizens, growing sick of the situation, would have submitted (to him). The Mughal danger weighed heavily on all hearts; no water, grass or wood could be brought to the City from outside; and the caravan routes of the corn merchants had been closed. The Mughal horsemen came

¹ *Barni Persian Text*, pp. 253-4.

to the *Chaustra-i Subhani*, Muri and Kudhi; they often alighted on the embankment of the Royal (Shamsi) Tank, where they held their drinking parties, and sold the corn and provisions of 'Alauddin's stores at a very cheap rate. This prevented an excessive scarcity of corn in the City. Two or three skirmishes took place between the mounted foraging parties of the two armies, but neither side gained a decisive victory; Thank God! the accursed Targhi did not succeed in breaking into the Sultan's camp and annihilating his army. After two months the prayers of the helpless (were heard by the Almighty) and Targhi collected his spoils and retired to his own land.

'This deliverance of the City and the army of Islam from the Mughals appeared a strange thing to experienced men. The Mughals had come at the proper time and in sufficient numbers to capture the City; they had closed all roads for the entrance of soldiers and provisions; the Sultan's army had no equipment and no reinforcements could reach it; and yet the Mughals were unable to overcome or prevail.'¹

Perishta, who contents himself with summarising Barni, is pleased to add: 'The Sultan, in his excessive anxiety, appealed to Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia. That very night, it is said, Targhi, who had besieged Delhi for two months, was overpowered by a strange terror and retreated in haste—an action for which no material reasons can be found. The people of Delhi considered it to be the result of the Shaikh's intervention and numbered it among his miracles.' Targhi's apparent success, it must not be forgotten, had been due to the rapidity of his movements. 'Alauddin's defence of Siri for two months must have given the amirs of the Doab and the Punjab time to collect their forces. It is difficult to explain the 'strange terror' that took possession of Targhi's mind, but his communications were in danger and he may not have felt himself strong enough to meet the forces which were sure, sooner or later, to march for the relief of Delhi from all sides.

APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EXPEDITIONS

[The conversion of dates from the Hijra to the Christian Era is based on Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*. Appendices C and D have been compiled by my friend, Mr. Saed Zaman, M.A.]

1. Accession of Jalaluddin Khilji—June, 1290.
2. Rebellion of Malik Chajju, battle of Kulaibnagar; Malik 'Alauddin Khilji appointed Governor of Karra-Manikpur (Allahabad)—1291.
3. 'Alauddin plunders Bhilsah—1294.
4. Malik 'Alauddin marches to Deogir without the Sultan's permission; Ram Deo's submission; 'Alauddin returns with the spoils—winter of 1295-96.
5. Assassination of Sultan Jalaluddin on the bank of the Ganges near Karra, July 19, 1296; 'Alauddin is proclaimed Emperor and marches on Delhi—rainy season, 1296.
6. Ulugh Khan and Zafar sent to Multan; siege of Multan; Arkali Khan and Ruknuddin Ibrahim submit and are imprisoned—winter of 1296-97.
7. Invasion of Kadar; Ulugh Khan sent against the Mughals; Battle of Jaran Manjur, February 6, 1298.
8. Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan conquer Gujrat and Cambay; Bhim Deo is defeated and his *harem* captured; revolt of the 'New Muslims' while the army was returning—winter of 1299-1300.
9. Zafar Khan recaptures Siwistan (Sehwan); Saldi and his Mughals are brought captive to Delhi—winter of 1299-1300.

¹ *Barni*, pp. 299-302.

10. Invasion of Kuttugh Khwaja; battle of Kili—1300.
11. 'Alauddin besieges Rantambhor—Summer of 1301; Akat Khan attempts to assassinate the Emperor at Tilpat; rebellions of 'Umar and Mangu in Badaun and Oudh and of Haji Maula in Delhi; fall of Rantambhar—June 29, 1301. The rebellions during the siege led 'Alauddin and his council to promulgate a series of administrative reforms for the suppression of rebellions, the better government of the country and the reorganization of the revenue system.
12. 'Alauddin marches to Chitor and lays siege to the fort; fall of the fort—August 25, 1303.
13. Malik Fakhruddin Jauna is sent by way of Bengal to Arangal but returns to the Doab after losing his men and *material*—1303.
14. Targhi, the Mughal, marches from Mawaraun Nahr; Sultan 'Alauddin entrenches his camp at Siri—winter of 1303-4. The retreat of Targhi was followed by the famous economic regulations, which kept prices stable and enabled 'Alauddin to muster an army of 450,000. The forts on the route of the Mughals were repaired and garrisoned.
15. Invasion of Ali Beg, Tartaq and Targhi; battle of Amroha—December 30, 1305.
16. Conquest of Malwa; defeat of Kuka Pardhan; 'Ainul Mulk Multani captures Mandu—November 24, 1305.
17. Invasions of Kapak, Iqbal and Tai Bu—*probably* the winter of 1306-7, but authorities differ and give no exact dates. (See note at the end of Chap. III.)
18. Campaign of Arangal—the army is absent from Delhi from December 31, 1309 to June 10, 1310; the *Malik Naisb* reaches Deogir, December 28; Siege of Arangal commences, January 19, 1310; the Imperialists capture the outer fort of mud—February 6, 1310; Submission of Laddar Deo; the army starts from Arangal with its spoils—March 20, 1310.
19. 'Alauddin starts for Siwana—June 10, 1310; fall of the fort, *probably* August 19, 1310.
20. Kamaluddin Gurg reduces Jalore—1310.
21. Campaign of Ma'abar and Dhur Samandar—the army is absent from Delhi from November 20, 1310 to October 30, 1311; Siege of Dhur Samandar (Dwara Samudra)—February 11 and 12, 1311.
22. The *Malik Naisb* invades Deogir—*probably* winter of 1314 and 1315. Barni refers to this invasion, but no detailed record of it has been given by any of the Khilji historians.
23. Death of Sultan 'Alauddin—February 3, 1315.

APPENDIX D

CONCORDANCE OF DATES

TABLE I

First day of the Hijra Era	Corresponding date of the Christian Era
696	October 30, 1296.
697	October 19, 1297.
698	October 9, 1298.
699	September 28, 1299.
700	September 16, 1300.
701	September 6, 1301.
702	August 26, 1302.

TABLE I—(continued.)

First day of the Hijra Era	Corresponding date of the Christian Era
703	August 15, 1303.
704	August 4, 1304.
705	July 24, 1305.
706	July 13, 1306.
707	July 3, 1307.
708	June 21, 1308.
709	June 11, 1309.
710	May 31, 1310.
711	May 20, 1311.

TABLE II

Hijra Era	Christian Era
19th Rabi II 695.	February 25, 1296.
28th Rajab 695.	May 4, 1296.
16th Ramazan 695.	July 19, 1296.
22nd Zil Hijjah 695.	October 23, 1296.
22nd Rabi II 697.	February 6, 1298.
20th Jamadi I 699.	February 10, 1300.
3rd Zi-qa'd 700.	June 29, 1301.
11th Muharram 703.	August 25, 1303.
5th Jamadi I 705.	November 24, 1305.
12th Jamadi II 705.	December 30, 1305.
19th Ramazan 706.	March 24, 1307.
25th Jamadi I 709.	October 31, 1309.
19th Jamadi II 709.	November 24, 1309.
26th Rajab 709.	December 30, 1309.
16th Sha'ban 709.	January 20, 1310.
11th Muharram 710.	June 10, 1310.
26th Jamadi II 710.	November 20, 1310.
13th Ramazan 710.	February 3, 1311.
17th Ramazan 710.	February 7, 1311.
23rd Ramazan 710.	February 13, 1311.
5th Zi-qa'd 710.	March 26, 1311.
11th Zi-qa'd 710.	April 1, 1311.
15th Zi-qa'd 710.	April 5, 1311.
4th Zil Hijjah 710.	April 24, 1311.
14th Jamadi II 711.	October 30, 1311.

[The Editor very much regrets that he is compelled to hold over a certain number of reviews to the next number. A number of articles printed here are longer than usual and likely to suffer by division. He hopes to be able to set apart more space for reviews in the next number.]

Reviews

'THE PICTORIAL LIFE OF SHIVAJI' ¹

WE have great pleasure in welcoming the appearance of the three volumes of the illustrated Album of Shri Shivaji Maharaj recently published by Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., Chief of Aundh. These volumes, though intended to be brought out at the time of the tercentenary of Shri Shivaji, have really a permanent interest and not merely a temporal or local interest. The Chief Saheb of Aundh has been well known to all scholars in India as a person who takes the intensest interest in Art. His earliest appearance in the field of pictorial illustration was in the field of Mythology when he produced the stories of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata in beautiful pictures. The stories of the Mahabharata have lately occupied the attention of the Chief Saheb from another point of view also, namely that of the reality of dresses, costumes, manners and so forth, which might be inferred as prevalent at the time of the Mahabharata from their nearest traces in the earliest works of Art in India. These would be embodied in the volumes of the Mahabharata published by the Bhandarkar Institute. Shrimant Balasaheb's interest in Art has carried him to the field of Archaeology also, and we expect that the volumes on 'Verul' and 'Ajanta' with pictorial illustrations of architecture, sculpture and painting will soon see the light of day. It is not necessary to forestall our remarks upon these volumes as they will be made at the time when these volumes come to be published. In the sphere which is the subject-matter of the present review, Shrimant Balasaheb appears as a pictorial presenter of History, having taken for his field one of the sublimest topics of Maratha history, viz., the life of Shivaji

¹ The Shivaji Album in three volumes by Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., Chief of Aundh/ with the co-operation of other Artists, the Aundh State Press, Rs. 4-8-0 the set.

Maharaj. We thus see how Shrimant Balasaheb has engaged himself in Mythology, Archaeology and History, and has depicted all of these in pictures, so that the story which is otherwise told by the pen may here be told by the pencil.

As Principal Rawlinson observes in his foreword to the volumes, Shivaji deserves to be regarded as a national hero by Hindus and Muslims alike, just as Akbar and Aurangzeb might also be regarded as heroes by both the communities. In fact, as Principal Rawlinson points out, even within 12 years of the close of the Great War, the English have ceased to regard with rancour the exploits of the Hindenburgs and the Ludendorfs, and the Fochs and the Haigs have become the possession of mankind. It is from this point of view that we must look at the pictorial representations in these volumes, and let us hope that they pass into the possession of every lover of India.

It is no doubt true that there is a subjective element as well as an objective element in our judgments about aesthetic productions, as there is a subjective element and an objective element in our moral judgments. It may be that one critic's remarks may not tally with those of another. There is, however, no gainsaying the fact that it is always best in the interest of the development of aesthetic and moral judgments that a man must bring into play his own aesthetic and moral sense, and judge accordingly. We distinctly remember a gentleman who regarded the Taj as an ugly product; but the consensus of opinion is against that view; and the objectivity annuls and cancels these subjective judgments into itself. It may well be that the same might be the case as regards the present volumes. One Art-critic might like one picture more than another, or differently from another; but on the whole, there is no gainsaying the fact that there would nevertheless be an objective element in judgments about these pictorial representations, and from that point of view we might say that the pictures in the volumes in question are a distinct contribution to the development of the pictorial art in India. Let us hope that this procedure of depicting movements and actions by means of pictures may be adopted in India more generally than has been the case hitherto.

The pictures in Vol. I which we regard as specially worthy of mention are those in plates, Nos. 3, 5, 6 and 10. In plate No. 3, the baby

Shivaji is shown in the hands of his mother Jijabai, and with the plumpiness natural to his age, the young Shivaji looks a beautiful baby indeed in the hands of his loving mother. In plate No. 5 Shivaji looks exceedingly beautiful as a young prince. He is gathering together the Mavalas and presenting them with blankets and swords. This is one of the best pictures in the volume. Plate No. 6 gives us pictorial representation of the oath of Svarajya taken by the Mavalas in the presence of Shivaji and Shankara. The illuminative effect of the picture is very good; but to all appearances, Shivaji looks too plumpy for his historical description. Otherwise, the picture is a good one. Plate No. 10 is a very fine presentation of the moral heroism of Shivaji, when, in the presence of the daughter-in-law of the Mahomedan Subhedar of Kalyan who had been brought to him as a gift, he says publicly that if his mother had been so beautiful, he would himself have been equally beautiful. Shivaji's moral heroism here merely matches his physical heroism which he exhibited on other occasions. The Subhedar of Kalyan's daughter-in-law represents faithfully the appearance of a married Mahomedan lady without a purdah, and the whole assembly gapes at the moral courage shown by Shivaji.

The pictures worthy of mention in Vol. II are Nos. 13, 14, 16, 19, 20 and 21. The 'Tiger's Claws' represented in plate No. 13 is again depicted in fine colour, though one of the chief defects in the picture is absence of movement. Shivaji and Afzulkhan look like statues instead of living beings fighting with one another. Only one of the attendant Mavalas shows some movement; the other is again like a mute and dumb statue. In plate No. 14, Afzulkhan is excellently represented, especially as Shrimant Balasaheb has access to the original picture of Afzulkhan which he obtained at Bijapur a few years ago, and which he has at present kept in his Museum. The picture of Shivaji in this place is not so good as that of Afzulkhan. The sword which Shivaji has lifted does not show any movement, as the one which Afzulkhan lifts. Otherwise, it is a good presentation of the fight between the two great heroes. In plate No. 16 the incidents at the Chodkhind or the Indian Thermopylae, are well depicted. It is a very beautiful presentation in colour. Shivaji looks very handsome, real, and illuminative. Even the dog that stands by is life-like. Baji Prabhu, however, is not all that one would wish to see. We do

not think, therefore, that the picture, though good, can be regarded as the best in the three volumes. Plate No. 19 which contains Aurangzeb's Darbar in the Diwan-i-am at Agra is a very life-like and realistic presentation of the scene that took place at Agra when Shivaji was brought into the presence of Aurangzeb. Those who have seen the Darbar Hall in the Agra Fort can very well testify to the reality of the scene; but Shivaji looks a little too proud in this picture, and Sambhaji waves his hands for nothing. Otherwise, the Rajput nobles of Aurangzeb have all been well depicted, though the Mahomedan Shiledar of Aurangzeb has a South Indian appearance instead of a North Indian one. Also there is a paucity of Mahomedan Sardars in this picture. It seems from the picture that the Rajput nobles and Shivaji were all that made Aurangzeb's Darbar at the time. This is not entirely true. Plate No. 20, which shows us Shivaji's imprisonment at Agra, is a very fine picture indeed. It may be regarded as one of the best in the volumes. Shivaji, with his sinewy arms and with foresight and courage, Sambhaji whiling away his time somehow in the closet, the architectural work of the windows which is a faithful representation of the work to be seen at Agra, the anxiety about the future shown by one of Shivaji's attendants, and the fortitude and the recklessness and the faith in right which is shown by the other, are all life-like presentations, though the manner in which Shivaji places his arms has more an English appearance than an Indian. Plate No. 21, wherein Shivaji is shown as escaping from Agra, is also a good picture, showing us the Taj at the background, and the river Jumna flowing nearby. Sambhaji on a big horse is not all that one would wish to see, though Shivaji has rightly more of a North Indian dress than Southern.

Almost all the pictures in Vol. III are good. Plate No. 22 gives us a beautiful representation of Shivaji in the dress of a mendicant returning to Rajgad after his escape from Agra and his long travels through Mathura, Allahabad, Gaya, Jagannath, Bhaganagar and Gokarna Mahableshwar. The present writer has not seen Rajgad, and therefore has no opportunities of saying whether the picture of the hill is realistic. It is, however, beautiful, and in any case, the way in which Shivaji has been painted in this picture is almost sublime. Jijabai in plate No. 23 shows a contrast with Jijabai in plate No. 22 in which latter, she looks haggard, careworn, and old. In plate No. 23,

which carries on the movement of the story, she looks young again. This is a defect which might be remedied in a second edition of the Album. In this latter picture, Shivaji looks very beautiful, and Tanaji who is taking a vow in the presence of Jijabai is the same intrepid man of history, and looks as life-like. Plate No. 24, which depicts the capture of Sinhagad is a beautiful picture in colour; but Shivaji's portrait is a little too dramatic instead of historical. In plate No. 25, we have to commend to the attention of our readers the picture of the beautiful horse of Shivaji, when he was proceeding to Sinhagad after hearing the report of the capture of the fort and the death of Tanaji. Shivaji's dejected appearance is also noticeable. In plate No. 26, wherein Ramadasa offers spiritual advice to Shivaji in a grove, Ramadasa has been very well depicted, though we cannot say the same thing about Shivaji as he appears in the picture. Plate No. 27, which contains a portrait of the Coronation of Shivaji, is again one of the best pictures in the volumes. The only defect that appears to us in the picture is the Bengali face of Sambhaji; but Shivaji looks beautiful, the galaxy of his Sardars, and the white umbrella and the chauris, are absolutely life-like, and the scene of coronation is generally very impressive. Then again plate No. 28 is a very good representation of the procession of Shivaji after his coronation to Bhuvaneshvara. Shrimant Balasaheb is accustomed to such processions, and he therefore can depict a procession like this very well. One of the Sardars who rides on a horse beside the elephant of Shivaji with his white mustaches and black turban is exceedingly life-like. The women taking the waving lights in their hands, the band marching ahead, the cavalry and the elephants which may be seen at the far distance, the beautiful and sinewy elephant on which Shivaji rides, the hazy appearance imparted to Shivaji and the Mahut on account of the movements of the elephant are all very life-like. In fact, this procession of Shivaji after his coronation reminds one of two similar accounts, one given by Jnanesvara in the eighteenth chapter of the Jnanesvari of the 'King who has Conquered', and another given by Plotinus in his Enneads of the 'Prince who is on a march'. Picture No. 29, in which Shivaji holds his Coronation Darbar is yet again another of the best pictures in the Album. We are shown with what humility Mr. Henry Oxenden presents himself before the king in the Durbar. Shivaji grants the request of Mr. Oxenden on behalf of the

English merchants of 'a duty-free admission of their merchandise' in Shivaji's territory; but he refuses, and rightly as would befit a great ruler, the acknowledgement of 'the currency of English coinage' in his kingdom. This latter would have involved a parallel Government to Shivaji's own, which Shivaji could not tolerate, though he would allow all facilities to the English merchants. Finally, we have to notice again the very same features of Ramadasa, and the same humble posture of Shivaji, when after having been crowned King, Shivaji offered his kingdom as a gift to his Guru. Ramadasa, as would befit a great Saint, rejected the offer of Shivaji, and advised him to take care of it himself. He told him also that his best duty would lie in the discharging of his regal functions.

We have travelled breathlessly through the three volumes of the Album. We expect that the fourth would soon come out, and would give us an account of the post-regal life of Shivaji, as well as an account of the forts he had built or conquered. We know that the Chief Saheb of Aundh has taken especial trouble in visiting some of these forts, and we are sure that his representation of these forts would be life-like and real. Considered as a whole, the three volumes of the Album are a splendid monument of the devotion which the Descendant of a great Hereditary Officer of Shivaji bears to the great Maratha Emperor, and let us hope that he has been able to instil into the minds of the young and the old a love and knowledge of Shivaji's exploits by a pictorial representation of the red-letter scenes in the life of the great King.

R. D. R.

**'THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM OF MOSLEM INDIA
A HISTORICAL ESSAY WITH APPENDICES'**

BY

W. H. MORELAND

[Cambridge, W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., 1929, price 15 s. net.]

THIS historical account of the Indian revenue institutions and agricultural dues to the State traces how the early Moslem conquerors and rulers of India adapted the existing agrarian system to their times and needs, and how gradually a full-blown scheme was developed under Akbar and his successors, together with an indication of the first

stages in the transition from the Moslem to the British agrarian systems. The learned author cautions the reader against the ambiguous fluidity of the terminology that was used by early historians and that persisted even to later times and enjoins that both time and place operate in conditioning the interpretation of particular passages and terms. The synthetic correlation and interpretation of relevant passages and contexts has been a laborious task; and the material now available does not enable a final treatment of the topics taken on hand and will have to be supplemented by a large body of literature which remains still to be discovered and utilized.

The first important basis on which the author proceeds is that the system of measurement of the produce and of the collection of a share of it by the State which was one of the main foundations of the Hindu system had come to continue into Moslem India from the thirteenth century onwards. He could not be definite as to whether the concurrence of the Hindu and Moslem systems is a matter of fortuitous coincidence or can be explained on historical grounds; and he supposes that the rules regarding tribute-land which were enforced on Hindu cultivators were first worked out by the early Muslim conquerors to meet the situation arising from their conquests towards the East and that 'it would not be a matter for surprise if the indigenous institutions of these regions resembled those of India.'

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries during which the kings of Delhi ruled with something like continuity over a large portion of Hindustan, we find the kingdom divided into provinces of fairly permanent boundaries and the villages grouped in *parganas*; but there is not sufficient evidence for the existence of the district or group of *parganas* as an intermediate administrative unit. In some villages the provincial governor's officials would be functioning, in others there would be resident grantees or assignees of revenue and in the great majority there would be indigenous chiefs, called by various names, the headmen of *parganas* and villages, to whom the governor would ordinarily look for the collection of his revenue. In the course of the thirteenth century the authority of the chiefs was kept fairly under control. Even in the areas managed by Moslem officials the position of the headmen of villages was recognized and respected. Mr. Moreland interprets that when Zia Barni wrote of the Hindus in connection with Alauddin's agrarian measures, he was thinking of the upper

classes of Hindu landholders who were chiefs and headmen of *parganas* and villages; and that the historian thought of the kingdom as consisting not of two elements, but of three, Hindus, Moslems and the 'herds' (*lit Raiyat*) or peasants. The Sultan's agrarian policy was designed to deprive the Hindu chiefs of a large part of their resources and to draw the bulk of what may be called the producer's surplus into the royal treasury. The result was to draw the peasants into more direct contact with the administration. Such measures were immediately possible only in the home provinces (i.e. those round Delhi) and resulted in a large increase in the number of officials which in turn produced extortion and corruption. Alauddin's market regulations lead the author to the view that the peasants of Northern India had been already accustomed to a cash nexus, collections having been already made in cash and not in produce, through the thirteenth century; and thus he would conclude that 'prices were a matter of interest to the peasant at least as far back as the thirteenth century.'

In the time of the Tughlaqs we find the sharing of the crop being substituted in the place of the measurement of the area sown or matured; and under Ghiyasuddin measurement which was promoted by Alauddin as the standard method of assessment disappeared, to be restored two centuries later by Sher Shah. And possibly at the same time the incidence of land-revenue was reduced to save figure below Alauddin's claim of half the produce. Zia Barni, the principal contemporary authority for the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq, was not either very prejudiced against, or eulogistic of, the king; and his final position is declared to be 'not one of uncritical eulogy, nor yet of prejudiced detraction, but of astonishment and perplexity (p. 46). As regards the Sultan's agrarian measures, there is no reason to distrust Barani's statement of facts. The assignment of the Sultan differed from that of the Mughal Empire in that it represented only the personal salary of the official concerned and not the cost of maintaining troops; and Alauddin's decision to pay his troops in cash still represented the working rule at this period. The evils of speculative farming of revenue and the consequent processes of periodical audit and attempts at recovery of arrears existed side by side with the increasing practice of assignments which should have been based on some sort of calculation and record of the standard or average income which villages and *parganas* could be expected to

yield. Firoz Tughlaq's reign saw the first actual record of a general valuation which could be found in the chronicles. In Firoz's time there is evidence of the emergence of the idea of a proprietary right in grants which was broken in the Mughal period by the practice of arbitrary resumption. By his irrigation works he made a specific contribution to the tradition of agricultural development; the assessment of his irrigation-revenue would complicate the sharing-method, but the valuation, once made in the beginning of the reign, was not altered in the rest of it. The death of Firuz marked the end of an epoch during which, according to the author, the idea persisted that cultivation was a duty to the State, not a right of the individual, and the village organizations did not present any serious administrative problem, except for the troubles created by the chiefs which were more political than administrative. Productive land was available for men with adequate resources; and the primary object of the administration was an extension of cultivation 'with an immediate increment of revenue accruing from each field brought under the plough.'

Under the Sayyads conditions were made for diversity of practice in assessment and collection, and each governor or assignee dealt with the peasants very much as he chose. The Afghan Lodis developed further the institution of assignment, each assignee being bound to maintain out of the assigned income a body of troops available for the king. The assignees even set up a claim to treat their holdings as heritable; and though the claim was not conceded, they had a free hand in the management of the lands and the peasantry. Sher Shah first allowed the two methods of assessment on the basis of the produce gathered and of the area sown, to exist side by side, and he recognized that the latter could not be carried out entirely without reference to the yield. Later, when he became king, he changed his views and imposed the method of measurement on practically the whole of his dominions. Collection in grain which was introduced under the Lodi dynasty should have been changed for collection in cash which was the rule in the early years of Akbar's reign.

The long chapter on Akbar's revenue methods and reforms is instructive in many points. The author points out the heterogeneous character of Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* which must be regarded as 'a collection of official papers contributed by the various administrative

departments, edited by Abul Fazl, and containing occasional matter from his pen; but in essence consisting of what the departments furnished and the author did not reject.' He furnished in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1918, a complete view of the theory of land-revenue held at the headquarters of Akbar's administration, which was found in the regulation or *zabti* system under which individual cultivators were in direct relation with the revenue officers, while the functions of the latter were so fixed as to facilitate superior control; while the demand was fixed and known as soon as the statements showing the areas of the growing crops were available. An important fact is noticed in the book, viz. the beginning of the administrative dyarchy between *Diwani* and *Faujdari* which was to continue into the beginnings of the British period and under which the revenue administration of each province was conducted directly under the orders of the revenue minister and independently of the officers charged with the revenue administration. At the end of the reign whatever might have been the variations in the outer provinces, the regulation system, in which the revenue-demand was regulated by schedules of cash-rates to be applied to the area sown in each season, obtained in the six older provinces (Multan and Lahore, Delhi and Agra, Oudh and Allahabad) which formed the heart of the empire. It is conjectured by the author that between A.D. 1594 when the *Ain* was completed and the accession of Aurangzib, either unrecorded changes were formally made, or more likely, Akbar's revenue institutions naturally decayed. The *altamgha* grant (grant-under-seal) given to officers, of their home villages and *parganas* was begun by Jahangir and seems to have been avowedly copied from Central Asian practice; it was not largely used; but the grant of the *Diwani* of Bengal to the East India Company was termed as an *altamgha* grant. The frequency of changes in assignments to which Hawkins, Pelsaert and others bear testimony produced great agrarian instability.

The interpretation of Aurangzib's two *farmans* issued from the revenue ministry and first published with translations by Prof. J. N. Sarkar shows that the latter relates specifically to Islamic law and imports into the Indian system exotic terminology, terms, ideas and institutions like the *muqdsama* and *muwazzaf* tenures, the distinction between tithe-land and tribute-land, etc. It stresses on the need for keeping and for obtaining peasants and for securing the return of

absconders which is confirmed by Bernier's observation, that the peasants were being driven by administrative pressure into other occupations or into regions outside the Mogul administrative pale and that the oppression was practised by officials, farmers and assignees alike. In the decline of the eighteenth century, *de facto* possession came to count for much more than title and the different classes of intermediaries came to be assimilated to one type, whether officials, chiefs or assignees. Assignments declined in importance and farms of revenue came to be given for longer terms, tending in practice to become hereditary.

The practice in vogue in the Hindustan provinces at the opening of the nineteenth century is put down very clearly, particularly the type of village organization prevailing and the way in which the revenue-demand was collected. A chapter is devoted to an account of the agrarian development in the different states into which the Delhi Sultanate broke up by the fifteenth century, in which the system of assessment introduced by Malik Amber in Ahmadnagar is detailed and supplemented by a notice of the work of Murshid Kuli Khan. Information is available only in a fitful manner for the bulk of the Deccan States. The account of Bengal's agrarian history is given fairly fully from the sixteenth century. The general conclusion arrived at is that the farmer and the assignee who were not mutually exclusive, formed the backbone of the whole development of the agrarian system which ordinarily comprised both the *Zamindari* and *Ryotwari* elements. Political and social factors were not favourable for the fruition of the idea of agricultural development which was not however forgotten. A gloss of Indo-Persian revenue terms is supplemented by notices of the position of governors and by the annotations of historians' extracts bearing on the agrarian system of the fourteenth century and of Akbar. The author takes care to say, with reference to the scope of his treatment, that in the Moslem period the ryots were more dominated by the pressure of duties than by a sense of rights. This and other points of comparison with the British agrarian system, favourable of course to the latter, are the unconscious outcome of the Civil Service temperament and tradition, strongly characteristic of one type of Anglo-Indian historians. The great value of the book which deals with an obscure, but very important topic is obvious to all readers.

C. S. S.

'THE MILITARY SYSTEM OF THE MARATHAS'

(With a brief account of their maritime activities.)

BY

DR. SURENDRANATH SEN,

Lecturer in History, Calcutta University.

[The Book Company, Ltd., Calcutta, 1928, pp. xi and 297]

THIS book is a supplement to the author's treatise on the civil institutions of the Marathas (*Administrative System of the Marathas*), published about ten years ago which has recently undergone a second edition. The conclusions that form the coping-stone, as it were, of the arch of his treatment are; first that the decline and fall of the Maratha power were not primarily due to the accentuation of caste-differences which became marked in the eighteenth century, nor to the defective nature of their civil institutions 'which were no worse than similar institutions in contemporary Europe,' nor again to their policy of aggression, but to the increasing inferiority in their discipline, equipment and command which was an inevitable accompaniment of the feudalization of their polity under Shahu and the Peishwas; and secondly, 'the rejection of Shivaji's ideal of racial amity on a religious basis in favour of the principle of personal aggrandizement' led to the denationalization of the Maratha army; and lastly there was the marked failure of the Maratha leaders to keep pace with the scientific progress made in the military art in other parts of the world. With regard to the last argument, Balaji Rao supplemented the traditional Maratha army with new battalions trained on European lines; but the newly forged weapon, though it ensured success at the battle of Udgir, proved, in the disaster of Panipat, its incompatibility as a weapon for simultaneous use with the traditional Maratha tactics. Mahadji Sindia continued, more successfully and on a larger scale, the experiment thus begun. The *gardis* as the foreign mercenary adventures who were employed were called, were not always faithful to the state that employed them; and the powerful battalions of de Boigne and Sindia proved useless as against the British. As Sir Alfred Lyall has remarked, it was a misfortune and a deceitful snare for Indian princes to play the game of war with European methods, to keep a costly equipment at the necessary sacrifice of their other fundamental needs; while the

Company, with its large reserve of well-trained officers, its unlimited command of men and money and its corporate existence could suffer defeats with impunity and survive victoriously even in a simultaneous struggle against a combination of Indian princes. Military history from the days of the Parthian struggle against Rome down to the Boer War has demonstrated repeatedly the sustained vitality of a weaker and more primitive power against the attacks of a stronger and better-developed and equipped power and that the best chance of survival of the former lay in its clinging to its traditional and tried methods of warfare.

In the case of the Marathas, unlike as with Ranjit Singh, Europeans were employed, as is well pointed out by Dr. Sen, not to teach and train Maratha soldiery for a period of transition, but to occupy a permanent place in their army organization. The Marathas did not make the least distinction of nationality in their choice of European military officers, while the Company shrewdly encouraged British subjects to enter native service in order to safeguard their interest and to counterpoise French influence which was feared till the end of the epoch of the Napoleonic Wars; and the inconstancy of many European officers gained for them the unenviable epithet of *Daghabaz* (or traitors) from Jaswant Rao Holkar.

Another aspect of the changes in military equipment deals with the introduction of the Pindhari (spelt Pendhari) element which had become a common feature by the time of Balaji Rao. It is perhaps too much to postulate the continuous existence of robber bands like the Pindharies from the times of the Kautilya *Arthashastra* and the *Sukranitisara* and to draw a close parallel between the employment of trained robbers to harass an enemy recommended by Kautilya and the part played by the Pindharies in the latter part of the eighteenth and the first two decades of the nineteenth centuries. Forts and fortifications were propped up on an elaborate machinery of vigilance and control which was built up carefully by Shivaji; and his arrangements ceased to function with effect soon after his death.

Many forts fell into the hands of the feudal chiefs who began to garrison them with Arabs and non-Maratha Indians. No improvement marked Maratha military architecture in the eighteenth century; and Lord Valentia who visited India in the beginning of the nineteenth century was of the opinion that the defective knowledge of fortification

of the Marathas had considerably impaired the strength of Raigadh. Dr. Sen aptly remarks: 'Had the artillery men and miners of the time been more efficient, there might have been a greater necessity on the part of the military architects to use their brain and improve upon the traditional scheme of fortification they had received from their ancestors.' Artillery was always a very ineffective weapon in Maratha hands; but they had great faith in it, in spite of its often proving a source of great and unmixed inconvenience. British superiority in artillery was one of the chief reasons of their final success; and the Marathas were foiled by their inability to assimilate the use of this scientific weapon or to master its technique.

The damages committed by Maratha troops on the march are perhaps overdrawn by writers like Acworth and Scott; but the soldiers' plundering propensity was a universal feature common to Maratha and Mughal alike.

There are more than two opinions about the wisdom or otherwise of the Maratha tactics and equipment which came into operation at Panipat, as Rawlinson, the editor of *Kasi Raja Pandit's narrative* (in translation) has remarked; but there is no gainsaying the truth of the fact of the impracticability of combining two totally distinct methods of warfare, while Dr. Sen adds to this defect, the evils arising from the feudal organization of the army and the chronic financial needs of the State that compelled the deviation of energy to minor expeditions and to the ignoring of the really essential issues.

In the matter of naval equipment to which more than eighty pages of the book are devoted, Dr. Sen proves that the Maratha navy remained stagnant where Shivaji left it and even under the Angrias, the Maratha navy had not yet emerged from the primitive galley stage and remained 'a child of arrested growth'. The Marathas knew and acknowledged the superiority of Europeans at sea but they made 'no effort to learn, improve or invent'. Dr. Sen rightly protests against the usually accepted denunciation of the Angrias and other naval chiefs as pirates and declares that the seizure of unlicensed ships was in those days a lawful exercise of sovereignty on the seas; and in this respect the Maratha captains did not act differently from their European counterparts.

One peculiar service done by Dr. Sen in this book is the tracing of the origin of *chauth* out of a precedent found in the Portuguese practice

in their northern province when it was deemed to be a remuneration for the performance of certain police duties. The *chauth* that Shivaji demanded was however different from such a pension paid by a superior power in consideration of service rendered; it was a military contribution paid by the defenceless subjects of enemy territories, claimed as a consequence of superior force. In Shahu's time *chauth* was received by the Marathas as a pension and connoted an acknowledgment of the Emperor's suzerainty, while in Aurangzib's time its demand indicated a defiance of imperial authority. In origin as well as in character, *sardeshmukhi* differed from *chauth*. Shivaji claimed to be the hereditary *sardeshmukh* of Maharashtra and *sardeshmukhi* as his rightful *watan*; and in theory this claim did not conflict with the sovereign rights of existing governments. This exhaustive examination of the origin, application and theory of *chauth* should give a quietus to the various views propounded by scholars like Ranade.

The examination of the fundamental causes of the military decline of the Marathas has been done thoroughly and with authoritative materials, carefully selected and arranged with reference to their values, etc. The bibliography includes an examination of the different archives, etc., preserved in London, Goa, Lisbon, Paris, etc. We congratulate him on this useful production which is an effective *critique* of the various theories put forward as to the causes of Maratha decline.

C. S. S.

'BRITISH ROUTES TO INDIA'

BY

H. L. HOSKINS, Ph.D.

Dickson Professor of History, Tuft's College

[Published by Longmans, Green and Co., New York and London, 1928, pp. xiii and 494, price 30s. net.]

ONE conspicuous feature of the Eastern question is the existence of certain broad natural highways leading from the Mediterranean towards the jealously-guarded confines of India. Attention is concentrated in these pages on the development of the lines of communication along these highways whose significance has been greatly accentuated by the jealousies and conflicting activities of

European imperialism, while their international bearings have become more and more important. First the growth of the British interest in Egypt is traced from its beginnings in the last part of the eighteenth century, prior to which England had little desire to return to the Mediterranean, having become masters of the ocean passage to India. The European wars of Turkey together with the rise of Ali Bey in Egypt to independence gave rise to new and far-reaching ideas in France and England, the former preferring negotiations with the Porte direct and the latter taking up the matter with the local authorities. Warren Hastings first planned to utilize the Red Sea-Egypt route for the transmission of despatches; and James Bruce succeeded in getting from the Egyptian despot some concessions for trade; while George Baldwin succeeded in co-ordinating the sending of despatches from London and the three Indian Presidencies by 1777. At that time the British Government or the Levant Company or the East India Company had not the slightest thought of undertaking the conquest of Egypt, while the real designs of France looked forward to the French conquest of Egypt as a means of competing with Britain on more nearly equal terms in India and the East. Baron de Tott's visit to Cairo in 1777 was with a view to effect a French conquest of Egypt and to re-open the ancient canal between the Nile and the Red Sea for that purpose. The English even thought of an alternative to the Red Sea-Suez route, viz. that from Aleppo through Mesopotamia to Basrah and thence to Bombay. This latter route did not develop and was employed only on occasions, notably during the years of the French occupation of Egypt in the years 1798-1801. The route to Suez was practically given up by the English in 1780 and was made for some years the subject of international rivalry. In 1792 the new-born French Republic found it essential in the face of a hostile European coalition, to maintain both postal and commercial contact with India by way of the Red Sea; and soon it began to think seriously of the plan to send a military and naval expedition to Egypt. The Napoleonic expedition of 1798 was 'the logical outcome of a generation of French policy in the Levant, translated into action by peculiarly favourable circumstances both in Europe and in the East.' It did not spring solely from the ambition and genius of the Corsican. It rendered the route through Syria hazardous and a counter campaign by the British in Egypt inevitable. Mehemet Ali's friendly senti-

ments for the French and the *rapprochement* between Napoleon and the Czar opened for the French the diplomatic road to Constantinople and rendered probable another French expedition to Egypt. Napoleon was careful enough to perceive that his approach to India should not be altogether dependent upon a vulnerable line of sea communications but there seems to have been, according to our author, no definite proof that he seriously contemplated making use of the route through Persia at any time. 'though his actions prior to the Treaty of Tilsit would seem to show such an intent.' The situation presented by the simultaneous missions of Sir Harford Jones and Sir John Malcolm to the Shah of Persia was peculiar, as the former came from England direct intent on the undoing of France; and the latter represented Calcutta, obviously to check the advance of Russia. Till the close of the Napoleonic wars, the relations between Britain and Persia were direct and close. The fears created by Napoleon's projects did much to destroy British confidence in the adequacy of the Cape route to India, which could not also function satisfactorily for purposes of communication. The author clearly points out how it was not the search for new channels of trade, so much as the desire for improved lines of communication that led to the development of the Suez route. The growing efficacy of the steam vessel, though it first attempted to make use of the all-sea route by the cape, had to recognize the value of the Suez route, however much it might be attended with small difficulties. Madras and Bombay were interested in the problem in directly opposing ways. Madras and Calcutta were the logical termini of the cape of Good Hope route, while the passages from the Mediterranean, whether through Egypt or Syria, would find in Bombay their logical objective. 'Hence it is not strange that the Government and mercantile community of Calcutta, generally aided and abetted by official and mercantile elements of Madras, preferred to agitate for the establishment of steam communication *via* the Cape of Good Hope, rather than to contribute to the rise of a rival Presidency.' The Cape Route remained a subject of academic discussion as a possible steam route until the opening of the Suez Canal put 'a final quietus on its consideration as a principal artery of British communications in the East.'

The chapter dealing with tentative trials of the Suez passage tells us how the ground was broken for a steam route by way of the Red

Sea by the illustrious Mountstuart Elphinstone who commenced a series of systematic surveys and was warmly supplemented in his efforts by his successor in office, Sir John Malcolm. For long the financial weakness of the East India Company delayed the projection of an official plan for the development of the Red Sea route.

The events of the Greek War of Independence and the Treaty of Adrianople revived the fear of a Russian invasion of India. Russia had contrived to penetrate far into Turkey and Persia; France managed to hold diplomatic sway in Egypt and extend her control over the Turkish province of Algeria. But Mesopotamia was still open for European enterprise; and British enterprise was directed to the navigation of the Tigris and the Euphrates, particularly the latter route which was warmly supported by Lord Palmerston. The Euphrates expedition which is described in detail, though it failed to bear fruit and postponed for a time the development of the Red Sea route, would be useful as a line for the rapid transmission of despatches between Bombay and London, should the route through Egypt be closed for any reason.

C. R. Low, in his *History of the Indian Navy*, describes at length the activity of the Bombay Marine Service (later designated the Indian Navy) both as a scientific as well as a fighting service; and Mr. Hoskins maintains that its survey of the Red Sea and chartings of the southern coast of Arabia was one of the factors that paved the stability of the Suez route. The acquisition of Aden was one of the last steps in its definite establishment and 'the logical culmination of the long series of surveys which had characterized the first third of the century in eastern waters'. The passage through Egypt had still to be tackled; and this portion of the route had failed to keep pace with improvements effected elsewhere, in spite of improvements effected by the steam service companies. By 1843, definite steam communication had been effected between Calcutta and London which were brought within forty days of each other. The Suez Canal question has had a long and varied series of antecedents described by writers like E. H. Warmington and H. G. Rawlinson. Napoleon's scientists planned a direct connection of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, whereas all the ancient undertakings were limited to a communication between the Red Sea and the Nile. The English were, for a time, warm over the construction of a railway across the Isthmus of Suez and opposed the canal scheme.

'The Egyptian railway had sewed to counterbalance the Suez Canal idea for a time, and French hostility to the railway justified British intolerance of a navigable water-way.' A project for a railway between the Mediterranean coast and the Persian Gulf complicated the issues for some time. This was definitely shelved by the settlement of the Turko-Egyptian problem in 1841 and by the official opening of the overland route through Egypt; particularly the Mesopotamian route pointed out only to India alone. The Euphrates Valley Railway scheme was finally abandoned by Lord Palmerston, because he felt compelled to abandon the railway, rather than accept the canal scheme.

The evolution of the Suez Canal scheme led to the result that the canal was constructed and operated by a French Corporation, it became a British highway from the very beginning; and the transfer of a large share of the pecuniary interest in the company to the British Government effected by a coup of Disraeli, was scarcely anything more than a confirmation of a fact already operating, viz., 'The Suez Canal from the outset was intrinsically British, commercially by virtue of the volume of British trade and politically because of British hegemony in the East.' This statement may be regarded as the central and pivotal point of Mr. Hoskins' theme which takes in an outline of the improvement of telegraphic and cable communications and of the chief shipping companies like the P. and O. which had to pass through various vicissitudes.

He is careful to point out that the continued fear of Russian aims led to the starting afresh of several projects for railways across Mesopotamia. The Suez Canal has justified its appellation of 'a second Bosphorus', being one of the most important of the waterways of the world. It has so far required no alternative route between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, in spite of the turmoil caused by the world-war and the anomalous position that Britain continued to occupy in Egypt till recently. The book is a close study of the various aspects of the problem of communications between Great Britain and the East, both in the imperial and commercial aspects. The treatment is strongly and effectively documented, but the sequences are not continuous, marked by breaks from one topic to another and justified neither on the basis of chronology nor on that of subject-matter, while the ending is somewhat abrupt.

C. S. S.

‘A HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE LIGHT
OF MODERN KNOWLEDGE’

[Blackie & Son, Ltd., London, pp. xxii, 780; price 25s. net.]

THIS is the collective work of several distinguished scholars, both laymen and clerics. The names of a few of the contributors,—such as Prof. Gilbert Murray, Sir Frederick Kenyon, Prof. C. C. J. Webb, Prof. R. S. Rait, the Most Rev. William Temple, Archbishop of York,—will convey to the reader a sufficient idea of the high value of the production. The book is divided into five parts treating of the world into which Christ was born, the life of Christ and the early records of it, the early church, its history up to the reformation, and that subsequent to the reformation. The parts, which contain anything from three to seven chapters each, are bound to vary in interest to all but the professed student of the history of religion. The various chapters are distinguished by scholarship, clear thinking and breadth of vision. Mr. Cyril Bailey treating of the State Religion of Rome, traces the growth of that religion from an agricultural religion to an imperial cult and attempts to account at the same time for the Roman indifference to other religions, and its hostility to Christianity. ‘Polytheism’ he says, ‘is never intolerant and rarely apt to proselytise’; hence the indifference of a Pilate. But Christianity drew its adherents not from one defined class, but from all races and classes; and these renounced all cults except the worship of the one God and His Son Jesus Christ; while professing loyalty to the Emperor they refused to worship him, and a conflict was inevitable.

Prof. Gilbert Murray writes on ancient religion and philosophy. He finds that ‘the parts of Christian doctrine which a Levantine pagan would deny are chiefly the historical statements’ (p. 76); for, there was a large area of agreement between the creeds, pagan and Christian, e.g. in the ideas of the Saviour, the Mediator, the Trinity, Forgiveness and so on. On the side of moral progress, Prof. Murray can point only to one distinctive achievement, the rejection of superstition. How far Christianity really succeeded in achieving this, is, however, an open question. For, if we are to believe Mr. Bailey (p. 40), Christianity, when it had won its victory, ‘turned back on the true Roman religion’; and ‘true to the tradition of syncretism . . .

the local pagan cults were swallowed up in the worship of the saints.’ This would, verily, seem to be a rehabilitation of superstition, rather than its rejection.

The Director of the British Museum contributes two papers of great interest on the Bible as Jesus knew it, and the English versions of the Bible. He holds that the version of the Septuagint is undoubtedly the one which Christ’s contemporaries were familiar with, though he refuses to commit himself to the opinion that Septuagint represents the original text, as set down by the authors, more accurately than the Massoretic Hebrew text, possibly fixed by the Synod of Jamnia.

Prof. Webb’s history of Christianity in the nineteenth century takes us really from the period before the French Revolution to the beginning of the Great War. The principal tendencies of the period are the gradual abandonment of eighteenth century transcendentalism and deism, the growth of immanentism, the increase of stress on spiritual experience, the growth of a historical sense (enabling the proper appreciation of services rendered to religion by different denominations at different times), the decline of individualism and the growth of socialism, the growth of tolerance and the decay of the Hell-fire doctrine. He holds the principle of immanentism to be central; the working of this in all other branches of development is traced with remarkable clearness, though many of his sentences are characteristically involved.

The Most Rev. the Archbishop of York, writing about Christianity to-day, traces the growth of Christian interference in social evils, from the stage of offering succour to suffering individuals to the organized and sustained attack on systems counted evil in themselves. It is unfortunate that the learned divine should have, in a historical account, permitted to himself the expression of a personal opinion about betting and gambling (p. 749). The lapse is all the more regrettable in that he countenances here the very principle of repression which he does not appear to have any use for in the case of the Drink evil.

The book is exceedingly well got-up, with a number of interesting plates and useful maps. The comprehensive index will be particularly valuable to the thoughtful student of religion or history, to whom, indeed, the book is indispensable.

S. S. S.

'HISTORY OF PRE-MUSSALMAN INDIA, VOL. I.
PRE-HISTORIC INDIA'

BY

PROFESSOR V. RANGACHARYA, M.A., L.T., MADRAS

[The Huxley Press, 1929, pp. vii. and 247]

THIS preliminary volume is the first of an ambitious and comprehensive series designed to trace the history of India from the earliest times to the Muhammadan conquest. It takes back the reader to the Azoic epoch and the succeeding epochs when India is regarded as having attained her present geographical configuration. Thus our author would trace back human history to the almost unimaginable times which were marked by the *pralayas* and upheavals of which there are vague records in our own Puranas, with similar echoes in the legendary lore of other ancient races. It is impossible even for the most minute writer to take up any definite stand, either in the matter of the computation of the ages, palæozoic, mesozoic, etc., each of which has been subdivided into successive sub-stages, or in the geological evolution of India through the so-called Triassic, Jurassic and Tertiary epochs of European pre-history. The 'saurian' varieties of life, of which a few isolated specimens have been so far discovered in India ceased to exist with the vanishing of the Mesozoic epoch; and this phenomenon has been declared by H. G. Wells to have been the most tremendous feature in the history of the earth, before the appearance of mankind. At the beginning of the cainozoic age, a new order of animals, the mammals, emerged; while the Indian continent had assumed almost its present shape by the close of the tertiary epoch, during which the fast evolving animal life came to be characterized by the family spirit and the principle of social association. The author gives us a fairly good summary of the available conclusions arrived at in this subject; but his bibliography and explanations of the most notable scholars in the field may well have been longer and fuller.

A new set of scholars have arisen who postulate that early man originated in India and put forward theories as to the special locality as to the particular evolution of the mammal into man in India. But our author cautiously says that it is difficult to determine which of

these positive views can be accepted. The diffusion of eolithic culture, of which no human remains exist, but only implements have been discovered up to now, is not marked by any Indian finds; and it is difficult, in the face of the conclusions of Bruce-Foote and other workers, to say whether any of the numerous artifacts so far discovered in India can be definitely attributed to that age.

Mr. Rangacharya discusses, on the basis of available literature, the age of important Indian discoveries like the pre-chellean Godavari chip, and also the proto-Negroid specimen of humanity, and the 'synchronous rise of the long-headed type' which soon penetrated into the mainland of Asia. His conclusion regarding the place of India in the ethnographic evolution of the eolithic age is that 'India was the meeting-place, apparently, of both the brachy-cephalic and dolicho-cephalic varieties of the earliest man; of both the proto-Negroids of Africa and East Asia, and of the dolicho-cephalic races of Western Asia and the Mediterranean region on the one hand and the Indonesians and Australasians on the other, the pre-Dravidians being the intermediate link between them.' These conclusions, particularly the last, require further elaboration and critical examination before they can be thus synthetically put forward.

In the treatment of the Paleolithic Age, the author discusses as to whether there was a glacial epoch in India or not. The Himalayan region was alone subject to great glacial pressure; paleolithic sites and implements are many; and the region in the immediate neighbourhood of Madras and Chingleput has come to be regarded as the classic land of paleoliths, while Bengal and Bihar have very few relics. Indian paleolithic culture is very similar to that of Europe and can be traced in all its stages marked by a wide variety of implements and weapons, geometrical forms and distinct attention to colour. There have not been any finds similar to the European Aurignacian remains, about which so much has been written by Burkitt, Van Loon and others; but the Vindhyan slopes are regarded to be the ground pregnant with the possibilities of fresh finds of primitive art.

The correlation of ethnology to paleolithic artifacts has not been elaborated in our country. The transition to the Neolithic age is

based on, or at least largely coloured by, speculations on the origins of the so-called pre-Dravidians and Dravidians. The author describes the various theories held on these questions; and he only asserts that, according to the bulk of learned opinion, the Dravidian race was not autochthonous to the land. He summarizes the ethnological condition of the land at the beginning of the neolithic age. According to him the Dravidians (or the Mediterraneans) migrated into the land about the ninth or eighth millennium B.C.; and their culture continued to spread during the next four or five millenniums; the Aryans were not physically much different from the Dravidians; and they probably belonged to the same original ethnic stock, but came to fall apart by large cultural and small ethnic differences. These latter conclusions are bold, but have got to be substantiated a great deal more than at present, before they can be accepted and admitted into the field of probable hypotheses.

The book gives a good summary of the neolithic sites and finds of the land, points out the similarity between Indian and European neoliths and postulates a common origin for the neolithic cultures of both Europe and Asia. It makes a clear distinction between the occupational differences and geographical ones. The marital exogamous and endogamous regulations should have begun to operate in this period. Caste is said to be a pre-Aryan institution in its essence, but it was given a new vitality and impulse by the Aryan advent. The author's note on neolithic culture is valuable; but he seems to miss the true meaning of Hodson's *Lectures on Primitive culture*.

Passing over the discussions as to the existence of a bronze age in India, he comes to the consideration of the newly discovered Indus Valley civilization and of its probable affinities with the Heliolithic culture of Egypt and relation to the Sumerian, though the final word is still far off from any one of these speculations. Theories about the early home of the Aryans, and about the date and epoch of Aryan culture beginnings and Vedic civilization bring this volume to a close; the book, though the conclusions put forward in it may not all of them be acceptable, and though in places it displays a lack of clear synthesis is densely packed with valuable information and bears eloquent testimony to the erudition and tireless industry of the author even in the uninviting field of pre-history.

'SOURCE BOOK OF MAHRATTA HISTORY'

BY

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[Published by the Bombay Government]

EVER since a new interest has been created in Mahratta history by the pioneer work of the late Justice Ranade, the author of the small, but important work, *The Rise of the Mahratta Power*, interest in Mahratta sources for Mahratta history has been gradually rising. Enthusiastic students of the Mahratta History, most of them sons of Maharashtra, had gone on exploiting these sources and accumulating a mass of material that would enable ultimately the writing of a comprehensive and complete history of the Maharattas in collation with such sources other than Mahratta of which a considerable volume is available in one form or another. They had, however, made up their minds to publish these in Mahratti exclusively almost, and put other students of Mahratta history—non-Maharashtra students of Indian History—at a very considerable disadvantage in respect of these sources. Serious students of Indian History therefore relating to this period have been feeling the handicap, and suggestions were made more than once in regard to the publication of the Mahratta sources in a convenient general form for use by those outside Maharashtra.

The matter, however, came to a head with the constitution of the Indian Historical Records Commission by the Government of India in 1919. A resolution of that body put forward the need for doing this early. After the usual vicissitudes a committee was constituted with Mr. Rawlinson as Editor. The committee went to pieces in process of time owing to the members constituting it being taken away to new fields of work, and the scheme well-nigh lapsed. It was, however, not allowed to die; and through the efforts of Mr. Rawlinson, who had the assistance of a new colleague in Mr. R. P. Pattavardan, Professor of History, Elphinstone College, Bombay, the scheme was carried into effect, and the first fruit of that is the *Source Book of Mahratta History*, volume I, which carries the history to the death of Shivaji.

The plan of the book is more or less educational, and does not attempt at being exhaustive. Naturally therefore, it is selective in its method of work, and it is only the salient passages from the large

number of sources that are taken, translated, and published with notes and references to serve the purposes of a source book for University students studying Mahratta history. Notwithstanding the fact that it does not exploit all the sources and provide an exhaustive source book, it is still of the very greatest value, as bringing together a pretty large number of the most important passages from original sources on particular points of Mahratta history. This is all the more urgently needed at present, as the Mahratta sources, pure and simple, have suffered neglect not merely and even undeserved prejudice in many cases,—thanks to a variety of circumstances—prejudices against patriotism not altogether excluded. Histories of the Mahratta period therefore were to a very large extent compiled only from sources generally other than Mahratta, and to that extent were defective. The chances, at any rate, of remedying this defect, if not completely, at least partially, are greater than hitherto with a work like this.

The work is divided into two parts, Mahratta sources and foreign sources. The material is well chosen, the chapters neatly arranged topically and the sources expounded with references to the books referred to. The work presents, on the whole, a much needed hand book on the subject. Principal Rawlinson and Professor Pattavardan deserve to be congratulated upon the production of this work, as also the Bombay Government for their enlightened policy in starting a systematic publication of these sources.¹

¹ We have since received another brochure bearing on the same subject, but probably issued by the Government apart from this. The series is entitled *Selections from the Peshwa's Duffar*, and the subject chosen is the letters and despatches relating to the battle of Udgir, 1760. This booklet is illustrated by a map, and is provided with an English introduction, though a brief one, and a number of documents as many, as eighty-eight of these, chiefly letters and despatches as the name indicates. The writer of the introduction compares these short letters and despatches to telephone messages passing between various commanders in a modern campaign, and enables the students who can read Mahrathi to follow the operations both of diplomacy and of warfare clearly. Each letter is followed by a very short English note giving the substance of the letter. It is a little too brief and might have been made a little more full for the benefit of the students not acquainted with Mahrathi. None the less, it is a very important addition to the study of the subject of Mahratta history in general and is therefore quite welcome.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)

April, 1930—

F. W. THOMAS: 'Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkistan.' The Khotan Regions.

J. CHARPENTIER: 'Naiçasakha.'

JWALA PRASAD: 'The date of the Yoga Sūtras.' According to Jacobi and others, the Yoga Sūtras were a late production. The author criticizes the arguments of Jacobi, and shows that very little can be proved about the date of the Yoga Sūtras from internal evidence.

RAGHU VIRA: 'The author of the Śiva Sūtras.' Traditionally, the Pratyāhāra Sūtras were a revelation to Pāṇini from God Śiva. It is here contended that Pāṇini himself was the author of these Sūtras, the authority being a quotation from the Mahā Bhāshya of Patanjali.

Indian Antiquary

May, 1930—

J. CHARPENTIER: 'Some remarks on the Bhagavad Gītā.'

S. C. HILL: 'Origin of the Caste System in India.'

F. J. RICHARDS: 'Periods in Indian History.'

June, 1930—

BIREN BONNERJEA: 'The Social Life and Ceremonial Life of the Santals' culled from various sources.

PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER: 'Some remarks on the Bhagavad Gītā.'—(continued).

HARIHAR DAS: 'Rustamji Manak.' A notable Parsi broker. The author's aim is to shew clearly the part played by Rustamji as interpreter to the English embassy under Sir William Norgate in the time of Aurangzib. Rustamji was born in A.D. 1660 and is said to have descended from the line of Persian kings who were conquered by the Muhammadans.

LILY DEXTER GREENE: 'Nature Study in the Sanskrit poem Mēghadūta.' This is an attempt to study Sanskrit Literature with particular attention to natural descriptions to exhibit the method which Indian poets have adopted to give a realistic touch to their descriptions.

July, 1930—

PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER: 'Some remarks on the Bhagavad Gītā.'—(continued).

LILY DEXTER GREENE: 'Nature Study in the Sanskrit poem Mēghadūta.'—(continued).

HARIHAR DAS: 'Rustamji Manak.' A notable Parsi broker.—(continued).

PANDIT ĀNAND KOUL: 'Some additions to the Lalla Vakyāni.'

ANUJAN ACHAN: 'A Hebrew inscription from Chenna Mangalam.' This inscription is dated 1581 of the era of contracts. According to M. Winternitz, this era dates from 312 B.C.—the Selucidan era dating from the battle of Gaza. This again furnishes information regarding the feud between the white and black Jews, and also regarding the first disposal of the Jews from their settlement at Anjuvaṇṇam.

PROF. TUCCI-GIUSEPPE: 'Bhāmaha and Diñnāga.' The learned Professor adheres to the view that Bhāmaha was not influenced by the ideas of Dharmakīrti. He examines in detail various considerations and points out that Bhāmaha was prior to Dharmakīrti. In the work of Bhāmaha, a new proof of the influence of Diñnāga and his logic upon Indian Philosophy in general can clearly be seen.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, April, 1930

M. H. RAMA SHARMA: 'Vestiges of Kummāṭa.' (Illustrated).

M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYAR: 'The Apostle Thomas in India,' concludes that Apostle Thomas visited Mysore and Madras.

S. HANUMANTHA RAO: 'The influence of the Religious School of Sri Madhwa on the History of Vijayanagara.'

Rupam, Calcutta Nos. 38-39

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY: 'Buddhist Reliefs from Nagārjunikonda and Amarāvati.'

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

September to December, 1929—

The journal of Dr. Francis Buchanan, from October 1810 to April 1811 when carrying out his survey of the district of Bhagalpur: Ed. with notes and introduction by C. E. A. W. Oldham.

K. P. JAYASWAL: 'On the rule of Pushyamitra Sunga.' By freshly interpreting the Puranic references, the writer concludes that the thirty-six years of Pushyamitra cover the rule of his sons during his reign. The constitution, with the eight sons of Pushyamitra ruling together with Pushyamitra over them, was a kind of kingless, constitutional government, indicated by the term 'Vairājyam.'

P. N. BOSE: 'A new Śilpa work from Tibet.'

B. C. BHATTACHARYA: 'Kalinganagara and Excavations at its Present Site.' Identifies the place with the sea-port Kalingapatam which on excavation reveals remains of a buried city of great antiquity.

G. RAMDAS: Tri-Kalinga country;—Discusses its origin and progress prior to 800 A.D. and concludes that it was conquered by the Ganga rulers of Kalinga in about 600 A.D.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

VOL. XVI. PART I

March, 1930—

DR. HIRĀNANDA SASTRI: 'Further Notes on the Bhaghela dynasty of Rewah.' Revises some of the statements made in his memoir entitled, 'The Bhaghela dynasty.'

K. H. DHURVA: 'Historical Contents of the Yuga Purāṇa.' The last chapter of the Garga Samhita is called the Yuga Purāṇa. According to learned Professor, the Garga Samhita belongs to the beginnings of the first century B.C. This section of the Samhita gives important information regarding some transactions in the second century B.C. Indian History.

K. P. JAYASWAL: 'An important Brahmi Inscription' (Barli stone) Mr. Jayaswal holds the inscriptions to be pre-Asokan on palaeographical grounds. It is dated in the year 84. The era referred to is probably the era of the Nandas and hence the date of the Inscription is held to be 374 B.C.

- L. V. RAMASWAMY AIYAR: 'Prosemy and Ecsemy in Dravidian.'
- J. K. SARKAR: 'The Buddhistic conception of Moral Sublimation.'
- BINAYAK MISRA: 'Hindol plates of Śubhakara Dēva.' It consists of a single copper-plate inscription written in Sanskrit language. It is assignable to the ninth century A.D.
- HIRA LAL: 'Bhanja Kings and their Country.' Replies to the criticism of the late R. D. Banerjea to certain Geographical identifications made by the author in his article. On the four Bhanja copper-plates in the Epigraphia Indica.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (London)

VOL. V, PART IV

- L. D. BARNETT: 'Matta Vilāsa.' A farce by Mahēndra-Vikrama Varman of Kanchi.
- T. W. ARNOLD: 'Mirza Muhammad Haydar Dughlat on the Harat School of Painting.'
- K. R. PISHAROTI: 'Ramakatha.' A study. Mr. Pisharoti identifies the author of the Ramakatha with Vasudeva of Payyur Bhaṭṭa Mana, the boy protege of the Zamorin Vikrama, and the author of 'Bhringi Sandēsam,' and the grammatical treatise 'Vasudeva Vijaya', thus bringing the date of Ramakatha to the initial years of the sixteenth century.
- JULES BLOCH: 'Some problems of Indo-Aryan Philology' being the Forlong Lectures for 1929.

Modern Review

May and June, 1930—

- RAJANI KANTA DAS: 'Industrial Reconstruction and Industrial Efficiency'. 'Industrial success of India depends entirely upon the re-construction of her industrial systems in the light of Modern Science and Art.'

Journal of Oriental Research

VOL. IV, PART II

April to June, 1930—

- M. HIRIYANNA, M.A., L.T.: 'Prabhā karas, Old and New.' The author draws the attention 'to a point of history, viz., the existence of a distinction between an old and new school among the Prabhā karas themselves as may be gathered from the references to jarat-Prābhākarās and Cirantanakhyati Vadins,' occasionally met with in old Indian books of philosophy.
- O. K. ANANTALAKSHMI AMMAL, M.A.: 'Studies in the Upanishads.'—(continued.)
- K. A. SUBRAMANYA AIYAR, M.A.: 'Studies in the Imagery of the Rāmāyana.'
- K. RAMA PISHAROTI, M.A., L.T.: 'Glimpses of Cochin History from Literary Sources, 1342-1505.' Here the author attempts to give a connected account of the history of Cochin during the years 1342-1505. He has divided the period between 427-1500 into two parts (1) 427-1342; when the capital of the state was said to have been transferred from Cranganore to Cochin because of the opening of the Cochin Harbour by heavy floods. (2) 1342-1505; He has also added a list of kings who reigned during the said period.
- P. T. S. AIYANGAR: 'Saka Pallavas in Indian History.' Deals with the Pallava domination of Northern India.
- L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.: 'Kini words and Dravidian origins.'
- T. G. ARĀVAMUTHAN, M.A., B.L.: 'The oldest account of the Tamil Academies.'

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society

VOL. II, No. II

- PROF. A. S. ALTEKAI: 'Shivaji's visit to Benares.' Examines the validity of the statement in Shedvalkar Bhimah's Bakhāra in this connection; concludes that the whole account is wrong.
- REV. G. SCHURHAMMER, S. J.: 'Some documents on the Bassein Mission in the possession of the Society of Jesus.'

M. H. RAMA SHARMA: 'The kingdom Kampila,' concludes that in the first quarter of the fourteenth century there existed a powerful state on both the sides of the Tungabhadra called the kingdom of Kampila—which was the cradle and historically the parent of the Vijayanagar Empire.

PROF. K. G. KUNDANGAR: 'Marmuni copper-plate grant of Western Chalukya Satyasraya.'

CAPTAIN H. BULLOCK: 'Some Colours of the Bombay Regiments.'

B. A. SALETORE: 'Carnate.'—Concludes Carnate of Portuguese writers may be taken to mean the Kärnād of Tuluva History.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

NEW SERIES. VOL. XXV. NO. I

J. H. HUTTON: 'Outline of Chang Grammar.'

PROVOSH CHANDRA BASU: 'Head-dress of the Hill tribes of Assam.'

KALIPADA MITRA: 'Originals and Parallels of some Santal Folk-tales.'

D. N. MAJUMDAR: 'Race and Adaptability.' Treats about the Kerawas.

KUNYA GOVINDA GOSWAMI: 'The Satak copper-plate grant of King Rama Simha II of Jaintia of 1809 A.D.'

BONARIS BONNEL: 'Geophilid Centipedes from the bed of the Cooum River.'

R. R. HALDER: 'The Chauhans.'

J. C. SINHA: 'Indo-American Trade past and present.'

S. R. KASHYAP: 'Some Geographical Observations in Western Tibet.'

M. M. H. P. SASTRI: 'The Rig Veda in the making.'

J. P. MILLS AND J. H. HUTTON: 'Ancient Monoliths of North Cachar.'

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Institute

VOL. IV, PARTS I AND II

July and October, 1929—

L. V. RAMASWAMY AIYAR: 'Dravidic Etymologies.'

SATYA NARĀYANA RĀJU GARU: 'Santombovali copper-plate of Nandavarman.' A reply to Ramadas' Review.

SELECT CONTENTS FROM THE ORIENTAL JOURNALS 267

SRI LAKSHMI NĀRĀYANA HARICHANDRAN JAYADEV RĀJA BAHADUR: 'Santombovali plates of Indra Varman (with plates).'

V. PRABHĀKARA SASTRY: 'Sātavāhanas—Were they Andhras? (Translated).' Surveys the evidence to refute the arguments that the Sātavāhanas were not Āndhras, and concludes that they were Andhras.

J. RAMAYYA PANTULU: 'Judicial procedure in Ancient India. (Trial by ordeal).'

L. P. PANDEYA SARMA: 'A Short Inscription from Ārang (C.P).'

PROF. JEAN PRYZLUSKI: 'Hippoura and Satakarni. (Translated).'

C. NĀRĀYANĀ RAO: 'Deva Rayapura plates of Prauḍha Dēva Rāya II (with plates).'

R. SUBBA RAO: 'Correspondence between the Honourable The East India Company and the Chandragula family in the eighteenth century.'

C. S. SRINIVASĀCHARI: 'Origin of the Right and Left hand caste divisions.'

O. C. GANGOLY: 'A newly discovered Ms. of Bala Gopala Stuti by Bilva Mangala Swami. (Illustrated).'

R. SUBBA RAO: 'Pulimburu plates of Jayasimha I (with plates).'

S. BHIM SANKARA RAO: 'The evolution of Brahminical hierarchy in Ancient India.'

BHAVA RAJ KRISHNA RAO: 'History of Rajahmundry.'

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA: 'Kadambas of Kalinga.'

Journal Asiatique

VOL. CCXIV, No. 2.

JEAN PRZLUSKI: 'Un Ancien Peuple du Penjab': Les Salva.

Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

VOL. XI, No. 3.

R. D. BANERJI: 'The Palaeography of the Hathigumpha and Nanaghat Inscriptions.' Concludes that the former cannot be later than the other, and in the chronological scale these two should be placed in separate groups.

*Bengal Past and Present.**April to June, 1930—*

R. B. RAMSBOTHAM: 'Chittagong in 1784.' Relates to the war against Jan Baksh Khan, a formidable dacoit and hill-chief. Letters and Extracts from letters taken from the letter-book, 1784-85 of the Collector of Chittagong are quoted.

H. N. SINHA: 'The newly discovered autograph letters of Wellington.' These seven autograph letters which were written to the British Resident, Elphinstone, cover a period of four months following the close of the second Maratha War, down to the settlement of affairs as outlined in the treaty of Deogaon between the East Indian Company and the Bhonsla Raghoji II. These were lying buried in the mass of Secretariat Records, C. P. till 1928 when the writer discovered them.

D. R. BHANDARKAR: 'The Capture of Gwalior in 1780.' Deals with that part of the history of Gwalior when it was captured by Capt. Popham on August 4, 1780.

T. G. P. SPEAR: 'The Twilight of the Moghuls.'

BASANTA KUMAR BASU: 'A side-light on the life of Daulat Rau Sindhia, Maharaja of Gwalior.'

B. N. BANERJI: 'The last days of Nana Sahib at Bithoor.'

*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts**June 1930—*

ANANDA COOMARASWAMI: Two Pallava Marble Pillars: Identifies two of the Boston Museum Pillars purchased from C. A. Cumming's Fund as those belonging to the Porch of a Saiva temple in the Guntur District, constructed in whole or part from older materials entirely recut, datable near to the beginning of the seventh century A.D. Full page illustration of detail of pillar is furnished on p. 57.

*The Calcutta Review**February 1930—*

P. K. ĀCHARYA: 'Indo-Persian Architecture.'

PARIMAL RAY: 'History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company.' (*continued*)

March 1930—

PARIMAL RAY: 'History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company.' (*continued*)

P. K. ĀCHARYA: 'Indo-Persian Architecture.' (*continued*)

RAKESHRANJAN SARMA: 'The Idealism of the School of Dīñnāga.'

KALI KINKAR DATTA: 'Asiatic and Inter-Provincial trade of Bengal in the Mid Eighteenth Century.'

April 1930—

PARIMAL RAY: 'History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company.' (*continued*)

SATKĀRI MUKHERJEA: 'Kshana Bhariga Vāda.'

P. K. ĀCHARYA: 'Indo-Persian Architecture.' (*continued*)

H. C. RAY CHAUDHARI: 'The Decline of the Early Gupta Empire.'

May 1930—

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

June 1930—

D. BHATTĀ CHARYA: 'Ancient Hindu tradition and the present age of the Earth.'

JAYANTA KUMAR DAS GUPTA: 'Nepal's relations with the outer world.'

July 1930—

R. W. BROCK: 'Economic tendencies in India.'

GOKUL DAS DE: 'Manipulation and Antiquity of Jatakas.' 'Whatever might have been the shape of the Jātakas afterwards the verse jātakas can be traced to the times of the Buddha if not earlier.'

O. S. KRISHNAMOORTHY: 'Banker's Bank for India.' Formulates a scheme for a Central Reserve Bank—the main object of which should be the control of the currency now in the hands of the Imperial Bank.

JAYANTA KUMAR DAS GUPTA: 'Nepal's relations with the Outer World.' (*continued*)

Annals of the B. O. R. Institute

VOL. XI, PART II

DR. NALINĀKSHA DUTT: 'The place of Ārya Satyas and Prāṭīya Samutpāda, in Hinayāna and Mahāyāna.'

- D. R. BHANDARKAR: 'Slow Progress of Islam Power in India.' Dr. Bhandarkar points out that in reality the opposition of Rajput Princes to Islamic advance was real and effective in the early stages. It held back the Muhammadan invaders for a pretty long time. The Hindu Confederacy to oppose Mahmud is held to be a figment of the imagination. It is authoritatively pointed out that the success of Mahmud was due to a rare combination of good generalship with the necessary caution. In the author's words 'The story of the confederacy formed by the Hindu Rajas to expel Mahmud as a sacred duty thus seems to be nothing but a myth which was concocted later to impart a sacred character to his intentions. Finally the views of Dr. Smith regarding the ultimate success of Muhammadans are discussed and criticized. The point is that they hardly make the real reasons. For four centuries and a half the Rajputs held the Muhammadans at bay.'
- K. B. PATTRAK: 'On the date of Sāmānta Bhadra.' Santa Rakshitā's Reference to Kumarila's attacks.
- V. S. SUKTHANKAR: 'Epic Studies II.' (Further critical notes.)
- P. K. GODE: 'Exact date of Dinakara's Commentary. Gūḍha-prakāsikā—on Upachārasāra of Mukunda Daivagna.—Velankar placed it in the eighteenth century. The exact date is here held to be 1818 A.D. 1740. Saka.'
- C. CHAKRAVARTHY: 'Madhusūdana Saraswathi—His life and works—A Rejoinder.'
- DURGĀCHARAN CHATTERJEA: 'A note on Pramāna Samuccaya.'
- DURGĀCHARAN CHATTERJEA: 'Two quotations in Tattva Saṅgrahadīpikā-panjikā.'

Indian Historical Quarterly

VOL. VI, No. I

Articles

March 1930—

- DR. B. M. BARUA: 'Old Buddhist Shrines at Bodh Gaya.'
- DR. N. N. LAW: 'The Machinery of Administration in of Kauṭīliya.' Deals mainly with the system of spies in Kauṭīliya.
- PROF. LOUIS DE LA VALLE POUSSIN: The two Nirvāṇaśūtra of according to Vibhāṣha.

- PROF. D. C. BHATTĀCHARYA: 'A newly discovered copper-plate from Tipperah.' This plate brings to light the name of a new King Mahā Raja Vainyagupta as having reigned in Bengal belonging probably to the Gupta line dated 506-7 A. D. Mr. Bhattacharya agrees with the view of Mr. Pathak—who holds the Gupta dates as expressing expired and current years. Here is an instance which supports the same view.
- J. C. GHOSH: 'Grant of Bhāskara of Kamarupa and the Nāgara Brahmins.'
- MANORANJAN GHOSH: 'Problems of the Nāṭya Sāstra.'
- REV. G. SCHAUZLIN: 'Birbhuru and Western Bengal in the Eighteenth Century.'
- A. GOVINDA WARRIAR: 'Literary Patronage under the Zamorins of Calicut.'
- DR. P. C. BAGCHI: On the Tantraic texts studied in Ancient Kambhōja.'
- CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI: 'Antiquity of Tantraicism.' Concludes that Tantraicism and Tantraic deities were quite well known at least before the first century A.D., if not earlier.
- K. V. KRISHNA AIYAR: A short sketch of the second dynasty of the Zamorins of Malabar.
- S. K. MUKHERJEA: 'Śankara on the relation between the Vedas and Reason.' Here an attempt is made to show that Śankara while he accepted the authority of the Vedas did not sacrifice freedom of thinking. A categorical statement follows to illustrate the same.

Miscellany

- JEAN PRYZLUSKI: 'Pre-Dravidian and Proto-Dravidian.'
- PROF. H. C. RAY CHAUDHURI: 'A note on the Chronological relation of Kanishka and Rudradaman.'
- PROF. D. C. BHATTĀCHARYA: 'Pāla Chronology—a reply to Prof. Banerji.'
- PANDIT VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTĀCHARYA: 'Dharmapada and Ahirbudhnya Samhita.'
- PANDIT VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTĀCHARYA: 'The date of Śankarāchārya.' Holds the opinion that Śankara can in no way be assigned to a date earlier than Diṇnāga. The author bases

himself on the fact that Śankara has quoted a *kārika* from the *Ālambana Parīksha* of *Dīñnāga*.

PANDIT VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA: 'Is it Caryācarya Vinischaya or Ascarya Caryā Changer?'

PANDIT VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA: 'Śankara's reference to a Buddhist Passage.'

EKENDRANATH GHOSE: 'The twin Gods Asvins of the *Rg Veda*.'

VIBHUTHI NATH JHA: 'Bharata Vākya.'

CHINTAPARAN CHAKRAVARTY: 'Some new facts about Matsyēndra Nātha,' concludes that the age of Matsyēndra Nātha must have been much earlier than the eleventh century.'

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR: 'A note on Paurajānapada.' Mr. Dikshitar reiterates the existence and points out the function and importance of the Paurajānapada as an agent of the King—even for punishing his own son.

N. N. LAW: 'Reply to Mr. Dikshitar's Note.' Refutes the arguments of Mr. Dikshitar regarding the Paurajānapada.

The Round Table

*Summary of the articles in the June Number to be published
on May 30, 1930*

THE first article in the June number of *The Round Table* 'Towards Peace or War?' is about the Naval Conference. People differ as to whether the Conference was a success or a failure. The *Round Table* view will be evident from the opening section, but the really important thing is whether the agreement is to be a beginning or a full-stop, and the article makes clear the fundamental conditions which may make it either. Is it to lead on to real international peace, or are men going to step back into the old morass which bound sooner or later to land the world again in war? Attention is drawn to the lessons which history, peculiarly instructive in so far as the present is concerned, in the nineteenth century has to teach. But the writer is not content with generalities. He explains the significance of the results aimed at in the sphere of detail. He deals with ships and guns and shows what the agreement means in both for the three oceanic Powers, and also for France and Italy who still fail to see eye to eye, and are talking of building programmes which are bound to affect others as well as themselves. Lastly, the *Round Table* turns to the proposed amendments of the Covenant of the League of Nations. It explains their purport and, quite apart from any question of their intrinsic merits, it suggests some grave objections to pushing such reforms through at this particular juncture. The concluding words of the article are a quotation from Bacon. 'It is good not to try experiments in States, except the necessity be urgent and the utility evident.'

The second article is entitled 'Puritans and Profligates in Finance', and its subject is the budget. It is difficult as one reads to shake off an uncomfortable conviction that the breaking point may have already been reached in taxation. The writer here, too, turns to history for a parallel to illustrate his argument. This time it is to the Napoleonic wars; in some ways, as he shows, the parallel is a remarkably close one. Some helpful comparative figures are also given to enable the reader to gauge the true significance of the present position. But it

must not be supposed that the article is a simple protest on the part of the idle rich. The whole point is that the real harm is to British trade, to the resources of capital upon which it is necessarily vitally dependent. A dispassionate survey is made of the whole economic situation, including the psychological side, at this particular moment certainly not the least important one.

The third article is 'The Gandhi Movement' and, with the Simon Report due in June, probably no other article will be more widely read. It endeavours to explain the true character of Mr. Gandhi's campaign, and the writer gauges the results which it has achieved. The picture is a stormy one, but the account ends in a hopeful note.

Next comes 'The Problem of Japan', obviously from the pen of a writer in a position to appreciate the true inwardness of the situation in the Far East. Japan has, since the war, cut almost as important a figure in our foreign relations as she did in the old days of Anglo-German rivalry. First, there was the question of the renewal of the old Anglo-Japanese Alliance and later the Washington Conference and the question of naval disarmament, and the Geneva failure in 1927. The *Round Table* article does not go into these problems, but it will enable the reader to understand Japanese policy in a way he could not do before, for it will help him to put himself in the position of a Japanese and to appreciate the force of local conditions.

The next article is from Madrid about 'King Alfonso and the Crisis in Spain.' The hitherto successful passage from full dictatorship back, if not to normality, at all events as far as the half-way house on the road there, is bound to have a special interest for post-war Europe, and history comes in here too. A lucid account is given of the rise of free institutions in Spain and the conflict between the Cortes and autocracy from the twelfth century to our own. But possibly the personal note will be the most attractive one for the British reader. Our people have always felt a fondness for the King of Spain. He has often visited this country and his escapes from assassination have aroused so much sympathy that an account of the part which he took in the 1923 coup d'état and the régime of the late Dictator is sure to be read with interest. A concluding chapter considers the future in the light of the national character.

The next subject comes from East Africa upon whose problems the Government is at last about to publish its decision. 'An

Experiment in African Education in Kenya' strikes a lighter note than the other articles, but none of them is likely to be more instructive. It is a picture of a personal experience which brings out one of the most promising ways which has yet been tried of helping the African native to rise in the scale. The usual articles on affairs in Great Britain and Ireland follow. The first deals with the recent Liberal-Labour collaboration, and sums up the present position of the Government in the light of its domestic difficulties and its achievements in foreign affairs. The article from the Irish Free State describes the political crisis Mr. Cosgrave recently weathered so successfully, and there is an interesting Irish view of the report of the recent Conference on the Operation of Dominions Legislation and Merchant Shipping Legislation, which is to come before the next Imperial Conference. The new Irish budget is also described, and there is an account of the economic situation.

Among the articles from the Dominions the British reader will for this June issue naturally turn first to the Canadian and Australian contributions to read about the new tariff changes, so depressing though necessary in Australia, and so hopeful, from our standpoint, in Canada; but in all the articles there are points of interest, the attitude of Parliament, for instance, to the native question in South Africa and the description of the economic position both in that country and in New Zealand. The issue closes with another chapter on Samoa.

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*, Patna Junction, E.I.Ry.
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, Mylapore.
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.

OUR EXCHANGES

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24. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archaeological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).
25. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
26. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
27. *The Servant of India*, Servant of India Society, Poona City.
28. *The Shrine of Wisdom, Aahlu*, 6 Hermon Hill, London, E. 11.
29. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.
30. *The Mysore University Journal*, Mysore University, Mysore.
31. *The People*, 2 Court Street, Post Box 116, Lahore.
32. *The Young Men of India*, The Thottam, Salem.
33. *The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
34. The Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.
35. *Social Science Abstracts*, 611, Payerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.
36. 'Tarikh' Kollah Akbar Jah, Hyderabad (Deccan).
37. The Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State, Gwalior.
38. Verlag Der Asia Major, Leipzig C1, Scherlstr, 2.

Handwritten notes:
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International Congress of the History of Science and Technology

The Second International Congress of the History of Science and Technology is announced to take place in London in July, 1931. It is the particular desire of the President of the Congress that its work should be linked with that of the general historian. The Headquarters is at the Science Museum, South Kensington, London, S.W.7, and further particulars can be obtained from the Honorary Secretary, Mr. H. W. Dickinson.



தமிழ்நாடு ஆவணக்காப்பக நூலகம்,
எழும்பூர், சென்னை-600 008.

தவணைத்தாள்.

சே. எண் :

ப. எண் :

வழங்கிய நாள். (1)	திரும்பிய நாள். (2)	வழங்கிய நாள். (1)	திரும்பிய நாள். (2)
- 9 JUL 1991			
25-9-91			

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