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In order that it may be acceptable to those high placed in Government service, he took the trouble to carry it to Arcot, where there were Muhammadan gentlemen living, with records and books, who could enlighten him. It is there that he came into contact with the Collector of the Subha, 'Col.' William Macleod, as he calls him. He got the account compared through Amir-ud-din Ali, son of Muhammad Murad, the Company's Sadar at Vellore. This Ali introduced him to 'Col.' William Macleod, and, after cautioning him as to the importance of compiling a correct account, Col. Macleod asked the said Ali to hear his account in full and bring him over to him afterwards for his own hearing.

The manuscript consists of four sections: Section 1 contains the history of the Rajas of the lunar line; Section 2 gives the history of the Muhammadan rulers of Delhi; the third section contains a history of the Dekhan comprising the Mahratta and Tulu countries; and the fourth consists of the history of Gingee and the Karnātak (known in British Indian History as Carnatic Payeen ghat). The extract that follows is taken from Section 4, which is much more historical than the previous sections.

The date of the actual composition of the work is fixed by the reference to 'Col.' Macleod. The manuscript writes the name variously, partly due to the blunder of the copyist and partly due to other exigencies. Sometimes it is written *Makrol*, the *la* and the *va* being written sometimes very like each other, and the mistake therefore becoming possible. In the poetical passages the name gets to be written Macleod William instead of William Macleod as in the prose passages, the former being due entirely to the exigencies of verse. Soon after the annexation of Arcot, the British Government at Madras, particularly the Board of Revenue, had to make arrangements for carrying on the revenue administration. They appointed one man and then another to initiate an administration by a new settlement of the revenues, etc. Being a difficult affair, the first Collectors did not prove as great a success as the Board of Revenue wished and they had to be changed rapidly. The officers at the head-quarters were anxious for a large revenue. The men on the spot had a more clear conception of the actualities and struck out for a fairer assessment. So the first Collector had to go and the second Collector had to be changed soon, also through blunders of his own. The third one

appointed was Macleod. He was Major Macleod at the time and 'the Colonel' of the manuscript may be merely a courtesy rank popularly given. The Government of Fort St. George felt the need for arranging for the proper government of the new acquisition, and divided the territory of the Nawab of Arcot that they annexed into a northern and a southern Arcot, Palar being the dividing line. Arcot was annexed in 1801, and Macleod, the third Collector who succeeded about the end of the year 1802, remained in office till March 1804, when, owing to the inexorable character of the Board of Revenue, he was compelled to take leave 'on grounds of ill-health.' The manuscript therefore must have been composed during the fourteen months of the administration of 'Col.' Macleod. We may therefore take it that the work was compiled in 1803.

The story of Raja Desing, as we find it in this manuscript, is very sober and bears on the face of it the impress of an account of a contemporary character. Probably Narayana Pillai heard the account from those that were actually living in the vicinity when Raja Dēsing and his father Surup Singh were conducting the administration of Gingee, that is, the period 1699 to A.D. 1714. The account starts with the fall of Gingee to Zulfikar Khan, the Mogul general under Aurangzeb who was deputed to take possession of Gingee after the fall of Bijapur and Golkonda. The story of the wars round Gingee and its ultimate fall are well known, though the details are not quite so well established. The first fact that lends itself to investigation as a test is the date of the fall of Gingee and what took place immediately after. Even Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his voluminous work on Aurangzeb leaves the question open. He quotes the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* which gives a discrepant date, and the correction that the learned author suggests is also of an uncertain character. The next authority that he quotes is one in which he has full confidence, that is, *Nushak-i Dilkusha* of Bhimasen, the Agent of Dalpat Rao Bundela, the officer of Aurangzeb. According to him, the fort fell on a *Sankarānti*, which he tries to interpret as the 2nd of January or the 31st, as either of them marks the entry of the sun into one of the signs of the zodiac, such entry being termed *Sankaramāṇa* or *Sankarānti*. He also quotes the further authority of the *Diary and Consultation of Fort St. George*, where there is an entry that on the 2nd of January, 1698, that all but one of the fortresses



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RAJA DESING OF GINGEE

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

Raja Desing of Gingee¹

(An episode in the History of the Moghal Carnatic)

BY

RAO BAHADUR

DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., HON. PH. D.

THE following extract is taken from the section bearing on the history of Gingee from a manuscript folio book in the Mackenzie collection. The book as a whole purports to be a history of the Rajas of the lunar line and other Hindu rulers. It was written by one Narayana Pillai, son of Kallaha Rama Ranga Pillai and a descendant of the shepherd, Ananda Koil Kovalan, the founder and ruler of Gingee and Padaivīdu. Narayanan composed this history from what he had learnt either from books or by hearsay from the members of his family and other elders of the place. He says that he compared his account with large books on history (Tavārik), such as Firishta and other works. He submitted his account for verification to Muhammadan amirs of age and others well learned in Tamil. Having collected his information in this way, he has made an effort to compile an account which appeared to be acceptable to his historical sense.

¹ Presented in the first instance to the Indian Historical Records Commission—Gwalior Session. Reprinted by permission with additional notes, etc.

at Gingee had fallen to Zulfikar Khan.¹ Now our authority here gives a precise date, namely, the Fasli year 1107, the year Îsvara, the month of Tai, day two, equivalent to Saturday, the 31st December, 1697, in modern computation. The entry in the *Fort St. George Diary* has reference to the 2nd of January. It would be three days from the date actually given here. The *Masir-i-Alamgiri* is certainly wrong, though perhaps it is the official account. Bhimsen comes rather near to correctness if his datum that the fort fell on a *Sankarānti* should be properly interpreted. According to this account, the fort actually fell on the second of *Tai*. The first of *Tai* is generally known as *Sankarānti* in these parts and is an agricultural festival for all people who celebrate it as *Sankarānti* not only the orthodox Brahman marking the entry of the sun into a new house of the zodiac. It happens to be the tenth house here. Bhimsen's reference to a *Sankarānti* therefore is not the monthly entry of the sun, but the special *Sankarānti* which usually comes about the middle of January now. It happened to be for that year on the 30th of December. On the 31st also the *Pongal* continues, which is sometimes spoken of also as *Sankarānti* loosely, and Bhimsen might have so heard it. That this was so can be inferred from the Fort St. George records in a letter to William Hatsell, Governor of Fort St. David. The Council of Fort St. George communicated: 'there is a report here that Zulphaker Cawn had got up his flag upon one of the hills of Gingee, and makes a show as if he had really intended to take the place; a little time will show the truth,' on the 28th of December. Then, Gingee had not fallen. Another entry, dated the 11th of January, 1698, in a letter to the same party states: 'It is certain that Zulphaker Cawn had taken Gingee' and wants Fort St. David to be careful and be prepared for an attack. The letter refers to a communication from Fort St. David, dated the

¹ M.A. 331 explicitly says that Gingee was captured on 6th Shaban forty-first year of Aurangzeb (7th February, 1698). The *Madras Diary* of 2nd January, 1698, records: 'A letter from Amir Jahan from the Mughal camp received to-day advises that the Nawab has taken the Gingee forts all but one which also offers to capitulate.' If we read *Rajah* instead of Shaban in M.A., we get 8th January. Bhimsen (133a) says that the fort fell on a *Sankarānti*, which would give 2nd or 31st January. Chitnis (ii. 58) as usual is grossly incorrect, giving *Chaitra pratipad Sudi* 1618 = 23rd March, 1696, as the date of the capture'. Sarkar's Aurangzeb v., p. 108 n.

5th January, giving the news to them, and the letter in reply agrees with the view expressed by Mr. Hatsell. Therefore, then, Gingee must have fallen before the 5th of January, and the actual date of the fall must be between the 28th of December, 1697, and the 5th of January, 1698. Having regard to the general statement, that Gingee fell on a *Sankarānti*, that is, the 30th of December, 1697, our record comes as close to a precisely correct date as it is possible in the circumstances, in whatever manner the author had acquired the date. The actual difference between the 30th *Sankarānti* and the 31st of the chronicle may be one of looseness of language regarding *Sankarānti* of Bhimsen, or of the fort having actually fallen or taken to have, before sunrise.

The next point in which this account differs materially from those of the others is the circumstances and the character of the retirement of Rajaram from Gingee. As Professor Sarkar's account has it, Rajaram was just able to take himself away leaving behind even his wives and children,¹ and that, while the Nawab offered them escort and arranged to send them away, one of them declined to accept the hospitality of the Nawab, and, dropping herself down a sheer precipice, lost her life.² To begin with, this seems to be rather against the complaint of collusiveness, which, on all hands, has been ascribed to Zulfikar Khan's prosecution of the siege of Gingee, and his unwillingness to take the fortress, lest the fall of the fortress should free the army and make it available for Aurangzeb to send it out on a distant expedition to the North-Western Frontier, which the general and the army alike disliked. The account of Narayana Pillai here is that all the while the Nawab was feigning an attack, and whenever it was proposed to make an attack, Rajaram had previous intimation,

¹ The Maratha royal family begged for safety, which was promised to them, and *palkis* were sent for their conveyance. Four wives, three sons and two daughters of Rajaram now came out of the citadel and were kept in honourable captivity. Another wife of the Rajah avoided surrender; she flung herself down from the summit of the fort into the sheer depths below. Her head struck a projecting rock and she was killed instantly, but her mangled corpse was caught in the branches of a tree on the hillside at an inaccessible place and there it lay without funeral. Nearly 4,000 men, women and children were found in the fort, but very few combatants. (*Dil.* 124). *Ibid.*, p. 108.

² *Letters from Fort St. George, 1698: letter, dated 1st March.*—'There are Credible reports that the Morattas who lately came to Vellore have carried away Ramaraja with them and that the Nabob three dayes since out from Wandavas for Vellore with the Army onely, leaving the Baggage att Wandavas.'

as the Company's records bear out. As on this occasion, the Nawab was compelled to make a serious attack, on the representation of Yāchamanāyaka at Venkaṭagiri, the attack was made after the said Nāyaka had been killed by Zulfikhar Khan. It is difficult to believe that Rajaram had no intimation of it. Whether Zulfikhar Khan gave intimation or no, Rajaram apparently had intimation of what was taking place in the Nawab's camp and planned his retreat accordingly. He seems to have taken a somewhat sequestered way out of the fort with all his family and entourage, and got out of the fort in the night safely unknown to the besiegers. From various references in the records of Fort St. George, he loitered about the Karnāṭak and remained in Vellore till a contingent of 3,000 Mahratta horse came from Poona and took him safely from Vellore in the month of March following¹. In the light of these, therefore, the account of Bhimsen may not be exactly correct in details.

Practically all the year 1698 Zulfikar Khan was making his own arrangements and Daud Khan was ultimately put in charge when Zulfikar left for the imperial camp. The Fort St. David correspondence gives us clear indication of it. It was in the year following that the imperial rescript was sent ordering the appointment of a Bundela chieftain, Surup Singh, as Killadhar of Gingee and superseded the temporary arrangements made by Zulfikar Khan. Surup Singh is said

¹ *Letters from Fort St. George, 1698, letter, dated 4th March.*—'But it hath happened in this juncture 4 or 5,000 Morāttas came to Vellore, whither Ramaraja had escaped from Chingee which obliged the Nabob to carry his Army thither. Ramraja upon that news is gone from Vellore with the said Morattas, and the Nabob follows them, but probably no further then the extent of his Counrey, and his returne is expected suddainly after which itt will appear whether he do's really design to trouble us. Att present wee can make no judgment having yet received no answer to the Letters sent him so that wee find reason to confirme the caution given you in the inclosed, and the rather because the last letters received from Fort St. David yesterday give an account of their advices, that Seilim Cawn doth threaten and prepar for another assault of Cuddalore.'

Letters from Fort St. George, 1698, letter, dated 8th March.—'Spye Bramines from the Camp advise that the Nabob hath followed after Ramraja as far as Gurrum (c) unda and that from thence the Nabob will returne to Sautgur and from thence to Arcott to keep the Ramzan. Amerjeahan is gone with the Camp, but there is no Letter from him since he sett out from Wandevas, so soon as wee heare anything from him shall communicate itt to you'.

Letters from Fort St. George, 1698, letter, dated 28th March.—'Last night our peons came from the camp who advise that the camp was 8 days agoe beyond Gurrungunda, and that the Nabob designed to go (after hee had finished some business with Polligars) against Vellore.'

to have been a man in personal attendance upon 'the Bundela chief'. The account leaves it open whether he was dependent on Dalpat Ray Bundela, or another Bundelkhand chieftain. He was appointed Killedhar and succeeded to the responsibilities of the Nawab of the Karnāṭak over all the territory appertaining to the province of Gingee. We need not go through all the details of the administration of Surup Singh, which is not exactly our concern, nor does the account publish many details regarding these. Apparently Surup Singh conducted himself as an efficient administrator and carried on the administration to the satisfaction of the *Faujdar* of Arcot, Daud Khan. Daud Khan retired from Arcot in 1704 and Surup Singh continued, perhaps with more power, under his successor Sadat-ullah Khan and the Dewan Dakhni Roy. There was apparently no trouble during Bahadur Shah's reign except perhaps that Surup Singh took advantage of the change in headquarters to be slack in the payment of the monies due. It is the accession of Faruksiyar who took the throne, and the assumption of power by the Sayyad brothers, that brought to the notice this remissness of Surup Singh. A demand was accordingly made, and perhaps Surup Singh found it impossible to get out of the bargain; he managed to pay up the arrears and put himself fair and square with respect to his imperial master. But the accession of Faruksiyar and the changes that followed in quick succession upset much, and perhaps it was the new order of things in regard to the governorships that made the position of Surup Singh somewhat delicate. But he managed to live it down and died without having settled the question. In these circumstances, his son Dēśing happened to be, at the time of the last illness of his father, in Bundelkhand. He naturally marched at the head of an escort, and his taking possession of Gingee in succession to his father was the beginning of the trouble. The matter in dispute between Dēśing and Nawab Sadat-ullah Khan was one almost exactly the same as that between the British at Fort St. David and the Nawabs of the Karnāṭak and the Killedhars of Gingee. The question of the right of possession by grant of a *firman* in this particular case, the imperial *firman* of Aurangzeb, and whether a subsequent *firman* of Faruksiyar could overthrow a title established through a period of more than twelve years. Dēśing took the line of Aurangzeb's *firman* to his father giving them absolute right of the Killadhari, while the Nawab held, in behalf of Faruksiyar, that

a succession was not valid unless the emperor for the time being approved of it. The ten months' rule of Raja Dēśing was one, on this account, of opposition and ended in a campaign conducted by Nawab Sadat-ullah Khan against Gingee. Raja Dēśing fought heroically against tremendous odds and fell fighting.

The simple story of Dēśing's succession and history has been magnified into a romance, and all that was known hitherto was an almost fabulous account of Dēśing incorporated in a popular ballad that is being sung ordinarily by people of all classes in the Tamil country. The account of the ballad begins with a very highly coloured, and absolutely mythical, account of the character of the horse, which he rode. He is said to have got it from the Sultan of Delhi, who, in admiration of his success in taming the beast, gave his daughter in marriage with a *jaghir*. In the ballad, the name of the father is wrongly given, and he is provided even with an uncle, which does not appear in the other account. The account of Narayana Pillai, however, makes it intelligibly historical. Dēśing, on his way from Bundelkhand up to his father's head-quarters, passed through Beḍnur, and obtained from the Raja of Beḍnur, in return for the assistance that he rendered, a particularly spirited horse, which he rode through all his battle. The story is something like Alexander and Beucephalus and no more. His own guard was 350 horse. He had a body of 500 *killadhari* soldiers. This is of course a slender force in comparison with the resources of the Nawab, and he fought like a hero. He succeeded in killing Dowlat Khan, the general of the Nawab, on the back of his elephant, and almost succeeded in taking the life of the Nawab himself by means of his splendid horse. There being no way of escape from the field of battle with his slender force, the Nawab made every attempt to capture him alive. He had, however, to be shot down at the critical moment to save the Nawab being killed. There is a representation of the last battle on a stone slab preserved in the Museum. Recently a writer in the *Madras Mail* gave this illustration and his own account of Raja Dēśing. There are also Tamil books written upon the story of Raja Dēśing, which young boys read in schools claiming to be historical expositions though they show but slender knowledge of history.

The Tamil name Dēśing stands for Tej Singh in Sanskrit. He was the son not of Thēraṇi Singh but of Surup Singh of Bundelkhand.

He had a personal friend in the son of the *killadhar* of Vaḷudāvūr, a young Muhammadan by name Mohabat Khan who, with two of his own intimate friends, stood staunchly loyal to his friend and fought like Leonidas' 300 in the fight. Toḍar Mall occupied a position of something like a Foreign Secretary to the Nawab of Arcot, a high caste Hindu, a man of culture and of capacity. He tried by peaceful means to bring Dēśing to reason and failed, and reported to his master that if Dēśing is to be tamed, it should only be by fight and not by arguments. Nawab Sadat-ullah Khan began life as a clever Secretary, and was a capable and well-meaning administrator who wanted no war in particular, till it was forced upon him. The account of Narayana Pillai in regard to this is quite sober and narrates the events in a manner to carry conviction as a true account, in whatever manner he came by his knowledge. He was a native of Gingee apparently, and could write but indifferent Tamil. His account is written in a brogue, a sort of hybrid between bazaar Tamil and the official Hindustani written Tamil. He could, however, state the incidents clearly and observe the sequence. As he claims in the preface, he seems to have had some little critical power and applied it usefully. He sometimes offers opinions, perhaps without adequate knowledge, and does not show himself a partisan of Dēśing. He shows himself rather the other way. The narrative presented of Dēśing probably conveys all the correct history of the hero and his short ten months' rule of Gingee.

The date of the death of Dēśing is precisely given in the narrative, and the details given are found to be correct according to the *Indian Ephemeris* of the late Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, corresponding to Sunday, 3rd October, 1714.¹

¹ Wheeler, *Madras in Olden Times*, p. 337.—'Saturday, October 9, 1714.—General Letter from the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort St. David, dated the 6th instant, advising that our Nabob Sadat-ulla Khan had drawn all his forces round Ginjee, and summoned Serope Singh's son to surrender, upon pretence of an order from Court to take possession of that place; which he refused to do, and making a desperate sally with about 300 Rajpoots, was very near killing the Nabob, having cut the harness of his elephant with his own hands. But timely succour coming in to the Nabob's rescue, Tejah Singh, Serope Singh's son; with Mohabut Khan and several others of the principal men belonging to Ginjee, were overpowered and cut off, so that it is believed Ginjee will surrender in a few days.' On the 15th of November the news arrived that Ginjee was captured by Sadatulla Khan.

(TRANSLATION OF NARAYANA PILLAI'S ACCOUNT)

(In the wars of Aurangzeb in the south, the operations round Gingee constitute an important episode, and the siege itself is said to have lasted for a period of twelve years till ultimately it fell. Since the episode of Raja Dēśing arises directly out of the fall of Gingee, we may well begin the story with the fall of the fortress.)

The Nawab¹ having in this manner pretended to be operating seriously carried on the siege of the fortress to the year Fasli 1106 (A.D. 1696). The Nawab so operated in the belief that, if the Padusha had no trouble in Hindustan, the Dakhan or the Karnāṭak, the sepoys would have no work. This was generally known to all. In these circumstances and at this time, Bangāru Yāchamanāyaka wrote a petition to the Padusha that the Nawab Amir-ul-Umara Bahadur was actually helping Rajaram. The Padusha having seen the letter showed it to Nawab Asafud Dowlah Asad Khan, Vazir. The Nawab replied, 'I have been your Vazir for the past fifty years. Never will disloyalty be shown by any of kin to me to the Padusha.' On this the Padusha sent the petition of Yāchamanāyaka enclosed in a *firman* to Amir-ul-Umara. Even Nawab Asad Khan Bahadur wrote to his son, Nawab Amir-ul-Umara, indicating that disloyalty would become ascribable to him through the son's conduct. The Amir-ul-Umara having seen the *firman* of the Padusha and the letter from his father, cut off the head of Yāchamanāyaka.

While this was the condition of affairs in camp, there arrived from the Padusha to the Nawab money and reinforcements under the command of Nawab Daud Khan, Muhammad Syed Kevud, Venkatapati and others. On the arrival of these, the siege of Gingee was pushed on vigorously. Rajaram considered it was no more safe to remain in Gingee. Taking with him from among the Mēlachēri Killedhars, Kandē Rao and others with all the things, and *taking with him his wives and attendants, he was getting ready to quit the fort.* The Nawab was not aware of this. He actually thought that, as the siege had been going on for twelve years, and as even the Padusha's resources were getting almost exhausted, the fortress was actually going to fall. He therefore ordered that the siege might be pressed and efforts made to take it without further delay. Nawab Daud Khan and his contingent

¹ Zulficar Khan, the son of the minister Asad Khan.

attacked Sēnaghaḍi, Kevud and his contingent similarly attacked Krishnaghaḍi, while the Nawab (Amir-ul-Umara) with all the remaining forces sat down in front of the principal entrance to the fortress. In this stage of the siege, Rajaram opened the Tiruvannāmalai gate and, with all his impedimenta, got out of the fort and set forward marching westwards. The army of the Nawab, however, continued the siege, and the fort fell in the year of Fasli 1107, the year *Īsvara* month *Tai*, day 2 (Saturday, 31st December 1697). The fortress gate by which the Nawab entered it was called *Fatēh Dārvaḍa* (victory gate). Hearing that the enemy had escaped, the Nawab's army left the fort and surrounded Rajaram's forces. Rajaram's army fought its way successfully and arrived at Pennāttūr. Attacked again there, they reached Tiruvannāmalai the next day, and breaking camp again there, the army of Rajaram marched through the pass of Chengama to Tirupattur, thence to Kolar and ultimately reached Poona. The Nawab's army pursued them, till they passed the ghats and returned. The Amir Umara, taking possession of Gingee, made arrangements for securing it by making Kakad Khan Killadhar. Khasbur Khan (Gussafur Khan of the *Fort St. George Records*) was made *Foujdar*. Further he made Daud Khan *Foujdar* of the Karnāṭak in accordance with the orders of the headquarters (Huzur) in the year of Fasli 1108¹ (A.D. 1698). Muhammad Sayyed Khan was made Dewan, Lala Daknī Ray was made Dewan Peishkar, Lala Toḍarmal was made Sheristadar of the Karnāṭak. The Amir-ul-Umara gave to Gingee the name Nazrat Ghaḍ².

With a view to taking Tanjore in the Chola country, he marched forward and encamped at Tiruvāḍi (Tiruvaiyār). The Bhosla or Bhonsla king³ of Tanjore, *Ekoji-Tukaji*, sent his wakil and, by paying *Nazar* and contributions for the expenses of the troops, he came to an agreement by undertaking to pay tribute. Similarly the Nayak-Raja of Trichinopoly and the Rajas of Ramnad and Sivaganga were put under tribute. While the Nawab Amir-ul-Umara was making these arrangements, information reached the Padusha that Yāchamanāyaka

¹ In the account, the figure for 100 is inadvertently omitted.

² The full name of the Nawab is Amir-ul-Umara Zulficar Khan Bahadur Nazarath Jung. The name Nazarath apparently was taken from a part of his full title.

³ Written by an error Kosala.

had been killed. The Padusha sent forward orders that the late Nayak's son, Kumâra Yâchamanâyaka, be installed in his place with a suitable *Mansab* and *Jaghir*. The Amir sent for Kumâra Yâchamanâyaka, communicated to him the orders of the Padusha and gave him the *Jaghir* of Venkaṭagirikoṭah. To the contingent sent forward by the Raja of Jeypore under Sirdar Śivanath Singh, the Nawab presented *Jaghirs* both to the Commander and to the Sepoys in the districts of Gingee, Tiruvannâmalai and Tiruvâḍi and in the places under the irrigation districts of the anicut at Tiruvannainallûr. Śivanath Singh was under the same orders given the *killedhari* of Chengi, Madanmust and Dēśur. In addition to a *Mansab*, Śivanath Singh came into possession of these *Killedhars* in Fasli 1107, year Iśvara. In these circumstances, Padusha Alamghir sent Surup Singh with a *Mansab* of 2,000, a *jaghir* of twelve lakhs and the *killedhari* of Gingee. Surup Singh was a man in immediate attendance on the Raja of Bundelkhand, Surup Singh by name. He took the man from the Raja, and, giving him the title of Surup Singh, sent him on to the Nawab Amir-ul-Umara with the *firman* above mentioned. Under this *firman*, the Nawab, Amir-ul-Umara gave him the *killedhari* of Gingee and sent him with the order to Kisafar Khan (the Gussafar Khan of the *Company's Records*) and Kakadkhan. Surup Singh entered office as *Killedhar* of Gingee in the year of Fasli 1110, year *Vikrama*, (or A. D. 1700) and took possession of the fortress of Gingee. Killedhar Kisfar Khan and Foudar Kakad Khan retired and joined the army of the Nawab. Payya Ramakrishna was appointed *Vak Navis* (Secretary). Shaik Nur was appointed head of the guard. Shikar Udaya Ram became *Jupya Navis*. Chalchiram became *Tahavildar*. Śrī Ram became *Hazar Amani*. Other officials like *Hazar Mendi*, *Hazar Thopachi* and others of the Padushayi service numbering 5,000 remained as khilla *dhainâth* under the orders of the Nawab. Surup Singh kept with him this *dhainâth* 5,000 along with his own three hundred horse, took possession of his own *Jaghir* of the *eight veli parganah* in Gingee, Valudâvûr, Tinḍivanam, Tiruvâmâttûr, Aśapûr, Tirukkôvilûr, Vēṭṭaivanam and places like that. Nawab Amir-ul-Umara Zulfikar Khan Bahadur Nazrath Jung, in accordance with the orders of the Padusha, made over the *foujdari* of the Karnatak to Daud Khan as *Foudar*, Muhammad Sayyad Khan as Dewan, Todar Mall as Sheristadar, and reached Aurangabad in the same year *Vikrama*. Nawab Daud Khan, taking his

army with him, encamped himself on the south bank of the Palar as usual and remained there in camp. That place has since become the town of Arcot. Remaining there he conducted the work of the *Foujdari* of the Karnatak on the lines laid down by his predecessors, particularly by Nawab Amir-ul-Umara, collecting the *nazar* and *peishkush* arranged for him from the *Killedhars*, *Jaghirdars*, *Mansabdars*, the *Poligars* who were established from the time of the Rajas and others. He also sent out *Amildars* for collecting the *amani* dues from the *khalsa* lands, the revenues from the *koṭi* at Bhandar (Masulipatam) and remitted to the Huzur the 15 lakhs, the *Irsal* amount according to the *Ijari*. He built for himself a bungalow in Mylapore and fortified the town. He conducted the administration with justice and remained in Arcot till the fasli year 1114 (A. D. 1704).

In these circumstances and, in accordance with the orders of the Padusha Alamghir (Aurangzeb), he appointed Muhammad Sayyad Khan Dewan to carry on the administration officiating in his place (*Kathiyâri*) and left for the imperial head-quarters leaving instructions that Sayyad Khan should write to him regular reports and arrange for sending out an agent to him also. In accordance with these instructions, Sayyad Khan carried on his administration appointing Roy Dakhiniray as his Dewan. He got for his elder brother, Ghulam Ali Khan, the *Killedhari* of Velur by recommending to the head-quarters and obtaining their *firman* and *tasvisnâma*. Ghulam Ali Khan thus got the *Killedhari* of Velur with a *mansab* of one thousand. He also wrote his reports and obtained the necessary *firman* and *tasvisnâma* in favour of the *Killedhars* of his own choice for the Karnatakghaḍi, Kailâsghaḍi, Wandivash, Timir and other places in the Karnatak already. The Padusha accordingly sent to Sayyad Khan a *mansab* of 3,000 and the title Sadat-ullah Khan. Nawab Sadat-ullah Khan proved a good administrator of the Karnatak keeping himself on good terms with the *Jaghirdars* of the Karnatak and the Rajas of Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Madura and Venkaṭagiri, collecting from them the due *peishkush* as well as the other revenues from the *Sircar* taluks according to the established arrangements. He collected the dues with justice and remitted the dues to the head-quarters along with the accounts at the fixed time. He also managed to be on good terms with the officials of the Dewan's Office (*mutسادis*) by means of gifts, *takhrîr* and *paridana*. While everybody concerned spoke well of him, the Padusha

was greatly pleased with him as a very efficient administrator, fully justifying the expectations of his youth as a very intelligent young man. About this time, Padusha Alamghir died and was succeeded by his son who let the administration of the Karnātak go on as before. The Nawab conducted himself in his days by remitting regularly the *Izara* due to the *Sircar*, the tribute due from the Karnātak by way of *nazar* and the usual durbar expenditure. When afterwards Faruksiyar succeeded as Padusha, the *Killedhar* of Gingee Surup Singh had become a regular defaulter for ten years without sending even the *peishcush* or *Nazar*, and otherwise taking forcible possession of the *Sircar Khalsa* villages and disregarding the order of the *Foujdari* in regard to these matters. Sadat-ullah Khan therefore intimated the matter in his report to the Padusha and made a separate report that Surup Singh owed to the *Foujdari* 70 lakhs of rupees, filing accounts to prove it. Having examined the accounts and reports, the Padusha in anger threw Surup Singh's Vakil into prison and ordered that he might write to Surup Singh to pay up the seventy lakhs of rupees to the *Foujdari* of the Karnātak. In this state of affairs certain of the Amirs in the court spoke in favour of Surup Singh and presented his case favourably to court. The agent of Sadat-ullah Khan, on the contrary, by name Tipudas, worked through the agency of the court Daroga Kutbudin undertaking to pay two lakhs of rupees to the durbar for expenditure through the Bukansi Kasidas' business house (*Khuti*). He also filed a *darkhast* in these terms at the Huzur office. Having seen these, the Padusha sent out a *firman* informing Sadat-ullah Khan of this and issued orders on these terms to Surup Singh.¹ Having learnt

¹ Wheeler, *Madras in Olden Times*, p. 323.

'Zulfikar Khan being cut off, there came immediate orders from Court to re-assume all the lands and villages that were granted him in these parts by Aurangzebe, in consideration of his good services in the conquest of the Ginjee country. Accordingly the Dewan Sadat-ulla Khan sent us a summons to deliver up Egmore, etc., villages granted us by Zulfikar Khan on account of the assistance we gave him with ammunition, and what else he wanted to carry on his designs. We have hitherto staved this business off with good words and pleading our rights; and when the new Nabob (Nizam) comes nearer, we will endeavour to get our grant confirmed. In the meantime, if any force is used to take them from us, we resolve to defend them as well as we can. We are in daily expectation that our Dewan Sadat-ulla Khan will be turned out, as having been a creature and vassal of Zulfikar Khan. For which reason, we avoid purchasing his friendship in this matter by presents.'

from news letters of all that had taken place, Surup Singh was sorrow-stricken and, falling ill, died sometime after.¹ News of this illness reached the house of Surup Singh in Bundelkhand.

Dēśing (Tej Singh), the son of Surup Singh, immediately started with his wife and fifty horse and attendants, and arrived at Bidanur (Bednur) in the Karnatak. At that time the Raja of Bidanur was much troubled by the Mahratta Sardars between whom and himself frequent skirmishes were taking place. Having heard of Raja Dēśing's arrival, the Raja of Bidanur urged the friendship of Dēśing's father, Surup Singh, the *Killedhar* of Gingee and persuaded Dēśing to render him assistance, by showing him letters received from Surup Singh. After due consideration of the proposal, and, on the representation of the chief officials of Bidanur who carried the letter, Raja Dēśing agreed to assist the Raja of Bidanur and attacked his enemies with his own forces. His contingent distinguished itself and succeeded in turning back the assailants. The Raja of Bidanur in return paid one lakh of rupees and made him a present, with great pleasure, of an extraordinarily good horse in his stables, which nobody had been able to ride before. The animal actually cost him twelve thousand rupees. Having heard the description of the horse, Dēśing proceeded to the stables and found the animal tame at his approach. Dēśing was able to ride the animal without trouble and thus secured the present for himself in addition to the money, the dress and jewels. With all these, he arrived at Gingee. Surup Singh had died in the meanwhile, while Dēśing was still on the way from Bundelkhand to Bidanur.² Reaching Gingee, Dēśing performed the funeral ceremonies of his father and assumed authority as *Killedhar*. The *Killedhari* officials of Surup Singh paid the *nazar* and acknowledged him as his

¹ A day or two before 20th December, 1713, Fort. St. George, Consultation, dated 24th December 1713.

² 'ffrom Thoms Frederick Esqr. Deputy. Governr. of Fort St. David, dated 20th. inst. advising the death of Serope Sing Rajah of Chingee.'

* There is an apparent discrepancy here. The narrative seems to imply that Dēśing started on hearing of the death of Surup Singh. But what actually seems to have taken place, according to the narrative as a whole, is that the information of Surup Singh's illness reached his house in Bundelkhand. Raja Dēśing left with his wife and a slender guard. While he was still on the way south, Surup Singh took ill and died when the son reached Gingee. Information of death reached Bundelkhand only then.

successor, while the Padushayi officials, such as the *Dhainath Vaknavis* and others did not pay the usual *nazar*. Knowing that Dēśing was a man of quick temper, nobody dared to intimate to him that he should not assume office without the orders of the *Sircar*. Payya Ramakrishna, the *Vaknavis*, however, found a suitable opportunity some time after to point out that he should assume office with the knowledge of the *Sircar* and with the orders of the Padusha where necessary. Failing this, he urged that he ought to obtain orders from Nawab Sadat-ullah Khan.¹

Dēśing replied that his father Surup Singh got the *meras* of Gingee from his Padusha Alamgir, and therefore he was not bound to apply to anybody else, and nobody's orders were therefore required. Payya Ramakrishna kept quiet and six months passed.

Sadat-ullah Khan had information of the death of Surup Singh. But he did not send anybody to take possession of the government of Gingee. He wrote to Raja Dēśing, however, a letter of condolence about the death of his father. Dēśing was exercising his authority over all the taluks of Surup Singh's *Jaghir*. In the meanwhile, there arrived from the Padusha two *harkars* to Arcot (the head-quarters of the Karnatak since the days of Daud Khan) carrying a *firman* to Sadat-ullah Khan, and orders to Surup Singh (the orders that Faruksiyar issued in regard to the seventy lakhs of revenue due). Having read the *firman* from the Padusha, the Nawab Sadat-ullah Khan called the Sheristadar of the Padushayi, Lala Todar Mall (Tamil Tondar Mull), and told him that Raja Dēśing was an irritable young man and therefore to proceed personally to Gingee and show him the *takhid firman* and the letter from himself and take quiet possession of the fortress peacefully as well as the *Jaghir* lands attached thereto, and to send down Raja Dēśing. Todar Mall left Arcot at the head of fifty horse and the necessary equipage and, reaching Gingee, encamped himself near the temple of Venkatarāya Swāmi constructed by Muthiyal Nāyakan. The Padushayi officials of the fort, Payya Ramakrishna and others, came and visited him in camp. Todar Mall intimated to them that he was the bearer of the imperial *firman* to Nawab Sadat-ullah Khan and the *takhid firman* to Killedhar Surup Singh. They examined the *Ināyatnāma* and copies of the *firman* and conveyed the information

¹ See note above.

to Raja Dēśing¹. Raja Dēśing gave them the reply that the fort as well as the *Jaghir* attached thereto were given to his father by Alamgir Padusha, and that he was not prepared to give up the fort. Payya Ramakrishna in reply said that the *firman* from the Padusha and the *Ināyatnāma* of the *Foujdar* were both of them brought to him by the *Mutsadi* who is encamped in Gingee. Whatever Raja Dēśing may have to say in this matter, he ought to speak to him. He pointed out that Todar Mall was a good man as also was the *Foujdar* Sadat-ullah Khan. They assured him that they would not take away the *miraś* from him, but that, if he saw Todar Mall and the *Foujdar* afterwards, they would confirm him in the *killedhari*. Payya Ramakrishna therefore impressed it upon him that he ought to go and see Todar Mall. Agreeing to this, Raja Dēśing at the head of his horses and all the necessary equipage of his father went out riding towards the cremation ground of the Rajas near Mēlachēri. Turning round from there to the temple of Chakraperumāl on the banks of the river and turning towards the fort from there, the Raja came to the tent of Todar Mall. Todar Mall, seeing that the *Killedhar* was coming, went forward to meet him. Dēśing made his salutation without getting down from his horse. Todar Mall felt chagrined and returned to his tent. Dēśing proceeded on his way to the fort. The next morning Todar Mall in his turn came on horseback and reached the court of Dēśing. Being a mild man, Todar Mall felt that he should not make much of the 'characteristic stupidity of the *Bundela*'. He approached Dēśing in due form and presented him the imperial *firman* and the *Foujdar's Ināyatnāma*. When Dēśing got them read out to him, his eyes turned red and, becoming angry, he said that he would not allow the *Jaghir* to be taken possession of by Todar Mall. But, if he persisted, it would result in the rolling of many heads. So saying, he threw down the *firman* of the Padusha and the *Ināyatnāma* of the *Foujdar* towards Todar Mall. Todar Mall took up the documents and returned to the camp. The *Foujdari* officials followed him to the camp

¹ *Madras in Olden Times*, p. 327.

² *Thursday, October 8, 1713*. The present Nabob Sadat-ulla Khan, having received a *firmaun* from the new King Feroksere, confirming him in the Government of these parts; upon which the French and Dutch have presented him each to the amount of a thousand pagodas or thereabouts; and having lately received a message by a horseman from him, that if we do not forthwith deliver up the villages, he intends to come and take possession of them'.

and wanted orders as to how they should conduct themselves.¹ Todar Mall instructed them to go on as ever before in the discharge of their various duties and sent them back.

Todar Mall reported to Nawab Sadat-ullah Khan, the *Faujdar* of the Karnatak, that, if an attempt be made to take forcible possession of the fort, there is likely to be a fight for possession, and pointed out that Raja Dēśing's confidence in the line of conduct that he has adopted was due to the possession of 350 horse of his own and 500 soldiers belonging to his *Killa*. On receipt of this letter the *Faujdar* set his army in motion and a skirmish took place in the plains of Timiri. In the course of a month, the *Faujdar's* forces rose to 5,000 horse and ten thousand foot, besides contingents from Bangāru Yāchamanāyaka of Venkatagiri, from the Nāyak of Kālahasti, from the Poligars, Bommaraja and other *Killadhars*, the whole army totalling thirty thousand. The *Faujdar* having collected all the necessary material for carrying the campaign to the uttermost, arrived in Arni. He was met there by they *Killedhar* of Arni, Venkat Rao. Presenting the usual *nazar* and paying the peishcush, he joined the Nawab with his contingent. After fifteen days' stay, the Nawab broke up his camp and reached Chetput, the *Killa* of Salabat Khan, who met him and made the payments due. He was in camp there for about ten days when Todar Mall joined him. In Gingee, however, Payya Ramakrishna, *Vaknavis*, and the other officials of the *Faujdar* pointed out to Raja Dēśing that the *Faujdar* was in full march with his own army and auxiliary contingents upon Gingee, that the *Faujdar* was authorised to exercise control over all the *Killedhars*, *Jaghirdars* and Rajas of the whole Karnatak and is authorized to receive tribute from them. 'Your father was given a *tākhid firman*

¹ On the matter under dispute the following extract from *Diary and Consultations at Fort St. George* for 1714 is illuminating: p. 143.

'I hope your Excellency will not disturb our quiet possession of Wt. w- formerly purchas'd wth. our money of the Lawfull Owner & has since been confirm'd to us by the Vizier Assid Cawn and his son in the name of the great King Aurg Zeb, & for wch. as well as for all our Antient Rights and privileges we have lately been bond. with. his present Majesty King Farrucksees Husbulhookum as a token of his princely grace and favour for the small unworthy services our people at Patna were able to do for him before he left that place to go for Agra. I have sent an attested Copy of this Royal grant to Latchmarow to lay before your excellency. not doubtg. but as we are always ready to do our utmost for his Majests Service, Yor. Excellency. will continue Yor. favr. and friend to us as usual, & command me in particular when anythg. offers for your Service, wt can I say more.'

for possession of Gingee. It would not do, therefore, in disregard of all these, to persist in the course of hostility adopted by you. Even now if you would visit the *Faujdar* and pay your respects to him, he would recommend to the head-quarters and obtain the *Killedhāri* for you. The *Faujdar* is actually seen at the head of a large force. It is for you to judge on the basis of these facts and adopt a line of action conducive to your interests.' Raja Dēśing gave no answer to this remonstrance. The Nawab's forces encamped at Kadalimalai and entered the territory dependent on Gingee and set about plundering. The army gradually entered Gingee. The forces of the *Killedhāri* did not oppose the *Faujdar's* forces. Seeing this, Raja Dēśing sent to his friend the *Killedhar* of Valudāvūr, which belonged to the estate of his father, and obtained from him the assistance of his son Mohabat Khan and two of his friends at the head of fifty horse. On the arrival of these, Dēśing got ready and mounted his horse. Those that were well inclined towards him pointed out to him that the omens were bad and that it was not proper that he should advance against the *Faujdar's* forces. Declining the advice given, Dēśing went to his wife and telling her that, in case he should not return, she ought to find means to protect her honour. He sent word to all concerned that the army of the Muhammadans was approaching, and, telling those dependent upon him not to follow if they did not care, he set forward at the head of his guard on the road to Arcot. He was followed by 200 horse and Mohabat Khan. Without taking notice of any of the Nawab's forces that met them, they reached the banks of Varāhanadi, which was in full flood, as it was the month of October-November. After waiting there for just a short while, he spurred his horse into the flood, followed by Mohabat Khan and about a hundred horse, and reached the other bank of the river. The remainder of the force stood on the other bank alone. The river was not big and, even when it was in floods, it would be possible for them to cross it by waiting a few hours. But Dēśing had no consideration for these and marched forward at the head of a hundred horse against the Nawab's forces. Information of this having reached the *Faujdar*, he sent forward Dowlat Khan at the head of a contingent with instruction to fight him and capture him alive, and himself got ready and mounted his elephant. Dowlat Khan, seeing Dēśing approach at the head of a slender force of about a hundred horse, ordered his forces

to spread out and surround the small force coming against him, himself approaching with a view to capture Dēśing. Dēśing and Mohabat Khan attacked Dowlat Khan's forces, fought for some time vigorously till each of the forces lost fifty men. Of the followers of Dēśing a few fled. Mohabat Khan and his two friends stuck close to Dēśing and stood with him. They fought hard killing a number of the enemy, till they themselves were killed in their turn. Dēśing left alone was in terrible anger and wished to kill Dowlat Khan on the back of his elephant. Leaving therefore the Khan's main army, Dēśing rode up to his elephant. Dowlat Khan cried out to his forces not to kill Dēśing, but to capture him alive as that was the order of the *Foujdar*. So saying, he urged forward his elephant and made an effort to capture Raja Deśing. Finding an opportunity in the course of manœuvring, Dēśing urged his horse, which got on to the side of Dowlat Khan's elephant and rearing on its hind-legs, set its fore-legs on the side of the elephant. Dēśing simultaneously pierced Dowlat Khan with his lance and turning round quickly galloped to Gingee. Even after the death of Dowlat Khan, the Nawab *Foujdar* still urged the soldiers to capture Dēśing alive and not to kill him, and moved forward with his own elephant. Dēśing, in his turn, urged his horse, charging the Nawab's elephant. One of the men on the side of the elephant cut off the fore-legs of the horse charging. The horse fell and Dēśing became a footman. Even after this the Nawab still would not permit his men to kill him and wanted that he should be captured alive. He urged his elephant forward and brought it near Dēśing. He was followed closely by Bangāru Yāchamanāyaka on his own elephant similarly urging his men to capture Dēśing. One of the Jamadars of this Nāyak, holding his shield in front as a protection, approached Dēśing with a view to capture him. Dēśing transfixed him with his spear when Yāchamanāyaka ordered that he be struck. One of the sepoys that was ready with his gun loaded and the wick burning, lighted the fuse and shot him dead. The Nawab entered the fort carrying the dead body of Dēśing with him in the year Jaya, month Arpiśi, date 2, corresponding to Fasli 1123, about an hour after sunrise (Sunday, 3rd October, 1714).¹

¹ Saturday the 9th.—'General Letter from the Depty. Governr. and Council of fort St. David, dated the 6th instant read inclosing their Accot. of Cash for last month, and advising that our Nabob had drawn all his forces Round Chingie

The Nawab entered Gingee and proceeding to the fort of Nazaratghaḍi in Padushabagh, and, having seated himself in the Kalyānamahal of the late Surup Singh, saw that the treasury and other places were secured and put under seal. All the officials of the Padushai, the officers of the army that followed him, other Amirs and Rajas and the officials of the Nawab saluted the Nawab and presented him *nazar*. In the fort itself, the Nawab secured the Baratkḥāna, the Chowkipāra and other places, and sent word to the wife of Raja Dēśing and others in the palace of his assumption of government of the fort. Dēśing's wife sent back word that the Nawab was her father, and that she had no wish to continue life after the death of her husband, and requested permission to become *Sati* by ascending his funeral pyre. Finding her immovable from her resolution, the Nawab ordered everything being provided for carrying out her wishes, and gave her the permission she sought. The cremation of the body of Dēśing and the immolation of his wife took place the next morning on the bank of the tank dug by Ram Shetty in the days of Rajaram. The funeral ceremonies were performed by the son of Alup Singh, a nephew of Raja Dēśing, at the expense of the Nawab's treasury. The followers of Dēśing, the Nawab ordered, should continue to hold their places and remain as before. They, however, obtained the permission of the Nawab to raise a new town at the spot near Kadalimalai, where Dēśing fell, and, given a cowl therefor, they built a temple to Dēśing. They also built tombs for Mohabat Khan and the other Muhammadans who fell as well as to the horse of Dēśing. They recovered the corpses of Mohabat Khan and his two friends, and after burying them in the outskirts of Gingee, built tombs over them on the bank of the Setty's tank. They built a flower garden where Dēśing was burnt and planted in the place a pipal and margosa. The *Bundelas* that were in the service of Dēśing obtained permission and returned to Bundelkhand. The Nawab took from Dēśing's Dewan Hanumaji

& Summond Seroop Sing's Son to surrender upon pretence of an order from Court to take possession of that place, which he refus'd to do & making a desperate Salley with about 300 Rashboots was very near killing the Nabob having cut the harness of his Elephant with his own hands, but timely Succours coming in to the Nabobs Rescue, Teja Sing Seroop Sing's Son with Mohabat Cawn and Several others of the principal Men belonging to Chingie overpower'd & cut off so that it is believ'd Chingie will surrender in a few days.'

Pandit, Tiruvengada Pillai and others, charge of their offices and accounts, and sent them out as *Amils* of *Parganas*. He also settled the rents and the taxes after measurements, and granted *kavilnāma* to those of the *petta* (heart of the town). He appointed as the *naib killadhar*, Sadat Tiyyar Khan, his wife's sister's husband along with a suitable *mansab* and *jaghir*. The *Foujdari* was given to Padanda Rao. To the new town that was built where Dēśing fell, they gave the name *Fateh Pett*. Paiyya Ramakrishna and other Padushai officials were allowed to continue in their usual offices. He also appointed *killadhars* and *mutsadis* as well as *sardars* over Rajaghaḍi, Krishnaghaḍi and Śēndarāyan Durga. He gave over Krishnaghaḍi to Kevutam Venkatapati, and, as usual, gave the *jagir* of Pennāttūr with it. For Bhūmikotta he appointed as his *Foujdar*, Azam Ushān, and the office of *navis* was given to Alkhayār. All were placed under the orders of Sadat Tiyyar Khan, and in addition to the already existing *dhayināti* officials, he appointed Siyad Sultan, Abdul Karim, Hayat Khan and others as *Jamadars*. The *Killedhari* was assumed temporarily by Sadat Tiyyar Khan. The office of *Khazi* was given to Muhammad Ali, the son-in-law of the Padushayi *Khazi*, Shaik Abdul Khadar. They also built a Jamah Musjid within the fort and an *Idga* right in front of the Śēṭṭipallam tank. It was such a splendid structure, the like of which 'is not likely to be seen elsewhere.' Dewan Lala Roy Dakhan Ray built a single storied mansion for himself with a garden round it. They also got the date of the capture of Gingee cut out in a stone and had it built in on the steps of the Fāṭēh Darwāja. In this manner, Nawab Sadat-ullah Khan carried on the administration of the Karnāṭak for four years residing in the fort of Gingee. Under the orders of the head-quarters, he exercised authority over the governments of Śrīrangapaṭam, Madura, Trichinopoly, Ramnad, Tanjore, Venkaṭagiri, each under its own ruler. Besides the fifty-four *Killedharis* of the Karnāṭak, he had also authority over the factories of Channapaṭanam (Madras) and Bhandar (Masulipatam). From all these he took the settled *Peiskush* and collected the revenues of the *Khalsa* (state-owned lands). Finding at the end of the four years that the water of Gingee did not agree with him, he made over his authority to the *Naib* (his deputy) and returned to Arcot.

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

By

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VII

I. THE ENGLISH ATTACK ON ARIYĀNKUPPAM

WHILE the situation at Pondicherry was growing worse, news arrived that Chanda Sahib had reached Sāvanūr and Bankāpur with a large body of Maratha horse; and immediately Dupleix wanted that the Diarist should write to him urging him to march to the relief of Pondicherry. This made the Diarist think that the French horse and foot on the Pondicherry side of Ariyānkuppam River should have been in great danger, as otherwise the Governor 'should never have spoken as if already in the enemy's clutches' (24th August, 1748). In the English attack on Ariyānkuppam Fort its works, according to Orme, were sufficient to protect the place from a sudden onset, being 'a triangle regularly fortified with three cavaliers, a deep dry ditch full of pitfalls, and a covered way,'—the officer commanding their troops fell, on which the latter fled, being pursued for some distance by Shaikh Hasan and Ali Khan.¹ Major Goodere, the commanding officer who was killed, was the most experienced officer among the King's troops, 'whose loss left Boscawen with no one competent to

¹ 'Ranga Pillai's account of the attack on Ariyānkuppam is exceedingly disjointed. However it makes it clear that the attack did not only consist of the attempt to storm the Fort, which is all that Orme mentions. That attack was made at day-break by 700 men and failed. Here the greater part of the English loss was incurred. Then followed an attempt 'to gain a lodgment in the village almost adjoining it and there raise a bomb-battery.' This failed because the coolies with the entrenching tools ran away and left the English exposed to the fire of the French batteries on the other side of the river. It was then resolved to retire towards the ships and land cannon and material for a regular siege.' Dodwell's note on the Diarist's account—See foot-note on p. 252 of the English Translation of the *Diary*, vol. v. See map of Pondicherry showing the enviroing redoubts and forts—in the pocket of Garstin's *Manual of the South Arcot District* (1878).

conduct the siege.' This repulse greatly affected the spirits of the English; Boscawen, however, persisted in reducing the fort, landed disciplined soldiers and eight pieces of battering cannon from his ships, while the French erected a battery of heavy cannon on the opposite side of the river, 'to obstruct and enfilade the approaches to the fort.' The English erected a battery in the plain on the south side of the river; but 'such was their neglect in reconnoitring, or their want of skill in their art that, when at day-break they opened the battery, most of the guns were found to be intercepted from the sight of the enemy's by a thick wood.'¹ Not that the French fire was effective at all. Ranga Pillai complained that the French had only small cannon and their fire could not reach the enemy, while their European horse under M. D'Auteuil were afraid of the English fire and had retired within the English bounds. Thus when the English erected another battery and, for greater security, threw up before it an entrenchment, even then the fire on either side did little execution on the other. On the twenty-eighth, the fire of the French from their batteries at the river and at Ariyānkuppam made the enemy retreat from their batteries and breast-works. Two days later (*i.e.*, on the thirtieth) a body of troops including a number of the Volunteer company and horse captured the English battery near the church of Ariyānkuppam and took several of the enemy prisoners including Major Stringer Lawrence, the Major of Fort St. David.² But they had to retreat to the north side of the river, being pursued by a large body of the enemy.³ One of the English shots struck a barrel of powder

¹ Orme, vol. i., p. 100; and also Boscawen's Letter to Corbet, quoted by Dodwell in p. 268—note—of *Diary*, vol. v.

² 'Major Lawrence commanded this day in the entrenchment and rather than participate of the ignominy of taking flight with the troops, remained there with two or three officers; he was disarmed and obliged to surrender himself prisoner to a French trooper, who knowing, it is probable, the value of his prize, immediately hurried him away by the side of his horse to Ariancopang.'—Orme.

³ After the Engineers with Boscawen had failed to construct an effective battery, the Artillery officers were allowed to attempt it and succeeded in opening so galling a fire that this attack was made by the French. Bruce and Lawrence were taken when the English advance-guard gave way on the first assault. Among the Orme Manuscripts catalogued by Hill (*The Orme Collection*) is an account of the Siege of Pondicherry by Lord Clive written in 1762 at Orme's request. (See p. 268). Clive herein remarks on the ignorance of English officers and soldiers at this time in regard to the art of war, an opinion endorsed by Orme. In this account Clive attributed the capture of Lawrence to a panic among the sea-men who formed part of the guard.

and blew up the French battery, in the course of the same day and nearly a hundred men were killed by the explosion.¹ This created a panic; and 'as the enemy's fire reached our people this side of the river and the Ariyānkuppam batteries, the people this side signalled those at the Ariyānkuppam batteries to retreat.' Then the French set fire to the powder, shot, shell and planks and rejoined the main army on the north side of the river, and thereupon the English surrounded Ariyānkuppam, took possession of it and planted two flags there. All the French withdrew to the bound-hedge of Pondicherry; Chanda Sahib's wife and others prepared to depart from Pondicherry; the Diarist wrote: "Hitherto I did not think there was any danger; but now it seems otherwise." Raza Sahib persuaded the Governor to let him go out of the town.

II. THE SIEGE OF PONDICHERRY

Boscawen tried to repair the fort of Ariyānkuppam from 31st August to 5th September, while the French troops remained at the bound-hedge without advancing or doing anything. On the 6th, the English troops marched to the bound-hedge and the French, unable to endure their fire, fled to the gates of Pondicherry and set fire in their flight to the bound-hedge, near which the English had encamped. The town²

¹ The destruction of the battery was immediately followed by a bombardment of the fort with shell; and it blew up in the afternoon.

² The town within its walls extended about a mile from north to south and about 1,100 yards from east to west. It was fortified on the three land-sides with a wall and a rampart, flanked by eleven bastions; and there were two half-bastions at the north and south extremities nearest the sea. These were supplemented by a ditch and an imperfect glacis. The eastern side was defended by several low batteries, cannon mounted on which could command the roads. The citadel or fort was too small to make a prolonged defence. 'The greatest part of the ground lying round the town was inclosed, at a distance of a mile from the walls, by a hedge of large aloes and other thorny plants peculiar to the country, intermixed with great numbers of cocoanut and palm-trees, which altogether formed a defence impenetrable to cavalry, and of very difficult passage to infantry; this inclosure began at the north close by the sea-shore and continued five miles and a half, describing a large segment of a semi-circle, until it joined the river of Ariāncopang to the south, at about a mile and a half from the seashore, and in this part the course of the river served to complete the line of defence. There were five roads leading from the town into the adjacent country and at each of the openings in the hedge was built a redoubt mounted with cannon. It is probable that the hedge, at the same time that it was intended to be a defence against sudden incursions, marked the limits of the territory conceded by the prince of the country to the French, when they first established themselves at Pondicherry; and

was placed in a condition of siege, and there being a large quantity of gunpowder, guns and cannon, all were alarmed. Ranga Pillai wails that the Governor had dishonoured himself by listening to his wife's advice in everything. As if to increase the demoralization, the Governor ordered the pulling down of the Vedapuri Iswaran Temple which lay close beside the Jesuit Church, at the instigation of the Jesuits and ostensibly for military reasons; but when he sent men to pull down a mosque that stood to the west of the Capuchin Church, Abdur Rahman, the leader of the Jamadars, protested and the order had to be revoked. The impression among the people was that justice could not be had, Christians were being unduly favoured and wanton insults were offered to the Hindu idols. It was certainly extremely impolitic on the part of the Governor to have alienated the Hindus by these acts, merely to please his wife and the Capuchins.¹

The English opened a preliminary fire on the 9th, which was done from the sea with a view to divert the attention of the French from the English working parties ashore. The shells, however, did little injury to life and soon the Tamils came to be accustomed to them. On the 11th of September, Paradis marched with all the European and Muhammadan horse, about eight to nine hundred in all, and two cannon, to destroy the batteries that the English were erecting; but

hence obtained the name of Bound-hedge' (Orme, vol. i, p. 101). There was a similar bound-hedge round old Black Town in Madras. The redoubts were named respectively Ariyānkuppam, Villianore, Valudavur and Madras and North. The English forces first took possession of Olukkarai, which was about two miles to the south-west of the town and other places and from thence marched to the bound-hedge, the north-western redoubt of which they attacked; and the French, unable to endure the fire, fled to the gates and set fire to the bound-hedge. They might have defended this and other redoubts easily; but they withdrew the garrisons in all the other redoubts.

The English determined to attack the town on the north-western side and to facilitate communication between the fleet and the camp, their ships were stationed to the north of the town. On the 10th of September, the English troops opened ground. After Paradis' engagement, the English approaches were continued very slowly, 'from a want of experience in such operations.'

¹ The demolition of the temple was attended by wanton breaking and insulting of images ordered by the priests of St. Paul's Church and effected by the *Coffres* and other soldiers. The Diarist thus writes: 'I think the Governor believes that by destroying the temple he has done what no Governor has been able to do for the last fifty years; for even when the King of France wrote thrice to M. Lenoir, himself as powerful as a king, the latter declared it impossible, because all the Tamil inhabitants would have left Pondicherry in a body.' P. 311 of the *Diary*, vol. v. Paradis had converted a temple at Karikal into a fort, which the Rajah of Tanjore had made a complaint of,

the latter lay hid in a trench and opened a sudden and devastating fire when the enemy drew near them. M. Paradis was mortally wounded in the head, while about a hundred were killed and wounded on the French side. The Diarist says that his account of this engagement was based on the information given to him by a European officer who was in the fight.¹ For some days more the English approaches were continued, but 'very slowly, from a want of experience in such operations.' The havoc effected by the spies and peons of Madame Dupleix is related by the Diarist as contributing to the prevailing demoralization and depression in his usual sentimental strain.²

The English approaches were gradually advanced to within 800 yards of the walls, marked by skirmishes and small engagements; while news filtered that Boscawen had written to Fort St. David that as the rains were approaching, he would take the ships to winter at Trincomali or at the Nicobars and that he would renew his attack next January, and meanwhile Ariyānkuppam could be garrisoned with about a thousand men. It was also falsely rumoured that Mr. Floyer, the Governor of Fort St. David, was demanding the return of his men and said to have reproached Rear-Admiral Boscawen with having lost many men before the Ariyānkuppam Fort and with having been able to capture it only when the French had abandoned it.

On the 26th of September, there was a sharp fight near the bound-hedge on the north side between a body of English troops outside and about half the number of French sepoys inside. The English lost a large number of men and were forced to withdraw to their camp in spite of reinforcements having come to them.³ Firing continued

¹ It was in this engagement that Clive distinguished himself with much gallantry in defence of the advanced trench. Clive gave a lively account of this affair in a letter to Orme, regarding the siege of Pondicherry, previously quoted; in this account Clive says that, when Paradis was wounded, the main body withdrew without attacking; but the smaller party did not see this and came right up to the advanced trench when the captain on the English side was killed and two out of their three platoons fled; but Clive's platoon stood fast and drove the enemy back.

² 'But the people fear these English shells less than Madame Dupleix, who accuses them falsely and gets them punished and vexes them more than can be written'. Pp. 347-8 of vol. v of the *Diary*.

³ The Diarist estimates that about 1,500 Europeans should have been sent back to Fort St. David by the English from the day of the fight at Ariyānkuppam till

through the next few days, and they surmised that Boscawen should have resolved to expend all his ammunition 'like a man breaking his pot.' He had come with 22 ships, 7,000 Europeans and cannon, muskets, mortar and other equipment, had been fighting for 40 days (on September 29, 1748) and had been entangled within the bound-hedge for 24 days, 'building his battery and unable to find a means of escape, although hopeless of victory.'¹ The bursting of the monsoon was feared by the English, who had not chosen a good camping ground near the beach to the east where they could easily have landed their men and munitions, but one to the west where it was difficult to get their stores and where the rains would make the swamps and water-courses impassable.² On the night of the 2nd of October, the French were fortunate enough to capture two heavy English guns (24-pounders) which were being landed from the ships. Boscawen, finding the season far advanced, endeavoured to annoy the French as much as possible by his fire and thereby reduce them to a necessity of surrendering. On October 7th, the English ships arranged themselves in two lines in five fathoms of water and began a heavy fire upon the fort and town, which ranged as far

now, besides 400 or 500 Carnatic and Muhammadan sepoys. The English shells did very little damage and the French were bound, according to the stars, to win from the beginning of *Arpisi* (October-November).

¹ The heavy batteries of the English did not open fire till September 20, and even then the French fire was and remained superior. The attack culminated in a fierce cannonade from both sea and land on October 8; but as this failed to produce any perceptible effect, as the monsoon rains were at hand and sickness was prevalent in the English camp, Boscawen embarked his stores on October 13, and withdrew two days later. At the beginning of the siege he had more than 3,600 Europeans, of whom close on a third had either died or been disabled . . . On the whole, the English shells, though they produced at first much fear, did not do much damage or produce a panic owing to their slow movement which enabled people to steer clear of them. Their round shot was much more destructive. 'On the whole the principal feature of Boscawen's bombardment would appear to be its insufficiency; he needed many more and much larger guns to accomplish what he aimed at.' The area of the town and the surrounding tract was too great for the shells to do much damage. Frequently the Diarist complained that the sepoys under Madame Dupleix wasted their grenades and shot in aimless firing.

² After much hard labour the trenches were advanced within 800 yards of the walls, when it was found impossible to carry them on any nearer; for a large morass extended itself before this part of the town, and the French had preserved a back-water, with which they overflowed not only the morass, but likewise all the ground lying between the trenches and the foot of the glacis.' (Orme—vol. i, p. 103).

as the Valudavur gate in the west and even further, while from the landside the firing was equally heavy. The next day the English ships remained anchored abreast of the town and fort; the Admiral's ship hoisted the red flag of action and poured an incessant fire from sunrise to sunset, nearly 32,000 shot and 300 shells, while from the western battery additional shot and shell poured in. 'The fire of the ships reached even the bound-hedge on the west and the fire of the western battery reached the shore on the east.' After a time the French ceased their counter-fire, and in the evening the fleet ceased its hail of shot. On the 9th the French opened fire from their new earth-works and one English battery was destroyed. French fire was regarded by the Diarist to have been superior to that of the English which was certainly quite insufficient for the purpose it had in view. On the 13th, all the ships except that of the Admiral and a bomb-ketch set sail from before the town and anchored off Kottakuppam (a little to the north) taking all the stores and guns of the camp west of Pondicherry. Dupleix ordered Abdul Rahman to attack the English battery and destroy and seize all that could be found there but without effect. On the morning of the fifteenth, the enemy fired parting shots against the bastions and walls. At midnight on that day they set fire to their entrenchments, and having carried their heavy stores to the ships, withdrew to the tents pitched on the high ground to the west of the bound-hedge, abandoning even this on the night of the sixteenth. A party tried to pursue the troops that retreated to Fort St. David, but had to retreat owing to the English in the fort at Ariyānkuppan opening fire. 'From Friday, September 6, when the French forced the bound-hedge, down to October 15, the English fired some days 1,000, 800, 700, 600, 500, 300, 200 rounds, but never less than 100. Never a day passed without the sound of shot and shell.'¹

The effect of the retreat of the English was beneficial to the French position in the Carnatic and added not a little to the general

¹ The *Relation du siege* gives the figures as follows:—English shot 40,000 from both batteries and ships; 1,100 shells from the bomb. Ketch; 4,000 shells from the land-mortar. French shot 24,000, shells 2,000. (*Collection Historique*, p. 342, quoted by Dodwell.) Dupleix wanted the Diarist to arrange a drama about the victories of the French and for the singing of all events that had happened from the beginning of the war up to now,—an illustration of his weakness for show and flattery.

belief in Dupleix's 'good fortune.' The Diarist generally attributed Dupleix's success more to his good fortune than 'to the prudence and foresight of his measures'.

III. DUPLÉIX AND CHANDA SAHIB'S FAMILY

Dupleix's attitude to Chanda Sahib at the beginning of Boscawen's siege was friendly enough, as his arrival in the Carnatic was expected very soon. Anwar-ud-din's troops encamped near Vēttavalam were not strong enough to suppress its rebellious *killedars*. The English, having got over Nasir Jang to their side and got from him *sanads* to Nawab Anwar-ud-din, the *killedars* and others that they should help them, found that no one replied favourably; the Nawab himself, as stated in the previous part, was said to have replied, in response to the English request for help, that he was unable to help them just at present. Dupleix treated Chanda Sahib's wife with disrespect when she left Pondicherry and would not allow Raza Sahib to go away. Mahfuz Khan who was inclined towards the French, experienced great trouble at the hands of Periya Ayya, the Pandari of Vēttavalam, who confessed before his execution that he resisted the Nawab's authority because Mir Asad had given him money to kill the Nawab. Moreover the poligars of the Trichinopoly country were creating havoc; hence Mahfuz Khan, though he was approached by the English for help, would not help them, but stayed on at Gingee. News came from Anwar-ud-din's court that the French would be well advised to make peace with the English by the mediation of the Nawab. It said, 'Mahfuz Khan and the other Muhammadans fear the French but see that the English are strong, and we are uncertain of the issue, though they know it cannot be long deferred.'¹ In these circumstances it will be wise to write promptly to Hussain Sahib (Tahir) 'as the Nawab always does as he advises.'² There was also

¹ From the letter of the French *vakil* at Arcot, quoted by the Diarist in his entry for October 6, 1748.

² A letter quoted by the Diarist said that the English had promised Mahfuz Khan twelve lakhs of rupees if he would join them, raise a battery and encamp at the Villiyanallur gate with his army and that he replied that he would neither help the English nor befriend the French lest he should make both his enemies and so he would not trust their promises. Finally he agreed to help them with 1,500 horse and 3,000 sepoy, while common powder and shots would be supplied to him by the English (Pp. 397-9 of the *Diary*, vol. v.)

the talk of Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore, who was then afraid of an attack from his brother Raza Ali Khan, sending help to the French, but the matter was never seriously thought of. All this made Dupleix very impatient of the Nawab and his indecisive policy, as well as of the delay in the expected arrival of Chanda Sahib. 'The effects of this delay are evident in the treatment which Dupleix accorded to the Navait families resident in Pondicherry.' Annoyed at their inability to give him financial aid, he almost resolved to break with them altogether, and when he found them suffering from fear and apprehension during the siege, 'he let them go elsewhere, detaining only Chanda Sahib's son as a hostage.' Thus, as Prof. Dodwell points out, 'the traditional view of the close and constant friendship between Dupleix and the Navaits left much out of account.'¹

The raising of the siege of Pondicherry by Boscawen left Dupleix still apprehensive of the safety of the road to Madras on which he carefully posted peons to guard the various stages. Dupleix now became anxious to regain the confidence of Chanda Sahib which might have been lost by his harsh attitude towards his family during the siege and asked the Diarist to write to him that 'your wife,

¹ 'Dupleix's policy was not nearly so consistent or far-reaching as has been alleged. He was indeed prepared so early as 1745 to lend money in order to assist Chanda Sahib to become the Nawab. It was a policy in which not only he and his council, but the Company also saw considerable advantages. But those advantages were nothing more than might reasonably be asked by a trading company from a favourable Nawab. They did not include the predominant share in the power of the government, which fell to the French in the Carnatic and the English in Bengal, not in consequence of any deep-laid plan, but simply because the Nawabs were unable, of their own power, to maintain themselves in their respective provinces. In the Carnatic the Moghul organization seems never to have recovered from the effects of the great Maratha raid in 1740-41. The years intervening between that event and 1748 had brought with them murders and anarchy. The death of the Nizam at once released the disruptive forces which had still been held in check by the terror of his name. Murtaza Ali . . . began at once to collect troops, to form designs against Anwar-ud-din at Arcot and possibly to enter into negotiations with Chanda Sahib (as pointed out in the previous section). Another movement indicative of the growing unrest was that of the Hindu principalities of the South—Tanjore and Mysore—who are reported to have planned the restoration of Hindu rule at Trichinopoly. And all this daily reported to Dupleix, bred in him contempt for the statecraft of these princes and nobles, distrust of their good faith and a dim consciousness of the results that might be expected from active and vigorous intervention.' See pp. xvii-xviii of Dodwell's *Introduction*, vol. v.

Ali Dost Khan's wife and others went away against my will, by reason of the troubles; so in order to get them back I stopped your son, using my loan to you as a pretext, merely in order to prevent his departure'. Care was to be taken to produce a good impression on Chanda Sahib and to make him come to Pondicherry in joy. Complimentary letters were also written to Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore, to Nasir Jung and Imam Sahib.

Anwar-ud-din Khan who had meanwhile gone to Trichinopoly to join his son Muhammad Ali, resolved to attack Tanjore as its tribute had been withheld and proceeded two stages on his way with a force of over 7,000 men. The Tondaiman of Pudukottah resolved to join the Nawab, while Muhammad Ali was to march against the Tamil *poligars* of the south. Anwar-ud-din was greatly suffering from want of money, while the *killedars* and *jamadars* were giving much trouble. Dupleix thought that it was now time for Murtaza Ali Khan to seize the country of Arcot. He was anxious to learn the terms on which Abdul Jalil, one of the Nawab's officers, helped the English. There was an exchange of prisoners with the English; and a letter of Boscawen connected with this matter was exaggerated and twisted into an acrimonious retort upon Dupleix.¹

News was received at Pondicherry on November 20, that peace had been made in Europe between the English and the French, letters to this effect having been received by the English at Tellicherry where the sepoys were disbanded and that ambassadors from both sides have met to treat. A letter was received from Rear-Admiral Boscawen that there was to be a suspension of arms for six months from the date of publishing the ambassadors' order in any place; but Dupleix himself had received no confirmation of this news.

(4) THE DESCENT OF CHANDA SAHIB AND MUZAFFAR JANG

From November 24, 1748, to June 26, 1749, there is a gap in the *Diary*, and hence we do not have the interesting details of the concluding negotiations between Dupleix and Chanda Sahib. The information given in the French Company's *Memoir* which was prepared later against Dupleix, was that, towards the end of February 1749, an embassy from Chanda Sahib was received at Pondicherry

¹ Pp. 49-50 of vol. vi of the *Diary*.

and the arrangement that was arrived at was that Dupleix promised the assistance of a body of Europeans to place Chanda Sahib on the *masnad* of Arcot and the latter should at once take into his pay 2,000 French sepoys and grant them the area of Villianallur as *jaghir* which they had long been asking from Nasir Jang in exchange for Madras.¹ We saw that our authorities like Cultru, Orme and Wilks are not definite as to the exact date of Chanda Sahib's release from the hands of the Marathas; and Orme and Wilks give us an account of his participation in the wars between the Poligar of Chitaldrug and the Rani of Bednore, in which he lost his eldest son Abid Sahib. Cultru's theory that he was released from captivity in 1745 without any sort of French intervention is not borne out by the evidence of the Pondicherry Council and Ranga Pillai as to the fact of his captivity in 1746 and 1747. Chanda Sahib did not enter the Carnatic till about a year after this time (*i.e.* when he was released from Maratha captivity in June 1748); and during this period, he should have engaged in his wars with Bednore, Chitaldrug, etc. reported by Orme and Wilks who however differ from one another. Mr. Dodwell thinks that, shortly after his release, Chanda Sahib joined Muzaffar Jang, the governor of Adoni and Bijapur, and was employed in raising money for his new master in the *subah* of Bijapur out of which arose the Bednore and other affairs.² Chanda Sahib's attempts to bring in the Raja of Bednore into subjection to Muzaffar Jung was perhaps animated by 'the vague hope of doing there what he had almost accomplished at Trichinopoly (in 1736-40), and establishing himself in an independent position.'

Hearing of the rumours of Chanda Sahib's approaching descent into the Carnatic, Nawab Anwar-ud-din Khan sent for the French *vakil* at Arcot and told him to write to Pondicherry that his rival's son who was preparing to join his father should not be allowed to remain at Pondicherry and said that he himself would be writing to Dupleix about it.³ And as a usual consequence, the merchants at Arcot were removing their goods and valuables for the sake of safety to Vellore,

¹ Dodwell's *Introduction* to vol. vi of the *Diary*, p. v.

² For the different versions as to these matters, see my Note on pp. 154-7, of the *Journal of Indian History*, vol. viii, part ii, wherein all the available authorities are cited.

³ Diarist's entry for June 28, 1749.

Arni and elsewhere. Anwar-ud-din's letter also informed the French that Nasir Jang was marching with Sayyad Lashkar Khan, 10,000 horse, cannon and a powerful army and that Chanda Sahib, having lost his able son, Abid Sahib, had become, as it were, a lame man.¹

Anwar-ud-din returned to Arcot through Gingee; he sent his family for safety to Trichinopoly fort, settled all arrears of pay due to his sepoys and horsemen and set out in a few days with Mahfuz Khan, the Diwan, Sampati Rao and Hussain Sahib Tahir, *killedar* of Amburgadh and encamped at Ranipet. While making these preparations, he at the same time endeavoured to keep the favour of Muzaffar Jang by writing to him a conciliatory letter². News reached Pondicherry on July 3, 1749, that Muzaffar Jang, having settled the Bednore affair, himself and Chanda Sahib were descending through Anantapur District. It was planned by Chanda Sahib that he would settle with Hirasat Khan, the *killedar* of Arcot and his own son-in-law for five lakhs of rupees, with Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore for 10 lakhs and with Mir Asad Khan Sahib and other *killedars* for 25 lakhs³; and these settlements would be effected as soon as he should reach Satgadh, Vellore and Arcot. Panic increased at Arcot from which the State's money-lenders like Kasi Das Bukkansi departed. It was declared by Raza Sahib that Muzaffar Jang had been invested by

¹ 'I hear that his second son, who lives at Pondicherry, is collecting forces to join his father. No one will hinder him, so permit him to go. You will be blamed if you keep him with you. Therefore on sight of this letter send him out. I write thus by reason of our friendship. On no account permit him to remain with you.'—Quoted by the Diarist, in p. 102 of vol. vi.

² The letter according to the Diarist ran thus :—'I make no difference between you and Nasir Jang; when Nasir Jang was master, I folded my arms, obeyed his orders and paid him tribute; but as you have succeeded Nasir Jang, the accounts and money shall be rendered to you instead of him, and I will obey your orders, and be responsible for the revenues. For the present I have resolved to send you five lakhs of rupees.' A different version of the letter, in which the aged Nawab declared that he did not have the heart to fight with the grandson of his old friend, Nawab Asaf Jah, is given in Burhan-ud-din's *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi* (Book I) now being translated by Md. Husain Nainar.

³ *Vide* the letter of Chanda Sahib to his son Raza Sahib, quoted by the Diarist in his entry for July 3, 1749. The great power to which the Navaits had attained in the Carnatic under the dynasty of Saadat-ullah, persisted even under Anwar-ud-din and in spite of his attempts to suppress them. Burhan-ud-din, quoted above, a protagonist of Anwar-ud-din's family, portrays in vigorous language in various places, the turbulence, insincerity and secret hostility of the Navait leaders, which formed one of the chief contributing factors to the political anarchy of the period.

Ahmad Shah Padshah with a *parwana* for the six *subhas* of the Deccan and that he had actually received the *sanad* and dress of honour about the middle of June, and that in his turn, Chanda Sahib, who joined Muzaffar Jang a few days later with about six to seven thousand horse, had been granted a *sanad* as Nawab of Arcot, Gingee, Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madura with all their dependent territories and forts, supplemented by a new title and a new *jaghir* of three taluks. Both had already set out for Arcot with fourteen thousand horsemen and fourteen or fifteen thousand foot; and Chanda Sahib desired Raza Sahib to join him at the foot of the passes (in the Eastern Ghats) with the Mussalman *Jamadars*, Abdur Rahman and others, and with a body of 2,000 sepoys and 2,000 soldiers, and a large quantity of cannon, mortars, shell, shot, etc.¹. Muzaffar Jang sent Dupleix a dress of honour and letter, which the latter prepared to receive with all the pomp and grandeur with which he used to receive the Nizam's presents. The Diarist makes mention in another place of 4,000 sepoys besides 2,000 soldiers marching along with Raza Sahib. Only 300 European volunteers under d'Auteuil accompanied Raza Sahib. The impression that prevailed was that the old Nawab Anwar-ud-din longed to go to battle and that it would be a good thing if he, with all his years, had another fight and died therein.

The French *vakil*, Subbayyan, was to go to Arcot with letters and *nazars* for Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib and also with copies of the *parwana* granted by the Emperor to the Governor of Pondicherry in Dumas' time for a *mansab* of 4,500 horse and a *naubat* and of Raza Sahib's *parwana* for Villianallur. On July 26th, news reached Pondicherry that, while Anwar-ud-din was about 18 hours' journey to the southward of Arcot, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang were about the same distance to the northward of it. Three days later it was told that Chanda Sahib had certainly reached Pallikonda, which is half way between Ambur and Vellore, but it was not known whether Anwar-ud-din had departed from Singari Pass to the west of Chengama². This

¹ The sepoys, etc., were transferred to Raza Sahib and were to be paid for by him from March 1st. A bond was to be got from him for the total amount due, as well as a *parwana* for Villianallur from him as well; this was supplemented by a declaration and an assurance that Chanda Sahib's *parwana* for the same place was to be issued as soon as he should reach Arcot.

² Chanda Sahib is said to have advanced through the Damalcheruvu Pass, to the north-west of Chittore; the French and their allies effected a junction with him,

was the situation when the Diary abruptly breaks off without giving the details of the preliminaries to the battle of Ambur, the battle itself and the events following it. The thread of the narrative is resumed from September 4.

routed Anwar-ud-din at Ambur and then occupied Arcot. Ambur did not lie on the road which would lead an invading army from Damalcheruvu to Arcot. Mr. Dodwell queries why Anwar-ud-din should have taken his post at Ambur or why Chanda Sahib should have turned aside from Arcot to meet him. Burhanuddin, in his *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*, says that Husain Khan Tahir, the *jagirdar* of Amburgadh, persuaded the Nawab to encamp before his fort, in the plain, with a treacherous motive; and he details the treachery of the Tahiran, as well as the way in which Muzaffar Jang was dissuaded out of his inclination to make peace with the old Nawab.

(To be continued.)

The Main Currents of the 18th Century Indian History

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THE period from 1707 to 1803 is one of the most remarkable periods of Indian history. This is the dawn of the Modern Period; this is the century when the political destiny of India was on the anvil. She was drawn into the currents and cross-currents of world-politics, and her enforced isolation was broken. New powers appeared on her political horizon as a result of the operation of the new world-forces. Consequently there arose new problems for the solution of which she had to depend upon her æons of experience, but that was of no avail to her.

European sea-power and commercialism in their organized strength swept her shores in this century, and seriously disturbed her domestic politics. Their bold operation gave a rude shock to the most cherished ideals of India. Indians had never known that sea-power and commercialism could effectively pave the way for the establishment of an Empire. Empire-building, according to Indian traditions, was the work of great conquerors at the head of vast armies, like Mahommed Ghori, Chingiz Khan, and Babar. Hence no statesman of India viewed with alarm the advent of the Europeans into India. She went her own way, proud of her wealth, and proud of her traditions, heedless of what was going on outside, like her ancient sages indifferent to the clamours of mankind. Her apathy towards all that was outside her four corners made her too self-centred to understand the cause or significance of the arrival of the Europeans on her shores from a distance of thousands of miles. Her statesmen considered them to be a race of harmless traders from whom to get timely aid in their internecine feuds and in return grant some trade privileges. They

had not the slightest notion of their terrible strength, because they were not aware of the source of that strength. Centuries of sea-faring life and commercial enterprise had developed wonderful faculties in them. Added to this was the effect of the other great forces of the time—nationalism in the sphere of politics and rationalism in the sphere of culture. These two are the dominant features of the eighteenth century Europe, and they had harmoniously combined to vitalize that little nation of English people as they had done no others. Strong in the possession of a powerful navy, strong in their ideals of nationalism, and strong in their rationalistic outlook on life, the English were destined to dominate the globe. And India weak on account of her domestic feuds, despotic systems of government and demoralized outlook on life, was sure to go down in a trial of strength and conflict of ideals with them.

The beginning of the century was marked by the fall of the Mughal Empire. Its fall was inevitable, because it had outlived its usefulness and outgrown its efficiency. Governed on the lines of mediæval Empires, it met the fate of the mediæval Empires also. Too unwieldy to be controlled even by an able autocrat, crude in its methods of communication, and lax in discipline, it could not stand the shock of Maratha attack. The Marathas were fired by a new zeal, the zeal for their religion—to safeguard, as it has been crudely expressed, the cow, the Brahmin and the *gods*. This religious zeal was a great factor in their rise, and it was the strongest at a time when the Mughal Empire was rotten to the core. The rise of the Marathas represented the revival of Hinduism. Shivaji's Swarajya was its blossoming and the Maratha confederacy its fruition. The revival began with the Bhakti movement in India and the Pandharpur movement in Maharashtra. Their aim was to unify the atomic elements of Hinduism—the caste-ridden and priest-ridden Hindus, by arousing a deep religious fervour in men and women of all castes. Shivaji, deeply imbued with this spirit, swore to preserve his religion against the encroachment of Islam. The Peshwas also championed the cause of Hinduism, and therefore they had the support of the Rajputs. But a polity arising out of religious fervour generally degenerates into religious trivialities. Caste privileges and caste distinctions soon made themselves felt, and accentuated the political feuds; and ultimately the polity was torn within itself and rendered unfit for existence. Such was the

confederacy of the Marathas that established its sway in India after the downfall of the Mughul Empire.

But long before the Marathas rose under Shivaji, the Europeans had been established in India. Their appearance in India did not evoke any wonder in the minds of Indian statesmen; and even if it did, as in the mind of Baji Rao I., their ignorance about the working of the great world-forces left not a shadow of suspicion in their mind about the dreaded might of the Europeans. They were, on the other hand, welcomed into their midst and treated with remarkable consideration. The consequence was that, at a time when the Mughal Empire was succumbing to the double attack of the North-westerners and the Marathas, and a host of independent States were rising in the country—in Hyderabad, Mysore, Oudh, Bengal, etc., the Europeans fortified their possessions, and aimed at founding dominions in India. The decline of the Portuguese and the indifference of the Dutch had left the English and the French as the only European rivals in India. They fought for commercial supremacy and political prestige. There ensued, therefore, a long struggle which resulted in the ultimate triumph of the English.

In the meanwhile, the Marathas had dominated nearly all India. From the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, all powers trembled before them. But theirs was predominantly a land-power, working on the lines of time-honoured traditions. Lack of efficient co-operation and discipline characterized their national government; and the Empire of India was to be fought for between the Marathas and the English—the former a confederacy loosely knit, torn by internal feuds, an enemy to harmonious co-operation and stable government; the latter, a nation great in loyalty, discipline and co-operation—sovereign qualities bred by centuries of sea-faring life and adventure. Sea-faring life is a great training by itself. A handful of sailors, constantly facing the tremendous forces of nature and combating to save their life, cannot afford to neglect co-operation and discipline. When the tempest is raging and the ocean roars, it calls forth all the sterling qualities of men to fight them; and the Europeans had these qualities developed in them to a remarkable degree. They had grown to the full stature of their being. As against them the Marathas could not hope to compete successfully. In the contest for supremacy, they went down, and the helm of India, like that of their ship, passed

into the stronger hands of the English. The new factors that were deciding the fate of the world decided that of India also. Control of the sea, i.e., sea-power, won the control of commerce, and in the wake of commerce came Empire. That, in short, is the outline of the eighteenth century history of India. From this outline, we can easily determine the main currents of the century. They are :

(i) the fall of the Mughal Empire to the double attack of the Marathas and the North-westerners, and

(ii) the rivalry between the Marathas and the English for the Empire of India, with the ultimate triumph of the latter.

Now to the operation of the main currents. The Mughal Empire had been left bankrupt in military and financial resources after the disastrous warfare of Aurangzeb. Before his death in 1707, a great anarchy had begun everywhere in India. The governors of the outlying provinces assumed airs of independence. The imperial authority grew weak and the imperial court became a hot-bed of sedition and intrigue. Aurangzeb had left a will dividing his Empire between his sons, but they treated it with scant respect and at once prepared for war. Sword became the grand arbiter at Jajau, as at so many other places, and it raised Muazzam to the throne of India under the style Bahadur Shah.

The distracted condition of the Empire at the death of Aurangzeb was not a boon to the Marathas. It breathed lawlessness and intolerance of discipline into their life, and gave a predatory colouring to their government. Shahu set foot in Maharashtra at an evil hour, for his arrival was the signal to a civil war between him and Tara Bai, the regent for her son Shivaji II. When Maharashtra was still labouring under the horrible effects of the war of Aurangzeb, ensued this civil war to tear the country to pieces. Day after day a disgraceful war was fought in the country and, when Shahu emerged triumphant in 1708, the people were gasping for peace. But no peace was to be found. The civil war that came after the Mughal war had given rise to the pretensions of powerful partisans on both the sides, and to the predatory propensities of the freebooters. Powerful Maratha chieftains like Angre and Sawant of Wadi, and freebooters like Damaji Thorat and Krishna Rao Khataokar had honeycombed the country, and unless these were brought under the perfect control of the State, Shahu's authority could not be established, and peace could

not be secured. These troubles were further aggravated by the existence of two kings in Maharashtra—Shahu at Satara and Shivaji II at Kolhapur. Therefore to the ministers of Shahu were presented two problems.

(i) to put down the rebellious chieftains, and

(ii) to destroy the independence of Shivaji II.

In this twofold task Shahu was greatly helped by Balaji Vishwanath, a Chitpavan Brahman of Shriwardhan. He was a talented man, and partly by diplomacy, and partly by force, he succeeded in achieving both the objects. In consequence, he was made the Peshwa and became the founder of his house.

When Maharashtra was torn by civil war, Delhi Court was a scene of interminable plots and counterplots. The short reign of Bahadur Shah had been comparatively peaceful, but his death in 1712 gave rise to a series of political convulsions that culminated in the rise of the Sayyid Brothers, and in the accession of Farrukshiyar to the throne in 1713. Just as in Maharashtra, the rise of Balaji Vishwanath was due to the incapacity of King Shahu, so in the Mughal Empire, the rise of the Sayyid Brothers was a result of the weakness of the central authority and foolishness of the Emperor. The reign of Farrukshiyar, extending from 1713 to 1719, is of supreme importance to the student of Indian History of the eighteenth century. It may appear strange, for it is customary to condemn Farrukshiyar as one of the most unabashed debauchees and unparalleled fools in the history of India. So he is; but in the history of the world the reigns of some of the most incorrigible wretches are marked by some of the epoch-making events also. King John of England is a case in point. At any rate, there occurred two incidents in the reign of Farrukshiyar that exposed the real rottenness of the Empire to the gaze of the two rising peoples—the English and the Marathas.

A brief outline of the progress of the English would not be out of place here. Chartered into a Company in 1600, they had been driving a vigorous trade for a number of years, when the incorporation of another Company brought about a deadlock with regard to the Eastern trade. In 1708 the two Companies were amalgamated, and since then they began to flourish. Taking advantage of the absolute break-down of the Mughal Government after the death of Aurangzeb, they fortified Madras and completed Fort William at Calcutta. Disgusted with

the extortions of the Bengal Subahdars, they sent an embassy in 1715 to Delhi, at the head of which was Mr. John Surman. This embassy is very important, for it witnessed things at Delhi that came as an eye-opener to the English. In the letter that Mr. Surman had carried to the Court, the Governor of Fort William had addressed the Emperor as 'the "Prop of the Universe" in whose presence the President was but a particle of sand.' But when Mr. Surman arrived at Delhi, he was shocked to find that this 'Prop of the Universe' was but a pliant tool in the hands of the unscrupulous ministers, whom Surman had to propitiate with handsome presents before he could achieve his purpose. He procured from the Emperor a Farman, exempting the English from payment of duties on imported and exported goods, and was back at Calcutta in 1717. The Farman was of no avail to the English, for the masterful Subahdar would not pay any heed to it. But far more useful than the Farman, was the first-hand knowledge, gained by Surman, of the conditions prevailing at the imperial court. It helped them to adjust themselves to the new circumstances, and to assume a defiant attitude towards all whom they could not overpower. The crumbling condition of the imperial authority came to disillusion the English, when they were least aware of it.

A year after the departure of Surman with a correct estimate of the central authority of the Empire, Sayyid Hussain Ali, the younger of the King-makers, was driven to the necessity of treating with the Marathas and of courting their help. The Marathas were granted Chauth and Sardeshmukhi over the six Subahs of the Deccan, and in return were to maintain an army of 15,000 horse for the service of the Emperor, i.e., of the Viceroy of the Deccan. The next move of this younger Sayyid was to return to Delhi attended by a large contingent of Maratha army under Balaji Viswanath, and to depose the Emperor Farrukshiyar in 1719, with the help of the Maratha army. Thus the Marathas were ushered into the imperial capital, and helped to bring about a revolution in the State. The pitiable fate of Farrukshiyar, the pageantry of succeeding sovereigns, and at last the mockery of Mahommad Shah's succession gave a rude shock to the Marathas, and the veil of imperial dignity at once dropped from their eyes. They must have contrasted the prestige of the Emperor Aurangzeb about thirteen years back, when Dhanaji Jadhav pursuing him was within an ace of capturing him, but shrank back merely at the sight of the royal

umbrella and the grand imperial cortège. After this they could not look up to Delhi with the same awe and respect as before. In fact it has been rightly pointed out that, after their departure, the Marathas did desire to establish their empire on the ruins of the Mughal Empire. Balaji Vishwanath, a shrewd man of affairs, returned home with the conviction that the opportunity had now come for the Marathas to achieve what they had been aspiring for, and this conviction set his son on the path of conquest. When the father died a few months after his return from Delhi, the son initiated a policy that was at once aggressive and far-reaching in its effect. Thus the English and the Marathas who were destined to be future rivals sent their representatives to Delhi almost at the same time, and through them gained an insight into the real state of imperial affairs. That aroused in them a contempt for imperial authority and they felt convinced that the time had come for its overthrow.

From the deposition of Farrukshiyar to the invasion of Nadir Shah, i. e., from 1719 to 1739, is a period of unparalleled confusion, an incoherent formless epoch. No two decades of Indian History recorded more intrigues, more crimes and more bloodshed than these. When Baji Rao initiated the policy of Maratha expansion at the cost of the Mughals, when the Nizam was straining his nerves to found an independent state in the Deccan, and when Nadir Quli was rising to power in Persia, the Delhi court was a scene of sedition and intrigue. When in 1720 Baji Rao succeeded to the office of Peshwa, the time was very critical for Maharashtra. The country was suffering from the effects of civil war, and the chiefs were still fighting with one another. Baji Rao's youth, for he was only twenty-two at the time, increased the disadvantages of his situation, and he had to face a host of enemies at home. For eleven years he had his hands full with domestic troubles, and when he succeeded in getting over them by 1731, he strove to divert the attention of the Marathas to a land beyond Maharashtra, a land very unlike the rugged and sterile Maharashtra. Early in his regime in 1722, he had given shape to his aggressive policy by enunciating that he would plant the Maratha banner on the walls of Attock and thus win the Empire of Hindustan for the Marathas. He held out to them, now that he found himself absolutely free from internal troubles, the fair prospect of conquering a land that was rich in wealth and culture. He had rightly thought that no

Maratha, rough and poor as he is in his barren native country, could resist the temptation, and therefore in the frenzy of conquest he would forget his petty squabbles at home.

His activities were all directed in the first instance to extend the Maratha sphere of influence, and then to convert the countries within that sphere into a Maratha Empire. His policy was to impose Chauth and Sardeshmukhi on new lands, and guarantee safety and tranquillity in return. Thus in the decadant days of the Mughal Empire, when anarchy and confusion reigned supreme, and when self-seeking chieftains were trying to fleece the people and defy Delhi, the Marathas posed as their protector. In lieu of the blackmail, they pledged protection; for the blackmail was a subsidy for the upkeep of an army for the defence of a country. Thus the imposition of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi was the forerunner of the establishment of the Maratha sway. That is called the policy of Maratha expansion, and Baji Rao was eminently successful in this. But it was not without overcoming great obstacles that he achieved success. His most redoubtable enemy was Nizam-ul-mulk. Nizamul-mulk meant to be supreme in the Deccan, and it was there that the Marathas first tried to impose Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. The Nizam fomented a series of strifes in Maharashtra to undermine the strength of the Marathas, and thus hinder them from turning their arms to the north for fresh conquests. The result was a war with Shambhaji of Kolhapur and another with the Senapati Dabhade, both of which were brought to a successful conclusion about the year 1731. Freed from the troubles at home, Baji Rao set forth to conquer Malwa, Gujrat and Bundelkhand. By 1737 he had practically subjugated these countries, and raided the suburbs of Delhi. Frightened at the rapid progress of the Maratha arms northwards, the Nizam made one last effort for their subversion, but, failing ignominiously, he had to resign the whole country between the Narmada and the Chambal to the Marathas by the treaty of Durai Sarai in 1738. Thus a fair portion of Hindustan passed, for all practical purposes, into the hands of the Marathas.

But hard upon the heels of the Marathas appeared the invincible Persian invader, Nadir Shah, in Hindustan. Sweeping off all opposition, he entered Delhi with his hordes of human hounds in early March 1739. During his stay there for fifty-seven days, Delhi witnessed scenes the like of which no eye had seen, no ear had heard of. Her streets

became veritable shambles, and after the brutal massacre, in which neither age was relented nor sex respected, began a systematic plunder of the princes and peasants, irrespective of their rank and religion. Divesting the imperial city of its valuables to the amount of seventy crores of rupees, the Shah went back, and, as he entered the Punjab, proclaimed all the territories to the west of the Sutlej annexed to his already vast empire. Thus another huge slice of the Mughal Empire consisting of the Punjab, Multan, Peshawar and Kabul was snatched away. In the east Ali Verdi Khan almost simultaneously set up his independence, and thus by 1740 the vast Empire shrunk to an incredibly small area. The Emperor existed only in name; his authority was a mere shadow; and his Empire had fallen to pieces.

When the Mughal Empire had dissolved, the Marathas rose to the forefront in India. They had the full sympathy of the Rajputs and specially of Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur. The correspondence of the Sawai with Rao Nandlal Mandloi Choudhury of Indore and Baji Rao is full of interest to the student of Modern Indian History, seeking to determine the attitude of the Rajputs towards the Mughals and the Marathas. As far back as 1709, Sawai Jai Singh had made a pact with his brother princes of Rajputana—the chiefs of Jodhpur and Udaipur to cut off all connection with the Mughals, and oppose a united front to them. The Rajputs like the Mughals were on the verge of their fall, and there was no leader of first-rate ability forthcoming. They had sacrificed their man-power by fighting for the Mughals for centuries, and now their national exhaustion was complete. So their rise at the time of Mughal downfall was impossible; and conscious of it, their best and greatest representative encouraged the rise of the Marathas and extended the hands of friendship to them. With his help the Marathas won ascendancy in Malwa and Bundelkhand, and were soon able to dominate the Doab. No Rajput, as a matter of fact, cared to help the Mughals against the Marathas. The Doab did not take long to be overrun, and in 1758 the famous prophecy of Baji Rao was fulfilled when Raghunath Rao planted the Maratha banner on the walls of Attock.

But in invading the Punjab, the Marathas had taken a step too far. They committed a grave mistake when, without securing their base without alliances with powerful States like Rohilkhand and Oudh, they ventured to seize the territories of the Abdali. Already the

Maratha domination was becoming irksome to those who had favoured their rise. Even the Rajputs had been treated with supreme contempt; and the result of these proceedings was sure to be unpleasant. In their fatal encounter at Panipat, they were disastrously defeated by the Abdali, and it pushed their progress back for several years.

During this period of Hindu revival began the rivalry between the English and the French on the East Coast in 1740. Taking advantage of the anarchy and confusion in the Empire, the British had already fortified their settlements of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The Anglo-French war continued for twenty-one years, and they were due partly to the extension of European war into India, and partly to the anxiety of the two nations to secure political power. In Madras and Bengal, where they had long experience of the people, and had thereby acquired a knowledge of their prejudices and proclivities, they played their part with consummate skill, soon outwitted their allies, and usurped their authority. In this game of politics the English won and the French lost. The year that recorded the disastrous defeat of the Marathas at Panipat, also recorded the overthrow of the French and the capture of their capital. It appeared as if the French and the Marathas had been eliminated from the equation of political powers of India; and as if the prize of India was ultimately to be fought out between the victors of the North and the victors of the South, the Afghans and the English. They had planted their power on the two extremities of India, Bengal and the Punjab. They had firmly secured the two gateways of India, the one on land, and the other on sea. It would have been a splendid spectacle if the Afghans and British had fought for supremacy in India. But the Afghans were divided among themselves, and the rise of the Sikhs effectively checked their further progress. The Marathas, on the other hand, yet retained so much national vitality that they could not be overthrown after their discomfiture at Panipat. So the future of India was in the hands of the Marathas and the British, who now loomed large on the political horizon.

But the destiny of a country so vast, so rich and so kaleidoscopic was not to be decided on the issues of a struggle between two peoples. A host of complications was bound to arise, and on the successful solution of these, depended the ultimate issues. Spheres of influence and zones of protectorates had to be created before the Empire of India

could be won. Each of these dominant powers had to reckon with less powerful states like Mysore, Hyderabad and Oudh; and mere military strength was not to be the decisive factor. Efficient organization, superior diplomacy and improved methods of warfare were to tell in the end; and in analysing the downfall of the Marathas and the rise of the English, one notes all these factors on the side of the latter.

The British had learnt sufficiently of the Indian method of warfare between the years 1740 and 1761, and had won some of the richest parts of India. The next fifteen years they went on adding to their resources by consolidating their conquests, and creating spheres of influence. Oudh and Hyderabad had become their protectorates. In the north there were the Rajputs, and in the south, Mysore. If the Marathas had succeeded in winning over these two powers on to their side, the scales would have been turned against the English. Haidar Ali and Tipu always preferred Maratha alliance to an alliance with the British. But the Marathas were incapable of forming any lasting alliance. They knew how to be aggressive; they did not know how to conciliate, how to compromise. That is the most glaring defect of the Maratha activities after Shivaji. And besides this, they were constantly labouring under two disadvantages after 1761; they were hard put to it, to revive their lost power and prestige, and they were constantly quarrelling among themselves.

The latter had become chronic in the Maratha national polity, and after Panipat it assumed a more acute form. There was no love lost between the four great chieftains of the Marathas—the Sindhia, the Gaekwar, the Holkar and the Bhonsle—and all of them, already jealous of the Peshwa, now tried to defy his authority. His was the only substitute for the central authority in the Maratha Confederacy, when the descendants of Shivaji had ceased to rule but not to exist after 1752. Thus the centrifugal forces had set in after the Panipat disaster, and that, more than any other factor, weakened the Maratha national polity and accelerated its fall. The Marathas recovered from the shock of Panipat no doubt; no doubt that they outwitted the English by carrying away the old Mughal Emperor from Allahabad, where he lived under the protection of the English, and reinstalled him at Delhi with a mock magnificence; no doubt that they threatened the outworks of Bengal when they carried war into the Doab and

Rohilkhand ; but soon enough they were brought face to face with the ghastly tragedy of a civil war. When the Peshwaship itself was a matter of dispute, and assassination and court-intrigue followed, the rents in Maharastra rapidly multiplied, and the different chieftains, who had viewed the rise of the Peshwas with alarm, now rejoiced and helped to weaken their power so that they might keep the Peshwas under their thumb. Sindhia, Holkar and the Bhonsle of Nagpur took an active part in these internecine feuds, and absorbed in these, they forgot the greater interest of Maharastra, the vital issues of India. No attempt was made to draw Mysore on to their side, or to keep the Rajputs friendly. In their diabolical indulgence in domestic disputes, they forgot the English, and the only man, who seems to have been aware of them, i.e., Mahadji Sindhia, attempted to humour them simply to further his own interest.

And what were the English doing in the meanwhile? It is an instance of the inscrutable ways of Providence that, during a period when some of the most capable Englishmen were sent out to India, there were some of the most short-sighted and self-seeking people at the helm of Maratha affairs. By the time the Marathas were fed up with their own quarrels, Mysore had been destroyed and the English were supreme everywhere. The treaty of Salbai was a prelude to the supremacy of the English, and the decline of the Marathas. It was the work of one man, Mahadji Sindhia. Before the outbreak of the Second Maratha War, there were premonitions which pointed to the ultimate triumph of the English in their struggle for Empire of India. Oudh, Hyderabad and Mysore had definitely submitted to them. The barrier between the Marathas and the British had been broken, and the latter had become overpoweringly strong. And when the second duel between the Marathas and the English ensued, the irresistible might of the latter worsted and laid the Marathas prostrate on the ground. That, in short, is the operation of the main currents of the eighteenth century history of India.

The Khaza'inul Futuh .

OF

AMIR KHUSRAU

CHAPTER VI

THE CAMPAIGN OF MA'BAR

*This is an account of the conquest of Ma'bar ; it is a river full of pearls.*¹—The blade of the Khalifa's sword, which is the flame of the lamp of Islām, had now illuminated all the darkness of Hindustān with the light of its guidance. On one side, it had formed a wall of iron before the Magog-like Tātārs, so that those wretches were compelled to draw their feet into the skirt of the Ghaznī mountains, and even their advance-arrows were unable to cross the territory of Sindh. On the other side, so much dust had been raised from the temple of Somnāth that it dried up the bottom of the sea. On the right hand as well as on the left, the army had conquered all land from sea to sea ; even the good news of the conquest of the two seas² (*Bahrain*) was brought ; and the arrows of the state flew so far that even the territory of *Kaish*³ was in danger of being captured by the Imperial officers. There were many capitals of the Hindū *deos* (demons), where Satanism had prospered from the earliest times, and where, far from the pale of Islām, the Devil in the course of ages had hatched his eggs and had made his worship compulsory on the followers of the idols ; but now with a sincere motive, the Emperor removed these symbols of infidelity, first from *Deogir* and then from all other demon-lands, so that the light of the *Shari'at* may reach their neighbourhood to dispel the contamination of false beliefs from those places through the *muazzin's* call and the establishment of prayers. God be praised for all this !

But the sea of Ma'bar is so far from Delhī that a man travelling with expedition can only reach it after a journey of twelve months. The arrows of preceding Sultans had never reached that distant land, but the exalted ambition of the World-Conqueror induced him to

¹ Allusions to conquest and victory.

² The Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea.

³ A city in the Island of Ormuza.

test the marksmanship of his archers, and the Muslim faith was published in that far-off region. The general, *Malik Naib Barbek 'Izzud-daulah* (May God increase his dignity and grandeur!) was, for the honour of Islām, despatched on the expedition with the august canopy and the victorious troops. He was ordered through his victorious drums to bring to the ears of the idols—'and they have ears with which they do not hear'—the warning, 'that He may make it (Islām) overcome the religions, all of them.'¹ *And when the 'water' of the sword flows on the coast, the sea of infidelity will be drowned in the 'Shar'at.'*² The obedient officer, after accepting the command, represented: 'The enclosure of the Imperial Court has been dignified by the enormous elephants of Arangal. If the "Sultānus Salāṭīn" wishes to make the "balance of the state" heavier by mountain-like elephants, there are over five hundred of them on the coast of Ma'bar. As soon as the Imperial army marches in that direction, the Hindū troops will scatter like leaves of grass: and though these vermilion-coloured hills³ may be removed to another spot, it is quite possible for the Emperor's men to overtake them. If the expedition is entrusted to me, I will pick up all these hillocks from the land of Ma'bar and bring them in the palm of my hand as 'weights' for the carpet of the State. I have been reflecting on the design ever since my return from Arangal. But the exalted judgment of the great *Khalifa* (May God increase the weight of his good deeds!) is superior to my opinions; for he sends me to break the bodies of the large idols rather than to capture the large bodies of the elephants. There can be no doubt that the scale of the Emperor's good deeds will be so heavy after this virtuous act that the elephants will be mere make-weights in the balance. So taking the Emperor's order as a 'strong rope' to support my weak faith, I have determined to embark on the expedition. God helping, I will conquer the country on the sea-coast before I allow the army to open its baggage.' With this faith he left the Court; and trusting in the Emperor's fortune, he brought the good news of the conquest of treasures to the army.

*The march of the army to Dhār Samandar and Ma'bar, like a river that flows towards another river.*⁴—On Tuesday, 26th Jamādiul Akhir, 710 A.H. a fortunate moment, at about mid-day the red canopy started

¹ The Qurān, Chap. vii, sec. 22 and Chap. lxi, sec. 2.

² Allusions to heavy loads.

³ The elephants.

⁴ Allusions to stars.

for the expedition. To protect the men from the heat of the sun, the august canopy of the 'Shadow of God' collected so many clouds under itself that the sun's rays were unable to pierce through them. First, it moved towards the bank of the Jamnā, like a cloud going to the sea, and halted at Tankal¹, which it made quite red with its ruby velvet. There the clerks of the '*Diwān-i 'Ariz-i Mumalik*' began to run their pens along the extensive river-bank to take the muster of the army, while the *Ariz-i wala* collected his men like drops of rain under the towering canopy. For full fourteen days, i.e., half-a-month, the crescent standard of the *Malikus Sharq* stopped at the place and a list of all the stars and planets was prepared. Then on the morning of the 9th Rajab, the drums began to beat for the march, and the exultation of the Muslim army raised the dust up to the eyes of the stars.

²Owing to the multitude of horsemen, the earth looked like the pages of the *Shah Nama*. You would have thought that the sky had rained Bahmans, or that a swarm of Suhrābs and Bihzans was moving from one territory to another. A hundred thousand Rustams appeared on every side with their bows; some of them were so red-haired that you could not have painted them even with the blood of Siāwash. There were Gurgīns who, with the impetuosity of Ardashir, could have pounded a tiger with a piece of bone, and lions like Barzīn, who could have made a headstall for Rakhsh with the skin of Godurz.³

⁴For twenty-one days the men of the army made long marches, and took short routes, till they arrived at Katihun. From there in seventeen more days they reached Ghurgāun. In these seventeen days the Ghats were crossed. Great heights and depths were seen, in contemplating which human understanding was helpless—*like an ant in a basin or a hen in the sea*. On the summits of the mountains the horses appeared small like needle-points of rust on the blade of a sword; deep in the valleys the largest camels looked like revolving particles of dust. Kai Khusrau would have been lost with all his troops in the depths of the clefts and the vultures of Kai Kāus⁵ would

¹ or Natgal.

² Allusions to the '*Shah Namah*.'

³ Rakhsh was Rustum's horse and Godurz was his son. The biographies of the heroes of the *Shah Namah*, whose names occur in this paragraph, need not be detailed here.

⁴ Allusions to uneven roads.

⁵ Kai Kaus, a famous emperor of Persia, attempted to fly to the sky on a throne carried by birds, but when the birds were tired, he fell down and died.

have perished in attempting to fly above the mountains. You could have found the egg of a Simurgh¹ on every mountain-top in that wilderness. Through Divine assistance, the army passed safely even over such a road, trampling the heights and depths under its feet. *For when a man, for the sake of his faith, carries his head on the palm of his hands before the enemy's sword, the blade of steel is frightened and hides itself under the ground.* ²Three great rivers were crossed, and the army learnt good lessons in crossing them. Two of the rivers equalled one another, but neither equalled the Narbada. *A hundred thanks to God, that the army was able to cross the rivers, even as a bird flies through the rain or the sky traverses the ocean.* After the rivers, mountains and valleys had been crossed, a present of twenty-three elephants, huge as Elburz, arrived from the Rāi of Tilang. They could act as a *pāshīb* for opening the way to a besieged fort, or send a hill flying into the air, or drag down a cloud from the hill-tops with their trunks. *Like standards*³ *fixed on mounds, they were sent as presents to the Sultān, if he would accept them.* ⁴The victorious army took twenty days before it could move these huge hills in that 'field of resurrection'—'you see the mountains, you think them to be solid, and they shall pass away like the passing away of the cloud.' A roll was taken of those present in, and absent from, the army; and when the muster was finished, in accordance with the Emperor's orders, the standards were carried forward, so that by their growth and multiplication they might bring about the 'day of resurrection' in Ma'bar. The inhabitants of that region were given the call of 'the day on which the trumpet shall be blown, so you shall come forth in hosts'—of 'the day on which a man shall fly from his brother, and his mother and his father, and his spouse and his sons.' The order—'lay hold on him, then put a chain on him'—was executed on rebellious necks, and the attack at which mountains pass away was delivered on the elephants of that country. The defeated Hindūs were despatched with the sword to their brothers in the flames, so that fire, the undeserving object of their worship, may be their proper punishment 'when hell is kindled up.'

¹ The fabulous bird of the *Shah Namah* who nursed Zal, father of Rustam.

² *Clear and sparkling allusions to water.*

³ i.e. the trunks of the elephants.

⁴ *Allusions to the 'Day of Resurrection'.* The quotations in the paragraph are from the Qurānic description of the *Day of Resurrection*

¹When on the seventh day, which was Friday, the sky bathed its blue wings in the rays of the sun and cast the carpet of light over its shoulders, *and the world was clothed in its white radiance like a Mussalmān putting on a clean dress on Friday*, the army began to move with the swiftness of a hurricane from Ghurgāūn. Wherever the accursed tree that produced no religion was found, it was torn up by the roots; the conquered people looked like uprooted trees falling in the strong current of the Jaihūn, or like straws tossed up and down and carried forward in a whirlwind. On reaching the Tāvi², they saw a river only slightly smaller than the sea. The army crossed it quicker than the hurricane it resembled, and afterwards employed itself in cutting down the jungles and destroying the gardens. Owing to the excessive dust raised by the army, the other rivers in the land were filled with mud like the intestines of earth-eating animals.

³Owing to the tramping of the horses, the hills became consumptive and wished to bury themselves in the womb of the earth, while the dry-tempered desert became tuberculous and was covered with cracks. On Thursday, the 13th of Ramazān, the royal canopy cast its shadow on the capital of Deogīr, which, at the command of Heaven, had been protected by the angels; and here the army determined to collect shooting-stars⁴ and four-feathered arrows for overthrowing Bilal Deo and other *deos* (demons). The Rāi Rāyān, Rām Deo, had heard safety to Satan proclaimed by the dreadful Mussalmān cymbals, and submitting to the Imperial Court, considered himself safe under the protection promised to him. ⁵With a true intuition, this Rāi of noble origin became the embodiment of correct judgment in rendering honour and obedience to the orders of the Imperial Court, in providing material of war for the army, and in advising the conquest of Bīr and Dhūr Samandar. In order to please the servants of the Emperor, this model of his generation, i.e. the Rāi Rāyān, wrote a letter of homage with the pen of sincerity and adorned the city of Deogīr with the gems of paradise. He ordered all things needed by the army to be placed in the market; if the (Muslim) Rustams required the feathers of Simurgh for their arrows, all possible efforts were made to obtain them, so that every horseman of the army of Irān

¹ *Allusions to wind and water.*

² *Allusions to health and illness.*

³ *Allusions to counsel and advice.*

⁴ Probably the Tapti is meant.

⁵ i.e. spears.

and Tūrān¹ might slay a huge demon of Dhūr Samandar *even as Rustam had killed the deos of Mazindrān*.² At the order of the noble Rāi, who was a tree planted by the Imperial Court, the markets of the city were decorated like the garden of Aram, and the men of the army rode up to them on their horses. They saw a city more beautiful than the Paradise of Shaddād; every market was like a garden differently planned; the money-changers sat with bags of small and large coins, and red and white *tanukas* lay before them like roses and many-petalled flowers; the cloth-merchants had every variety of cloth from *bahār-i Hind* to the *bāward-i Khorāsān*, the like of which you cannot find among the flowers of the gardens, piled up in their shops like tulips over the mountain-top or basils in the orchard. Fruits better than pomegranates and rarer than *naghz* lay in heaps.

³ The material provided for the army—hard and soft goods of wool and leather, brass and iron—was beyond all computation. Everyone gave good money and bought things at a just price. *The Turk did not oppress the Hindū and the will of the Hindū was not opposed to the will of the Turk.* As these sun-worshippers had become worshippers of the Imperial sword, they considered the purchasers a great good fortune for themselves and brought to the army all that their community could provide. The Rāi Rāyān had already informed a Hindū, named Dalvī, who lay on the frontiers of Bir and Dhūr Samandar⁴, that the Imperial army would be at his place in a few days; so, with his mouth open like a bucket, Dalvī sat waiting for the army and even wished to draw the whole of Dhūr Samandar into a single bucket for the sake of the Mussalmāns. ⁵ The army, which had already heard the message, 'Surely we have given to you a clear victory', stopped for three days at the aforesaid fort to put its battalions (*hazāras*) into order. When the advance guard had started,⁶ *they packed up their baggage for the holy war and the armies of heaven and earth were with them.* On Tuesday, the 17th Ramaṣān, the

¹ i.e., the army of Delhi.

² Allusions to goods and merchandise.

³ Dalvī, besides being a proper name, means 'a bucket'; Bir means 'well'; Samandar (in Hindi) means the 'sea'. The reader should be prepared to meet many plays on the three words; for, at the very beginning, Paras Deo Dalvi wishes to draw the whole of Dhur Samandar into a single bucket.

⁴ Allusions to the army and to heavenly assistance.

⁵ Here follow a number of quotations from the Quran, which I have omitted.

⁶ Allusions to trees.

Imperial archers and swordsmen began to move rapidly and were accompanied by the august canopy.¹ From the *Aīmanābad* of Deogīr to the *Kharābābad*² of Paras Deo Dalvi, the army made five marches and crossed three large rivers. One of them, Sini,³ had such a wide breast that the broad sea looked like a heart pulsating in its left side; its breadth exceeded thirty long reeds (*nai*). Of the other, Godāvarī, you might say that, in its extensive playing ground, it had carried the ball successfully against all other rivals.⁴ The third was Bihnūr with a breast as wide as the Sini's.⁵ The army also crossed several other rivers, some roaring, others softly melodious. After five days it reached the stage of Bandrī in the territory of Paras Deo Dalvi.⁶ Now Dalvi, a bucket drawn out by the Imperial officers, hoped to get water out of Bir Dhūr and Bir Pandya,⁷ and desired that with the strong arm of the victorious army, the two Birs (wells) together with the seas that encircle them, may be drawn into (his) single cup.⁸ ⁹He had dried up in the general scarcity of water, but now seeing his star in the ascendant and his constellation stable, he came forward to receive the Muslim army and undertook to guide it. When the day of Jupiter had been illuminated with the heart of the moon, the *Malikus Sharq* sent forward swift-footed scouts in quick succession to find out the condition of the country and made diligent inquiries on all sides

¹ Allusions to water.

² Meaning the 'town of destruction'; the title seems to have been given to it for no reason save that of rhyming it with *Aīmanābad*, 'the city of safety'. Paras Deo was an ally of the Empire. 'Dwara Samudra was the capital of the Bellala rajas, and Vira Narasinha was the name of the prince who was overthrown in this invasion. See Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, Int, p. cxlii; Buchanan's *Mysore*, iii, pp. 391, 474; Thomas, *Prinsep's Useful Tables*, p. 276' (Elliot).

³ Literally meaning the 'breast.'

⁴ A play on the words, 'goi' meaning 'ball' and 'dawari' meaning 'pretence,' 'claim'.

⁵ 'No doubt the present Sina and Bhima, but the position of Godavari is transposed'. (Elliot).

⁶ Dalvi is probably meant for an inhabitant of Taluva, the modern Canara. (Elliot).

⁷ This should signify Bir (Vira), the Raja of Dwarasamudra, and Vira, the Raja of Pandya; but there was evidently a confusion in the mind of the writer as to the persons and places, as seen in this passage. In another place he says 'the fort which is called Bir and Dhur-samundar'. Wassaf calls the Pandya Raja 'Tira Pandi', and makes a pun on this name, calling him 'tira-bakht', showing that he did not know his real name'. (Elliot).

⁸ 'There is great punning here about wells (*bir*) and buckets (*dalvi*) which it is impossible to render into English so as to make it comprehensible'. (Elliot).

⁹ Allusions to the sky.

Finally, it was discovered that the two Rāis of Ma'bar had formerly but a single will (*rāi*) and were as united as the two *turqadain*.¹ But the younger brother, Sundar Pandya, had from political ambition coloured his hands in the blood of his father according to the law, 'seize what you find'. Thereupon the elder brother, Rāi Bīr Pandya, collecting many thousand Saturnine Hindūs and leaving his two cities empty, had hastened to slay his younger brother alive. Meanwhile Bilāl Deo, the Rai of Dhūr Samandar, hearing that the cities were without their Mahā-rāis, had marched forward to plunder the merchants of the two cities at one swoop. At this moment, however, he heard a sky-rending thunder of the Muslim drums behind his back.—'And most surely our host alone shall be the victorious one'. Finding himself in this critical situation—'They put their fingers into their ears because of the thunder-peal, from fear of death'—Bilāl Deo, like an upturned and unlucky Saturn, marched down to his own low constellation.

² The Malik gathered all this information with the greatest care. Then on Sunday, the 23rd Ramazān, after consultation with the great *maliks* on whom rested the responsibility of the campaign, he selected a *tuman* (i.e., 10,000 men) from the officers and men of the army and started in haste. There were archers with him who could split a grain of poppy into a thousand fragments for the pleasure of the spectator, and swordsmen who could cut a hill into two like a nut.³ For twelve successive days men, horses and cattle⁴ went up hill and down dale; the depths were such that the sky fell into fits on seeing them, and the attempt to gaze at the heights took away the onlooker's breath. The carpet of thorns growing out of the rocks would have pierced into a rhinoceros, yet in their haste the men marched over it as over a cushion of silk. In the darkness of the night they waded through wide rivers, which looked like waving silk, and through rushing torrents, which could have overturned a mountain; and they passed, like a ship sailing through a storm, across streams into which Noah's deluge had subsided without rising up again,

¹ Two stars near the pole of the Lesser Bear.

² Allusions to fruits, fresh and ripe.

³ Allusions to uneven paths.

⁴ So I interpret the author's words—'soft-mouthed creatures with hard hoofs, soft-moving creatures that endured much hardship and kind-hearted creatures that strove hard.'

sometimes carried on the crest of a wave, at other times enclosed in a hollow. Through Divine assistance, most of the soldiers crossed the land, though at the bottom of the valleys you could drink water from the centre of the earth and at the summit you could wash your hands with the clouds; many difficulties were met with, but they were all surmounted. ¹ On Thursday, the 5th Shawwāl, in that equatorial region where the disk of the sun heats the earth like a furnace, the fort-reducing Imperial army enclosed Dhūr Samandar² as in an oven. They saw a fort so magnificent, *that after viewing it one began to despise the sky. It was not (so to say) Dhūr Samandar, but a sea, called Bīr (well), which was surrounded by a larger sea.* You would have thought the fort was a building encircling the sun, which had been ruined by repeated rounds of the full goblet. *You saw a fort surrounded by water and its name was Bīr; there is water in other wells (bīr), but here there was a well within water.*

³ The inhabitants of the fort had an old, traditional faith. Their hands and feet began to tremble from fear of the (Imperial) army, and the thought of the enemy's arrows filled their bodies with 'thorns'⁴ like the 'bones' of a fish. All these terror-stricken fish fell into lines and getting into their armours, tied their shields to their backs and began moving up and down. Had you seen their restlessness in the fort, *you would have said it was like the revolutions of fish in water.* Rāi Bilāl Deo became as pale as a drowning man and his heart began to palpitate like the dew-lap of a frog. Within the Bīr (well) many meetings were held as to the reply to be given to the Imperial army. ⁵ If the fire-worshipping Rāi wished to refrain from displaying his wind and smoke, the handful of straws around him blew their breaths and tried to incite him. 'Ages will be required,' said they, 'before the pillar of fire-worshipping tribes can be raised in Dhūr Samandar again. There is no doubt that our origin is *from fire and from Dhūr Samandar (salamandar)*. Since the Turkish army, like a river of fire, has reached the thatch-houses of our villages, it will also have strength enough to reduce the stones of our fort into lime.

¹ Allusions to the fort.

² A play on the word '*samandar*' which means both 'sea' and 'salamandar.'

³ Allusions to water animals.

⁴ In Persian as well as Hindustani, the word 'thorn' (Khar or Kanta) is used for the thin pointed bones of a fish.

⁵ Allusions to fire, like the garden of Abraham.

None the less, our fort is called Dhūr Samandar (sea); water is, and always has been, within reach. If the 'tongues' of the Turkish swords begin their work and we find it impossible to extinguish them—well, we have to be cremated, sooner or later, and it is better not to die without water (honour).’ The Rāi flared up at this advice and displayed his inner fire. ‘Before this time,’ he said, ‘my fire-worshipping ancestors, the lamp of whose soul burned bright, have declared that the Hindū cannot stand against the Turk, nor fire against water. This being the case, we have no alternative but to turn away our faces from the fiery arrows of the Turks. Nor must water be thrown at them; for water may turn into oil and make us feel its flame in our life-time. Therefore, I lay all idea of opposition aside. I will go kneeling before them, like water over the earth. May be, the fire of the Turks will be somewhat appeased!’ This considerably cooled the advocates of further struggle; they gave up all thought of resistance and consented to open the doors of Bir (well), *so that the torches of warfare may be extinguished*¹.

² When, in the morning, the *saqī* had brought her red wine-glass out of the transparent goblet of the sky, the commander of the army went round the fort, before which (the troops) of Ma'bar had been twice defeated. He thought that the flasks by the side of the ditch³ were like a wine-table laid out. The ferocious lions and tigers (of the army) were organized, party by party, while he posted himself along with other *Maliks* before the gate of the fort. Noise and tumult arose from the blood-drinking lines and the thunder of the drums resounded on all sides. The mystic-minded sword of the Mussalmāns shed so much rebel blood that the deluge rushed to the ditch and meted out to it the punishment its sins deserved. The heat of the flaming arrows

¹ Whenever the Rai was prepared to submit, his advisers incited him to continue the struggle. ‘It would be impossible to re-establish the prestige of their kingdom after the shock of a humiliating peace. Their power rested on the fact that their kingdom was indigenous and as old as slamandar. True, the probability was that the imperial troops would win, specially when the main army came up. But, after all, death comes sooner or later, and would it not be better to die with honour?’ The Rai did not agree. ‘To be cremated after death was one thing; to be burnt to death while living was another. Nor was there any good in throwing oil over fire. Continued struggle would mean greater ruin.’ He would, therefore, make peace.

² *Intoxicating allusions to wine.*

³ i.e. the towers of the fort

turned the blood of the Hindūs into water and brought it out as perspiration. The Council of the *Maliks* wished to batter down the fort, which stood like a demon's hat, with their *maghrabi-stones*, or else to order the lancers of the army to upturn it like an empty glass with the point of their lances; so that, surrounded by blood, the rebels may fly out of the boiling well (*bir*) even as a fly flies out of a flagon. But they refrained from manifesting their power for a time in order that the negotiations may proceed. The choice of becoming Mussalmāns or *zimms* (tribute-payers) was placed before the besieged; if they accepted either, well and good; if not, in obedience to Divine commands, the fort was to be broken into potsherds with *maghrabi-stones*, and the blood of its inmates spilled like wine poured out of a goblet.

¹ Bilāl Deo now found that the call to prayer would resound in his temple and the voice of the *muazzin* rise high where he, a demon, had assumed the name of Bilāl,² while the religion of Islam was extended by propaganda and the sword. When the night of Friday, after throwing the dark mantle of evening over its shoulders, had emerged out of its stony pulpit, this Bilāl, whose essence it was to be a demon, despatched Gaisū Mal after the night prayer to find out the strength and circumstances of the Muslim army. When Gaisū Mal reached the Muslim camp, he was stupefied, just as Satan is stupefied when he hears the Qurān read. Rows of horsemen surrounded the fort and kept a strict watch; next morning they would commence the struggle and enter the houses of the demons in full force to establish the *Khutba* and prayer where the idols had been worshipped. ³When, through the locks of the night, Gaisū Mal⁴ saw the enormous army spread out like the hair on a man's head, the hair on his body stood up like the teeth of a comb in fear. He turned back like a curly lock, and rising and falling, hastened to the fort. When he reached the woolly Rāi and told him what he had seen, the Rāi came near to losing his reason and began to dishevel his hair in mourning at his own loss.

¹ Allusions to Islam and infidelity.

² One of the companions of the Arabian Prophet, whose memory has been most tenderly cherished by the Mussalmans, is the Prophet's *muazzin*, Hazrat Bilal. It was inevitable that Amir Khusrau should play upon the name, which the Hindu Rai shared with the Muslim *muazzin*.

³ Allusions to hair.

⁴ Meaning 'curly locks'; there is an inevitable play on the name.

¹Next, the Rāi taught all the charms and magic he knew to Bālak Deo Nāyak, who was equal in Satanism to a hundred-thousand (*lakh*) demons,² and sent him to the camp of the Imperial army. This household shadow came to offer submission before the royal canopy, and bringing to his lips the message he carried in his heart, petitioned for Bilāl Deo's life and livelihood: 'This servant, Bilāl Deo, submits to the Emperor like Laddar Deo and Ram Deo, and whatever the Solomon of the time commands, I am ready to obey. If you desire horses like demons, elephants like giants and other valuables, they are present. If all this noise and tumult is for the destruction of the four walls of this fort, they are, as they stand, no obstacle to your advance. The fort is the fort of the Sultan; take it. The servant, Bilāl Deo, has thrown a few stones from the top of his fort; but God forbid that the stones of a demon should do any harm to men! And what can be better for me than to keep my stones to myself, and remain out of harm's way like the Hindūs of Deogir? A Hindū on being cremated turns into a demon; but as yet the flame of the Hindī sword of the Turks has not reached me, and it would be unwise for me to become a demon before my time. Behold! The spirits of so many Hindū demons are revolving in the dust round the Imperial camp. They have thrown their lives to the wind by disobeying the demon governing Solomon, and, consequently, they are grovelling in the dust after death. The servant, Bilāl Deo, is a descendant of great *Deos*; but before the Asaf-like *wazīr*, who is the deputy of Solomon's court, he casts aside his Satanism and places his living body under the protection of the lines of angels that stretch towards his right and left, and, like an evil spirit in the month of Ramāzān, places his neck in the chain of captivity.'

³The exalted minister heard the submissive message of the Rāi. His penetrating judgment discovered the reason of Bilal Deo's humility, but in obedience to the commands of the Muslim Caliph, he replied: 'The order of the Caliph concerning Bilāl Deo and all other Rāis is this: First I am to place before them the two negatives of

¹ Allusions to demons and fairies.

² An illustration of the author's figures of speech. Balak Deo is said to have been equal to a hundred thousand demons simply because his name could be twisted to mean a 'hundred-thousand.'

³ Allusions to wisdom and judgment.

the oath of affirmation.¹ May be, their hearts will be illuminated! But if Destiny has drawn a curtain before their eyes and they fail to see the light, I am to offer them the alternative of having the yoke of tribute (*zimma*) put on their necks. If they reject this also and refuse to pay tribute, then I will not place any burden on their necks but will simply relieve their necks of the burden of their heads. Now (tell me) which of these three conditions pleases Rāi Bilāl Deo most, so that I may consult the heads of the army and give you a reply suited to your judgment as well as mine? *Weigh your reply carefully, even as I weigh you.*' ²The Rāi's messengers nearly collapsed at the fearful ultimatum. 'We are Hindū arrows', they said with their broken spirits, 'and Hindus are not good marksmen. May be your message, which is straight as an arrow, will become somewhat crooked (if we convey it). Some straightforward men should be sent along with us; for a messenger despatched by your stout arm is sure to pierce into the Rāi's heart so effectively as to realize all your wishes.'

The *Malik* welcomed the idea. He ordered some Hindū Parmār *hajibs*—who, like Turkish arrows, were strong snakes with wings of demons—to go along with the two or three ambassadors of the Rāi. Thanks to the powerful arm that had despatched them, the (Imperial) messengers flew to the fort in the twinkling of an eye and began to attack the Rāi with their tongues. The Rāi jumped up from his place like a mad man on hearing their Venus-rending voices. He wished to talk boldly, but found himself tongue-tied, and it took some time before he was able to speak. When his fear had somewhat abated, and his spirit, which had flown away, returned to its abode, he stood up like an arrow with folded hands. 'All property, animate and inanimate,' he said, 'which Fate has placed in the hands of this servant, Bilāl, is at the service of the Imperial court. Bilāl is also one of the tribute-payers. Next morning, before the shooting-stars and their lantern, the moon, have withdrawn, I will present all I have to the Muslim army. For myself I will keep nothing except my Hindū faith and the sacred thread (*zunnār*), which I wear round my body. If a uniform yearly tribute is fixed on me, I will gird up my loins like an arrow and meet the wishes of the Imperial

¹ 'There is no God but Allah.'

² Allusions suitable and straight as the arrow.

officers. By the God who has given such strength to the arrows of the holy warriors, that they pierce the stony hearts of the *gabr*s, I will not repudiate this agreement.' 'When the Imperial messengers had consoled the Rāi, who looked like a broken bow, and were sure that his weaknesses could not be repaired, they retraced their steps and came to the exalted *Malik*. The Rāi's presents, which were suitable for the bow-string, were given over to the archers of the army; and the *Malik*, having assured himself that the Rāi was sincere in the promise he had made, removed the knot of anger from his brow and placed his bow comfortably on its rack.

On the morning of Friday, the 6th *Shawwāl*, when the sky had clothed its feet in light, the messengers of the Rāi, men bad in shooting arrows, but truthful in speech, such as Bālak Deo Naik, Māin Deo, Jit Mal and some others, came out of the fort with folded hands. They brought their presents and bowed before the Imperial canopy, like a bow when an arrow is shot from it; next, like an arrow springing from the bow-string, they began their alluring speech. 'The Rāi', they said, 'whose truthfulness is straighter than a bow-string, assures you that in the attempt to save himself, he has become more bent than a Hindī bow. Finding that the Turks shoot their arrows on whichever side they see a large corner, he enrols himself among the Imperial tributaries before they put a rope round his neck and bring him within their power. He will submit to such Imperial orders as are issued, and will not defend his fort with bows and arrows.'

²No one can describe the elephants so well as I (*Khusrau*), for only a cloud can cast its shadow over a mountain. Everyone of them was valiant in slaying the brave, gigantic in stature, yet like man in intelligence. The iron goad above its head looked like the inverted crescent over a cloud. Hard-headed but obedient, it bore on its back the prestige of the court. From a wide throat it emitted a soft sound. Its hands were without fingers and its feet beat like drums on either side. Its shanks were upright and strong like the trunks of trees and bore the enormous weight of its body. It could tear open the sides of a wolf as wide as laughing lips, or send infidels to sleep in red velvet under the weight of its feet. At one throw it

¹ Allusions to bow and string.

² Allusions to elephants.

could send a thief flying to the other world. The male elephant could win their 'heads' from the Hindūs with the *Chaugān*-stick of its trunk; the female could colour the nails of her hands and feet with *Mughal* blood as if it was *hinā*¹ and at the same time carve out their eyes with her nails. The soles of its feet shook the unmoving earth; and at the same time dragged the chain behind. The *Sah-kash* considered the acquisition of the elephants a very good omen—that is, he thought them magnets for drawing the iron hills of Ma'bar towards themselves. Officers were appointed to look after them and expenses were allotted for their food and upkeep.

²On the day of Mars, when the wine-coloured dawn had disappeared and the heat of the sun was falling vertically on the earth, the Rāi sent all his dust-raising horses to the Imperial stables. They came before the august canopy, rows after rows, like the winds that strike against the clouds; and the canopy, which has the hills for its pegs—if you saw it, you would think it to be the throne of Solomon floating in air—threw its shade over them. The horses seemed to leap into the field of vision out of the realm of imagination. The marine horses could swim through the sea as if it was a cup of water. Their eyes were like crows, with black linings, and they looked at *Shabdīz*³ with contempt. There were dark horses with white faces, like the moon rising up in the horizon of the night; white horses with black hoofs, like an eclipse overshadowing the sun; horses with black patches which reminded one of clouds scattered by the winds; and bay horses with red marks like the air full of roses. Their essence was from the wind, and rain could do them no harm; their bodies were of fire and you could not make their effigies out of wax. They wore shoes of iron and could, nevertheless, dance in the air. Their limbs were like reeds, and they could not, therefore, be drowned in water. Their breasts were wide like the foreheads of the munificent, while their ear-holes were small like the eyes of the stingy.⁴ Like true mystics, they could step on air and walk over the surface of water. Barley was permitted to them, but not whips.

¹ The shrub, *lawsonia inermis*, used by Indian women for dyeing their hands and feet. It is called *menhdi* in Hindustani.

² Allusions to horses.

³ Name of the Emperor *Khusrau*'s horse.

⁴ I have slightly compressed *Khusrau*'s florid description.

¹When the day of the sun² had dawned on the eastern horizon, the sun-worshipping Bilāl Deo saw the rays of the Muslim sword over his head. He bowed down, ran out of his constellation (fort), and throwing himself before the canopy of the 'Shadow of God' like a trembling and lifeless phantom, buried his head in the soil of submission. Having thus acquired the light of good fortune, he retired to his own constellation at a sign from the Hajib-i Mālikul Hujjab in order to bring out his gems, valuables and buried treasures. All that night he was engaged in digging up the treasures which he had hidden like the sun in the bosom of the night. When (next morning) the Hindū-faced night threw the sun out of the earth, the Rāi brought all the sparkling gems, which he had hitherto kept underground, in his skirt before the august canopy and entrusted them to the officers of the Public Treasury. In this city, the four towns of which are four months' journey (from Delhī), the troops remained for twelve days till the main force joined them. Then the elephants of Dhūr Samandar were sent to the Imperial capital like eastern winds that go to the Ka'ba.

The march of the army to Ma'bar, accompanied by fortune and guided by success.—³ On Wednesday, the 18th Shawwāl, the high-sounding army drums were mounted on camel-backs for the expedition to Ma'bar and led up and down across valleys and rivers. The ground was extremely uneven; but the men jumped like lions across hollows which made the camels weep, and cantered like camels over snake-holes and rat-holes where a *bakhti*⁴ would have sunk down to the neck. The sharp thorns drove their points into the feet of the camels as if they were horses to be shod; the pointed stones tore the horses' hoofs with the deceptivity of a camel; the litters were torn by the rapidity of the march and then sewn up again by the thorns. Yet the obedient army patiently bore all the labours of the campaign. If a heavy mountain had been laid on its back every day, it would have carried the mountain without hesitation or protest. Every night they slept on ground more uneven than a camel's back.

⁵ Five days after the above date, the army reached the frontier of Ma'bar. Between the territories of Dhūr Samandar and Ma'bar, a

¹ Allusions to things sublime. ² i.e. Sunday. ³ Allusions to camels.

⁴ 'Bactrian camels', or, in the alternative, 'locusts.'

⁵ Allusions to hills and passes.

mountain was seen that rubbed its head against the clouds; on the hills in front of it, there grew thorny trees, which, spear in hand, protected the garrisons that had taken refuge among them. Two passes leading from two valleys had been opened for the fort-reducing army; one pass was 'Tarmali' and the other was Tabar. But in a moment the mountain-rending army created a hundred passes on every side with the shots of its arrows; and they passed through the hill as rapidly as their arrows had passed through the rocks. At night they reached a river and encamped by its bank in the wilderness². The dust of the desert flew with the wind of Islām, and attacked the Ma'bari troops, who were more numerous than sand-grains; their ranks were broken like 'scattered motes,'³ or like particles of dust carried about by the wind.

*Account of the conquest of Ma'bar and the capture of elephants, horses and jewels.*⁴ The kindness of the Creator has bestowed sharpness on the curved swords of the Muslim army, and they were now re-sharpened by Him. When the army reached this land of infidelity, it created its own arch with the strength of its arm and compelled infidel heads to stand up and fall down before it⁵. The contamination of infidelity, which the sea could not have washed off from this land, was washed away by the 'drops' of the sword. The rebels of that territory had never seen Muslim horsemen even in their dreams. The cowardly⁶ Hindūs had designated their city *Mardi* (manliness); but manliness existed there not in reality, but only in name. The men of the city saw disconcerting dreams and remained lost in the Devil's game. Finally, the *Maliks* reached the fort and carried their banners through the city with beating drums. There was bloodshed beyond all reckoning. The Imperial army bathed in its own perspiration and washed the land with rebel blood.

¹ Elliot says 'Sarmali'.

² 'After traversing the passes, they arrived at night on the banks of the river Kanobari, and bivouacked on the sands.' (Elliot). I do not find the name Kanobari in my MS. at this place.

³ The Quran, chap. xxv, sect. 3.

⁴ Allusions to the sword.

⁵ Does not signify forced conversion but battle, in which the head first stands up and then falls before the arched sword.

⁶ It was necessary for the Hindus to be cowards (*namard*) so that the author may be able to compare them with *Mardi* (manliness), the name of their town.

¹ On Thursday, the 5th Zil Qa'd, the Muslim troops, numerous as sand-grains, started from the river Kanaurī towards Birdhūl. They were thirsty for Ma'bar and for the ocean; and in case the Bīr fled towards the sea, they had determined to pursue him thither like thirsty men in quest of water. When the enthusiastic army approached Birdhūl, the beats of their drums resounded in the Bīr (well); and though Bīr on his part also raised a hue and cry, yet it was a weak voice coming out of a well. The Hindu community kept their Bīr (well) covered, so that no one could look into him. 'An event is going to happen', they told Bīr, 'your head will be taken off and you will be left with your mouth open'. Bīr wished to sink into the earth like a well, but on further reflection, he felt afraid that they (the Mussalmans) might throw a rope down his throat and take out all his water. He was in this perplexity when the army approached nearer and his fort began to shake. Bīr lost all self-control and desired to fly towards the sea; but first through sad and melancholy sighs he sent it a message. 'I have sailed over thee so often. But now I, who am Bīr (well), suffer from a great scarcity of water owing to the enormous Turkish army. Give me a refuge in thine islands.' When these melancholy sighs reached the sea, it instantly put on its armour and swelled up and roared its reply: 'O Bīr, do not come this side, for in this fall of kingdoms, I will be only overthrowing myself along with you. I am not a dry pond, in which you can dig a well (*bir*).² My title is "the sea" and God has given me the privilege of surrounding the seven climes. May be, a wave from the army of the king of land and sea—"and He it is who has made the sea subservient that you may eat fresh flesh from it"—will come fishing this side, and I shall be able to pay my respects to it: I am not devoid of shame and honour, and it is for such a contingency that I have preserved the valuables in my treasury. Very often people have sailed over me upon a handful of wood and straw; but now I will change my water into dust at the feet of the Imperial troops. You may consider me one of the meanest of Imperial servants. If I have a treasure of pearls, it is a present for the *Maliks*. If there are islands of earth in me, they are to be used for the letters of the Imperial

¹ Allusions to well and water.

² Punning on the word *bir* (well) is the very essence of this paragraph.

*Diwan*¹. As for the ships which sail on the surface of the water, they cannot be concealed. The finest ships, arrayed like young damsels, are waiting for the Emperor's orders; he can choose whichever he likes. Henceforth the solution of all difficulties concerning this region is in the hands of the King of kings. The property of the servant is the property of his master.'

When this reply came to Bīr's ears, he also roared out from his empty heart, and in his excessive thirst and dryness, he felt like drinking up the whole ocean. For he was like an empty well, whose eyes have sunk to the bottom and whose interior is entirely devoid of moisture. The officers of Bīr also lost their self-confidence; and as these aquatic animals were beset with a great scarcity of water, they inevitably resolved to make Bīr (well) fly by way of land.

² When the great Brahmans saw that the Rāi Rāyān was weaker than a leaf, they represented to him in coloured language that betels should be offered to the *rawats* to induce them to sacrifice their lives. On a hint from the Rāi, betels were presented to Hindū horsemen and *paiks* to induce them to shoot forth new leaves. They took the betels and their mouths were filled with blood in mourning at their own death. You would have said that the pale faced and green-coloured Hindūs were like the betel-leaf, which is green above and yellow beneath³. For no blood was left in their arteries, and Death had opened its jaws to colour its teeth with their blood. They were not eating betel but drinking blood; for every time they put it in their mouths, the leaf changed its colour under their black teeth, wept tears of blood and caused their lips to open in laughter. Along with them, the Bīr also ate betel and drank blood⁴. When the holy warriors reached the precincts of the city, their sword cast its rays on Birdhūl and made it clear to Bīr that the time of his decline was near. No water remained in him. From this time till sunset, the yellow-faced Rāi, along with other pale faces, kept falling into fits (*satra*); and their disease affected the sun, for it also grew pale and sank down in a fit. The Rāi saw that the day of his prosperity had changed into night and the world

¹ The custom of using sand for drying ink by sprinkling it over the written page is still common in India.

² Allusions to the betel-leaf.

³ The pun from Bīr and well changes to Bīr and *birah* (betel-leaf), the latter being written in Persian in the same way as *Bīr*.

⁴ Allusions to the stars.

grew dark before his eyes. Along with his perplexed companions—'you may think them as one body and their hearts are disunited'—he retired towards the city, from where he took a quantity of cash and valuables, which brought some consolation to his palpitating heart, and also a number of men and horses. Thus equipped for the flight, he moved towards the city of Kandūr. But as the danger from the Imperial army was extremely great, he was unable to establish himself firmly even there and fled to the forest of elephants and tigers.

¹ A body of Mussalmāns had allied themselves to the broken crupper of the Hindūs and had violated the law: 'Do not make the infidels your friends as against the Mussalmāns². But now they saw the Rāi break his own stirrup and the Day of Reckoning covered them like a saddle-cloth. The world appeared to them contracted like the bow of a saddle; the wave of blood rose above the saddle and they had no place to dry their feet. So they turned away their bridles from their infidel allies, sought safety in submission to the Mussalmāns, and tried to strengthen themselves by hanging to the saddle-straps of the State. 'Then surely the party of Allāh are they that shall be triumphant.' *Though everyone of them was the very worst of rebels and apostates, yet they were honoured by the Malik and liberated from their chains.*³ Their oath of affirmation testified to their claim of being Mussalmāns, and out of regard for this, the Muslim *Malik* ordered the V-shaped yoke to be removed from their necks. The forgiveness of the forgiving Emperor was extended to them; they were asked concerning the circumstances of the infidels and brought (to light) all they knew about those fire-worshippers. Led by these Mussalmāns, the Imperial troops resolved to chase the cowardly Bir and all other cowards.

⁴ But at this moment a black-faced cloud advanced from the direction of the Ma'bari troops, and owing to its friendliness with the sea, strove hard for the Ma'baries. To the Mussalmāns also it gave some formal help. In fact it was very deceptive; sometimes it rained severely, at other times gently; on the one hand, it gave water to the stream of *Shari'at*, and on the other, it assisted those aquatic animals. At this double dealing the lightning laughed. But as Fate had ordained that the shower of Muslim arrows was not to reach the

¹ Allusions to saddle and bridle.

² The *Qur'ān*, chap. v, sect. 8.

³ Allusions to Isam and infidelity.

⁴ Allusions to the cloud, showering pearls

gabrs, the rain became more severe as the Mussalmāns strove to advance. You would have thought Destiny had drawn a curtain before the victorious army in order to protect the *flying troops*. *For when the Imperialists advance like a deluge, Fate alone can save the drowning.* So the army returned to Birdhūl. They found that Bīr (well) had fled and the drum (*dhul*) was empty. The infidel cloud, like a Hindū in sable clothes, drew its Hindī rainbow to the full length and sent down its rain-drops like sharp arrow-points. They passed through the armour and the breast-plate; and though the bronze bodies of the holy warriors remained unaffected, they were, nevertheless, hindered from discharging their arrows. The water rendered the bows ineffective and made the Hindī swords rusty¹; it got in between the arrow and its (iron) point and separated them from one another; it also whispered something in the 'ears' of the bows and untwisted their strings². But the clever and masterful (Imperial) archers were not afraid of the cloud of Bahman or of the rain-drops; their arrows flew like lightning, for they were of the nature of the wind. Some aquatic animals of that land crept like snakes into every hole and crevice, while the bodies of others were pierced by the sharp arrows even as water gets into a snake-hole. The Hindū *rawats* came forth riding in troops but were laid low before the Turkish horse. A deluge of water and blood flowed forward to plead for mercy before the Caliph's army. Or you might say, that owing to the extreme happiness of infidel souls, the beverage of blood was so delicious, that every time the cloud rained water over it, the ferocious earth drank it up with the greatest pleasure. In spite of the great intoxicating power of this wine, the *sāqī* poured her clear liquid out of the flagon of the sky to increase its intoxication further. Out of this wine and beverage Death had distilled her first delicious draught. *Next you saw bones on the earth.*

From Birdhūl the army advanced in search of Bīr across a path so completely covered by water that you could not distinguish the road from a well. Torrents of rain fell from above. But the horsemen guided their horses as pilots guide their ships, *and sailing through the storm like Noah's ark*, they reached a village where the

¹ Or, in the alternative, 'and sometimes showed the sword the way to Abyssinia from Hind'.

² Or, 'and drew them away from their strings'.

Hindū army lay encamped like bubbles on the surface of water. But as soon as a breeze from the majestic sword of the Turks blew towards them, they broke and dispersed and seemed to sink into the ground, *even as a rain drop disappears in sandy soil.*¹ At midnight, when the moon and the stars had been hidden by the clouds and the morning was still far off, some swift-footed scouts reported that the Rāi, having lost all consciousness of head and foot, had fled to the city of Kandūr. The victorious army hurried after him and soon reached the place. The Hindūs, who relying on the strength of their 'head', had lost their 'feet' before this time, now lost their 'head' also. They ran about 'headless', searching for their lost 'head'; and in this search they also lost the heads they had. The 'head-throwing' Turks found no traces of the lost man anywhere, though they cut off a number of heads under the suspicion that they were his, and again and again drew circles round the places where they expected him to be. *Finally, the Hindū-faced night withdrew and the morning dawned.*² When the elephantine cloud had disappeared, one hundred and twenty³ cloud-like elephants were captured at the place and on the backs of the elephants were treasures, such as do not drop from the backs of the clouds and are not to be found in the bowels of the hills. The spoils were entrusted to the officers of the Treasury. Many elephant-bodied *rawats*, who like the tusks of elephants had never withdrawn from the battle-field, now crept into their houses like the elephant's eye from fear of the terrific Turkish storm; but they were, nevertheless, dragged out of their corners and thrown under the feet of the elephants. It seemed that, smeared with the blood of those 'possessors of the elephants', the elephants of that land became like 'birds in flocks' and carried to the elephantine clouds the words of thankfulness to the Lord of Ka'ba.⁴

¹ Allusions to being lost.

² Allusions to elephants and their burdens.

³ Elliot reads 'one hundred and eight', which, without the dots, would be written in the same way as one hundred and twenty. His account of the campaign is very incorrect and confused at this place.

⁴ The reference is to the memorable invasion of Mecca by Abraha, the Christian Viceroy of the King of Abyssinia at Yemen (510 A.D.). 'Have you not considered how your Lord dealt with the possessor of the elephant? Did he not cause their war to end in confusion, and send down (to prey) upon them birds in flocks, casting them against hard stones like straw eaten up'. (*The 'Quran'*, chap. cv).

¹ Though a deluge of blood was made to flow in the *Kharābābād* of Kandūr with the Hindī sword, that could have cut a boat into two, yet no trace of the desired fish was found. The Mussalmans thought he had gone towards Jāt Kūta. 'We will go and throw out our fishing line there', they determined, 'May be he will fall into our hands!' So without waiting to rest or recuperate, they started quicker than the rain that falls from above. But it was discovered for certain from people coming from that direction that Bīr had not been anywhere near that *birāna*. He had washed his hands off the sea as well, for the sea, in spite of its stability, had fled from that flowing river *and dived to the bottom of the earth.* ²The forest to which Bīr had fled was so thick, that there was no place in it for an ant to put its feet; and if imagination had entered it, it would have lost its way and never found it out again. As it was ascertained that the Rāi had penetrated into the forest even as a needle pierces through silk, that his companions had gone with him like the thread following the needle, and that the end of the thread was not now to be found, the *Malik*, who, if he heard of so much as the picture of an elephant on silk cloth, would have run his sharp scissors towards it in the darkest night, did not consider it worth while wasting his arrows against the hillside for such a matter of detail as capturing the small party of the Rāi. It was impossible to find them. The Mussalmans drew away their skirts from the thorny forest and returned to Kandūr, so that with their staffs they may explore the hills of that region in search of more elephants.

³ When in the morning the elephantine clouds had gathered round that golden idol, the sun, news was brought that in the city of Barmatpur there was a golden temple, and that the Rāi's elephants had collected round it even as clouds collect round the sun. The army started like a storm to move those clouds and arrived there at midnight. Two hundred and fifty elephants, who roared like thunder, were captured before dawn by the fleet-footed horsemen, *just as the waves of the sea are raised in a continuous succession by the wind.*⁴ Next, the Muslim *Sah-kash* came with a body of holy warriors to destroy the golden temple in which the idols were kept. They saw a building, old and strong as the infidelity of Satan, and enchanting like the allurements

¹ Allusions to fish and water.

³ Allusions to elephants and clouds.

² Allusions to forest.

⁴ Allusions to Islam and infidelity.

of worldly life. You might say that it was the Paradise of *Shaddād*, which after being lost, those hellites had found, or that it was the golden *Lankā* of *Rām*, that *Rāi* having collected the golden heads of the idols and left them till the time of Solomon came, or else, that they had been left for *Bīr*, but *Bīr* (well) having become dry, these idols fell down. ¹In truth, the towering edifice testified to the fact that the earth is the infidel's paradise. It rose from the earth, a structure of gold scratching the eyes of the stars and piercing the pupil of the sun. Its summit reached the claws of the Lion; its golden foundations went deep into the earth; you would have thought the Twelve Fish had been consolidated into one. Its roofs and walls were inlaid with sparkling rubies and emeralds, and after gazing at them, red and yellow spots came before the spectator's eye. ²The sight of gold was cooling to the sight. The green colour of the emerald would have given prestige to a kingly crown; for it looked like a young parrot flown from its egg in the moon. The jewelled figure of the idol looked like a bubble on the surface of the sun, and gazing at it would have weakened the eye. *God be praised that all these gems have been brought to the Treasury of the 'Shadow of God'!*

³The foundations of this golden temple, which was the holy place of the *Hindūs*, were dug up with the greatest care. The 'Glorifiers of God' broke the infidel building, so that 'spiritual birds' came down like pigeons from the air. The 'ears' of the wall were opened by the sound of the spade. At its call the sword also raised its 'head' from the scabbard; and the 'heads' of the *Brahmans* and idol-worshippers came dancing from their necks to their feet at the flashes of the sword. ⁴The golden bricks rolled down and brought with them their plaster of sandal-wood; the yellow gold became red with blood, and the white sandal turned scarlet. The sword flashed where jewels had once been sparkling; where mire used to be created by rose-water and musk, there was now a mud of blood and dirt; the stench of blood was emitted by ground once fragrant with musk; the saffron coloured doors and walls assumed the colour of bronze. *And by this*

¹ *Allusions to the high sky.* The reference here seems to be to a well-known proverb that 'the earth is the paradise of infidels and the hell of true believers.'

² Referring to the well-known phenomenon that after seeing a strong colour the eye sees its complementary colour for some time.

³ *Allusions to Kā'ba and idol-temples.*

⁴ *Allusions to gold and jewels.*

⁵ *Allusions to idol-worshippers.*

smell the men of Faith were intoxicated and the men of Infidelity ruined. The stone idols, called 'Ling-i-Mahādeo,' which had been for a long time established at that place,—*quibus, mulieres infidelium pudenda sua affricant*,¹—these, up to this time, the kick of the horse of Islām had not attempted to break.² The *Mussalmāns* destroyed all the *lingas*. *Deo Narāin* fell down, and the other gods, who had fixed their seats there, raised their feet and jumped so high, that at one leap they reached the fort of Lanka; and in that affright the *lingas* themselves would have fled, had they any legs to stand on. And long-lived Satan, who in that temple had induced the sons of Adam to bow down before the *lingas* of the *Deos*, fled to *Sarandīp* in such despair that he reached Adam's Foot (*qadam-i-Adam*) and lowered his head before it.³ *See how far Islām has succeeded, when even Satan bows his head before Adam.*⁴ The foundations of the temple, which were mines of gold, were dug up, and its jewelled walls, which were mines of precious stones, pulled down. The spades and shovels were sharpened at the heart of the rubies; the pick-axe, shaped like the key, opened the door of victory over the building; and the mattock went into the inlaid wall and brought out the pearls. Wherever there was any treasure in that desolated building, the ground was sifted in a sieve and the treasure discovered. No part of gold remained with the *gabrs* except its dust, no jewels except the 'principle' of fire. When the gold and jewels had been entrusted to the Imperial officers, the successful army moved back to the (central) camp, with its treasures and elephants.

⁵ On Sunday, the 11th *Zil Qa'd*, the men of the victorious army arrived before the august canopy and rubbed their mud-smeared foreheads on the ground. The temples of *Bīrdhūl* had raised their heads to the drum of the sky and their foundations went down to water-depth; but now their foundations were dug up so thoroughly that below every foundation a well (*bīr*)⁶ was excavated reaching down to the Fish and the sparkling treasures, which like ducks had been roosting in

¹ Allusive to a practice, which it is unnecessary to particularise more closely, which is still said to be much observed among the *Khatris*, and which *Hindus* in general repudiate, attributing it at the same time to the *Saraogis* (*Elliot*), vol. iii, p. 91.

² This sentence is taken from *Elliot*.

³ Ceylon is said to have been the place of Adam's descent. The refusal to bow down before Adam was the cause of Satan's fall.

⁴ *Allusions to precious stones and gold.*

⁵ *Allusions to the luminaries of the sky,*

⁶ *Bīr*, well, and *dhul*, drum.

every corner of the building, were drawn out of the centre of the earth. So much dust was raised from these Hindū houses that the 'heart' of Saturn became a well of dust. Two days later the towering canopy started from here; on Thursday, the 15th Zil Qa'd, it arrived at the city of Kim;¹ five days later it reached the city of Mathrā, the dwelling place of the brother of the Rāi, Sundar Pāndyā. The city of the great Saturnian, who had a colossal palace, was found as empty as the constellation of Mars. The Rāi had fled along with the Rānis and only two or three elephants had been left in the temple of Jagannath. In spite of all search for the lost Arrow (Mercury) and the Great Bear, only these two or three clouds (elephants) could be seen. The *Malik* was so inflamed with anger that he set fire to the temple of Jagannath.

From here the *Malik* ordered the elephants to be taken to the main camp, and in contradiction to the proverb, that 'one hill does not go to another', these elephants were taken to the other elephants. When the 'Ariz counted them at the muster, the line of elephants was three *farsangs* long, and from *farsang* to *farsang* the ground was rubbed and beaten under their feet. Five hundred and twelve elephants, who would have torn 'the wall of the (First) Alexander' like a rampart of paper, were brought into the roll of captives by the powerful orders of the Second Alexander. Gigantic bodies they had, and if their feet made no noise when they walked, yet the earth groaned and cried, 'Surely the violence of the hour is a grievous thing'.²

*Praise of the elephants, with trunks like dragons, under whose feet the hills grew soft as wax.*³ They were like hills, so high that the vermilion on their foreheads gave a red lining to the clouds, or else like clouds so much above the ground that water took a long time in falling from their backs. Their bodies were so large that the wind striking their backs was unable to reach their tails; and the Creator of ether had hidden 'fire' in them just as lightning is hidden in the clouds. The driver sat on their necks with his goad like the spur of a mountain. But while other clouds rain water and cause vegetables to grow, these clouds drank water and ate vegetables; while other hills contain precious stones and are permanently fixed, these hills contained no treasures and were always on the move. *Everyone present wondered at*

¹ 'Kham' in Elliot.

² The *Quran*, chap xxii, sect. 1.

³ Allusions to elephants.

their shape—a steep hill and a man guiding it. The driver sat on its neck like an angel directing a cloud, and the box on its back looked like a ship floating on the sea. When it was moving, you would have thought it a mighty wave in the ocean; when standing, it looked like the main tower of a fort, adorned with a trunk in place of the *munjanig*. And if the waves of the sea are moved by the force of the winds, the elephants, when angry, moved the wind in waves; if the tower of the fort is surmounted by a wooden defence, this tower was adorned by a box of jewels. You might liken it to a dome on four columns, which crushes the infidels by its weight, or to a hill on four rocks, which causes the heretics to slip down its 'nose' In spite of its weight, it moved gently like the wind; in spite of its movement, it seemed to stand still.

Praise of horses whose onslaught on the field of battle destroyed the stone-stables of Time.—¹ *When the elephants had retired to their officers, the muster of the horses was taken. The Imperial Ariz counted them one by one; they were five thousand in number. There were 'Yamāni' and 'Shāni' horses, all going to their stables with alluring steps. The 'marine' horse could float like a bubble on water. They were swift as lightning; their qualities were those of the rose; their origin was from the wind and yet they yielded softly to the bridle. A man could never attain to their swiftness except in imagination. Their breath was like the morning breeze blowing over the Narcissus; their ears grew like lilies. Everyone of them was an Ahraman, who in the rapidity of his movement, left his shadow behind. Sometimes it would stand in the air; at other times (its swiftness) lay dormant like fire in stone. Its figure captivated the eye and was never again forgotten. It galloped rapidly over uneven paths and could see a needle in the darkness of the night; it finished its journey as quickly as a thread gets into the eye of a needle. When the horses, with such fine figure and qualities, had been reviewed, they were all assigned to the royal stables and enlisted in the service of the Emperor, so that in the Imperial battles another wall came along (with the wall of the elephants). May the whole globe, and even the nine heavens, remain under the Emperor's rule!*

Praise of the treasures of land and sea, worthy of the exalted Solomon.—

² If a description of the boxes of jewels were attempted, there is on breast in which it could be contained, nor any heart that could

¹ Allusions to horses.

² Allusions to jewels.

appreciate its value. There were five hundred *mans* of precious stones, and every piece was equal in size to the disc of the (sinking) sun. The diamonds were of such a colour that the sun will have to stare hard for ages before the like of them is made in the factories of the rocks. The pearls glistened so brilliantly that the brow of the clouds will have to perspire for years before such pearls again reach the treasury of the sea. For generations the mines will have to drink blood in the stream of the sun before rubies such as these are produced. The emeralds were of a water so fine, that if the blue sky broke itself into fragments, none of its fragments would equal them. Every diamond sparkled brightly; it seemed as if it was a drop fallen from the sun. As to the other stones, *their lustre eludes description just as water escapes out of a small vessel.*

¹Through the favour of the Lord of men and *jins*, and assisted by the sincere motives of the Imam and the Caliph of the age, the orthodox (*sunni*) victors had now piously compelled all false houses of worship to bow their heads on the prayer-carpet of the ground and had broken all stone idols like the stony hearts of their worshippers. How clean the breasts of those who broke with the greatest severity these contaminated stones, which Satan had raised like a wall before himself! The hearts of the Mussalmans were now quite satisfied with the breaking of false gods. The elephants, who had gone rubbing their noses against the ground to the thresholds of the temples, now considered the ruby velvet on their backs as their pilgrims' dress for visiting the capital of Islam, and were ready to bow their heads in obedience to the Emperor of the Seven Climes. The treasure, which was the mainstay and the *Ka'ba* of those evil men, was collected for the Imperial court. The ceremonies of holy war, which are obligatory duties, had been performed in obedience to the orders of the 'Commander of the Faithful'. The *Malik-i Ghāzī* and the holy warriors of the victorious army bowed their heads in thankfulness—'Victory is only from Allah, the Mighty and the Wise'—and bathed the ground with their perspiration and tears. And in their prayer for the increased power of the Caliphate, they raised their hands so high, as to reach the Treasury of Acceptance.

Return of the victorious army to the Imperial Court of Land and Sea.—

²On Sunday night the company of stars prepared to return to the

¹ Allusions to prayer and worship.

² Allusion to heavenly bodies.

Imperial Capital. The breaking up of the camp filled all hearts with a deep joy.¹ Next morning, Sunday, the 4th Zil Hijjah, 710 A.H. the numerous troops, accompanied by their elephants and loaded with their heavy treasure, began their march for the capital. Victory in all her glory led the van, planning further conquests; success accompanied them in all things, and the favour of God protected them. *Yes! God will protect the army that protects the world.* Young and old rejoiced on account of the favour from Allāh. The noise of 'Huzza! Huz!' rose from the infidels—'They are nothing but as cattle; nay, they are straying further off from the path.' As the desire to kiss the ground of the Court had overpowered the men of the army, they cheerfully underwent the hardships of the journey. They passed rapidly and without weariness over the mountains, the thought of which makes one feel tired, and crossed, with the indifference of a somnambulist, deep valleys, the dream of which would cause a man to jump up in his sleep. Thorns, the very memory of which pricks one like a spear, appeared to them soft like the hair of their own bodies. They swam through rivers, the thought of which drowns one's imagination in a sea of wonder, and passed rapidly through hot wind and rain and hail, which was sometimes gentle and sometimes severe, till they finally reached the 'Shadow of God', and were protected from sunshine and heat, pain and sorrow. *Indeed, they thanked God for the blessings of peace and for the privilege of being able to see the Head of the State.*

²On Monday, the 14th Jamādius Šānī, 711 A.H. the exalted Sun (Sultan) held a public durbar in the Golden Palace.³ The 'Shadow of God' sat under the canopy, and the rays of his face drove away the evil eye, as if with a baton. The dormant fortunes of men awakened; it seemed that the black shadow of his canopy had lined their sleepy eyes with antimony. His baton struck its light on the head of bloodshedding Mars; his sword cast its scabbard-strap in the neck of the sun. The sky, for all its fearless tyranny, was overpowered by the lustre of the spears, and Time, in spite of its overbearing strength, felt afraid of the fearful bow. The *Maliks* in innumerable rows rubbed their waists together like so many rubies

¹ Allusion to army and troops.

² Allusions to the royal court.

³ Apparently meaning the Sirl Palace, where, according to Barni, the *Malik Naib* presented the spoils to the Sultan on various occasions.

and diamonds.¹ White and brown horses stood in magnificent files, stamping the ground with their feet and turning it into gold. The earth seemed full of (small) hillocks after the great *Maliks* had rubbed their foreheads upon it, while the prostration of the *Tikadār Rāis* gave it the colour of saffron. The cry of *Bismillah* came to the ears of the angels and reminded them of their bowing before Adam; the sound of *Hadakallah* fell on Satan's ears, compelling him to bow down to Adam's descendants.² The wind of Imperial favour blew so generously as to take away the power of self-restraint from the wishes of men; yet such was the awe of His Imperial Majesty, that but for the anchor-loads on their backs, the elephants would have fled away. When the right and left wing of the Imperial Court had assembled, the sky recited the '*Ayat al Kursi*'³ and the four angels read the four *Quls*⁴ at the four columns. The Emperor's servant, the *Sah-Kash*, who had performed more services than can be described, was introduced along with other *Maliks* and great men who had survived the campaign in which they had so often risked their lives. He bowed the broad forehead of his fortune before the throne and placed his obedient face on the carpet of the Court. The cry of *Bismillah* rose so high, that Divine favour descended down it from the sky as down a strong rope. Then the review of the spoils began. The ground was covered by the large bodies of the elephants and faultless gems. While the jewels were on the backs of the animals, they indicated that the 'essence of things' was finer than the 'eye'; but when they were scattered at the feet of men and horses, it was proved that the eye was superior to the jewels. All men, who were adorned with two eyes, just as the eye is adorned with two 'jewels', wondered at the sight of elephants and jewels. Every gigantic elephant had a female, and the female also had a gigantic stature. The body of the elephant was strong and large; there was a great distance between its head and feet, and the distance between its trunk and tail was greater still; nor could you

¹ Alluding to the white and red waist-bands of the courtiers.

² As we learn from *Ibn-i Batuta*, the official cry of the *hajibs* was *Bismillah* (in the name of Allah) whenever a Mussalman was granted audience; but when a Hindu was introduced, they cried '*Hadakallah*' (May Allah lead thee aright!).

³ A verse of the *Quran* known by that name.

⁴ The four *quls* are the last four chapters of the *Quran*.

see the whole of its back and breast except in three views (from three different points). The forgiving Emperor thanked the merciful God, who gives and takes away life, for the acquisition of those valuables; and the circumference of the sky was not extensive enough to contain his gratitude. And it will not be strange, if, in return for his thankfulness, all the creatures of the broad world are conquered by his sword, for gratitude to God is the condition of all great success.

*A few words of apology for the innumerable mistakes and defects of this book*¹.—By the favour of the Creator this 'book of victories' ornamented with the great deeds of Abūl Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shah Sultān, has been brought to an end. It is a specimen of Khusrau's prose. May this account of some of the victories of this conqueror wander all over the world through the realm of day and night till the Day of Resurrection! My reason for making the book short, and contenting myself with the description of a few victories only, is this: Since the Imperial orders are being issued for the conquest of the whole globe, there is no doubt that victory will carry these commands to every part of the world from east to west. It was easier for me (under the circumstances) to adorn my book with a few gems only to illustrate these victories. So from necessity, I have described a part of the Emperor's virtues and a few of his conquests; and in words that may fully and correctly express my meaning, I have written a few pages. Nor did I wish that verses in any language, other than Persian and Arabic, should blacken the lip of my pen and the pages of my book. It is certain that the few sentences I have composed are more meaningless than the two-lettered words that are taught to children; that the pages of my book are more weakly joined together than pieces of paper, which it is attempted to stick together with the water of the mouth; and that the ideas I have expressed, though in my opinion fine as hair, are (in reality) no better than a letter written with a hair sticking to the point of the pen. But since I have appealed to Divine assistance in the composition of this book, I hope my inventions will find acceptance in the Sultān's eyes.

Prayers to God for the acceptance of this book (by the Sultān) and for his forgiveness.²—May God who has cast the light of guidance on the hearts of the Mussalmāns, procure this description of political

¹ Allusions to the '*Diwan-i Insha*' (Secretariat).

² Allusions to the '*Quran*.'

events, which is founded on the 'Opening Chapter' and verses in support of the Muslim Faith, a good fortune before the last 'Commander of Faithful', Muhammad, on whose forehead shines the verse, 'Surely we have made you a ruler in the land'. If my pen in its wanderings has ever passed beyond the bounds of respect, and in its ignorance and forgetfulness has said anything not worthy of the Royal Protector of the Faith, may the Lord send this verse from His Book to the Sultan's inspired heart—'and those who restrain their anger and pardon men'—so that in his mercy to all men, he may spare my life also. If there is anything defective in my composition, on which men of wit and learning can place their fingers, send me a ray of Thy favour, so that these defects may remain concealed. Lest from the obvious or hidden meaning of my words any conclusion is drawn against the 'Mother of Books', I finish my treatise with the sentence—'There is no God but Allāh, and Muhammad is His Prophet'. And my last prayer is: 'Make me die a Mussalmān and join me with the good.' 'O Lord! Send Thy blessings on Thy creature and Thy messenger, the unlettered Prophet, and on his Family and his Companions, the innocent and the pure, out of Thy mercy, Thou who art the most Merciful of all.'

Reviews

'THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES SINCE 1905.'

BY

PROF. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

[B. G. Paul & Co., Madras. Pp. xxvii + 377. Price Rs. 4]

A VOLUME from the pen of such a versatile writer on political and sociological subjects would generally be sure of a well-merited welcome. Unfortunately, in the present case, the book belies the interest aroused by the title, and the author has done scant justice to himself. It is only fair to him to note that he appears not unaware of the defects of the production, as he says, in the preface 'The book may be taken to be an enlarged table of contents or rather an expanded syllabus.' Such a syllabus may have a useful place in the class-room, as notes for the guidance of a lecturer or for the revision-work of an intelligent student. But one cannot help wishing that Prof. Sarkar had aimed at some work of more permanent value.

The author has brought to bear all the resources of his scholarship in a variety of European languages. In so far as his epitomising method will permit it, he has tried with success to be just to the views he expounds. He has attempted to make the thoughts of the period he is specially interested in, intelligible in the light of their earlier history. His attempts to mark off stages in each period are interesting, even where one may be tempted occasionally to differ.

One cannot but feel however, that the author would have erred on the side of good taste, if he had refrained from making prominent mention (in as many as five places) of the contributions he himself claims to have made. Nor is there any justification for the treatment of Miss Mayo as a political philosopher. Even her admirers would hesitate to label her vapourings as philosophy, but Prof. Sarkar, perhaps, holds otherwise for he says (in the very casual philosophical *credo* with which he begins the work) that 'truth is individual, personal, concrete, not universal, general, abstract.' On the assumption that the author knows what he means and means what he says, even Miss Mayo may rank as a philosopher.

The book is well-printed and attractively got up. It is matter for regret, however, that in spite of so much labour, the range of its utility will remain comparatively limited.

S. S. S.

'THE CHRISTIAN TASK IN INDIA'

EDITED BY

THE REV. JOHN MCKENZIE, M.A.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

THE MOST REV. THE METROPOLITAN OF CALCUTTA

[Published by Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1929. Price 7/6 net]

IN the brief but interesting introduction, the Bishop of Calcutta lets us have what he conceives to be the Christian task in India. He says: 'I am sure that in India to-day we need to present the Christian religion far more as a way of life than we have done, and as such it must cover the whole of life in all its diverse activities and relationships. It is thus that I conceive of the Christian task in India.'

The book covers fifteen chapters and each chapter is an essay by itself. Its contributors are those who can speak with authority on the subject. On the views expressed in these chapters, the learned Editor John McKenzie makes the following statement in the preface. 'Writers are responsible only for the views expressed in their own chapters. The editor does not commit himself to agreement with all the views that are contained in these contributions, but he has taken the responsibility of presenting them to the public as being in line with the general purpose of the book.' S. K. Datta contributes on the 'Nature of the Task,' and discusses the purpose of the Christian task in India. In the second chapter on the 'Intelligentsia' J. C. Winslow says that the people who dominate the picture are the educated Brahmans, and his enquiry centres around the attitude of these classes towards the Christian faith. The next three chapters are devoted to a study of the rural uplift of India especially by education and the part of the Christian message to the women and the illiterate. The editor's contribution on Higher Education is full of interest. The chapters on the Ministry of Healing and the Problem of Poverty show in what varied directions the Christian is fulfilling his task in India.

Other equally interesting chapters are those on 'Christian Literature ; Its Aim and Opportunity,' 'English Layman's Contribution' and 'Towards Unity.' The volume thus contains much interesting details and will repay perusal.

V. R. R.

'THE PILGRIMAGE OF BUDDHISM'

BY

JAMES BISSETT PRATT, PH.D.

[Published by Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London 1928. Price 15s. net.]

PROFESSOR James Bissett Pratt, the author of *Religious Consciousness*, has now brought out a highly learned and interesting work on the most fascinating subject of Buddhism. Though much work has been done on the subject and though there are very many works on Buddhism, still the book under review will be a welcome addition to those interested in the history of Buddhism. The book is indeed a frank attempt 'to get a synthetic view of Buddhism, to grasp it as a whole, and also to discover the actual conditions of the religion as it is believed and lived to-day.' It may be remarked at the outset that the learned Professor has succeeded in his attempt.

The first five chapters of the book are devoted to a study of the moral teachings of the religion from both the positive and negative sides. Chapter vi deals with the story of Indian Buddhism. There is evidence of an attempt to keep in touch with all the modern works on the subject, and the story is told in a simple and easy style. In speaking of the positive side of the Buddhist ethics, an interesting statement is made. 'It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the Buddha had no place in his scheme of life for the world of the layman' (p. 46.) It may be that the innocent values of the layman's life are recognized by the Buddha as by any other teacher. But the moot point to answer is whether the lay adherent formed an integral part of the Buddhist organization as in the Jaina organization. So far as we are aware the Buddhists were a purely monastic community and took no lay disciples, whatever may be the transformation in the later history of Buddhism. After discussing the Order and the so-called Council under Asoka, it is remarked, 'This in effect made him

head of the Church as well as head of the State' (p. 104.) There is no gain-saying the fact that he was the head of the State. But that he was the head of the Church is to be seriously questioned. Early Buddhism could not recognize any other man than the Buddha as the head of the Order. There is again the view that Asoka was not a Buddhist at all, and a new interpretation of the edicts is being attempted in the light of that view. These are points which could not be discussed in a notice of the book like the one under review.

The really valuable portion of the book contains in the interesting story of the Buddhist movement in Greater India—Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, and the stories of the Chinese Buddhism and Japanese Buddhism. Speaking on Chinese Buddhism, special chapters deal with Buddhist temples in China, its monks, its laymen, the Buddhist revival and the Buddhist thought in that country. The same perhaps more elaborate treatment is given in examining the history of the movement in Japan. There are two strikingly interesting chapters on the Mahayana form of Buddhism and the philosophy of the Mahayana (pp. 211-59.) In dealing with China, Japan, Siam and other countries of Greater India, a vivid picture of the Buddhism of our day is presented, with its comparative strength and weakness in the respective countries. A distinction is made between Southern Buddhism such as is found in Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Cambodia, and Northern Buddhism of China and Japan. There exists a world of difference between the two forms, such marked differences, which, if the Founder would now take stock of the situation would reveal a new development and newer institutions unthought of by him.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

‘GESETSBUCH UND PURĀṆA’

BY

J. J. MEYER

[Indische Forschungen begündet von Alfred Hillebrandt, in Zwanglosen Heften herausgegeben von Bruno Liebich, 7 Heft, pp. xxiii + 112, Breslau : Verlag von M. und H. Marcus, 1929.]

DR. J. J. MEYER is a distinguished scholar of wide learning and rich experience. He is a special student of the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra

and the ancient Dharmaśāstras. His work *Über das Wesen der altindischen Rechtsschaften* is a monumental work of research in the field of ancient Hindu law. This work is followed by another work of equal importance *Gesetsbuch und Purāṇa*, a work more polemical in character. The book under review is a searching examination of the position taken by H. Losch in his recent publication *Die Yājñavalkyasmṛti, Ein Beitrag Von Zwellenkunde des indischen Rechts*, as regards the authorship of the law-book entitled the Yājñavalkyasmṛti in particular and the authorship of other Dharmaśāstras in general. The main thesis of Dr. Meyer is that ancient lawbooks could be attributed to individual authors, and therefore Yājñavalkya is the author of the extant Yājñavalkyasmṛti. According to Dr. Losch however the Dharmaśāstra of Yājñavalkya is later than the Agni and Garuḍa Purāṇas to which the lawbook is indebted. In other words Losch wants us to believe that the extant Smṛti attributed to Yājñavalkya is the result of extracts drawn largely from the Agni and Garuḍa Purāṇas. This is surely an untenable position. In spite of all arguments advanced in favour of his theory it is difficult to agree with Dr. Losch in his conclusions. In the weighty opinion of the late Mahamahopādya T. Gaṇapatiśāstri the extant Yājñavalkyasmṛti is older than the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra, and the lawbook is to be attributed to the individual authorship of Yājñavalkya (see his introduction to the monumental edition of the Kauṭaliya).

In the book under review J. J. Meyer has examined the parallel passages in the Agni Purāṇa (pp. 4-12), has drawn attention to Western ideas on the subject (p. 20) and proves the Vyavahārādhyāya in the Agni Purāṇa is not original. Then the Garuḍa Purāṇa is examined in p. 24 ff. as also the Kāmandaka, the latter in relation to the Agni Purāṇa (pp. 68-90). After having discussed the views of Losch in a truly scholarly spirit, Meyer acknowledges the usefulness of Losch's work and points out the merits of that publication (p. 106). There is no use served by judging things ancient Indian by modern standards of European jurisprudence. The merits of Meyer's book consist in viewing things from the Indian standpoint and hence most of the conclusions of his deserve commendation. We recommend this to all interested in ancient Indian historical research.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

'BALADITYA'; A HISTORICAL ROMANCE OF
ANCIENT INDIA

BY

A. S. PANCHAPAKESA AIYAR, M.A. (OXON), I.C.S.

[Publishers, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Kitab Mahal, Bombay]

THIS is a work, which, as the name indicates, is a romance bearing upon one of the most stirring episodes of Indian history, in which two characters, Baladitya, the scion of the imperial Gupta house and Yasodharman, a new ruler possibly of Malva, achieved immortal glory in the great defeat and the hurling back of the Huns, who had made themselves masters of a very considerable part of the Gupta empire. It has recently been pointed out that the Huns had subverted all Western civilization and the Eastern, but suffered a reverse only in India. They overthrew the Roman Empire and almost destroyed Roman civilization. Perhaps their work of destruction was more complete in respect of the Persian empire. The storm came over India no less vigorously, and the first effect of the storm was in this case, as in the others, thoroughly subversive of all Indian civilization. Skandagupta's heroic efforts only turned back the tide temporarily, and left the flood to roll in again more successfully when he himself had been removed from the scene of his activities by the inevitable fate that overtakes all humanity. The plot of the romance therefore is laid in one of the most interesting and crucial periods of Indian history. The author whose practised hand had been tried in other subjects already, and had achieved success, attempts to delineate the character not merely of the important persons, the two mentioned above, the presence on the stage of his story of a number of other characters typical of the times, apparently according to him. We may congratulate the author on the success that he has achieved in this difficult undertaking. He has been able to produce a readable book, perhaps not altogether an untrue representative of the genius of the times. The truth or otherwise of a picture in a historical romance is not so much to judge of the truth of the historical details contained therein, but much rather of the general impression of the times that it gives. Understood in this sense, we may give credit to the author of *Baladitya* for a large measure of success.

In certain essential points, however, he has gone away from the probabilities of historical truth. This, it must be acknowledged, is not a question for cavil or criticism so long as history cannot be counted upon to speak with certain voice in regard to the matter; and, so long as history falls short of certainty, the writer of a romance is free to give his own interpretation of things. But even so, there are certain points in which it would have been better if he had kept a little closer to historical probabilities. It is hardly necessary to go into further details, as it is hardly fair, to expect one writer to write just exactly as another may expect it to be written. Personal predilections in this matter must be given its weight and the critic's function is merely to judge what degree of success the author has achieved in carrying out his ideas and plans even in a work of historical romance. Judged by this standard, the author deserves congratulations for a great measure of success. It may perhaps be objected that in certain parts, the author has taken it upon himself to introduce topics anachronistically. That we daresay is inevitable to some extent, although we would like it frankly that he had avoided these.

We would like in conclusion to commend the enterprise of the publishers who are now coming into the field with various new ventures in an effort to promote knowledge of Indian history in all its aspects, a knowledge which the circumstances of the times call for peculiarly, and a peculiarly heavy responsibility lies on those who write on these subjects to produce, as near as may be possible, an accurate idea of the general trend and of the special tendencies of Indian history.

'LORD LANSDOWNE: A BIOGRAPHY'

BY

LORD NEWTON, P.C.

[Messrs. Macmillan & Co., London.]

LORD LANSDOWNE's life covered a period of about 82 years, and his political career pretty nearly the length of three score. He entered Parliament at 23 and continued Parliamentary life in a way actively almost to the day of his death in June 1927. Such a long period of a political career would be so crowded, as in fact it had been, and the

work of the biographer would be a matter of considerable difficulty to compress such a long and active political life in the compass of a single volume. As Lord Newton himself points out, he was able to do so for one reason that the earlier career of Lord Lansdowne, the period ending with his Viceroyalty of India, was one of comparative peace and quiet, and therefore he could as a biographer limit himself more or less to the personal side of the narrative. In regard to the more stirring period of his tenure of office as Secretary for War and of Foreign Affairs following, the period has been effectively covered by the recent valuable publication of the exhaustive and extremely valuable work on the *Origins of the War* by Drs. Gooch and Temperley. The later period not covered by this finds description in ample measure in a number of valuable works already published, which throw a great deal of light upon the politics of the period. The work of the political biographer therefore, even of an active life as that of Lord Lansdowne, is comparatively easy, and as he puts it;—'The political biographer (of Lord Lansdowne) of to-day is therefore left with no sensational secrets to disclose, and the utmost that he can expect to achieve is the bridging of certain gaps and the throwing of some additional light upon what have hitherto been looked upon as minor political mysteries'. The work before us therefore confines itself to throwing into relief the merits of Lord Lansdowne and exhibiting his work in proper perspective. His work was so quiet and so unobtrusive that he has not always been given the credit that was his due in regard to various important acts of his official life. That the biographer exhibits in its proper perspective.

Lord Newton, the biographer, knew Lord Lansdowne and had been for a considerable portion of his career, particularly the latter part of it, an admiring friend, who had opportunities of knowing Lord Lansdowne's work at close quarters. He could therefore speak with a certain amount of personal knowledge of some of the main incidents, which have remained obscure. During the earlier period, the biographer had the advantage of an intimate private correspondence that Lord Lansdowne maintained with his mother all the time that she was alive. The extracts that the biographer quotes from this source adds to the value of the biography and exhibits the quiet humour and the frank expression of his opinions on matters grave and trivial such as his official letters do not exhibit for this later period. We miss this

personal touch in the latter part of his biography, and gives to the earlier part an interest, which is lacking in the later. His services at the War Office and his responsibility in regard to matters connected with the South African War received fresh illumination in this biography such as it has not had before this. The really difficult part that he had to play as Leader of the House of Lords is again exhibited in sufficient fullness to show what valuable services Lord Lansdowne had rendered to the party and to the politics of England generally such as was not known hitherto.

It is hardly necessary to go into great detail or make quotations. Lord Newton has done the work of the biographer exceedingly well, and has done justice to his hero without erring on the side of extreme adulation or intrusive criticism. It is a valuable addition to biographical literature and has attained to a high level of a good biographical work.

'THE SPLENDOUR THAT WAS 'IND'

BY

K. T. SHAH

WITH A FOREWORD BY THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND
(THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY)

[Published by Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.]

THIS is a work of great enterprise in the field of Indian literature of modern times, the enterprise being as much that of the author as the publisher. To give even a bird's-eye-view of Indian culture and civilization from their beginnings, even historical beginnings, down to the end of the seventeenth and the first few years of the eighteenth is a task which might well have discouraged the boldest spirit. The production of a work like that within the comparatively narrow space of a volume of less than 250 pages, with eleven illustrations in colour, 329 half-tone blocks and five maps must be regarded as a marvel of book production even for modern times. It must be admitted at the outset that the author is fully aware of the stupendousness of the task that he had undertaken, but confines himself to the extent of a volume of the dimensions given. Professor Shah is aware of it as he says in his preface that 'the splendour that was 'Ind gives only a glimpse of the

arts and graces, the beauty and culture, of the several races and provinces that make up the India of history. Each of the great natural divisions of India has enough in the story of its civilisation to provide material for a work similar to this; each of the epochs into which our history naturally divides itself could furnish substance enough for such a purpose; each of the topics here considered has already inspired more than one remarkable monograph, and further researches may afford still more material for similar enrichment'. Being so thoroughly aware of the vastness and variety of the theme and the comparative smallness of space, Professor Shah has attempted rightly to limit himself to a bare but attractive outline of the great subject with a view to produce an impression and stimulate interest in the reader. He touches upon every subject of interest that goes to make the vast panorama of Indian civilization by giving it a setting and exhibiting it in proper perspective. The divisions of the subject give at once an idea of how he proceeds to the work. There is a setting and the divisions find their proper place. The picture produced on the whole, therefore, is one very pleasing to the intellectual eye. He begins by giving a panoramic view of the principal geographical features of the country, and then passes in review the pageant of the big multitude that constitutes the population of India. He then picks out and puts in bold relief first the heroes and saints of the land, then its makers of history and builders of empire. He then deals with the productions of the human intellect and passes in rapid review the achievements of India in poetry and drama, religion and philosophy and in the fine arts, such as music and dancing, painting and sculpture. He passes on next to the expression of the Indian genius in its buildings, such as temples and tombs and palaces and pleasantries. Then he devotes a chapter to industry and commerce and another one to the social system. As he has noted it in the extract given above, each one of these will take up a monograph at least as big as the one that he has devoted to the whole, and notwithstanding the limitations of space imposed upon him, he has done his work, on the whole, successfully. The impression produced is the kind of impression that an attempt like this could expect, and it is likely that the work stimulates interest enough in the reader to go to farther afield in each one of these branches of what together constitute Indian culture. In the words of the noble Marquess, who contributes the foreword 'The Indian reader will find

much. to add to the feelings of legitimate pride with which he contemplates the goodly heritage that is his'. While, according to him, the Western reader will find in the work 'a key to much that ordinarily remains hidden from him, and will furnish him with the means of viewing, with added interest and a more sympathetic understanding, the varied achievements of many centuries of human endeavours, which have gone to the making of the splendour that was Hind.'

It would be ungracious to point out flaws in a work like this. But it would be admitted that, being as good as it is, a critic ought to be careful to point out what may detract from the real merits of a work like this, and if criticism be offered, it is with a view to draw attention to blemishes, which ought, really speaking, not to figure in a work of this character, as it might take away from the good impression that it produces on the whole. It is desirable that a work like this should circulate largely, and find a large public for reading, and that public ought not to be misled by serious blemishes that may occur in the work. After all, it may be quite inadvertent so far as the author goes, and the correcting of such, or the revising of the work with a view to correcting such, would certainly be very desirable indeed. We shall therefore point out just a few of the kind that we have in our mind. On page 61 is found a statement that Malva was Harsha's sister's husband's country, and this is followed by the statement that Rajyavardhana and Harshavardhana both of them marched against the country to avenge an insult and annex the territory. Rajyasri's country was Kanauja, not Malva. Harsha and his brother undertook invasions of Malva for other purposes than the purpose for which the invasions are said to have been undertaken. We pass on to another kind when we refer to pages 89 and 90, where Professor Shah has to say something about South Indian civilization. Quotations from Caldwell are quite out of date in regard to the matter for which the quotations happen to be made; nor is the late Mr. Frazer very much in point. A Tamil classic is referred to as *Natadiyar* in Tamil. This is the Tamil classic *Naladiyar*. The error is certainly traceable to the printer. Pope's work, from which the reference is taken, must have had a bar over the first *a* to show its length. That seems to have been transferred to the next letter and constitutes the upper stroke for the *t*. Removing the affix, which is

only an honorific, the work is referred to by Tamil scholars as *Naladi*, four-footed. Tiruvalluvar, the poet *par excellence* of Tamil, is spoken of as a Pariah poet. He was not exactly a Pariah; at any rate, he need not be referred to by that term in any case. A popular tradition makes him by caste a *Valluvan*, which is the caste of learned men who were teachers and followers of the higher art, who devoted themselves to teaching Pariahs and classes like that. He discusses the meter of the poem and writes of it as *Vempa*. It would have been better to have written it *Ven-pa*. In many other chapters, errors such as these are discoverable, and a revision will perhaps help to remove these and enhance the value of an otherwise excellent and valuable publication. We have done enough and need not add.

The illustrations are well chosen from the world of such possessed by the publishers, and we may repeat that, on the whole, the work is an excellent production and will serve substantially the purpose it is intended to serve.

While the author has done his part so successfully, the publishers deserve all praise for the enterprise that they have shown. In a country like India, it should be regarded as an adventure in publication to come out with a work like this, and the publication would be a success only if there is a sufficiently wide reception. In order to achieve this, the publishers have done their best by pricing it as low as they possibly can. We wish them all success, and really hope that there would be a sufficient number of purchasers at the comparatively low price to make it worth their while to add to publications like this, and achieve the object in view of popularising and making accessible all that has really to be had in learned and recondite publications, the cost of which naturally puts them beyond reach of even an average cultured Indian. We congratulate both the author and the publishers upon the production of this magnificent volume, and wish them both success in their patriotic undertaking.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)

January, 1930—

P. C. BARAT: 'The Chronology of the Sena Kings.'

SAHITYACHARYA-PANDIT VISWESHWAR NATH REU: 'The Rashtrakūtas of Gāharwal—' The author establishes the collateralness of the Rashtrakūtas and Gāharwals and feels the doubts raised against them as baseless.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (Bangalore)

VOL. XX, No. 3.

January 1930—

M. H. RAMA SARMA: 'Studies in Vijayanagar History.'

K. RAMA VARMA RAJA: 'Epochs in the History of Kerala' (Malabar.)

T. T. SHARMAN: 'Jura "Praśasti" of Rashtrakūta Krishna III.'

L. V. RAMASWAMI IYER: 'Austrie and Dravidian.'

Modern Review.

January 1930—

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR: 'The Noontide of Māratha Power.'

Indian Historical Quarterly.

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA: 'Pushyamitra and the Sunga Empire' (*continued*).

N. N. LAW: 'The Machinery of Administration as depicted in the Kauṭaliya.' (*continued*).

Note on the Salaries and Allowances detailed in the Kauṭaliya.

SASHIBHUSHAN CHAUDHARI: 'Topography of the Purānas.—Puru Shōttama Kshetra.'

K. R. PISHOROTI: 'The Three Great Philosophers of Kerala: Sankara, Parbhākara and Mādheva.'

V. VENKATA RAMA SHARMA: 'Svapnanāṭaka and Svapna-Vāsavadatta.' It is concluded that the real name of the Trivandrum drama was Svapnavāsavadatta and not Svapnāṭaka.

SIVAPRASAD BHATTA CHARYA: 'Subandhu or Bāna Bhatta who is earlier.'

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (London).

VOL. V, PART 3.

S. K. DE : 'Sarvānanda and Vallabha Deva.' The learned author disagrees with the date assigned to Vallabha by Dr. Keith, and feels that the date given by Dr. Hultsch could not be set aside easily.

Journal of Oriental Research (Madras).

(January-March 1930)

- O. K. ANANTA LAKSHMI AMMAL : 'Studies in the Upanishads.'
 P. T. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR : 'Sāka-Pahlavas in Indian History.'
 D. T. TATACHARYA SIROMANI : 'Definition of Poetry or Kavya' (continued).
 V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR : 'Tantrayukti.'
 T. R. CHINTAMANI : 'Note on the date of Māgha.' 'We may tentatively take him to be older than 650 A. D. He might have belonged to the beginning of the century or the previous one.'

Indian Antiquary.

January 1930—

- PANDIT BISWESWAR NATH REU : 'False statements about King Jayachandra and Rao Siha.'
 K. P. JAYASWAL : 'Notes on Asoka's Inscriptions.'

February—

- R. R. HALDER : 'Naun Inscriptions of Īsāna Bhatt.'
 CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTHY : 'Bengal's Contribution to Literature.'
 F. J. RICHARDS : 'Periods in Indian History.'

March—

- JARL CHARPENTIER : 'Some Remarks on the Bhagavad Gita.'
 S. CHARLES HILL : 'Origin of the Caste System in India.'

April—

- BIREN BONNERJEA : 'The Social and Ceremonial Life of the Sāntals Culled from Various Sources.'
 F. J. RICHARDS : 'Periods in Indian History (continued).'
 S. CHARLES HILL : 'Origin of the Caste System in India' (continued).

Journal of the Department of Letters

VOL. XXIX

- H. RAY CHAUDHURI : 'The Mountain System of the Puranas.'
 The author briefly surveys the mountain system of the world, as conceived by Puranic writers including smaller hills associated with Eastern and Western Ghats and Himavanta. Wherever possible, identifications are attempted by the author in the course of the survey.
 P. C. SEN GUPTA : 'Date of the Composition of Ramayana.'
 Attempts to determine approximately the time when the *Ramayana* took the form in which it is now available. From internal historical evidence as well as from astronomical and astrological details, the author concludes that the date of the composition of *Ramayana* is approximately 438 A.D., and that the poet belonged to the time which preceded the time of Aryabhatta by whom Indian astronomy was given its present epicyclic form, the period which synchronised with the Gupta age in Indian history.
 H. RAY CHAUDHURI : 'India in Puranic Cosmography' discusses the nomenclature of India and the place of the country in the cosmic system of the Hindus.
 A. RAI CHAUDHURI : *Māyāvāda*.
 S. C. SEN GUPTA : 'Government and Administrative System of Tipu Sultan.' The character of Tipu's government is analysed from a variety of sources, a list of which is prefixed to the paper which includes many accounts in foreign languages and manuscripts little exploited till now.
 L. V. RAMASWAMI AYYAR : The linguistic history of certain Dravidian words.
 N. K. DUTT : 'Some Central Problems of the Rig-Vedic History and the Vedic Scholars'. Discusses at length the age of the epic, the origin of the hymns, their authorship, the administration and social condition of the early Indo-Aryans. The closing portion discusses the evolution of God-consciousness among the Indo-Aryans culminating in the composition of *Purusha-Sukta*.

* * * *

Prof. Dr. Paul Khale, Bonn.
 Prof. Dr. Gerh. Kallen, Köln.
 Prof. Dr. W. Kirtel, Bonn.
 Prof. Dr. Sten Konow, Oslo.
 Dr. Oskar Kressler, Bonn.
 Dr. J. Laber, Köln.
 Prof. Dr. C. R. Lanman, Cambridge-Mass.
 Prof. Dr. E. Leumann, Freiburg.
 Prof. Dr. M. Leumann, Zürich.
 Prof. Dr. Bruno Libeich, Breslau.
 Prof. Dr. E. Littman, Tübingen.
 Dr. E. Lüders, Berlin.
 Prof. Dr. H. Lüders, Berlin.
 Dr. H. Losch, Bonn.
 Prof. Dr. Friedrich Marx, Bonn.
 Tok. Matsumoto, Heidelberg.
 Dr. H. Meinhard, Berlin.
 Prof. Dr. T. Meinhold, Bonn.
 Prof. P. M. Modi, Kiel.
 Prof. Dr. W. Printz, Halle.
 Prof. Dr. E. Rapson, Cambridge.
 Prof. Dr. E. V. Rath, Bonn.
 Prof. Dr. Otto Ritschl, Bonn.
 Dr. W. Ruben, Bonn.
 Prof. Dr. Schettelowitz, Köln.
 Prof. Dr. L. Scherman, München.
 Prof. Dr. F. O. Schrader, Kiel.
 Publisher K. Schroeder, Bonn.
 Prof. Dr. W. Schubring, Hamburg.
 Prof. Dr. A. Schulte, Bonn.
 Prof. Dr. E. Schwyzer, Bonn.
 Prof. Dr. E. Sieg, Göttingen.
 Dr. W. Siegling, Berlin.
 Dr. W. Solf, Berlin.
 Prof. Dr. T. Stcherbatsky, Leningrad.
 Sir M. Aurel Stein, Oxford.
 Dr. Otto Stein, Prag.
 Prof. Dr. O. Strauss, Breslau.
 Prof. Dr. Luigi Sualì, Pavia.
 Jehangir Tavadia, Hamburg.
 Prof. Dr. F. W. Thomas, Oxford.
 Prof. Dr. R. Thurneysen, Bonn.
 Prof. Dr. P. Tunen, Kopenhagen.
 Prof. Dr. J. Wackernagel, Basel.
 Dr. R. Wagner, Berlin.
 Dr. E. Waldschmidt, Berlin.
 Prof. Dr. Manwalleiser, Heidelberg.
 Dr. F. Weller, Ellwangen.
 Prof. Dr. L. Weissgerber, Rostoch.
 Prof. Dr. M. Winternitz, Prag.
 Prof. Dr. T. Zachariae, Halle.
 Dr. A. Zieseniss, Hamburg.
 Prof. Dr. H. Zimmer, Heidelberg.

I survey the great series of fellow students, friends, and colleagues who have expressed their good wishes to me on my eightieth birthday and who have honoured and cheered me by the presentation of a plakette. I am elevated by that grateful feeling of such acknowledgment for my scientific labours, and also the friendly sentiments for my person which I have won. I had always placed before me both in my work and in my life the bare truth as the highest ideal. I wish to leave that to the indulgent opinion of others. I express to you all then my deepfelt thanks and pray that your heartfelt sentiments for my future may prove true.

Bonn, February, 1930.

HERMANN JACOBI.

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

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

Bengal, Past and Present

January-March 1930—

- SIR EVAN COTTON: 'Old Dalhousie Square.'
A. F. M. ABDUL ALI: 'Mahadji Sindhia of Gwalior.'
M. J. SETH: 'Armenians at Agra and Gwalior.'
S. K. BHUYAN: 'Dr. J. P. Wade, an early Historian of the East India Company.'
Y. K. DESPANDE: 'The Revenue Administration of Berar in the Reign of Aurangzeb (1679 A.D.)' Describes the revenue system and the administration of the Subhas of Deccan in the middle of the reign of Aurangzeb, taking the account sheets of Papal, a pargana of Berar for the year 1679 A.D. as basis for discussion.
H. HOSTEN and J. BOSH: 'Father Henry Roth (1650-51).'
H. W. B. MORENO: 'Anglo-Indian Women of the Past.'

Indian Antiquary

February 1930—

- R. R. HALDER: 'Nasun Inscriptions of Isanabhata of Vikrama Samvat, 887.'
C. CHAKRAVARTI: 'Bengal's Contribution to the Philosophical Literature in Sanskrit.'
F. J. RICHARDS: 'Periods in Indian History.'

March 1930—

- A. H. FRANCKE: 'Notes on Khotan and Ladakh.'
J. CHARPENTIER: 'Some Remarks on the Bhagavad Gita.'
S. C. HILL: 'Origin of the Caste System in India.'

Prof. H. Jacobi's Eightieth Birthday

Highly Honoured Sir,

We appear before you to-day to express our heartfelt joy on your attaining the eightieth birthday. We can look back to-day to a useful succession of years. These were years of strenuous work and years of success. It would be almost impossible, even though one wished it, to make a mere mention here of all that you have done all these years for the advancement of knowledge, to which we have dedicated ourselves, in the direction in which you have advanced and wisely guided. On this worthy day we wish to express our thanks for the great stimulus and selfless help which you let us have.

We have then the commission to convey to you the good wishes of a great number of your friends, colleagues and pupils both in this country and outside. In collaboration with them we have permitted ourselves to get ready in your shape a plakette as a small remembrance of this day. Surely it shall be not only a remembrance for you but also for us who are attached to you. So please accept from us this plakette as a mark of recognition, thankfulness and friendship. At the same time we wish to give expression to our desire that you may be left many more years of work in spiritual freshness, thus maintaining your family and all of us.

BONN, February 11, 1930.

In the name of the Committee
W. KIRFEL.

The plakette was instituted by—

- Prof. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Madras.
Dr. Richard Anschütz, Darmstadt.
Prof. Dr. Ambr. Ballini, Mailand.
Staats Minister A. D. Prof. Dr. C. H. Becker, Berlin.
Prof. Dr. Belloni-Filippi, Pisa.
Prof. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Poona.
Dr. B. Breloer, Bonn.
Prof. Dr. W. E. Clark, Cambridge-Mass.
Hon. Prof. Dr. A. Dyroff, Bonn.
Prof. Dr. Franklin Edgerton, New Haven.
Prof. Dr. Richard Fich, Göttingen.
Prof. Dr. Wilh. Geiger, München-Neubiberg.
Prof. Dr. Bernh. Geiger, Wien.
Prof. Dr. V. Glasenapp, Königsberg.
Dr. Herm. Goetz, Berlin.
Dr. V. Gokhale, Godesberg.
Sir George A. Grierson, Rathfarnham.
Publisher Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig.
Prof. Dr. J. W. Haner, Tübingen.
Prof. Dr. L. Heller, Greifswald.
Dr. L. Hilgenberg, Bonn.
Prof. Dr. J. Jolly, Würzburg.

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.

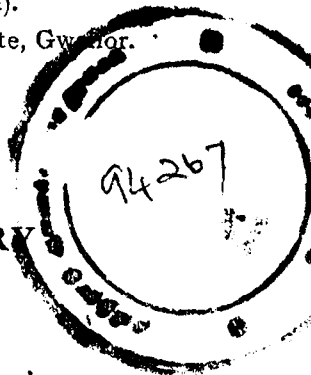
24. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archæological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).
25. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
26. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
27. *The Servant of India*, Servant of India Society, Poona City.
28. *The Shrine of Wisdom, Aahlu*, 6 Hermon Hill, London, E. 11.
29. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.
30. *The Mysore University Journal*, Mysore University, Mysore.
31. *The People*, 2 Court Street, Post Box 116, Lahore.
32. *The Young Men of India*, The Thottam, Salem.
33. *The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
34. The Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.
35. *Social Science Abstracts*, 611, Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.
36. 'Tarikh' Kottah Akbar Jah, Hyderabad (Deccan).
37. The Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State, Gwalior.
38. Verlag Der Asia Major, Leipzig C1, Scherlstr, 2.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

Abdul Aziz, Bar.-at-Law, Ballamabad, Punjab, writes:—

* * * * *

'That the life of such a high-class Journal should be in jeopardy is a shame to our country, I must frankly admit. The high standard of excellence and of the quality of research which has always been kept up does credit to the editorial staff, especially to the Editor-in-Chief. The Magazine compares favourably in every way with the best journalistic products in Europe. And what more can be said? I admire your heroic efforts against heavy odds. I certainly vote for the continuance of the Journal.'



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

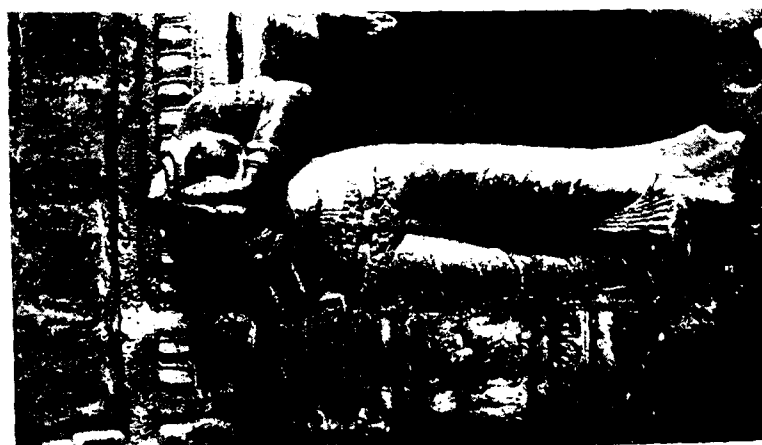
¹ Heras, *Historical Carvings at Vijayanagara*, Q.J.M.S., xvii, p. 87, note.

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



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

APRIL 29

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

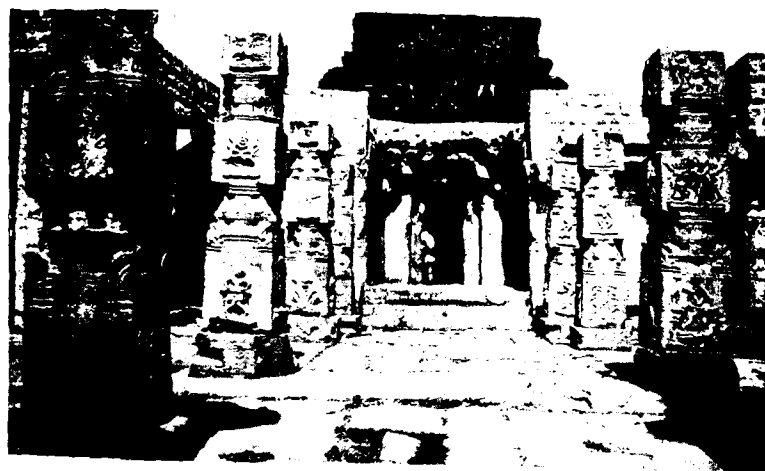
Half a mile before reaching the temple where the road branching off leads to Talarigattu, the tourist finds a small *mandapa* with a throne in the centre, probably used to place an image on public festivals or during a procession. It is almost opposite to the bazaar. To the left, there is a small temple, 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 *navaraṅga* 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

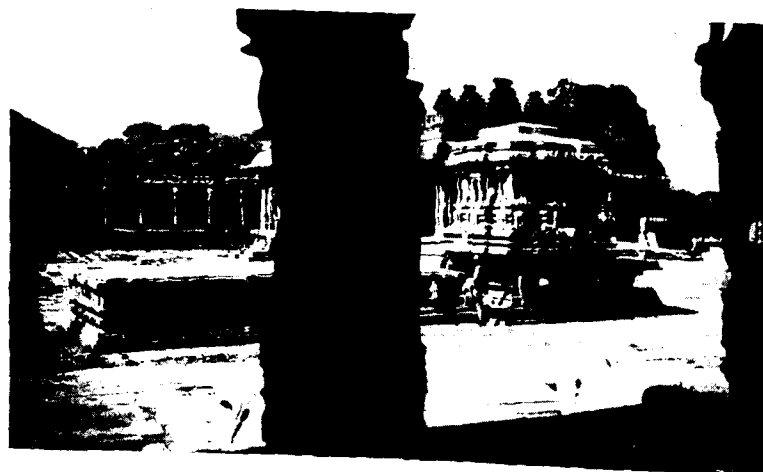
¹ Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 132.

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

³ Cf. Sewell, *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 Kārṇāṭaka. 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 *pradakshiṇa*, 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 *pradakshiṇa*, placed at right angles to the entrance of the *garbhagṛha* itself, lead to a flight of four steps descending to the *pradakshiṇa*. 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 *pradakshiṇa* 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 *pradakshiṇa* to the Chalukya buildings.

² Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, x, p. 92.

³ The *Mahāmandapa*, called also *Kalyana Mandapa*, of the Vaikunṭa 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 frieze 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 *dvarapalas*, 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 *garbhagrha* altogether similar to that of Vitthalaswami temple. One doubts whether the temple was originally underground.

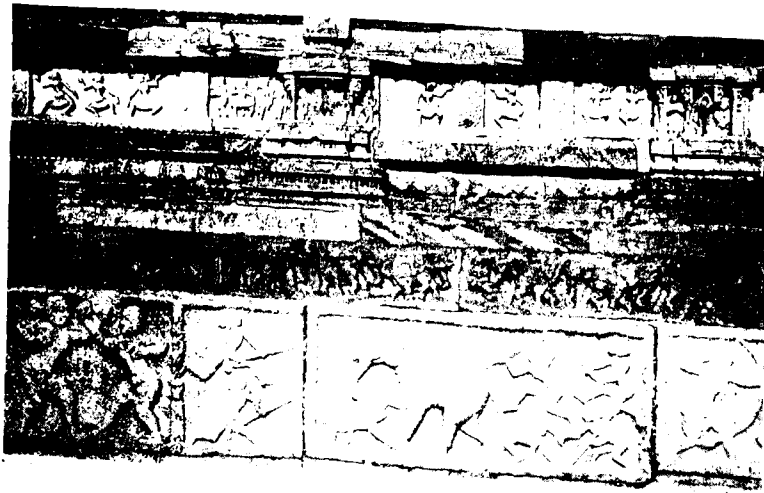
¹ *Q.J.M.S.*, xvii, pp. 87-8.



Vijayanagara
Vitthalaswami temple. A dancing girl before the Emperor.

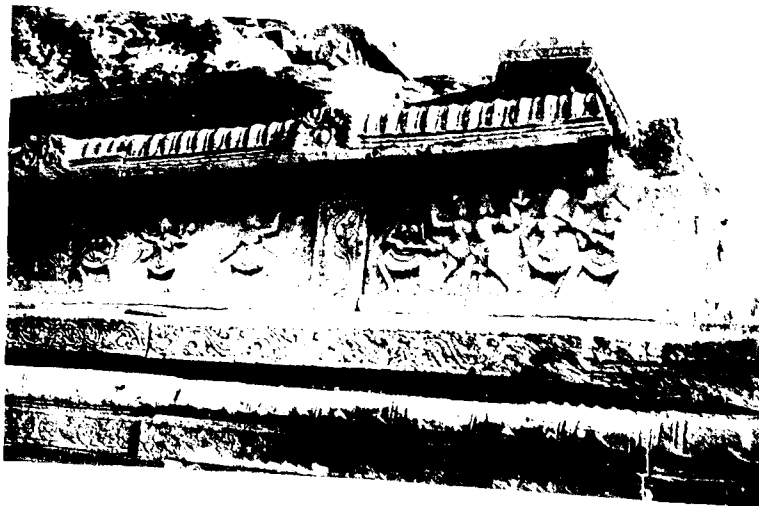


Vijayanagara
Vitthalaswami temple. Dancing girls carved on the *mandapa* that is supposed to be for dancing.



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 Virūpāksha*, i.e. delighted Virūpāksha.

Hindu-Muslim Buildings.—In my history of *The Āraṇṇya 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 Āraṇṇya Dynasty style.

¹ Cf. Heras, *The Āraṇṇya 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 Śrisaīlam, 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.

Vishnupada 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, Kṛishṇa's and Vitthalaswami

¹ Cf. *Ep. Carn.*, v., Cn, 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 Tūṅgabhadra.

Achyuta Rāya's Temple.—This temple has two *prākāras*. 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 *prākāra* 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 Kāṇṇāṭaka 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

Rāṅga'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.

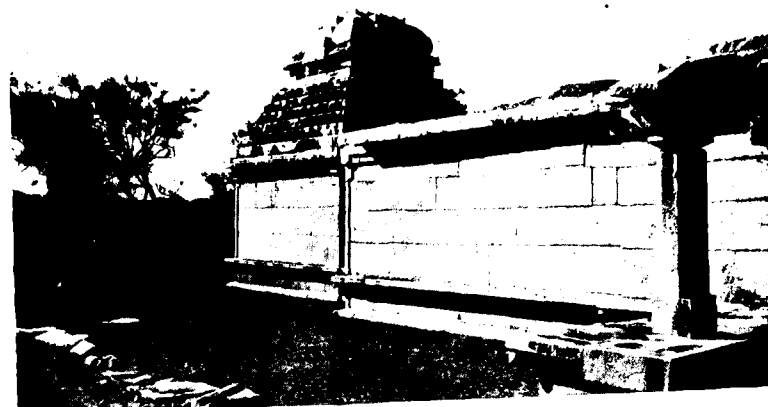
Behind the Elephant Stable.—These buildings are not usually visited by tourists, though some of them are worth studying by the archaeologist. We find:—

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 aquaducts, 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.



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



Vijayanagara
A gateway of the royal enclosure.



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

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 Virabhadra; but it is evident, (as already noted by Longhurst) that the image represents Viṣṇu.

¹ Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 115.

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. Vishṇu is widowed. Strange to say, in front of this image of Vishṇu 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 *sukanāsi*. 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 *sukanāsi*—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 Tūṅgabhadra and of the city of Ānegondi 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

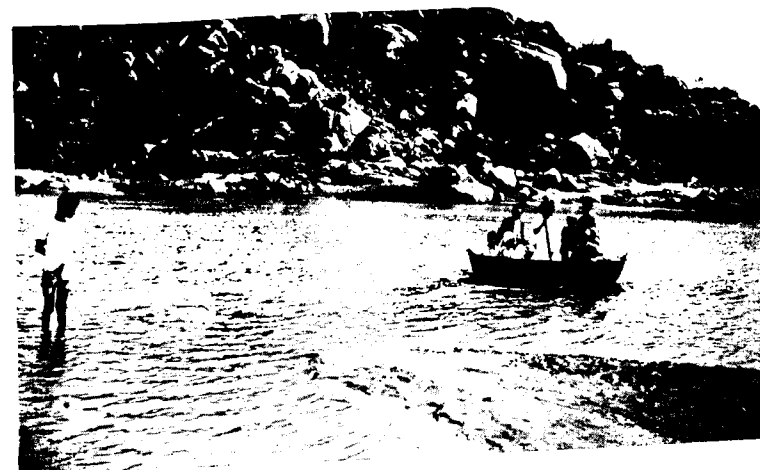
This last day of our stay at Vijayanagara was devoted to Ānegondi, the cradle of the great Empire.²

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

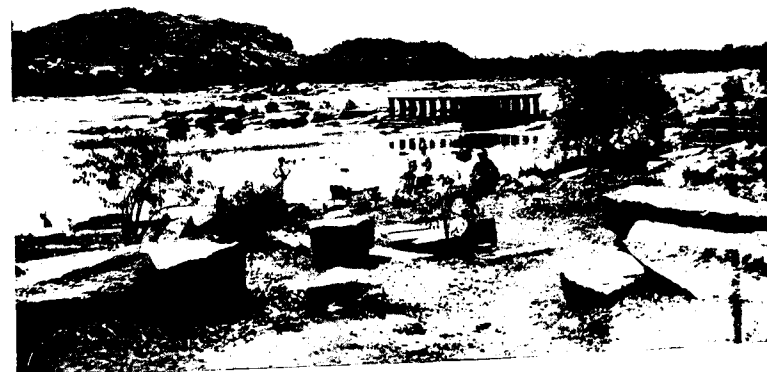
Tomb of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.—Opposite Ānegondi where the river turns towards the north and therefore impossible to see from the present site of the Vijayanagara ruins, there is the funeral monument of the great Emperor Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, built in the centre of the Tūṅgabhadra. It consists in a plain *mandapa*, 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 Tūṅgabhadra on a basket boat.



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

Gleanings from Sanskrit Literature

BY

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(2) RĀJAŚEKHARA'S WORKS

THE importance of Rājaśekhara'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 Rājaśekhara, 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 Rājaśekhara 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



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



A carving on the pillar represented in the opposite plate.

Vijayanagara

Vijayanagara

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 *prakara*. 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.)

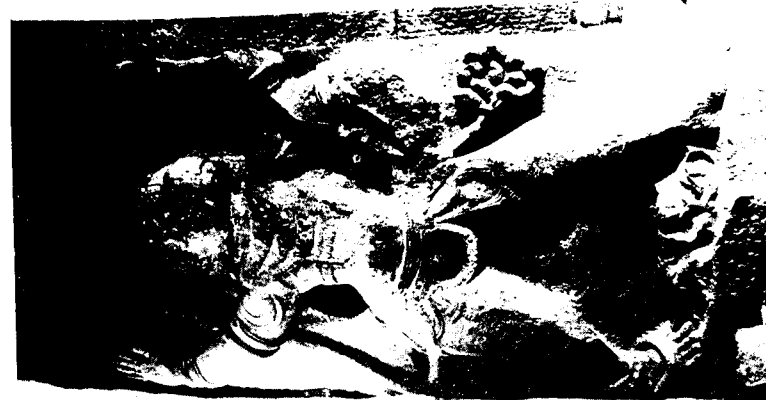
The whole day we were entertained under orders of the said Rāni, by her private Secretary Mr. Hanumantappa, by the late Raja's brother Śrīmant Sadāśiva Kumāra Raj and by the heir-apparent Śrī Kṛishṇa Dēva Rayālugāru. The latter is a very congenial youth, sixteen years old, at present studying in the Jagirdar's College, Hyderabad. He is the descendant of the old Emperors of the Āraaviḍu 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.

Achyuta Dēva Rāya. This confirms the statement of Nuniz that Ānegondi 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.

Chintāmani 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 Ānegondi. 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 *prakaras*. 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.

Vijayanagara

One of the mandapas on the top of
Matunga Parvatam.



Ānegondi

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



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 *Karpūramañjarī*, 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.

Karpūramañjarī 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 *Karpūramañjarī*, I, 2 and 3.

² *Viddhaśālābhāṇjikā*, I, 15.

³ *Kāvyañimānsa*, 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 *Bhairavī Chakra* or the circle of *Bhairavī*, 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 *Karpūramañjarī*, I, 22 and 24.

² *Yatṛāsti bhogabāhulyam,
Tatra yogasya kā kathā,
Yogepi bhogavīrahah
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 *Karpūramañjarī*, 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 *Viddhaśālabhanjikā* (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 *Karpūramanjari*, 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 Vāśishṭha, but a Yāyāvāra, 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 *Karpūramanjari*, '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 *Karpūramanjari*, p. 18 (H.O.S.).

⁵ *Karpūramanjari*, 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 :—

*Nāpitanvaya-mitrārdhasīriṇo dāsa-gopakāḥ
Śūdrāṇām-āpyamīṣhām tu bhuktvānnam 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 *Śūdrāṇām 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
Śrāddhi Chaivētara-s-lathā,
Śrāddhi 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 Śrāddha, and the other who cannot. The first class of Śūdra, viz., Śrāddhi 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 *bahubhrī* 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 *Pārāśara* 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, *Pārāśara* 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 Smṛitis 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 Rājāśekhara on these points we just quote a passage from *Karpūramanjari* after omitting the comparisons instituted by a fond lover.

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

King.—How so?

Vichakṣhaṇā.—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-mīmāṃsa* Rājaśekhara supplements the account given above by describing the *nṛpathya* (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.

Rājaśekhara 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-mīmāṃsa*, p. 8.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Karpūramanjari*, p. 32 (H.O.S.).

⁷ *Karpūramanjari*, I, 13.

Kāvya-mīmāṃsa, p. 102.

⁸ *Karpūramanjari*, IV, 6.

⁹ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsa*, 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 *subhāshitas* or witty sayings.³ In actual life again we have Avantisundarī, the wife of Rājaśekhara, 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 Rājaśekhara's own opinion on female education is worth quoting. 'Women too,' writes Rājaśekhara, '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 Rājaśekhara'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 Gaurī, 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 old 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.

³ *Karpūramanjari*, p. 79 (H.O.S.).

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 11.

⁵ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsa*, pp. 20, 46, 57.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

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 Vāṭa Sāvitrī Vrata which falls on the 15th of the bright half of *Jyeshṭha*, 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*, *dandārāsa* 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 *Jyeshṭha 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 *Nirājanā* ceremony.⁴ On the day of *Dīpāmālikā*, the 15th of the dark half of *Kārttika*, 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 Arab travellers, as well as *Karpūramanjari* where Rājasekhara is spoken of as the husband of a Chauhan princess, intermarriage seems to have prevailed

¹ *Kāvyamīmāṃsa*, p. 105.

² *Karpūramanjari*, IV, 9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁴ *Karpūramanjari*, IV, 10-19.

⁵ *Kāvyamīmāṃsa*, 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 randās* (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 *Tāmrāparṇī* 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 *Bhūrja* 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 *Ṭakkas*, and the *Bhadānakas* used *Apabhraṃśa*, residents of *Avanti*, *Pariyātra*, and *Dashapura* employed *Bhūtabhāṣā* 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 *Viddhaśālabhaṅgikā*, p. 53.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁴ *Karpūramanjari*, III, 27.

⁵ *Karpūramanjari*, p. 71 (H.O.S.).

⁶ *Kāvyamīmāṃsa*, p. 102.

⁷ *Karpūramanjari*, pp. 97-9.

⁸ *Kāvyamīmāṃsa*, 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, Kalinga, 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 is 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 Malwa 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 *śloka*s 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

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.

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.

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 *manṣabdārī* 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 khāna* or *Naqqar khāna*), the Palace Guard (*Kishk* or *Chauk*), the *Qūr*, 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-khānājāt* 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 ḡāt 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 *ḡāt* and *suwār* ranks were equal: (1) *Chahār hazārī ḡāt wa chahār hazār suwār*, (2) *Chahār hazārī ḡāt 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 *ḡāt*, 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 *ḡāt* 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 *Ā'in*, only the *ḡāt* rank is given. (3) There may be a *ḡāt* rank without any *suwār* rank, though it is rare; but there never is a *suwār* rank without a *ḡāt* 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 *ḡāt* 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 *ḡāt*). 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 *ḡāt* 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 *zāt* rank, which alone is given in Abū'l-Fazl'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 *zāt* and not the *suwār* rank; but goes on to say that from the cash salary of his *zāt* 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 (*zāt*) *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 *zāt* 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 *zāt* 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 *zāt* 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 *zāt* 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 *zāt* 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 *zāt*, i.e., self, because it regulates the allowance for himself (and his household) as distinguished from that for the cavalry enlisted by him.

A *zāt* 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 *zāt* 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 *dagh* 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 *zāt* 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 *zāt* and the *suwār* rank respectively:

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

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

Translation: The monthly [*zāt* rank] salary of the *manṣabdār* varies with his *suwār* rank. An officer with equal *zāt* and *suwār* rank was placed in the first class, one with a lower *suwār* rank down to half the *zāt* 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-Faḥl* 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 *khurāk-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>Irāqī</i>	680
<i>Mujannas</i>	560
<i>Turkī</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			
		Mujannas	Turki	Yabu	Tazi	Jangla	Shayir	Sada	Manjholia	Kanha	Phandurkiya	Qitars ¹ of camels	Qitars ¹ of mules	Carts	Classes		
															I	II	III
1	10000	68	136	136	136	136	40	60	40	40	20	160	40	320	60,000	...	...
2	8000	54	108	108	108	108	35	50	36	34	15	130	34	260	50,000	...	...
3	7000	49	98	98	98	98	30	42	29	27	12	110	27	220	45,000	...	...
4	5000	34	68	68	68	68	20	30	20	20	10	80	20	160	30,000	29,000	28,000
5	4900	33	67	67	67	67	20	30	19	19	10	77	19 4/5	157	27,600	27,400	27,300 ²
6	4800	32	66	66	65	65	20	29	19	19	9	77	19 2/5	152	27,600	27,400	27,300 ²
7	4700	31	65	65	63	63	19	29	19	18	9	75	19 1/5	151	26,800	26,600	26,500
8	4600	31	63	63	62	62	18	28	19	18	9	74	18 4/5	148	26,400	26,200	26,100
9	4500	31	61	61	61	61	18	28	19	17	8	72 3/5	18 3/5	145	26,000	25,800	25,700
10	4400	30	60	60	59	59	18	28	19	16	7	71	18 1/5	142	25,200	25,000	24,800
11	4300	29	59	59	58	58	17	27	19	16	7	69 3/5	18	139	24,400	24,200	24,000
12	4200	28	58	58	57	56	16	26	19	16	7	68	17 3/5	136	23,600	23,400	23,200
13	4100	27	56	56	56	55	16	26	18	16	6	68	17 2/5	133	22,800	22,600	22,400
14	4000	27	54	54	54	54	16	25	18	15	6	65	17	130	22,000	21,800	21,600
15	3900	26	53	53	52	52	16	24	18	15	6	63 3/5	16 4/5	127	21,400	21,200	21,100
16	3800	26	51	51	51	51	16	23	18	15	6	62	16 2/5	124	20,800	20,600	20,500

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17	3700	25	25	25	25	25	49	16	23	17	15	6	60 3/5	16 1/5	121	20,200	20,000	19,900
18	3600	25	25	25	25	25	48	16	23	17	14	6	59	15 4/5	118	19,600	19,400	19,300
19	3500	24	24	24	24	24	47	16	23	17	14	5	57 3/5	15 3/5	115	19,000	18,800	18,700
20	3400	23	23	23	23	23	46	16	22	17	14	5	56	15 1/5	112	18,600	18,400	18,300
21	3300	22	22	22	22	22	43	15	22	17	14	5	54 3/5	15	109	18,200	18,000	17,900
22	3200	21	21	21	21	21	42	15	21	17	14	5	53	14 3/5	106	17,800	17,600	17,500
23	3100	20	20	20	20	20	41	15	20	17	14	5	51 3/5	14 2/5	103	17,400	17,200	17,100
24	3000	20	20	20	20	20	40	15	20	16	14	5	50	14	100	17,000	16,800	16,700
25	2900	19	19	19	19	19	39	15	19	16	13	4	48	13 1/5	96	16,400	16,200	16,100
26	2800	18	18	18	18	18	38	15	18	14	12	3	46	12 2/5	92	15,800	15,600	15,500
27	2700	17	17	17	17	17	37	14	17	13	11	3	44	11 3/5	88	15,200	15,000	14,900
28	2600	17	17	17	17	17	36	13	15	12	11	3	42	10 4/5	84	14,600	14,400	14,300
29	2500	17	17	17	17	17	34	12	14	12	10	2	40	10	80	14,000	13,800	13,700
30	2400	17	17	17	17	17	33	12	13	11	10	2	38	9 2/5	76	13,600	13,400	13,300
31	2300	16	16	16	16	16	32	12	12	10	10	2	36	8 4/5	72	13,200	13,000	12,900
32	2200	16	16	16	16	16	31	11	12	9	10	2	34	8 1/5	68	12,800	12,600	12,500
33	2100	15	15	15	15	15	31	10	12	9	9	2	32	7 3/5	64	12,400	12,200	12,100
34	2000	15	15	15	15	15	30	10	12	9	7	2	30	7	60	12,000	11,900	11,800
35	1900	14	14	14	14	14	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 qitār; but we know from *Ā'in* (Bibl. Ind. Text, I, 147, top) that it contained only five.

² 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.

No.	Zat Rank	Horses						Elephants				Beasts of Burden and Carts			Monthly Salary in Rupees			
		Iraqi	Mufannas	Turki	Yabu	Tazi	Jangla	Shergr	Sada	Manihola	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	2	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	3	2	...	...	1	1	2	...	...	2 1/5	...	5	780	760	750
58	120	2	2	2	3	2	...	...	1	1	2	...	...	2 1/5	...	5	745	740	730
59	100	2	2	2	2	2	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	2	...	5	700	600	500
60	(Tar-kash-band)	2	1	2	2	1	1	...	...	1	2	...	...	2	...	3	410	380	350
61	60	1	1	2	2	1	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	1 2/5	...	2	301	285	270
62	50	1	1	2	2	1	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 1/5	...	1	175	165	155
65	(Tar-kash-band)	...	1	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	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. ش and ص : 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 *manṣabdār* of 100 *ḡāt*. 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 *dākhilī*)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	III
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 *ḡāt* 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 *ḡāt* 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 *manṣabdārs*] 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 *ḡāt* 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-Faḥl's graduated scale given above is not confined to the *zat* 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 *manṣabdār* with the horse rank 0 is the best off pecuniarily.

The scale of salary given in Abū'l-Faḥl'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 Jahāngīr'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	320	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 *dāms* 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-Faḡl 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 *gāl* rank salary was drawn by a *manṣabdār* 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-Āfaq*.

Now about the *suwār* rank: The *suwār* rank was generally *yak aspa* (i.e., with one horse); occasionally in case of a more favoured *manṣabdār* 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 *dāms* 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-Āfaq*) 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 *dāms*—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 *gāl* 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 *manṣabdār* 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 *suwār* 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 $\frac{1}{4}$ 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 *umarā* 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 *ḡāt* salary ; and the number of men with three, two or one horse varied according to the months for which the *ḡāt* 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 *manṣabdār* 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 *manṣabdār*, 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, *manṣabdārs* were of two kinds. Usually a *manṣabdār* was assigned a *jāgīr*, the assessed income of which was equivalent to the total of his *zāt* 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’inān-i-wālā tabār*. Next came the *umarā*; and last came the *manṣabdārs*, 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 *manṣabdārs*. 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 Timūr’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” (*manṣabdār*); 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 *Pādishāhu‘amah* 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 *Ma‘āsir i Rahīmī*, *Manṣabdārs* 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 *Manṣabdārs* from the Hazārīs upwards. Nizām does restrict his phrases *ba martabah i imārat rasīd*, or *dar jargah* (or *silk*, or *zumrah*) *i umarā muntazim 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 :

پوهشیده نه ماند که هرکس از ملازمان درگاه که پانصد نوکر دارد اطلاق امارت و امرائی 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 *amārāt*.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 :—

پوهشیده نه ماند که هرکس از ملازمان درگاه که از پانصد نوکر کمتر دارد اطلاق امارت و امرائی 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 *umarā*.

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-Faḥr'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 *manṣabdārs* 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'āṣir-i-Raḥīmī*, that officers of 1000 and upwards were, in Akbar's time, styled *Umarā-i-kibār* or *Umarā-i-'uẓẓām*, is equally unsatisfactory. But his general impression or guess that an amir was a *manṣabdār* 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 و الامکان و امرای عالیشان و دیگر منصبداران

where it is perfectly clear that the list includes all three classes: (1) *nā'inān* or *umarā-i-'uẓẓām*, (2) *umarā* and (3) *manṣabdārs*. Now this list, as has already been mentioned in the above discussion, does not go below the *ẓāt* rank of 500. When we know from the heading that this list includes *manṣabdārs* 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 *manṣabdārs*. Again, we note that Manucci, in his account of the *manṣab* (*Storia*, II, 369-77) applies the term *umarā* to rank-holders from *hazārī* upwards (372-74 and particularly 377).

Similarly Bernier, speaking of the *umarā*, 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 *amārat* 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 *umars* ended and the *umarā-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 *ẓāt* rank pay based on the *dastūr-ul-'amals* of Aurangzeb's time (given above) we find a jump in pay between the *ẓāt* rank of 400 and 500, and then another between 900 and 1000—which shows that special importance attached to the promotion to the *ẓāt* 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 *manṣabdār* and *manṣab* may not be out of place here. '*Manṣabdār*,' in a general sense, means simply a rank-holder, and is often so used as to include all officers. The word *دیکر* in the heading in *B.N.*, I, quoted above, shows that '*manṣabdār*' sometimes included *umarā*. 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 *manṣabdār* stands lower than an amir. Conversely 'amir' is occasionally used for *manṣabdār* in the general sense, i.e., any rank-holder; as in Budā'ūnī.

Again, the word *manṣab* is often used specifically for *manṣab-i-ẓāt* as distinguished from *manṣab-i-suwār*; as by Abū'l-Faḥr 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 *umarā*:

'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*,

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

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-Faḥl'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 *manṣabdārs* in *Shāh Jahān*'s time far exceeded that in Akbar's time, so that *Shāh Jahān*'s historians could afford to be more select.

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As regards the other point—the line where the *umarā* ended and the *umarā-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 *ẓāt* rank pay based on the *dastūr-ul-'amāl*s of Aurangzeb's time (given above) we find a jump in pay between the *ẓāt* rank of 400 and 500, and then another between 900 and 1000—which shows that special importance attached to the promotion to the *ẓāt* 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 *Ā'in* furnishes no basis for any such inference.

A remark on the use of the terms *manṣabdār* and *manṣab* may not be out of place here. '*Manṣabdār*,' in a general sense, means simply a rank-holder, and is often so used as to include all officers. The word *دیگر* in the heading in *B.N.*, I, quoted above, shows that '*manṣabdār*' sometimes included *umarā*. 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 *manṣabdār* stands lower than an amir. Conversely 'amir' is occasionally used for *manṣabdār* in the general sense, i.e., any rank-holder; as in Budā'ūnī.

Again, the word *manṣab* is often used specifically for *manṣab-i-ẓāt* as distinguished from *manṣab-i-suwār*; as by Abū'l-Faḥl 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 *umarā*:

'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 *Donazdeh* 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 *zāt* 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., $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, or $\frac{3}{4}$ of the *suwār* rank according to rules; while 'the nominal number' apparently refers to the *zāt* 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 $\frac{1}{4}$ 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.' (Bernier, pp. 211-15).

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

'*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 *umarā* about Aurangzeb's court at Bernier's time was about twenty-five or thirty, and that of the *manṣabdārs* about 200 or 300. The entire *manṣabdārī* personnel was divided into two classes: (1) Those present at court (*hāzir-i-rikāb*), and (2) those on duty in the provinces (*ta'znātiān*). The officers were periodically transferred from one list to the other.

THE MUGHAL ARISTOCRACY AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON

The *manṣabdārī* 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 *jāgīr* 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 *manṣabdār* 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 *manṣabdār* 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 *falonj* ['presumably named from the seed *talanja*, 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 Jahāṅgīr 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*], *pollaeb* [*pulāo*], (yellow, red, green, or black), *zueyla* [? *thult*], spiced wheaten cakes, *dupiaza* [meat with onionis, 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 *sharbatdār*, 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

¹Thus the Editor. Prof *Shafi* suggests *chāshnigīr* 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, *Jahungir'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 *manṣabdārs* holding civil or military offices in the provinces (i.e., the *ta 'inātiān*, as distinguished from those about court, who were called *ḥāẓir-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 *Palans*, 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 *Chias*, 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 *Palans* 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 *manṣabdār* 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 *jāgīrs* 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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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 Muhammad 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 the 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 slaying 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, Shâhjî 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. Shâhjî 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 Shâhjî 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 Râkshasatângaḍi, ordinarily called Talikota, regained his power so far that, from Penugonḍa 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 Karnâtak below the Ghâts 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 Śrîraṅga sometime about A.D. 1575. Śrîraṅga 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 Śrîraṅgaṇaṭam, 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 Śrîraṅga 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, Penugonḍa 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 Śrîraṅga died, the empire was left more or less intact. The next brother Râma, who was viceroy at Śrîraṅgaṇaṭam, 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 Śrîraṅga.

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 Penugonḍa which he ultimately managed to beat off with great success with the assistance of Râṇa Jagadêva Râya, the viceroy of Channapaṭṇa and the Bâramahâls and Raghunâtha Nâyaka, the heir-apparent of Tanjore. The empire, however, suffered a dismemberment in that the vicereignty of Śrîraṅapaṭam underwent an extinction, as it were, and a new family of rulers, the Uḍayârs 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 Śrîraṅapaṭam viceroy and son of his elder brother Râma, almost as his adopted son, and had even raised him to the dignity of 'Chikkarâya' (Yuvarâja), meaning either prince or perhaps the prince heir-apparent. According to contemporary accounts, Venkaṭapati on his death-bed declared this Chikkarâya 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, Yâchamanâyaka, 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 Yâchamanâyaka depended was, as mentioned

already, the ruler of Tanjore, Achyutappanâyaka, and his son Raghunâtha, who played an important part in his father's administration.¹ Yâchamanâyaka therefore wanted to carry the prince off for safety to Tanjore. Getting wind of this, Jagga attacked and defeated him in the field, but Yâchama dodged his pursuers successfully and reached Kumbhakonam in safety, wherefrom an escort sent from Tanjore met them and took the prince and Yâchamanâyaka 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 Râma, 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 Kâlahasti 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 Nâyak of Gingee took a very prominent part and ultimately fell in the battle. So did the Nâyaka 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 Râmarâja 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 vicereignty of Channapaṭṇa prevented the newly-founded kingdom of Mysore, obviously occupied by Bijâpur movements on the northern side, from taking any part in the general *mêlée* in the empire. Whatever it was, we may take it that the Bijâpur 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, 90 and 94, *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 viceroalties 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 Penugonḍa 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 Râyâl, 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 Poḷigars 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 Ikkêri. But Ikkêri 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 Ikkêri contemporary he brought about a Bijāpur invasion, from which he had himself to suffer. Among the petty Poligars that surrounded the territory of Ikkêri was one ruler by name Kengê Hanuma of Basavapaṭṭana. This general and other discontented Poligars in the neighbourhood were set up against Vīrabhadra Nāyaka of Ikkêri by Kanṭhīravanarasa. Vīrabhadra quelled the rebellion and dispossessed Kengê Hanuma, referred to in Persian authorities as Kengê 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 Kengê Hanuma. Having succeeded easily in doing this, the Bijāpur army marched onward, taking possession of the three provinces of Ikkêri, 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 Kāvêri, 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 Kanṭhīravanarasa's accession, that is A. D. 1638-39. Though Kanṭhīravanarasa 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 Kengê Hanuma in charge of the newly-acquired territory and returned to Bijāpur. It was now the turn for Vīrabhadra Nāyaka of Ikkêri to appeal to headquarters. He sent an ambassador to Bijāpur and pointed out the unsatisfactory character of the arrangements and the unreliability of Kengê 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 Kanṭhīravanarasa showed as little inclination to act up to the treaty. Kengê 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 Hemaji Paṇḍit did nothing more than occupy the post of Turuvêkere, north-east of the Mysore district of to-day for a short time. The turn had now come for Kanṭhīravanarasa 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 Satyamaṅgalam, Sāmbaḷḷi, and Bombaḷḷi, all on the south and west of the Kāvêri, 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 Ikkêri, 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 Kanṭhīravanarasa of Mysore, that is, through the twenty years¹ A. D. 1639-59, so far as this area is concerned.

This period of Kanṭhīravanarasa'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 Nâyaks excepting the Nâyak of Tanjore into opposition to the empire. During the rule, therefore, of the emperor Râma 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 Mussalmân 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 Râjâ Woḍeyar, and particularly his successor Chamarâjâ Woḍeyar against the province of Channapaṭṇa and the Bâramahâls. Chamarâjâ 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 Râmarâjâ on the throne. After the death of Raghunâtha Nâyaka and under his successor, Vijayarâghava, 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 Kâlahasti. 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 Dagb-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 Nâyaka Damarla Venkaṭa. Naturally, therefore, when king Venkaṭa died childless, the brothers-in-law were not anxious that his nephew Śrîraṅga 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, Śrîraṅga succeeded to the throne.¹ 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.'

'In a later volume (*The Dagb-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 Venkaṭapati.' (See note 2, p. xxxvii, *The English Factories in India, 1637-41*).

'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, Venkaṭapati, 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 Sri Ranga Rayalu, though many of the other Nayaks were opposed to his succession, and gave him a great deal of trouble.'

'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 Rayalawar 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 King of Vizapore [Bijāpur] on one side and the King of Gonquondah on the other, the Gentues themselves being divided among themselves, it is even impossible their country can 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 discovered 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 levyng an armie for his rescue; whoe, with the helpe of the Moores on the other side (whoe are within halfe a dayesi 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.)

* 'Damarla Venkatappa had been detected in intrigues with Golconda 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 Dag-Register, 1643-44*, p. 244 (*The English Factories in India, 1642-45*, p. 70).

† Soms particulars of the advance of the Golconda invaders will be found at p. 244 of the *Dag-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, whose 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 Golkonda, 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 Golkonda 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 arivall heere, which is now seven yeares almost; 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 defenc, 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 vallue. 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 reigning 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 Pullecatt 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 disapoint our Surratt President of his Mocho shippes ladeinge 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 indeavouf your proffitt and their owne credditts; and for these goods, wee well know they have paid to the uttermost vallue 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 men unto the Kinge, to beseech his hand and signett to testifie to the whole world that Mollay is noe

find him working with Bijâpur as against Śrîraṅga. He also made proposals to Kanthirava Narasa of Mysore for assistance. We find a record again, dated January 1646, that Śrîraṅga 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 [Mîr 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 [Gingi?], who inflicted a severe defeat on the royal forces in December, 1645. It also says

It was then that Mîr 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 Dâmarla 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 Śrîraṅga Râya.² Mîr 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 variance, and the King of Vizapoore's armie is come into this country on the one side and the King of Gulcondah upon 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 Śrîraṅga, 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 now within two dayes march of the Kings court and noe body commeth to oppose him, the fammine haveinge 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 reporte 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 satisfaction 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, hoping their mutuall destruction, watches opportunity 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 Vizaporians; 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 Mîr 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 Bîjâpur 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 Mîr 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.'

(*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 Shâh, had long been jealous of the power wielded by his servant, Mîr 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. Mîr Jumla agreed to enter the service of the Mughal Emperor; but rumours of his intention so alarmed Abdullâh Qutb Shâh 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 Mîr 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 beene 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 revenew 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 i[ssue] of this un] certaine warr from such varrious reports as pass in [these parts; but] suppose, if the King

Mîr 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, Śrîranga had recovered a good deal and was laying siege to Pulicat as against Mîr 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. Mîr 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 Qutb Shâh 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 Mîr 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 their places of command, though the army bee much lessned 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 Cittee [Koneri Chetti], his generell 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 *Aurangzib*, 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 Peddapollium; * 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 Pullecatt 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 Kistnapa, the Nabobs generall together with other circumstances, and observations in his present deport and continued respect from ditto Kistnapa, 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 Jentu 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 exceeding 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 Pullecatt 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 Brahmppore 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 Kistnapa, the Nabobs generall, together with other circumstances and observations in his present deport and continued respect from ditto Kistnapa, 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 littell 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 generall, Topa Kistnapa, 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 stode 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 Leikurely [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 Mîr Jumla was in Agra, Golkonda began to take a strong line to assert its claims to what had become Mîr 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, Mîr Jumla's son Tapa Tapa demands the restoration of Mîr 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 generall, 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 staid behind two dayes and then retreated two miles to Arni, a strong castell on the borders of Chinge [Gingi]; whar they are recruiteing the army with the Vizaporians [i.e. Bijâpuris'] assistance, and intended er long to be in the field with greater force then before. In the meane time Topa Kisna strengthens hirselfe 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 countryes 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 deuying, 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 leaving 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 Shâhî and Shivajî, and among the Umras who declined to recognize Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's succession are mentioned Rustam-i-zamân Bahlol Khân, Shâhî and Shivajî, as though all the four of them were Amîrs of similar rank.¹

It is also stated in the course of the letter that Shâhî was expected to march up from his government extending to Gingee with 17,000 troops in a month and overthrow the government of 'Alî '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 counselld 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 porta 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 durance); 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 Shaji's lifetime.' (*A History of the Maratha People*, by Kincaid and Parasnis, 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 Śivappa Nâyaka of Ikkêri), the Karnâtak 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 Karnâtak. One may therefore fain 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 sweares before he came out of Bunckapore, he saw irons put on Bussall Ckan * and Shagee [Shahji] (Shevgys father), but taken off of the latter in two dayes; who is now with the King without any command. Bussall Ckans mother denying the King entrance into Bunckapore, 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 Hunckapore. 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 trapanu'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 fathers death.'

* 'An error for Bahlol Khan.

† The Batavia Dagh-Register, 1664 (p. 323) says 1,500,000.

‡ Sidi Aziz.

§ 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 Zâhûr bin Zâhûrî 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 Śrî-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 Bijâpur 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 Śrīraṅgaṭam might be fortified and put in a position to withstand a siege. In this campaign, Shâhjî 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 Keḷadi, the two capitals of the Nâyaks of the place. The following year Khân Muhammad is supposed to have marched into the Karnâṭak 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 Shâhjî 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 Śrīraṅga with a view to compel him to release Venkaṭa. In the course of the year 1643, Śrīraṅga 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 Śrīraṅga 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, Śrīraṅga 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 Śrīraṅga 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 Śrîraṅga Râyulu of Vellore. There is a note in the Company's records that before January 21, 1646, Śrîraṅga Râyulu was attacked by the combined armies of Bijâpur and Golkonda, which would mean that after the previous campaign, in which Bijâpur assisted Śrîraṅga, 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 Śrîraṅga Râyulu in Vellore. This is apparently what is referred to in the official account, where the ambassadors of Śrîraṅga 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 Śrîraṅga, and were consequently ill-affected towards him, if not positively disaffected, countenanced the rebellion of the influential brothers, Dâmarla Venkaṭa and Ayyappa. Śrîraṅga 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 Śrîraṅga 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 Śrîraṅga 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 Śrîraṅga 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 Śrîraṅga'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 Vîrabhadra Durga, the capital of that region, 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 *Uranjpur*. This is not *Daran-chur*, as stated, but *Vrinchipuram*, the capital, in the days of the Hindus, of the Bâna 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, Udayârpâlayam, 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 Kâr-nâṭak. 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 Bijâpurî 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 Chanapaṭna 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 Ekojî, 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 Danḍarajâpuri 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 Bhârata*, 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 Vrishapaṭṭana (Basavâpaṭṇa); the ruler of Kâvêripaṭṭinam, the strong armed Jagadêva, he likewise conquered, as also the cruel Kanṭhîrava, ruler of Śrîraṅgaṭṭa. 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 Beḍanûr, Vîrabadra 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 Kâvêripaṭṭinam Kanṭhîrava of Śrîraṅgaṭṭam, Vijayarâghava

of Tanjore, Venkaṭa Nâyaka of Gingee, Rangâsâyi Nâyaka of Vidyânagar [another form of the name Raṅga Râyal]; Tirumala Nâyaka of Madura, Harikâra Venkaṭa Nâyaka of Valikondapuram, 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 xliv, 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 Kanṭhîrava 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 Brâhmaṇ, by name Nagar Puttaiya Paṇḍit, who occupied a high place in the Secretariat, and who exploited all the records in the archives at Śrīraṅgapaṭam 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, Basavâpatna, is not very far from the famous Sûlagere 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 Tirukkalaiyattânkuḍi, 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 Tiruvaḍamaruthûr 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 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 *gabrs*, yet kissed the ground of the Imperial Treasury. The gold and treasure of (the temple)—so heavy that it would have casued 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

'Alauddin, 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 'Alauddin 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 (*fawazil*) 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 (*fawazil*) 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 *ranas* 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 Munnalik*, 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 Arz*, 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 (*Sultani*) 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 *karoh* 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 (*kaifiat-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 *zuhr* 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 before the royal red canopy, and concerning which I have given a deed to the *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 and do not try to conquer the fort of Arangal or the territory of Tilang. Consult 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, *raiya*s 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 'Ummam (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 treasuries. 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 Jallabpur 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 'Ummam (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 Brahmans 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 Brahmans and brought them before the *Malik Naib*. The Brahmans, 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.D. 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, *shaykhs* 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, Khusrau avoids all reference to events that were not to 'Alauddin's credit. Thus he simply ignores the two invasions in which the Mughals invested Delhi and 'Alauddin's position became precarious. They were, probably, omitted by the *Fath-i Namah* also. Barni, 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 Khusrau 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 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 Kili 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 discretion has to be thrown to the wind, and there is no course for us but to risk 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 Kili 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."¹

Ferishta 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" (Kailugarhi) 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.'

II. INVASION OF SALDI

To 'Alauddin's dislike of Zafar Khan, we may also attribute Khusrav'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 Siwistan (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 *mughribis*, *manjaniks* 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.'

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 *Chautra-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

Ferishta, 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 Ruknauddin 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 Naib* 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 Naib* 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 concensus 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' (*lil 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 *allamgha* 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 *allamgha* 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 *muqāsama* 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 *gardi* 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 Dufter*, 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 Mahratti. 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 Tur-kistan.' 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 Dīnnāga.' 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 Dīnnāga 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 '*Vairāḍyam*.'

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 Kalingapatnam 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 Baghela 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 MIŚRA: '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 Bhatta Mana, the boy protege of the Zamorin Vikrama, and the author of 'Bhringi Sandēśam,' 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.: '*Prābhā 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 Prābhā 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 Upānishads.'—(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: '*Carnāte*.'—Concludes Carnāte of Portuguese writers may be taken to mean the Kārnād 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.

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 Dīnāga.'
- 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 Prātīya 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 Sāmanta Bhadra.' Santa Rakshitā's Reference to Kumarīla'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

March 1930—

Articles

- DR. B. M. BARUA: 'Old Buddhist Shrines at Bodh Gaya.'
- DR. N. N. LAW: 'The Machinery of Administration in the Kauṭīliya.' Deals mainly with the system of spies in the Kauṭīliya.
- PROF. LOUIS DE LA VALLE POUSSIN: The two Nirvāṇadhātus according to Vibhāsha.

- 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 Diñnāga. The author bases

himself on the fact that Śankara has quoted a kārīka 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 Vēda.'

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, Myslapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
14. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.
15. *Muslim Review*, 3, Government Place, Calcutta.
16. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benafes.
17. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
19. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
20. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U.S.A.
21. *Yoga-Mimansa, Kun'javana*, Lonavla, Bombay.
22. *The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
23. *The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.

24. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archæological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).
25. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
26. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
27. *The Servant of India*, Servant of India Society, Poona City.
28. *The Shrine of Wisdom, Aahlu*, 6 Hermon Hill, London, E. 11.
29. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.
30. *The Mysore University Journal*, Mysore University, Mysore.
31. *The People*, 2 Court Street, Post Box 116, Lahore.
32. *The Young Men of India*, The Thottam, Salem.
33. *The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
34. The Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.
35. *Social Science Abstracts*, 611, Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.
36. 'Tarikh' *Kottah Akbar Jah*, Hyderabad (Deccan).
37. The Superintendent of Archæology, Gwalior State, Gwalior.
38. Verlag Der Asia Major, Leipzig C1, Scherlstr, 2.

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.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān

BY

ABDUL AZIZ, *Barrister-at-Law*

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Book II

CHAPTER II

The Mughal Army

IT must be understood at the outset that in theory all able-bodied citizens of the empire were potential soldiers of the imperial army. In the Account of the Twelve Provinces (*Aḥwāl-i-duwāzda Saba*) in *A'in*, I, 387-596, Abū'l-Faḥl, among other things, gives the number of cavalry and infantry respectively (with an occasional mention of elephants, artillery and boats in some cases) which can be raised from every *sarkār* and from every province; separate figures for each *maḥal* being also given in many cases. Naturally enough the cavalry in these estimates is vastly outnumbered by the infantry.¹ This constituted the total effective man-power in the country, which was calculated by Abū'l-Faḥl as over forty-four lakhs (Text, I, 175).

Horn's remarks on the subject are just: 'Allerdings ist eine solche Truppenmasse niemals wirklich gleichzeitig verfügbar gewesen, und

¹ 'The high figures for infantry in each district and province, shown in volume ii of the *A'in-i-Akbari*,' says Irvine, 'can only be accepted under considerable reservation. These numbers can only represent the men called on to render strictly local duty, and they must have consisted almost entirely of villagers armed with long pikes, or swords and shields, perhaps even with only an iron-bound bambu staff (*lāṭhī*).' (*Army*, 162).

andererseits wäre doch die Zahl der waffenfähigen Männer damit nicht erreicht worden, da dieselbe zweifelsohne mehrmals grösser gewesen sein muss.' (p. 40).

These figures refer to a sort of military reserve corresponding roughly to militia levies in England or to *landsturm* in Germany.

In practice, however, the army was recruited according to well-defined rules, and the numbers of the soldiers actually enrolled were regulated by an elaborate system, a brief outline of which has already been placed before the reader.

Speaking in modern language, the Mughal army was composed of cavalry, infantry and artillery. But the importance attached to each of these arms of the service in Mughal times, and the efficiency of each were so unequal that it is better to follow Abū'l-Faḡl's classification of the army into (1) *Manṣabdārs* (with the horsemen under them), (2) *Aḥādīs* (gentlemen-troopers), and (3) *Piādagān* (infantry, which was a great miscellany including, among other things, artillery).¹

Cavalry, which was constituted by (1) and (2), was by far the most important part of the army—the chief factor determining the fighting strength of the empire. Irvine's remarks on the subject cannot be improved upon: 'The army was essentially an army of horsemen. The Moghuls from beyond the Oxus were accustomed to fight on horseback only; the foot-soldier they despised; and in artillery they never became very proficient. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the French and the English had demonstrated the vast superiority of disciplined infantry, the Indian foot-soldier was little more than a night-watchman, and guardian over baggage, either in camp or on the line of march. Under the Moghuls, as Orme justly

¹ This is for brevity. If we wish to be more exact, there were three other classes of cavalry also: (1) The *Barāwardī* troops, 'worthy but poor; they receive the means of keeping a horse, and have lands assigned to themselves, without being obliged to mark their horses with the Imperial brand.' (Blochmann, 231). It is probably these troopers that are referred to again in *Ā'in* 5 (Blochmann, 250–51). (2) The *Dākhilī* troops. 'Some Commanders,' says Abū'l-Faḡl, 'who find it troublesome to furnish men, get a number of such soldiers as accept the Imperial brand. Such troops are called *Dākhilīs*.' (Blochmann, 231). (3) *Kumakīs*. 'Some Commanders also receive auxiliaries. Such reserves are called *Kumakīs*.' (Blochmann, 232).

But these three classes are so insignificant that in a general estimate like that of Shāh Jahān's total forces by 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī (*B.N.*, II, 715) for instance, they are not considered worthy of mention.

says "Hist. Frag.," 4to, p. 418, the strain of all war rested upon the numbers and goodness of the horse which were found in an army.' (*Army*, 57).

I. MANṢABDĀRS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS

Much the greater part of the cavalry consisted of *Manṣabdārs* and their *Tabīns*.

The quality of the Mughal army, therefore, depended upon the leaders chosen under the *manṣabdārī* system and the soldiers recruited and presented by them. The government, speaking generally, rested upon their loyalty and their efficiency.

The way in which the *manṣabdārs* were selected and promoted, and the horsemen recruited and presented is well described by Irvine:

'Single men who resorted to the Court in the hope of obtaining employment in the army, were obliged first to seek a patron. A man generally attached himself to a chief from his own country or of his own race: Mughals became the followers of Mughals, Persians of Persians, Afghāns of Afghāns, and so forth. On this point there were certain customary rules, which are thus stated by Khūshhāl Chand, Berlin MS. 495, fol. 1072b. A noble from Māwarā-un-nahr recruited none but Mughals; if from Īrān, he might have one-third Mughals and the remainder Sayyads and Shekhs, or if he took Afghāns and Rājputs, of the former he might entertain one-sixth and of the latter, one-seventh of his total number. Nobles who were Sayyads or Shekhs might enlist their own tribe, or up to one-sixth they might take Afghāns. Afghāns themselves might have one-half Afghāns and the other half Mughals and Shekhzādahs. Rājputs made up their whole force of Rājputs.' (*Army*, 36).

Again, 'according to a man's reputation or connections, or the number of his followers, would be the rank (*manṣab*) assigned to him. As a rule, his followers brought their own horses and other equipment; but sometimes a man with a little money would buy extra horses and mount relations or dependents upon them. When this was the case, the man riding his own horse was called, in later parlance, a *silāḥdār* (literally, equipment-holder), and one riding somebody else's horse was a *bārgīr* (burden-taker). The horses and equipment were as often as not procured by borrowed money; and not unfrequently the chief himself made the advances, which were afterwards recovered

from the man's pay. The candidate for employment, having found a patron, next obtained through this man's influence an introduction to the *Bakhshī-ul-mamalik* or *Mīr Bakhshī*, in whose hands lay the presentation of new men to the emperor, and on his verdict a great deal depended as to the rank (*manṣab*) which might be accorded.' (*Army*, 36-37).

The remarks of Bernier, who is nearer to our period, are equally interesting. 'It must not, however, be inferred,' he says, 'that offices of trust and dignity are exclusively held by those of the *Mogol* race, or that they alone obtain rank in the army. These situations are filled indifferently by them and strangers from all countries; the greater part by *Persians*, some by *Arabs*, and others by *Turks*. To be considered a *Mogol*, it is enough if a foreigner have a white face and profess Mahometanism; in contradistinction to the Christians of Europe, who are called *Frangis*, and to the *Indous*, whose complexion is brown, and who are *Gentiles*.' (p. 3).

Again the same writer: 'These armies are composed either of natives, such as *Ragipous* and *Patans*, or of genuine *Mogols* and people who, though less esteemed, are called *Mogols* because white men, foreigners, and *Mahometans*. The court itself does not now consist, as originally, of real *Mogols*; but is a medley of *Usbees*, *Persians*, *Arabs*, and *Turks*, or descendants from all these people; known, as I said before, by the general appellation of *Mogols*. It should be added, however, that children of the third and fourth generation, who have the brown complexion, and the languid manner of this country of their nativity, are held in much less respect than new comers, and are seldom invested with official situations: they consider themselves happy, if permitted to serve as private soldiers in the infantry or cavalry.' (p. 209)¹ Yet we are told in the sequel that the *Mughals* 'form the principal force of the kingdom.' (p. 211).

We might go further back: The way in which candidates in general were presented to the Emperor and their appointments sanctioned is thus described in *Ā'in* (Text, I, 158). The procedure applies to

¹ On this question of the bearing of a fair complexion on patronage and promotion, the following extract from the same author is amusing: 'The women [of Kashmir] especially are very handsome; and it is from this country that nearly every individual, when first admitted to the court of the *Great Mogol*, selects wives or concubines, that his children may be whiter than the *Indians* and pass for genuine *Mogols*.' (404).

nlistment of horsemen directly recruited¹, to *ahadis*, to *manṣabdars*, and to officers of the imperial workshops; and does not in any case refer to servants drawing a lower monthly salary than Rs. 50:

Men from *Tūrān*, *Irān*, Turkey and Europe, and from India and *Kashmīr* come in search of appointment. The officers fix their salary; and the *Bakhshīs* present them to the Emperor.

The horsemen, on joining, do not bring their own horses; the *Ahadīs* being the only exception. The salary originally proposed is suitably altered and sanctioned, being often increased. A number is presented every day, sometimes more, sometimes less. On Monday the candidates left over in the preceding week are inspected.

Special *Bitikchīs* (writers) similarly present *Ahadīs*.²

The *umarā* often solicit a *manṣab* for some of their servants. Suitable candidates are accepted.

Employees (*parastārān*) of every workshop (*kārkhāna*) have their salaries fixed in this meeting, and their duties pointed out to them.³

The delegation of the duties of recruitment and administration of the army to the *manṣabdars*, while it relieved the central government of the expense and worry of a heavy establishment, offered a strong temptation to corruption and abuse. 'False musters,' says Irvine, 'were an evil from which the Moghul army suffered even in its most palmy days. Nobles would lend each other the men to make up their quota, or needy idlers from the bazaars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that came to hand and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers.' (*Army*, 45).

Even as early as the reigns of 'Alā'ud-Dīn *Khaljī* and of *Sher Shāh*—the *manṣabdārī* system was an old one—the need had been felt for an effective supervising and checking system, which should ensure an efficient army without needless waste of money. The institution of *dagh-o-mahallī* had, therefore, been inaugurated by those kings, as Budā'ūnī tells us (II, 190); and, like so many other reforms popularly

¹ It is difficult to say which class these horsemen belong to, unless they are the ones spoken of in Book II, *Ā'in* 5, viz., *Barāwardī*, or again, possibly, the *Dakhilī* troops.

² For the rest about an *Ahadī's* appointment both in this *Ā'in* and in *Ā'in* 4 (Book II) see elsewhere.

³ Blochmann's translation of this *Ā'in* (pp. 161-2) is disappointing. What we have given is a summary rather than a translation, and is drawn directly from the text.

ascribed to Akbar but really earlier institutions, the old *dāgh* system of verification and identification was only reintroduced or effectively reinforced by *Shahbāz Khān Kambū*, the *Mir Bakshī*, in the twentieth year of Akbar's reign. The measure produced much irritation and discontent; but it appears ultimately to have been fully enforced even in the succeeding reigns.

The procedure adopted in Akbar's time was as follows:

When a new man was appointed to a *manṣab* it was his duty to enroll the number of horsemen required under the rules; and these were examined at a muster to make sure that men, horses and accoutrement came up to the required standard. In strictness the recruit furnished his own horse, but in practice the *manṣabdār* often supplied him with horses and equipment.

For the sake of identification of the men and the horses the following rules were strictly observed:

'A *Chihrah* or descriptive roll of the new *manṣabdār* was first of all drawn up, showing his name, his father's name, his tribe or caste, his place of origin, followed by details of his personal appearance.' (*Army*, 47-48).

The *manṣabdār's chihra*, however, is not mentioned in *Ā'in*. Was it introduced later?

The troopers' roll (*Chihra-i-Tābīnān*) was then prepared. The procedure is fully described in the *Ā'in*. It applies apparently not only to a *manṣabdār's*, but to all, cavalry:

His Majesty 'ordered that upright *Bitikchīs* should make out descriptive rolls of the soldiers and write down their peculiar marks. Their ages, the names of their fathers, dwelling-places, and race, were to be registered. . . .

Every one who wishes to join the army, is taken before His Majesty, in whose presence his rank is fixed, after which the clerks make out the *Ta'liqah*.

Dākhilī troops are admitted on the signature of the *Manṣabdārs*.

His Majesty has also appointed five experienced officers who have to look after the condition of the men, their horses, and the stipulated amount of pay. His Majesty has the men assembled in an open place, and receives the several descriptive rolls, when the men with their horses are handed over to the above five officers. The amount of their pay is then entered at the bottom of the descriptive rolls, and is

countersigned¹ by those officers, which serves as a proof, and prevents fraudulent alterations. Each roll is then handed over to the inspecting *Dārogah*. He takes them in the manner described above to His Majesty, who orders the pay to be increased or decreased. When the roll is thus certified, it is also signed by the *Wāqī'ah Nawīs*, the *Mir 'Arz*, and the officer commanding the guards.² On the strength of this certificate, the *Dārogah* of the *dāgh* (brand) marks the horses.' (Blochmann, 255; Text, I, 190-91).

The specimen of the *Chihra-i-Tābīnān* copied by Irvine from a *Dastūr-ul-'Amal* (B.M. MS. No. 6599, fol. 163a) gives the name of the soldier, his father's name, and his personal appearance; to which is appended a brief description of the horse. (*Army*, 48). This apparently represents later practice.

Last of all came the *Chihra-i-Aspān* (Descriptive roll of horses). It was an elaborate description of the horse or horses, setting forth in detail the class to which the horse belonged in a highly elaborate system of classification, and describing minutely the marks on the horse's body.

But in the case of the horses the descriptive rolls were not a sufficient safeguard against fraud. For 'horses answering the description in the rolls were even hired, and substituted for the old ones.' (Blochmann, 256). So the imperial brand was placed on the right thigh of the horse, while the *manṣabdār* had his own brand imprinted on the left. (*Storia*, II, 376; Blochmann, 256). For a description of these brands at different periods see Blochmann, 139, 255, 256, and Irvine, *Army*, 49-51.

This proceeding was known as *Dāgh-o-maḥallī*, or simply *Dāgh*.

These brands and descriptive rolls were obviously meant for reference when the same *manṣabdār's* cavalry was presented for review a second time. There were elaborate rules for periodical musters: Every *manṣabdār* who held a *jāgīr* had to present his horses after three years³, failing which his *jāgīr* was docked to the extent of $\frac{1}{10}$. The officer who drew his salary in cash had to renew his *dāgh* every

¹ I should substitute 'sealed' for 'countersigned'; '*sikka*' is the word in the text.

² This is not quite accurate. It appears from the text that the *Wāqī'ah Nawīs* signed while the other two officers only affixed their seals.

³ Not 'every year', as Blochmann translates by a slip (p. 256), and Irvine uncritically copies (*Army*, p. 54).

eighteen months. The *umarā* whose *jāgīrs* were situated in a remote place were given a concession: the interval between two *daghs* was not to exceed twelve years in any case¹. Yet, after a lapse of six years they lost $\frac{1}{10}$ of their *jāgīr*; so the free concession really extended to six years only.

If a man gets an increase of *manṣab*, and three years have passed since the muster he draws his enhanced *zāt* salary from the date of increase, but his additional cavalry cannot receive any pay until it has passed through the *dāgh*². (*Ā'in*, Text, 191-92).

The second and later musters were technically known as *dāgh-i-mukarrar* or repetition of the brand (*il.* repeated brand.)

Within a *manṣabdār's* division there was no classification into regiments. All were immediately under the *manṣabdār*, with whom every soldier had personal relations—which formed the basis of the entire system. As Dr. Paul Horn rightly remarks, 'Nummerisch bestimmte Verbände, unseren Compagnieen, Bataillonen u.s.w. entsprechend, gab es nicht.' (p. 11).

Nor was the numerical strength of each arm placed on anything like a regulated basis. The numbers of archers, sabremen, etc., were not fixed. 'Für die Stärkeverhältnisse der einzelnen Waffengattungen unter einander', says the same writer, 'waren bei Bildung einer Armee, keine Regeln vorgeschrieben.' (p. 43).

It is to be noted, however, that lower *manṣabdārs* could serve under higher *manṣabdārs*. Under an amir of 10,000 personal rank could serve a *manṣabdār* of up to 1,000 personal rank, under one of 8,000 up to 800, under one of 7,000 up to 700, under one of 5,000 up to 500, and under a *manṣabdār* of 500 an officer of up to 100 personal rank. In case of ranks lower than 500 such inclusion was not admissible (*Ā'in*, Text, 175). Perhaps this rule applies only to disposition of forces in the battle-field.

The *manṣabdārs* and their followers, looked at as a whole, were a composite body, each unit of which had certain distinguishing characteristics of its own. We have no doubt the Emperor knew well how to make appropriate use of each. We have already seen in a quotation

¹ Blochmann (257) is tripping here again.

² The rules given by Irvine (p. 54) are somewhat different and more elaborate. We omit them, since they are drawn from a *dastūr-ul-'amal* of 1118 A.H., and probably embody later amendments.

from Bernier why and under what circumstances the Rājputs and Pathāns were considered specially valuable as a source of military strength. Apart from those reasons, the Rājputs were highly prized both for their fighting qualities and for their staunch fidelity and a delicate sense of honour.

Again, the Bārha Sayyids had acquired from the time of Akbar, a right to fight in the vanguard,¹ which they must have won by special distinction in the method of warfare peculiar to that position in the line of battle.

Babur's remarks are interesting in this connection. 'Among the Moghuls', he says, 'the Institutions established by Chingiz Khan have continued to be strictly observed down to the present time. Every man has his appointed station; those appointed to the right wing, the left wing, or the centre, have their allotted places, which are handed down to them from father to son. Those of most trust and consequence are stationed on the extremities or flanks of the two wings.' (*Memoirs*, Leyden, Erskine, and King, I, 165-66).²

Besides we know that different peoples not only had different ways of fighting, owing to their national peculiarities, but in some cases specialized in the use of certain arms. This must have qualified them for certain special operations, and for certain positions in the army drawn in battle-array.

The composition of a unit, *i.e.*, of a *manṣabdār's* regiment, differed according to the two rules known to be in existence. Irvine, relying on *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī*, II, 118, tells us that 'the *Tabīnān*, if horsemen, must be one-third Mughals, one-third Afghāns, and one-third Rājputs; if infantry, two-thirds archers, and one-third matchlockmen.' (*Army*, 9).

Manucci is totally unreliable on this subject; yet the following quotation from him seems to support the above statement: 'A man getting the pay of a *hazārī* in the first class is obliged to keep two hundred and fifty horsemen of different races—that is to say, sixty-four Pathāns, sixty-four Mughals, sixty-four Rājputs; the remainder are Saiyids, Shekhzādahs, and so forth. The regulation still observed up to this day was made by King Akbar.' (*Storia*, II, 375).

¹ Blochmann, 391.

² M. Pavet de Courteille, who in translating from the original *Chaghatai*, renders the last sentence differently: 'Les plus estimés parmi ceux de l'aile droite sont stationnés aux extrémités de cette aile.' (*Mémoires de Baber*, I, 218.)

Irvine has already¹ given us certain rules about the classes and respective numbers of men to be recruited by *manṣabdārs* of different nationalities or tribes. The authority on which he draws bears date 1161 A.H. The *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī* was written in 1174 A.H.

Another class of horsemen is to be noticed, which has had no place in our classification, but formed part of the cavalry,—viz., the *Rozīnadārs*, i.e., men with daily salary. '*Rouzindars*', says Bernier, 'are also cavaliers, who receive their pay daily, as the word imports; but their pay is greater, in some instances, than that of many of the *mansebdars*. It is, however, of a different kind, and not thought so honourable, but the *Rouzindars* are not subject, like the *mansebdars*, to the *Agenas*; that is, are not bound to take, at a valuation, carpets, and other pieces of furniture, that have been used in the King's palace, and on which an unreasonable value is sometimes set. Their number is very great. They fill the inferior offices; many being clerks and under-clerks; while some are employed to affix the King's signet to *Barattes*, or orders for the payment of money; and they scruple not to receive bribes for the quick issuing of these documents'. (pp. 215–16.)

Manucci in the same strain: 'There is still another mode of payment called *ruzindar* (*rozīnah-dār*)—that is, pay by the day given to infantry and cavalry. Yet, although they have this name, they are not thus paid: several months are allowed to elapse.' (*Storia*, II, 377).

II. AHADIS

The *Aḥadīs* were gentlemen troopers, a special class of horsemen, who were generally round the Emperor's person, and owed allegiance to no one else.

Probably a higher standard of efficiency and general worth was set up for an *Aḥadī* than for an ordinary horseman in a *manṣabdār's* ranks. In Akbar's reign, many *Aḥadīs* drew a salary of more than 500 rupees *per mensem*. We learn from *Tūzūk* (p. 5; R. and B., i, 10, top) that Jahāngīr, on his coronation, raised the salary of the *Aḥadīs* by fifty *per cent*. At a late period—in 1120 A.H. (=1708 A.C.)—enlistment of 4,700 extra *Aḥadīs* was ordered at Rs. 40 a month. (Irvine, *Army*, 44).

¹ See p. 281 above.

The *Aḥadī* could muster up to five horses in Akbar's reign; the maximum in Jahāngīr's time, however, was apparently only four (De Laët, p. 113); though Hawkins places the limit at six (Purchas, iii, 30).

Horn is not far wrong when he describes the *Aḥadīs* as 'ein besonderes Gardecavallerie-corps' (p. 20). We agree with Irvine however, that though this is partially true, there was not any formal recognition of them as such. (*Army*, p. 43). The duties of the *Aḥadīs* were of a more miscellaneous character than those of Emperor's body-guard, properly so called. 'Most clerks of the Imperial offices,' says Blochmann (p. 20, f.n. 1), 'the painters of the court, the foremen in Akbar's workshops, etc., belonged to this corps.' 'Many of them [the *Aḥadīs*],' he says elsewhere (p. 246), 'were on staff employ in the various offices, store-houses, Imperial workshops; others were employed as adjutants and carriers of important orders.' 'Unter Akbar wurden sie', says Dr. Horn, 'nur sehr selten in grösserer Masse im Kriege verwendet, besonders nicht, wenn der Kaiser nicht selbst mit im Felde war, und dienten gewöhnlich einzeln als Feldjäger u. dgl.' (p. 20).

Practice in this respect seems, however, to have varied, for we notice that in Shāh Jahān's reign *Aḥadīs* were often sent into the fighting line, where they were well distributed over the different parts of the army. As many as 5,000 *Aḥadīs* accompanied each one of the three expeditions sent by the Emperor to Kandahar (1649–53 A.C.). The numbers thus contributed generally consisted of *Barq-andāz* and *Tir-andāz Aḥadīs*, half and half.

Irvine speaks of the *Yakka-lāz*, which term was possibly used as an equivalent for an *Aḥadī*. Again, the bodyguard, or defenders of the imperial person, he tells us, were the men called *Wālā Shāhī*, and these he further proceeds to distinguish from *Yasāwāl*s or armed palace guards.

The household troops, he says on the authority of *Siyar*, amounted, towards the end of the eighteenth century, 'to 40,000 men, all cavalry, but usually serving on foot in the citadel and in the palace. They consisted then of several corps besides the *Aḥadīs*, such as the *Surkh-posh* (wearers of red), the *Sultānī* (Royal), the *Wālā Shāhī* (High Imperial), the *Kamal-posh* (Blanket Wearers).' (p. 44).

We do not meet with these names in histories of the earlier period. The presumption is that these bodies came into existence in the later Mughal times,

The number of *Aḥadīs* in Akbar's time is not known. In Jahāngīr's reign the number was, according to De Laët (*Empire of the Great Mogol*, 113), 4,441, and, according to Hawkins (*Purchas*, iii, 30), 5,000.

We know from *B.N.* (II, 715) that the total number of *Aḥadīs* in *Shāh Jahān's* time, or rather at the end of the 20th regnal year, was 7,000.

There was a separate establishment for the *Aḥadīs*, with a *Diwān*, a *Baḥshī*, and the rest. At their head was one of the great amirs.

The candidates were presented direct to the Emperor. In case of acceptance the usual procedure of *yād-dāsh* and *ta'liqa* was followed, descriptive roll was prepared, and the salary fixed. Then the security was taken; and once more the applicant was presented to the Emperor, who often increased the salary originally fixed.

The *Aḥadīs* were mustered every four months.

The *Aḥadī* generally found his own horse at the beginning of service; but later, if a substitute became necessary, it was supplied by Government, either free or at a price. Horses of *Aḥadīs* who were dead¹ were often thus given away to other *Aḥadīs* who had lost a horse. (*Ā'in*, Text, I, 158; Blochmann, 161-62).

III *PIĀDAGĀN* OR 'INFANTRY'

As a part of the fighting strength of the empire, this arm of the service was insignificant. But it is not really correct to render the word '*Piādagān*' by 'infantry'. It is true that these *Piādagān* included the force called *Piāda tufangchī wa bāndār*, which often accompanied the rest of the army to the battle-field, and also some *Dakhilī* troops. But the *Piādagān* included also many other classes of men who had no more to do with fighting than a modern civil servant. Irvine, following the historians of the later *Mughal* period, translates 'infantry' by '*Aḥshām*'—a word not used in this technical sense in the earlier period. We are following Abū'l-Faḥl in retaining the term *Piādagān*.

We give below, in outline, Abū'l-Faḥl's classified description of the *Piādagān*, drawing upon other authorities, where available, for illustration and corroboration:

(1) *Bundūqchīs* (Matchlock-bearers)

¹ *Raftagān* is the word in text.

A *bitikchī*, a treasurer, and a *dārogha* formed the establishment. The senior *Bundūqchīs* (*Sar-guroh*) got a higher pay—from 260 *dāms* to 300 *dāms p.m.* The salary of the rest ranged from 110 *d.* to 250 *d. p.m.* (*Ā'in*, Text, I, 188). It will be noticed that this pay, ranging between three and seven rupees a month, is miserable. See Bernier's remarks about the quality of this service quoted later.

This is practically the only class which may be described as infantry.

The total number in Akbar's time was 12,000 (*ibid.*).

According to *B. N.* (II, 715), *Shāh Jahān's* army included, at the end of 20th regnal year, 40,000 *tufangchīs*, gunners, and *bān-dārs*, 10,000 of which were at court, the remaining 30,000 being in the provinces and in fortresses.

A number of this infantry, varying from 9,000 to 10,000, accompanied each of the three expeditions to Kandahar already referred to.

Bernier has the following about the matchlock-men:

'The foot-soldiers receive the smallest pay; and, to be sure, the musketeers cut a sorry figure at the best of times, which may be said to be when squatting on the ground, and resting their muskets on a kind of wooden fork which hangs to them. Even then, they are terribly afraid of burning their eyes or their long beards, and above all lest some *Dgen*, or evil spirit, should cause the bursting of their musket. Some have twenty *roupies* a month, some fifteen, some ten. (p. 217).

These salaries are much higher than the scale quoted from *Ā'in* above.

Bernier, talking of the infantry, continues: 'I do not think that in the army immediately about the King, the number can exceed fifteen thousand, including musketeers, foot artillery, and generally, every person connected with that artillery. From this, an estimate may be formed of the number of infantry in the provinces.' (p. 219.)

(2) *Darbāns* (Porters).

One thousand of these guarded the palace.

(3) *Khidmatīya*.

One thousand *Khidmatīya* remained alert round the *Daulat-khāna*, and awaited orders.—The caste to which they belonged was notorious for highway robbery and theft. They were formerly known as *Māwis*.

Jahāngir mentions these as *Piādahā-i-khidmatīya* in *Tūzūk*, p. 303 (R. and B., II, 152). Their chief in time of Akbar had the title 'Khidmat Rāi.' In *Tūzūk Rāi Mān* is mentioned as their head (*Sardār-i-Piādahā-i-khidmatīya*). [Text, p. 205 (R. and B., I, 414), p. 268 (R. and B., II, 83), and p. 303 (R. and B., II, 152)].

(4) *Mewras*.

These also numbered one thousand, and came from Mewāt. They were fast runners, could fetch and carry across long distances, and were expert at detective work.

According to Khāfi Khān (*M.L.*, I, 243) Akbar was the first to introduce a regular service of *Dak Mewras*.

Couriers are thus described by Father Monserrate: 'Amongst the despatch-runners are certain couriers who in one day can run on foot as far as a horseman can ride at full speed. They are said to have their livers removed in infancy, in order to prevent their suffering from shortness of breath. They practise running in shoes made of lead, or train themselves by repeatedly lifting their feet and moving their legs (whilst remaining standing still in one place) till their heels touch their buttocks. When their leaden shoes are removed, they are seen to be magnificent runners, by the help of whose swiftness the King can very rapidly and regularly obtain news or send orders on any matter touching the peace of his realm.' (Monserrate, 212).

Is Father Monserrate here referring to the *Dak Mewras* we are talking of?

(5) *Shamsherbāz*.

Bravery and agility were their distinguishing characteristics. They could perform remarkable feats of arms. Different classes of these specialized in certain feats and tricks, and in particular ways of offence and defence.

Their skill and courage, on which Abū'l-Faḍl dwells with eloquence, must have made them an acquisition to the fighting line.

Yet the *Shamsherbāz* denotes more a profession than a service; for we are told that the total number exceeded 100,000, of which a picked 1,000 was always ready for service at court.

The *Ṣadī* (commander of 100) of these held the rank of an *Aḥadī* or a still higher one. The monthly salary of a *shamsherbāz* ranged from 80 to 600 *dāms*,

Sword-play continued to be a favourite profession in India down to quite recent times. For quotations from eye-witnesses of exhibitions of single-stick and sword-play in India as late as the first half of the nineteenth century, see Irvine, *Army*, 186.

(6) *Wrestlers*.

Persian and Tūrānī wrestlers and boxers, Indian athletes, performers of Gujarāt known as *mals*¹, stone-throwers and others constituted this number. Wrestling matches were daily witnessed at court. The pay of a wrestler was between 70 and 450 *dāms p. m.*

(7) *Chelas* (Slaves).

These were originally, apparently, prisoners of war, or children rescued from famine—in many cases Hindus converted to Islam.

The *Chelas* were divided into sections, subjected to a systematic training at court, and finally brought up to a career of useful service. Many from each section were promoted to other ranks of the army, and some even attained to an amirate.

The pay of a *Chela* ran from a *dām* to a rupee *per diem*.

Is Manucci referring to these *Chelas* when he says:

'It is the habit of these kings to have usually in their service seven thousand slaves of different nations, and some among them are established as chiefs to govern and guide the rest. The king gives them names, and in my time these chief slaves were called as follows.' After a list of names he continues: 'These are the names of the king's principal slaves. They are all gentlemen troopers, and have good pay. Set over all the slaves are two captains, and the horse-men are three thousand in number, the foot or infantry four thousand. They have various employments, both within the household and in other duties connected with it. They are resorted to when some *coup* has been decided on; it is they who write about it, and execute the royal commands. In addition, they are used as spies to report what is going on, as well among the nobles as the common people.' (*Storia*, II, 357-58).

It appears that the *Chelas* were entertained not only by the emperor but also by the princes and the nobles. 'Among the slaves of the princes are some who are gentlemen soldiers and hold good positions. Some are purchased, others offer themselves to serve in

¹ *Mal* is 'a professional wrestler or boxer (the offspring of an outcast Kshatriya by a Kshatriya woman), a pancratiast; prize-fighter; an athlete; a gymnast; a tumbler; an acrobat.' (Platt, 1061).

that station.' (*Storia*, II, 412). 'As a counterpoise to the mercenaries in their employ', says Irvine, 'over whom they had a very loose hold, commanders were in the habit of getting together, as the kernel of their force, a body of personal dependents or slaves, who had no one to look to except their master. Such troops were known by the Hindi name of *chela* (a slave). They were fed, clothed, and lodged by their employer, had mostly been brought up and trained by him, and had no other home than his camp. They were recruited chiefly from children taken in war or bought from their parents during times of famine. The great majority were of Hindu origin, but all were made Mahomedans when received into the body of *chelas*. These *chelas* were the only troops on which a man could place entire reliance as being ready to follow his fortunes in both foul and fair weather.' (*Army*, 11),

(8) *Kahārs* (Litter-bearers).

These bore the *pālki*, the *singhāsan*, the *chaudol* and the *doli*. Their special skill lay in the fact that they carried their heavy burden up hill and down dale with the utmost comfort to the rider.

The best *Kahārs* came from the Deccan and from Bengal.—Several thousand *Kahārs* were always at court.

Pay of the head *Kahār*: 192 *d.* to 384 *d.* Pay of an ordinary *Kahār*: 120 *d.* to 160 *d.*

(9) *Dākhilī* foot-soldiers.

A number of these, though paid by the state, were handed over to the *umara*. Though really infantry, they were classed as *nīma-suwarān* (half-cavalry), and their descriptive rolls kept.

One-quarter of the number were matchlock-bearers, and the rest mainly bow-men—the odd proportion being made up by such miscellany as carpenters, blacksmiths, water-carriers, and pioneers¹—useful camp-followers.

A non-commissioned officer (*sar-guroh*) of the matchlock-men drew 160 *d.*, and the common matchlock-men only 140 *d.* The *mīrdahas* of the archers got from 120 to 180 *dāms*, and the common archers from 100 to 120.

Irvine tells us (*Army*, 160) that these *dākhilī* troops are not heard of from Aurangzeb's reign on.

¹ The duty of these *beldārs* was to sink wells for the royal camp and to dig trenches, etc. In hilly tracts the *beldārs* were sent in advance of the rest of the army to make the way.

IV. ARTILLERY

Artillery was not an important branch of the army prior to Aurangzeb's time.

Humāyūn's artillery at the battle of Kanauj (1540 A.C.) is thus described:—

'Among the equipments which were in the train of the Emperor were 700 carriages (*gardun*), each drawn by four pairs of bullocks, and carrying a swivel (*zarb-zan*), which discharged a ball (*kalola*) of 500 *mithkāl*s weight. I, myself, saw several times that from the top of an eminence they unfailingly (*bi-khatā*) struck horsemen who slightly and unsuspectingly exposed themselves. And there were twenty-one carriages, each drawn by eight¹ pairs of bullocks. Stone balls were of no use in these, but the shots were of molten brass weighing 5,000 *mithkāl*s, and the cost of each was 200 *mithkāl*s of silver. They would strike anything that was visible at the distance of a *parasang*.' (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlāt, trans. by E. D. Ross and N. Elias, London, 1895, p. 474.)

In Akbar's time this arm of the service was so unimportant that Abū'l-Faẓl has not much to say about it in the *Ā'in*. The scholar-minister talks rather grandiloquently of large pieces of ordnance, which took several elephants and thousands of bullocks to transport, and the balls of which weighed twelve maunds; and speaks thus of certain inventions of Akbar: 'He made a gun which, on marches, can easily be taken to pieces, and properly put again together when required. By another invention, His Majesty joins seventeen guns in such a manner as to be able to fire them simultaneously with one match.² Again, he made another kind of gun, which can easily be carried by a single elephant; such guns have the name of *Gajnāls*. Guns which a single man may carry, are called *Narnāls*.'³ (*Text*, I, 124; Blochmann, 112-3). 'His Majesty has made special guns,' continues the author, 'for the siege of fortresses and for naval engagements;

¹ Irvine reads 60 for 8.

² Apparently a precursor of the *Argħan* or *Argħūn* 'which is composed of about 36 gun barrels so joined as to fire at once' (Irvine, *Army*, 138), cognate with a *mitrailleuse*. (Horn, 30).

³ Dr. Horn is presumably quite right in holding that the *Narnāls* 'waren wohl keine Kanonen sondern nur eine Art schwererer Musketen' (p. 28).

while those fit for the imperial camp accompany the Emperor.' ¹ (Text, I, 125).

The personnel of the artillery is briefly disposed of thus: 'Amirs and Ahadis are on staff employ in this branch. The pay of the foot varies from 100 to 400 *d.*' (Text, 125; Blochmann, 113).

It strikes one as strange, however, that the artillery and its personnel, which obviously formed part of the army, finds no place in Book II of the *Ā'in*, which deals with the Army. The artillery and some matchlock-men are included in Book I, while such unmilitary classes as porters, valets (footmen), runners, gladiators, wrestlers, slaves and litter-bearers, who never served in, or even behind, the fighting-line, are grouped together under *Piādagān* in Book II.

Irvine's explanation (*Army*, 155 and 160-1) that all officers and men borne on the books of the imperial household are included in Book I, while Book II comprises only the part of the army which was not paid direct from the imperial treasury, but through the intervention of the *manṣabdār*, is insufficient; since *Ahadis* and all the *Piādagān* were paid direct by the Emperor and yet figure in Book II. On Irvine's hypothesis only *manṣabdārs* and their followers should be in Book II, while *Ahadis*, artillery and *Piādagān* should all be included in Book I.²

Irvine's position that 'the artillery was much more perfect and numerous in 'Ālamgīr's reign, than it was under his great-grandfather, Akbar,' (p. 116), is unassailable. There is no doubt that the development of artillery in the Mughal army which began in Aurangzeb's reign, was due in the main to contact with the European armies and the service of Portuguese gunners.

In Jahāngīr's reign, we are told ³ that Patr Dās, on being appointed *Mir Ālish* (Master of Ordnance), was ordered to have in the Artillery of the Stirrup always ready 3,000 pieces of ordnance, with 50,000 gunners;—a large number, one would think, for the Stirrup Artillery, but not impossible, since it seems to have been a special measure, and for the maintenance of it, as Shāh Nawāz Khān tells us (*M.U.*, II, 140), the revenue of 15 *parganas* was assigned.

¹ For this sentence I am preferring my own translation to Blochmann's, which seems to me inaccurate.

² It has been suggested to me as a possible explanation that artillery was not yet recognized as a separate arm.

³ *Tūzūk*, 9-10. R. and B.'s translation (I, 22-3) is defective, but is faithfully copied by Blochmann (p. 470).

The number of guns with which Humāyūn and Jahāngīr are credited would suggest that the Mughal artillery was in a high state of efficiency, and furnished a formidable weapon. This, however, was not the case. 'Of this arm of the service,' says Irvine, 'it is doubtful whether the Moghuls knew much before they descended into the plains of India under Bābar. What they did know was probably borrowed from the Turks and from Constantinople. Nor could the art and science of gunnery have been very advanced in India itself, when the Moghuls arrived in that country in the first half of the 16th century. In the earlier Moghul period, at any rate, the emperors were dependent for their artillery on the help and instruction of Rūmis, that is, Mahomedans from Constantinople, or of Farangis, principally runaway sailors from Sūrāt, or Portuguese half-castes.' (*Army*, 152).

Considerable bodies of the Portuguese continued to be enlisted up to the middle of the eighteenth century.

Dr. Horn thus in similar strain: 'Das Artilleriewesen (*Tupchâne*), war unter Bāber durchaus nach türkischem Muster eingerichtet, wie denn die Türken hierin im muhammedanischen Orient überhaupt die Lehrmeister gewesen sind..... Noch unter Akbar ward das Geschützwesen mit Vorliebe Türken anvertraut, bis an deren Stelle dann allmählich Europäer traten.' (p. 29.)

The artillerymen, says Bernier, 'receive great pay, particularly all the *Franguis* or Christians,—*Portuguese, English, Dutch, Germans, and French*; fugitives from *Goa*, and from the *Dutch* and *English* companies. Formerly, when the *Mogols* were little skilled in the management of artillery, the pay of the *Europeans* was more liberal, and there are still some remaining who receive two hundred *roupies* a month: but now the King admits them with difficulty into the service, and limits their pay to thirty-two *roupies*.' (p. 217).

Abū'l-Faḍl, as we have already seen, speaks respectfully of Turkey's artillery; and we hear a great deal of Portuguese and other European gunners in state employ throughout Mughal history.

The artillery consisted of the 'heavy' and the 'light'.

The heavy artillery, early in Aurangzeb's reign, consisted, according to Bernier, of 'seventy pieces of cannon, mostly of brass'. (p. 217). Under heavy artillery were also included 'from two to three hundred light camels, each of which carried a small field-piece of the size of a double musket, attached on the back of the animal, much in

the same manner as swivels are fixed in our barks.' (pp. 217-18). These were *Shutarnāls*. So 'heavy artillery' was only a technical term, and was not confined to the larger pieces.

'The Moghuls', says Irvine, 'were very fond of large ordnance, but such pieces were really more for show than use; and as Fitzclarence truly says, 243, the oriental idea seems to have been "to render this destructive engine from its size more powerful than those of the Western world." In this direction they proceeded even to extravagant lengths. These huge guns made more noise than they did harm; they could not be fired many times in a day, and were very liable to burst and destroy the men in charge.' (*Army*, 118.)

The large pieces had often high-sounding, mouth-filling names, and usually bore on them inscriptions giving the name of the founder and place and date of manufacture. See the long list of names of the principal cannon at Mughal court in Aurangzeb's time in *Storia* (II, 365-66). For an inscription on the gun, *Jahāṅkushā*, made at Dacca in the reign of Shāh Jahān, see 'Translation of an Inscription on a Gun at Moorshedabad with Remarks', by Major St. G. D. Showers in *J.A.S.B.*, xvi, 589-92.

Field-pieces were, generally speaking, heavier than fort- and siege-guns.

The Light Artillery, otherwise called *Tophkhāna-i-rikāb* or Artillery of the Stirrup, is thus described by Bernier: 'The artillery of the stirrup, which also accompanied the *Mogol* in the journey to *Lahor* and *Kachemire*, appeared to me extremely well appointed. It consisted of fifty or sixty small field-pieces, all of brass; each piece mounted on a well-made and handsomely painted carriage, containing two ammunition chests, one behind and another in front, and ornamented with a variety of small red streamers. The carriage, with the driver, was drawn by two fine horses, and attended by a third horse, led by an assistant driver as a relay. The heavy artillery did not always follow the King, who was in the habit of diverging from the highroad, in search of hunting-ground, or for the purpose of keeping near the rivers and other waters. It could not move along difficult passes, or cross the bridges of boats thrown over the rivers. But the light artillery is always intended to be near the King's person and on that account takes the name of Artillery of the Stirrup. When he resumes his journey in the morning, and is disposed to shoot or hunt in game

preserves, the avenues to which are guarded, it moves straight forward, and reaches with all possible speed the next place of encampment, where the royal tents and those of the principal *Omrahs* have been pitched since the preceding day. The guns are then ranged in front of the King's quarters, and by way of signal to the army, fire a volley the moment he arrives.' (p. 218).

What has happened, one might ask, to the 3,000 pieces of light ordnance, which Patr Dās had placed on a permanent footing in obedience to Jahāṅgīr's orders early in his reign? Was the number cut down later?

We have already noted that all the pieces included under 'heavy' artillery were not heavy. Irvine's remark, therefore, that the Artillery of the Stirrup was rather a sub-division of the light artillery than identical with it (*Army*, 133) is fully justified.

The artillery was one of the imperial workshops, and, as the workshops formed part of the imperial household (which was controlled by the *Khānsāmān*), the head of the Artillery, i.e., the *Darogha-i-Tophkhāna* or *Mir Ālish*, was under the *Khānsāmān*. It is to be noted, however, that this applied only to the manufacturing department and the magazine or ordnance department. In case of the field artillery in actual use and of guns in use in fortresses the *Mir Ālish* held independent charge. (*Army*, 113). Again, 'all reserve artillery and stores were kept in certain great fortresses, such as *Āgrah*, *Dihlī* and *Lāhor*, in the charge of the special commandant (*qila'hdār*), who was an officer appointed direct from court and in no way connected with or subordinate to the provincial governor (*nāzīm* or *subahdār*).' (*Ibid.*, 156-7).

ESTIMATE OF THE TOTAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMY

Having surveyed the various departments constituting the Mughal army, we naturally feel inclined to ask what was the total strength of the military organization. The question has been examined by various writers such as Blochmann (pp. 244-7 and pp. 528-37), Paul Horn (pp. 39-45), and Irvine (*Army*, pp. 59-61).

Blochmann's conclusions about Akbar's army (pp. 245-6), on which both Horn and Irvine rely, are vitiated by certain fundamental misapprehensions, and seem arbitrary. Neither Blochmann nor later

writers seem to have noticed that the list in *Ā'in* 30 of the *Ā'in* refers only to the *ẓāt* rank, and is therefore utterly useless for any calculation of the strength of the army.

The same remark applies to the list in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

The figures for the reign of Jahāṅgīr have not been attempted by any one. The numbers of the *manṣabdārs* in that reign given by De Laët (113), if correct—and we have no means of checking them—refer in all probability to the *ẓāt* rank, and therefore give no help towards calculation of the cavalry.

Since we have not sufficient data to arrive at even tolerably satisfactory results regarding the reign of Akbar or of Jahāṅgīr, and since we are more immediately concerned with the reign of Shāh Jahān, we propose to concentrate our attention on an estimate of the army during the latter reign.

Mullā 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, surveying the imperial army at the end of the twentieth regnal year, informs us with business-like succinctness and precision so usual with him, that the army (excluding the numbers appointed with *faujdārs*, *karoris* and *āmils* to administer the *parganas*) amounts, under the one-fourth rule, to 200,000 horse, which comprise 8,000 *Manṣabdārs*, 7,000 *Aḥādīs* and *Barq-andāz* horse-men, 1,85,000 horsemen (followers of Princes, *Umarā* and *Manṣabdārs*), and 40,000 infantry (*lufangchī*, *top-andāz*, *gola-andāz*, and *bāndār*), out of which 10,000 were at court, and the rest in the provinces and in forts. (*B. N.*, II, 715).

The carefully-prepared list of the *Manṣabdārs* at the end of twentieth regnal year given on pp. 717–52 of *B. N.*, II, practically constitutes the Army List of the empire for that date, and is an invaluable document. This list includes names of all officers of the rank of 500 and above, whether dead or alive at the time of its preparation, showing in each case whether the officer is alive. The list, as usual, is arranged in the order of the *ẓāt* rank; but the *suwār* rank is carefully given in all cases where that rank is enjoyed.

From such a list it is possible to construct the total strength of the cavalry; while it enables us to check the totals of the war effective given by 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī in the passage quoted above.

For the purpose of estimating the cavalry we ignore the *ẓāt* rank, and add up the *suwār* ranks of all the officers living at the time, excluding

for the moment the *du aspa sih aspa suwār* rank. We find that the total of *yak aspa* horse rank amounts to 3,70,825.—Next we take the *du aspa sih aspa* figures. These total 76,000. As we know, this figure has to be doubled; so that it means 1,52,000 'horse'.

The sum total of the *yak aspa* and *du aspa sih aspa* ranks, therefore, is $3,70,825 + 1,52,000 = 5,22,825$ 'horse'. The reader knows well that this figure does not represent the number of cavalry actually entertained, but only the sum total of the horse rank. The actual number can be obtained by the one-third, one-fourth and one-fifth rule. The one-fifth rule was probably a concessionary measure; while the one-third rule applied to a small number. Calculating by the one-fourth rule, therefore, we arrive at 1,30,706 as the number of horsemen. Making allowance for the few who held appointments in the provinces where their *jāgīrs* lay, and who were governed by the one-third rule, 1,35,000 will be a safe figure for the total cavalry.

We should not forget that this is the total following of the *manṣabdārs* of 500 and above only. Counting up the names of those reported as alive in the list, we find that this following belonged to 445 officers. 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī has already informed us that the total number of *manṣabdārs* was 8,000, while their total *tabīns* numbered 185,000. We know, therefore, that the *manṣabdārs* under the rank of 500 totalled 7,555, and their following approximately 50,000.

The results can now also be stated in a tabular form:—

STATEMENT SHOWING TOTAL STRENGTH OF MANṢABDĀRS
AND THEIR FOLLOWERS AT END OF 20TH REGNAL
YEAR OF SHĀH JAHĀN.

Ẓāt rank.	Total number of Manṣabdārs (including Princes).	Total rank.			Actual number of horsemen entertained.
		<i>Yak aspa.</i>	<i>Du aspa sih aspa.</i>	Total with <i>du aspa sih aspa</i> rank doubled.	
500 and above	445	3,70,825	76,000	5,22,825	1,35,000 (approximately)
Below 500	7,555	...	...	...	50,000 (approximately)
Total	8,000	...	...	...	185,000

We find that the total figures quoted from *B. N.* above fit in beautifully with the deductions from the *Manṣabdārī* list.

These results, again, are on all fours with the following statement in Bernier: 'Leaving out of our present calculation the infantry, which is of small amount, and the number of horses, which is merely nominal, and is apt to deceive a superficial observer, I should think, with many persons well conversant with this matter, that the effective cavalry, commonly about the King's person, including that of the *Rajas* and *Patans*, amount to thirty-five or forty thousand; which, added to those in the provinces, forms a total of more than two hundred thousand horse.' (219).

Again, talking of infantry, the author continues: 'I do not think that in the army immediately about the King, the number can exceed fifteen thousand, including musketeers, foot artillery, and generally, every person connected with that artillery. From this, an estimate may be formed of the number of infantry in the provinces. I cannot account for the prodigious amount of infantry with which some people swell the armies of the *Great Mogol*, otherwise than by supposing that with the fighting men, they confound servants, sutlers, tradesmen, and all those individuals belonging to *bazars*, or markets, who accompany the troops. Including these followers, I can well conceive that the army immediately about the King's person, particularly when it is known that he intends to absent himself for some time from his capital, may amount to two, or even three hundred thousand infantry. This will not be deemed an extravagant computation, if we bear in mind the immense quantity of tents, kitchens, baggage, furniture, and even women, usually attendant on the army. For the conveyance of all these are again required many elephants, camels, oxen, horses, and porters.' (219-20.)

Another way of forming an idea of the military strength of an empire is to take measure of an effort put forth by it on an occasion sufficiently important to be considered typical. The sieges of Kandahar were probably the most serious military operations undertaken by the State during the reign of *Shāh Jahān*. We give below the details of the army (cavalry, infantry and artillery) and its equipment sent to Kandahar on three several occasions for the purpose of laying siege to that stronghold. For brevity the information is presented in a tabular form:—

ARMY AND EQUIPMENT SENT TO BESIEGE KANDAHAR (1649-53.)

	<i>Manṣabdārs</i> and their followers	Infantry	<i>Aḥadīs</i>	Artillery	Transport
First expedition (1649 A. C.)	50,000 cavalry according to one-fifth, or 60,000 cavalry according to one-fourth rule.	10,000 <i>Tufangchīs</i> and <i>Bāndārs</i> .	5,000		
Second expedition (1652 A. C.)		9,000 <i>Tufangchīs</i> and <i>Bāndārs</i> .	2,600 <i>Barg-andāz</i> and 2,000 <i>Tir-andāz</i> (archers.)	8 big siege guns. 20 smaller ordnance (which took balls weighing 2 or 2½ seers). 20 <i>hathnāls</i> . 100 <i>shutarndāls</i> .	500 carrying treasure 3,000 carrying arms 500 carrying ammunition.
Third expedition (1653 A. C.)	56,000 cavalry according to one-fifth, or 70,000 cavalry according to one-fourth rule.	10,000 <i>Tufangchīs</i> , <i>Bāndārs</i> and gunners.	2,500 <i>Barg-andāz</i> , 2,500 <i>Tir-andāz</i> (bowmen).	7 big siege guns, some of which took ball of 2 maunds: (1) 'Kishwar kushā' (ball: 1m. 8s. Akbari). (2) 'Garh bajhān' (ball: 1 m. 8 s. Akbari). (3) 'Top-i-klān' (ball: 1 m. 16 s. Akbari).—These three cast by Dārā Shukoh's orders. (4) 'Qal' a-kushā' (5) 'Maryam' and two others sent from court. 7 <i>top-i-hawā'ī</i> , ¹ made to Dārā Shukoh's order. 30 smaller ordnance.	3,000 camels for loading treasure, ammunition and arms.

1.—A kind of ordnance apparently mounted on a tree or other eminence, and then fired. See *M. L.*, 11, 226.

ARMY AND EQUIPMENT SENT TO BESIEGE KANDAHAR (1649-53)—(Continued.)

	<i>Manṣabḍars</i> and their followers	Infantry	<i>Aḥādīs</i>	Artillery	Transport
Third expedition (1653 A. C.)				25 <i>gajnāls</i>. 100 <i>ghularnāls</i>. 30,000 cannon balls (large and small) 5,000 maunds of gun-powder. 1,500 maunds of lead (imperial measure). 14,000 <i>bāns</i>. In addition to these the artillery which had been used at Kan- dahar in the second siege had remained at Kabul. At least five of those big guns joined the besieging army at Kanda- har, reaching there under Ghairat Khān. Total number of cannon balls discharged during the siege: 27,000.	

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The information summarized here is given almost exactly as found in Muḥammad Wārīs, *B.N.*, III, (P.U.L. MS.) ff. 23b-24a, 61b-64a, 73a-73b., etc.

From the entries in the second column it appears that the figures are not those of the roll-call, but are calculated from the total *manṣab* of the officers nominated to serve in the army.

The reader need hardly be told that total cavalry will be obtained by adding up the figures in col. 2 and col. 4.

NOTE

Since writing the above I have seen Mr. Ram Prasad Tripathi's article on 'The Army Organization of Akbar' in *Indian Historical Records Commission* (Proceedings of Meetings), vol. v., January 1923, pp. 56-66. The author does not refer to any new sources, and has made no new use of old ones. In fact it seems he has not succeeded in disentangling himself from any of the misunderstandings that beset all the previous workers we have been discussing in this and the last chapter.

The Genesis of the Din-i-Ilahi

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THE sixteenth century is a century of religious revival in the history of the world. The grand currents of the Reformation compare favourably with the surging-up of a new life in India. India experienced an awakening that quickened her progress and vitalized her national life. The dominant note of this awakening was Love and Liberalism—Love that united man to God, and therefore to his brother man, and Liberalism, born of this love that levelled down the barrier of caste, creed and calling, and took its stand on the bed-rock of human existence and essence of all religions, Universal brotherhood. With glorious ideals it inspired the Hindu and Muslim alike, and they forgot for a time the trivialities of their creed. To the Muslim as to the Hindu, it heralded the dawn of a new era, to the Muslim with the birth of the promised Mahdi, to the Hindu with the realization of the all-absorbing love of God.

The beginning of the sixteenth century recorded the advent of two new peoples into India—the Mughals and the Europeans, the one as conquerors, the other as partly conquerors and partly traders. They brought with them their own culture, and tried to impose it on the country; but the Mughal succeeded, and the European failed. That was due not only to the enormous political power that backed the Mughal culture, but to its essentially kindred nature, that endeared it to the people and its suitability to the needs of the time and genius of India. At this time however, India was evolving one of her own, and her task was facilitated by her contact with the Mughals. They supplied the leaven, and the result was the splendid outburst of the literary and artistic genius of India. Indeed in the whole length of Indian history we do not come across another century within whose compass such a gamut of religious movements rose to blend their

notes and enrich each other. The Vaishnavas, the Mahdavis and the Roshnis propounded great truths and inspired men with new hopes and ideals. They sang of their immortal themes, and preached their priceless realizations with an earnestness and eloquence, that made the very atmosphere throb with feeling. The transient joys and sorrows of life were to be consecrated, the limitations of mortality to be transcended and the follies of man to be forgotten, such were their inspired teachings. Into such an elevating atmosphere entered the Mughals bringing with them their great heritage of culture and refinement. Drinking freely of the fountain of Sufism, they always took a broad and liberal view of life, and developed the habit of thinking freely and thereby detaching themselves from the narrow bounds of orthodoxy. Thus they aided the trend of the times, and exercised a synthesizing influence, helping to produce a new culture, that has lived through centuries, long after their sceptre had crumbled to the dust.

Babar and Humayun showed this trait of their character, but neither of them lived sufficiently long and in peace to make any impression on or take the impress of Indian thought. But Akbar did both; he took the impress of, and left his impress on, India. In this sense Akbar was essentially an Indian monarch, though a foreigner in India. He inherited great traditions of culture and conquest, and like his father and grandfather had come into close contact with the Sufis. Intelligent to an uncommon degree, with a mind alert and inquisitive, he was best fitted by birth, up-bringing and association to feel most keenly those hankerings and that spiritual unrest which distinguished the century in which he lived. Thus he was not only the child of his century, he was its best replica. To ascertain therefore the variety of influences that moulded his character, and eventually impelled him to found a novel faith—Din-i-Ilahi, the outcome of his eclecticism, an outline of his heredity and environments is necessary; for the former endowed him with those qualities of head and heart that prepared him to receive the impress of his environments, and reflect it in the best possible way.

The descendants of Timur have been not only mighty warriors and empire-builders but were men of enlightenment and scholarship. Their zeal for conquest and achievements in the field has not obliterated the æsthetic side of their life. Timur himself was an ideal for his house. If he made wide conquests to increase the glory of his name,

he extended his patronage as widely to men of learning. Poets and painters, sculptors and historians, philosophers and scientists, all graced his court, and he felt equally at home in their company as in that of his war-hardened soldiers. If he conquered kingdoms, he did so to enrich Samarkand and Bokhara, which became not only the seats of culture in Asia but boasted of beautiful palaces and extensive parks, public baths and garden-houses, colleges and mosques. Even the country around became one stretch of smiling green owing to a network of canals. His unwearied zeal for conquest found ample leisure for conversation with scholars and artists, and great as a builder of empire, he was equally great as a builder of the seats of culture. His son Shah-rukh inherited his father's great qualities. Besides being the ruler of a vast empire he was a great lover of the peaceful pursuits of life. 'Through, India China and Tartary and even some western countries went his emissaries of peace, gathering knowledge for him, inviting scholars to his court, and by well-doing only spreading the fame of the peace-loving Shah-rukh.'¹ Ulugh Beg, his son proved himself not unworthy of his house. He was a great soldier, but his achievements in the field have been eclipsed by his achievements in science. He encouraged the cause of science by building an observatory at the foot of a mountain in Samarkand, that was three stories high, and very well equipped. He also contributed to the advancement of astronomy by compiling some astronomical tables. Abu Sayyid Mirza of Samarkand and Sultan Hussain Mirza of Herat were also famous for their high attainments, and patronage of art, literature and science. As for Babar it is difficult to exaggerate his many-sided genius. Great as a soldier, great as a conqueror, great as a man, he was equally great as a scholar, as a poet and as a writer of spirited prose. Wherever he went, he went to win the love of the people and to make their country beautiful. In Hindustan, in the din of war, he found time to lay out beautiful gardens. In his tempestuous life he snatched moments of peace to write not only his monumental autobiography, but a Turki diwan (collection of odes), a tract on Turki prosody, and several commentaries in the same language. He was also a skilful musician and a *connoisseur* of art. He was thoroughly conversant with Sufism, the Masnavi being a source of perennial

¹ Von Noer, vol. i, p. 134.

interest for him. Such a combination of wonderful accomplishments has seldom been noticed in any monarch, eastern or western. Though not as accomplished as Babar, Humayun had inherited his faculties in no inconsiderable degree. Besides being a lovable man, essentially good and kind at heart, he possessed a competent knowledge of geography, history, chemistry, music and poetry, as known in those days. He was also a poet of some reputation. And the son of Humayun, grandson of Babar, and the descendant of Timur could not fail to inherit those talents, and tendencies for culture, which are rare among the rulers of men.

But if he was so fortunate on his father's side, he was not less so on his mother's. Chingiz Khan, the greatest conqueror known to history, was not an errant barbarian. He was a learned law-giver, and well-versed in the arts and sciences of the age. Kublai Khan, his descendant, was not only a great conqueror but a versatile scholar. He was no mean linguist, being conversant with Persian, Arabic, Tibetan, Chinese and even Latin. He took immense interest in the progress of art and science, which flourished under his patronage. Yunus Khan, the maternal grandfather of Babar, was again an all-round scholar. His culture had almost wiped off the traces of his Mongol ancestry. He was a poet, painter, penman, musician, scientist, and what not! Akbar's own mother was the daughter of a Persian scholar, who was the descendant of a celebrated saint of Persia. Such were the traditions of the house in which Akbar was born. The culture of the house softened the edge of orthodoxy, and in their attitude towards religion, the later Timurids, especially Babar and Humayun allowed a degree of latitude, that was tantamount to toleration. This was due chiefly to their association with Sufi mystics, many of whom were poets. In order to understand the full significance of the influence of Sufi mysticism on the Timurids, a brief outline of the cult will not be out of place here.

'Most of the Asiatic poets are Sufis' and 'they prefer or profess to prefer, the meditations and ecstasies of mysticism to the pleasures of the world'¹. Their mysticism is based upon the doctrine that God alone is the absolute reality, that the human soul is an emanation from His essence with which it is to be reunited, and that 'the universe is

¹ *Rose Garden of Persia*, p. 44.

nothing more than a combination of accidents united in a single essence in the Truth.¹ God is immanent in all things, and to feel His hallowed presence in them was the heart-felt desire of the Sufis. For this they lived a pure noble life, and discarded all material attachments, and practised deep contemplation or Mushahdah. They had no faith in rituals and, imbued with a deep love for God, they 'held that divine illumination and grace were imparted directly to every soul, and not through the channel of external observances.'² That was why Jalal-ud-din Rumi declared 'fools exalt the mosque while they ignore the true temple in the heart.' Their pure and fervent love of God impelled them to reject all hopes of reward either in this world or in the next, and the cheap worldly righteousness that consists in the scrupulous observance of ablutions, prayers, fastings, etc. They aspired for the beatific vision or union with God in an ecstatic state, which has been considered as the quintessence of all happiness. But the true Sufi should not rest content with the union only. He must try to live continuously in that ecstatic state. As the great Sufi theologian Ghazali said 'you must know that the beginning of the path is the journey to God and that journey in God is its goal, for in this latter, absorption in God takes place. At the outset this glides by like a flash of light barely striking the eye; but thereafter becoming habitual, it lifts the mind into a higher world when the most pure essential Reality is manifested, and the human mind is imbued with the form of the spiritual world, whilst the majesty of the Deity evolves and discloses itself.' This in the Hindu mysticism is the highest stage of Yoga. This state is to be attained by continuous striving, by trying to feel constantly His presence in everything, by purging one's own thought, and centring it on God. Such in brief, are the beliefs and practices of the Sufis.

Inspired by the divine presence in everything, the Sufi poets wrote beautiful verses, that breathed celestial beauty. Thrilled by the touch and sight of their Beloved, they forgot the whole world, and sang immortal songs depicting their experience that is at once so evanescent and so eternal. Maddened by the wine of His love they saw life transformed into one unending dream of joy in which the

¹ *Lawaish translated by Whinfield and Kazirni*, p. 33.

² *Ibid.*, Preface xii.

evils of life, its sorrows and tears, had no existence at all. They expressed these ecstatic experiences of theirs through the medium of a symbolism that smacks of sensuousness to the uninitiated. They used wine or wine-cup as a symbol of faith or fervent love for God; the cup-bearer as a symbol of God Himself. God is also symbolized as the rose or rose-garden, and the devotee, the nightingale. Through these symbols the Sufi gave form to his sublimest, and therefore the most impalpable feelings of his heart. Whether it be Moasi, the king of poets (eleventh century) singing of his 'lovely fair' or Sadi the 'nightingale of the groves of Shiraz' (thirteenth century), the great, Maulana of Rum (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) or Omar Khayyam (twelfth century) singing of his wine-cup, roses and fair maidens, the inimitable Hafiz (fourteenth century) or the exquisite Jami (fifteenth century) singing of the love of Zuleika for Yusuf, it is the same theme throughout. Consumed by a deep celestial love, they made everything they touched, lovable, and because of them Persian poetry has become so rich to-day. This poetry breathing the sublimest emotions of the poets, and couched in a form of the highest lyric beauty produced wonderful impression on the reader. The Timurids in general, and Babar, Humayun and Akbar in particular, were deeply imbued with the spirit of this poetry. Cultured as they were they appreciated the liberal and sublime creed of the Sufis and learned to look at the facts of life from their angle of vision. That was how Sufism influenced through its beautiful poetry the mind of the early Mughal Emperors of India.

But far more than this was their personal contact with the Sufis. The rise of the Safwi dynasty in Persia inaugurated a period of persecution for all creeds other than Shiaism. The Safwis rose to power as the champions of this faith, and their orthodoxy and zeal to spread it even outside their dominions were obvious in their dealings with Babar and Humayun. From the dominions of such fanatics as these fled away many a Sufi and found shelter in the more congenial atmosphere at first of Samarkand, Bokhara, Hirat and then of Kabul. Babar must have entertained them in his court after those dominions fell under the sway of the Uzbeks and the Persians. Many might have come to the court of Humayun after 1545 attracted by his love of culture and literary patronage. Further, Balkh a famous centre of learning and culture was under Babar and Humayun for some time,

and Khorasan, the birth-place of Jami and Hatifi is close by. Prince Suleiman, a kinsman and a contemporary of Babar, Humayun and Akbar, was a great Sufi master, and tradition has it that he had attained to that coveted stage of mystic progress which is called Sahibihal. While Governor of Badakshan, Humayun might have come into contact with the Sufis, and imbibed their teachings, so that we find him often falling into a frame of mind which inclined him to renounce the worries of the world and retire into a secluded life to spend his days in the pursuit of learning or in the company of holy men. He was kept steady however by the reprimands of his father. Akbar, when young, must have associated with Sufis in the court of Kabul, so that he could recite verses from the *Masnavi*, and *Diwan* of the 'Mystic tongue' i.e., of Hafiz.¹ Later on he came into contact with Abdul Latif 'a paragon of learning', who was appointed as his tutor by Bairam Khan. Abdul Latif was noted for his moderate views on religion. The guiding principle of his life was 'Sulh-i-kul' i.e. peace with all, and this he must have imparted to his young pupil then only sixteen.

But when Akbar was being prepared by heredity and early associations to rule successfully over diverse peoples of an extensive empire, of which he was the real founder, a great religious ferment was going on in the country. The Bhakti and Mahdavi movements had taken a strong hold of the popular mind and they were supplemented by another of the Roshnis. They all taught and were founded on one great truth, viz., the brotherhood of man. The Vaishnav's was an emotional creed, while the Mahdavi's and the Roshni's was an austere creed. While the former thrilled to think that everything was his Beloved and therefore his very life was a consecration, the latter enjoined rigorous practice of asceticism and constant warfare with the flesh to attain to the beatific vision. These creeds must have exerted tremendous influence on the mind of Akbar. For aught we know of his keen interest in the things about him, it may be surmised that Vaishnavism might have impressed him by its similarity with Sufism, and the Mahdavi and Roshni movements might have prompted him to assume the role of a prophet—the promised Mahdi. A brief outline of these movements therefore is essential here.

¹ *Akbarnama*, vol. i, p. 520.

The Bhakti movement or Vaishnavism 'owes its origin to the stream of thought which began with the Upanishads and culminated in the east in Buddhism and Jainism, and arose about the time of the latter.'¹ It was based upon 'the ideas of a Supreme God and devotion to Him as the mode of salvation.' This system was started as a counter-blow to the atheistic and rigidly ethical religions like Buddhism. In the fourth century B.C. Megasthenes referred to it as the religion of the people of Sourasena. The most eloquent exposition of its principles is in the *Bhagwad Gita*, and 'the programme that it proposes is, on the one hand that we purify our minds purging them of all attachments and passions by dedicating all the fruits of our actions to God; and yet on the other hand that we continue to perform all the duties belonging to our particular caste or stage of life. . . . A life dedicated to God and lived for and in love of Him, is a life which is inevitably ennobled to the highest degree.'² Self-surrender to and concentration on God are enjoined just as in the Yoga system of Patanjali, but in this idea of love of God, the emotional side is entirely absent. In the Vishnu Puran is depicted the wonderful Bhakti or devotion of Prahlad to Hari for its own sake, not for any reward; but even here the feeling element seems to be absent. Further, the great controversialist of the ninth century A.D., Shankar laid the axe at the root of all emotional love of God and piety when he expounded his famous Maya doctrine, and proved that the world is unreal. Ramanuja however, in the eleventh century most successfully controverted Shankar and laid stress on devotion or Bhakti, in which contemplation and communion were more prominent than any exuberance of feeling.³ About the same time (eleventh century) we meet with a new idea of this Bhakti in the *Bhagwat Purana* where it is said to be the supreme source of spiritual enjoyment. It 'is no longer the old contemplation or meditation of God stirred by a deep-seated love. It is this ebullition of feelings and emotions of attachment to God. It manifests itself in the soft melting of the heart and expresses itself in tears, inarticulate utterances of speech, laughter, song and dances, such as can be possible through a mad intoxication

¹ *Vaishnavism and Shaivism*, by Bhandarkar, p. 9.

² *Hindu Mysticism*, by Das Gupta, p. 117.

³ *Ibid*, p. 121.

of love.¹ Two principles henceforth form the creed of faith of the Vaishnavas, the one is self-surrender to God, the other a life of God-intoxication. The latter, i.e., the emotional side of Bhakti made a strong appeal to the people, and it permeated the whole society especially when it was presented to them through the symbolism of the love of Radha and Krishna. The mode of presentation was extremely human in its setting, and that was noticed for the first time in the teaching of Nimbarka in the twelfth century. With Nimbarka the way to the eternal beatitude is the Bhakti for the lotus-like feet of Krishna.

'A spirit of sympathy for the lower castes and classes of Hindu society has from the very beginning been the distinguishing feature of Vaishnavism'.² But it was Ramananda (1300-1411 A. D.) who for the first time gave the most liberal scope to this sympathy by admitting all classes and creeds into his fold, and by adopting the vernacular of Northern India to teach his doctrines to the common folk. Of his disciples Kabir was one, Rohidas another and Padmavati a woman, still another. Some of his disciples founded different schools and spread the worship of Rama and Sita over an extensive portion of Northern and Central India. At this stage we discern two branches of Vaishnavism—the Rama cult and the Krishna cult. But while the former was based essentially upon the conception of God as the father, supporter and lord, the latter, on the conception of God as the beloved, the nearest and the dearest. Naturally the Krishna cult appealed more readily to the people and attracted more men than the Rama cult. 'The episodes of Krishna's life in Brindaban are spiritualized. . . . They are interpreted as the eternal, timeless and spaceless play of God with His own associates and His energies, with whom he eternally realizes himself in love and friendship.'³ This LILA of Krishna made his devotees mad with love and joy and Vallabha (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) and Chaitanya (1485-1533 A. D.) were the two greatest exponents of this cult. It spread far and wide into all the parts of India, and wherever it went, it proved irresistible in its fascination for the people. Brahman and Sudra, prince and peasant, Hindu and Muslim, all went mad in love for the cowherd of Brindaban. From

¹ *Hindu Mysticism*, by Das Gupta, p. 124.

² *Vaishnavism and Shaivism*, by Bhandarkar, p. 66.

³ *Hindu Mysticism*, p. 128.

the Muslim lady Taj to Raskhani, from the princess Mira Bai to the beggar Sur Das, all were inspired by a love that levels all distinction of sex, caste, creed or calling. All were equal because they all loved Krishna, and had their being in Him. A reign of all-absorbing love and equality was going to be established and with this great promise dawned the sixteenth century in India.

By the year 1540 all the great religious teachers had passed away. Vallabha must have been dead a few years before or after Chaitanya. Kabir the greatest of the rationalists and a disciple of Ramananda died in 1518. Nanak the founder of Sikhism died in 1538. Thus in this early part of the sixteenth century lived and preached some of the greatest religious reformers of India. They all taught one great cult—the cult of love, and one great truth,—the brotherhood of man. But after the great Gurus or Masters were gone, arose no less illustrious poets who broadcasted their teachings in a more homely manner, and through the more effective medium of vernacular poetry of considerable lyric beauty. They appealed to millions and melted their hearts into love for God. Tulsi Das himself a great Vaishnav, wrote his monumental work of the *Ramcharitmanas*, in which he depicted Rama as full of the milk of divine mercy and love, and brought him closer to the perception and therefore to the realization of common men. What Tulsi Das did with Rama as his hero, Sur Das did with Krishna. Besides these two great luminaries of the poetical firmament, there shone many a modest star, that added to their lustre, imbued with a deep love they poured forth their feelings in elegant poetry and furthered the cause of Vaishnavism. Keshav Das, Raskhani, Mira Bai, and a whole gamut of poets sang of the celestial love of Radha and Krishna, the verdant groves of Brindaban, the amorous diversion of the Gopis, the Shrawan swing under the Kadamba tree, and a thousand other themes of the enchanting LILA of Krishna. The intense love that the great gurus or masters had felt for God and men, was now objectified, and reproduced in a more homely way which delighted and elevated the toiling peasant, the leisured wealthy, the cloistered scholar, the witty courtier and even the monarchs of the country.

At such a time when the country was thrilling with the glowing ideals of love and human brotherhood, when the scriptures and outward forms of religion were denounced, and sincerity, devotion and purity of heart were exalted, when the poets sang of the sublime

truths of life in the most touching way, came Akbar to the throne of India. Surcharged as the atmosphere was with these ideals, unsophisticated and inquisitive as Akbar was by nature, indifferent as he was to orthodoxy or fanaticism by heredity, and imbued as he was with the spirit of Sufism, it is no wonder that he made a radical departure from the religious policy of his predecessors in India.

But side by side with Vaishnavism there was another movement agitating the minds of the Muslims. That was the Mahdavi movement, based on the belief that at the close of a millenium, after the birth of Mahamad, a Messiah or redeemer of the sins of mankind would come upon the earth. The belief became very strong towards the close of the fifteenth century and throughout the sixteenth century, and there was a great deal of sensation in Arabia, Persia, Khorasan, Transoxiana and Hindustan. In Hindustan the movement was started by Sayyid Mahamad of Jaunpur (born about 1443) who proclaimed himself to be the promised Mahdi. To his numerous followers he was the guide, whom they were to love and obey. They believed that he got inspiration directly from God, and therefore was equal in authority with Mahamad. The Quran, revealed to Mahamad, was to be explained by the Mahdi. The Mahdi taught that the goal of life was the attainment of the beatific vision by meditation on God and of ultimate identity with Him. Like Sufis, they also aspired for the self-annihilation in God. The devotee should renounce all the worldly attachments, lead a poor and chaste life, and depend entirely upon the mercy of God for the attainment of the desired object. The injunctions of the Quran were not binding upon him unless confirmed by the Mahdi, and in fact the rituals had no value for him. The followers joined into a brotherhood in which the members had equal rights and equal shares in the possession of each and all. They were ready to fight if persecuted, and considered as infidels all those who did not believe in the Mahdi. Resembling the Sufis in many of their fundamental doctrines, they differed from the latter in so far as their creed was austere and militant. But on the whole theirs was a faith that did not fit in with the ways of the society and the demands of the state. The spirit of brotherhood and equality, obedience to the authority of the Mahdi alone on earth, communistic tendencies with regard to property and aspiration for super-mundane attainments cut at the very root of the society and state. The believers generally

abandoned their household and lived in groups professing poverty and practising austerities. They had no anxiety even for the satisfaction of the barest needs of life. In everything they depended upon God, and fasted for days together when they did not get anything by way of charity. 'But in spite of their destitute condition they always went armed carrying a sword and shield or other arms, that they might repel enemies. And whenever they saw any person do what was contrary to their notions of right they, in the first instance, mildly warned him to desist; but if he persisted, they proceeded to compel him by force and violence to alter his conduct.'¹ Thus they took justice into their hands whenever there was an occasion for it without waiting for the state to interfere or take action.

This faith made rapid progress in India because of the two successors of Sayyid Mahamad, viz. Shaikh Abdulla Niazi an Afghan, and Shaikh Alai his disciple. Shaikh Abdulla was a disciple of Shaikh Salim Chisti. After completing his education he made an extensive tour through all the Mahamadan countries, and during his travels adopted the doctrines of Mahdavi faith. Coming back, he settled down in Biana in the neighbourhood of the lowly and poor, and preached his faith with such an earnestness and zeal that he soon won numerous converts. In Biana lived another holy man, Shaikh Alai, a profound scholar and a teacher of the aspirants for the spiritual path. When he came to know of Shaikh Abdulla he met him and became a convert to his views. With him nearly all his followers embraced the new faith, and then began the remarkable career of Shaikh Alai. His persuasive eloquence, burning faith, profound scholarship and sincere zeal made a deep impression on everyone who heard him, and the followers of the faith increased every day. On his way to Mecca he halted at Khawaspur, and converted the celebrated general of Sher Shah, Khawas Khan along with his troops. When Islam Shah ascended the throne, the Shaikh was called to the court, admonished for his heretical doctrines and banished to Handia. At Handia, he converted its governor Bihar Khan Sarwani, with the greater part of his troops. Hence he was again called to the court, condemned as a pretender and preacher of heresies, and sentenced to death in 1553. But before his death he had spread his faith extensively both in

¹ Erskine's *History of India*, vol. ii.

Hindustan and Deccan, and had won numerous converts to his faith. In Ahmadnagar, the movement had a good number of adherents. Shaikh Mubarak the father of Abul Fazl and Faizi was a believer in the Mahdavi faith with strong leanings towards Sufism. He was a learned man and a reputed teacher of Nagore. He had many disciples, who shared his views, and when he came to the court of Akbar, along with his brilliant sons, he exerted considerable influence on him and had a fair share in the religious experiments of Akbar.

But side by side with the Mahdavi movement in Hindustan there was flowing in Afghanistan, another tide of religious movement that was like the former, an aberration from Islam and based upon almost similar principles. That was the Roshni movement. The Roshnis as the followers of the faith called themselves believed in the coming of a Messiah. They held that God is the absolute reality, from whom emanate 'the Universal All-Reason', and 'the primal elements time and space', i.e., the individual existence and phenomenal universe, and that to God will all these return. 'This return of the sparks of reason after amalgamation with matter, to the pure All-Reason, which is the first emanation of God, is facilitated by an indispensable approach from both sides, first from the All-Reason, and secondly from the soul of the world. Corresponding to this gradation, first the souls of Divine Incarnation absorb the full force of the All-Reason, then those of the Prophets whom the first enlighten, and so in descending measure, the souls of the apostles and emissaries of prophets. As in men and with similar systematic gradation, these same spiritual powers dwell in celestial phenomena; first in sunlight, secondly in rain'.¹ These divine souls incarnate or manifest themselves as historical persons, epoch after epoch and it is the duty of the enlightened to discover or recognize him and proclaim him amongst men. He thus helps individual souls in their return to the source from which they sprang. Thus the Messiah or the divine incarnation is virtually the God on earth and therefore greater than any prophet, e.g. Mahamad, who subordinated himself to God. They, like the Sufis, believed in ecstatic communion with God to be attained by spiritual practices. These practices carry a man forward in the path, and there are eight stages in it before the goal is reached. These doctrines were first expounded by Abdullah Qadah, who

¹ Von Noer, vol. ii, pp. 144-45.

flourished in the ninth century A. D. The creed developed and won numerous converts in and outside India. In the sixteenth century, there was one great exponent of this creed at Kalinjar by name Mulla Suleiman. He became the spiritual preceptor of Shaikh Bayazid, the 'Pir-i-Raushan' or apostle of light of the Roshnis. Bayazid came of a saintly family, and early in life gave proof of great spiritual predilection. Starting life as a horse-dealer he travelled widely, and on one occasion met Suleiman at Kalinjar. Having become his disciple, he returned to his native country Kaniguram in the Afghan hills between the Gomal and Kurram and practised austerities to behold God. At last he had the revelation and was commanded to teach the truth to men. He proclaimed himself the representative of God and 'the guide of those who err.' Persecuted in his native district, he fled away to that of the Pustus and there he gathered a large following. He meant to unite the scattered tribesmen of the frontier hills, and like Mahamad he assumed the role of the spiritual and temporal head. He issued circular letters to the following purport: 'Come unto me, for I am a perfect Pir; whoever lays hold of the skirt of my garment shall obtain salvation, and whoever does not, shall utterly perish'.¹ Thus he preached not only a new creed but a crusade against all other creeds. Like the Mahdavis, he drew a line of distinction between his faith and others, and considered the followers of the latter as less than men, and when harmful as wolf, tiger, serpent and scorpion. Therefore these were fit for slaughter. Thus the creed of the Roshnis was militant like that of the Mahdavis.

Here was another aberration from Islam, another instance of a man posing himself as God's representative, and playing the role of both spiritual and temporal head. These two movements at the head of each of which was a Prophet—a God's representative, might have suggested to Akbar, that neither of them was the real representative of God and further that if they could pass for Prophets, he also could pass for one and make a new religion and thus become the head of the state and 'church.' But Akbar's idea was really to ensure indivisible allegiance—in matters spiritual as well as temporal, for himself, and here lay his stumbling block. He wanted to make a religion to suit his political needs, and therefore to be acceptable to his subjects

¹ Von Noer, vol. ii, p. 157.

professing various creeds. In his anxiety to substitute one creed for the many, he was led to adopt an eclecticism that found expression in the *Din-i-Ilahi*.

In an age characterized by such intellectual ferment and religious ebullition, lived and moved Akbar. Born with a mystic temperament, endowed with an all-comprehending genius, and destined to rule over the most powerful and richest empire of the day, his religious views and political ambition took a deep colouring from the tendencies of the times. His intense interest in human affairs coupled with some sort of a spiritual hankering landed him on a false belief in his prophethood. But in his attitude towards the religions of the Empire he was actuated by a number of cognate motives. Like a great statesman he had early foreseen that in a country where the Mughals were to stamp out the Afghan power and subjugate the Hindus—Rajputs, he could not afford to make the former his political enemy, and the latter religious helots. If he was to build up an Empire in India, he could not offend both. While his co-religionists, the Afghans were to be overthrown, his Hindu subjects should not be persecuted for their religion. The policy that inclined him to conciliate the Rajputs, so that he might successfully hold his own against the enemies of the Mughals in India, led him on to inaugurate a policy of toleration towards the Hindus. With this object in view he remitted the Pilgrim tax in the eighth and the Jaziya in the ninth year of his reign. That was also the real cause of his Rajput marriage. By having Rajput wives he came into intimate touch with Hinduism, for they were allowed freedom of worship within the palace. He must have watched his favourite wife Maryam Zamani performing the Homa or fire-sacrifice and worshipping in her own way in the temple still standing in Fatehpur Sikri, as a witness to his policy of toleration, and must have had many a discussion on Hinduism with that intelligent and learned lady. Thus he must have learnt a good deal about Hinduism.

Apart from his contact with the Hindus, he came into personal relations with a man, who was destined to influence him in no inconsiderable degree. That was Abul Fazl, whose father was a Mahdavi by conviction. He was a prodigy as a boy and a talented scholar and theologian in youth. He was introduced to Akbar about 1574. Before that time his father and elder brother Faizi had come to the court. These two became by their learning and views the eyesore of the

ecclesiastical heads of the kingdom. It was therefore one of the aims of the latter to ruin the family of Shaikh Mubarak. So it is just possible that when Abul Fazl came to the court and secured the friendship of Akbar, he, like his father in 1573, might have suggested to Akbar the idea of overthrowing the authority of the spiritual heads. Be that as it may, there is no gainsaying the fact that one who aspired for communion with God and spiritual consummation of his life, might have won the admiration and confidence of Akbar. Himself a mystic, Akbar must have appreciated the same characteristic in Abul Fazl. One who could say 'my mind felt no rest and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia or the hermits of the Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the Lamas of Tibet or with the Padres of Portugal and the learned of the Zendavasta' surely was no narrow sectarian, no hair-splitting theologian. He considered all religions as various expressions of man's quest for the truth, of his quenchless yearning for God. He knew that in their essentials all religions taught the same truth. Hence he realized the greatness of all religions, and was at home with the saints of all religions. He was thus the prototype of Akbar, mystic like him, eclectic like him. His association therefore must have made a considerable contribution to the religious development of Akbar. And it is significant that the year after his arrival at the court, i.e., 1575, Akbar ordered the construction of Ibadat-Khana for holding philosophical and theological discussions. Whether, in doing so, Akbar imitated the example of Suleiman Kararani, or whether the idea originated from him, there is no means of ascertaining. To this Ibadat-Khana were invited at first learned Ulamas representing different schools of religious thought, and Akbar found ample food for religious speculation from their discussions. On Thursday evenings the debates used to commence and continue till late next morning, and the assembly generally consisted of the Shaikhs, Sayyids, Ulamas and Amirs seated according to the order of precedence. Akbar used to listen with rapt attention, and sincerely believed in Islam so far. But when he found that these theological discussions often degraded into vulgar rancour, morbid orthodoxy and personal attacks, he instinctively felt that the heads of religion—Mukhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdur Nabi, were not only in error, but were not of very great character and attainments. He must also have felt that Islam alone could not satisfy

his curiosity. Hence just as on the one hand he realized that the Ulamas had no capacity to comprehend the highest principles and deepest truths of religion, he concluded on the other that Islam was certainly not the best of all religions. He naturally wanted to converse with the learned exponents of other religions to know what these contained, and invited them to the Ibadat-Khana. Hence as Abul Fazl remarks, the assembly consisted of 'Sufis, philosophers, orators, jurists, Sunnis, Shias, Brahmans, Jatis, Sinhas, Charbaks, Nazarenes, Jews, Sabians, Zoroastrians and others.'¹ Whether all these men were there or not, certain it is however that Akbar learned a good deal about Christianity, Jainism and Zoroastrianism from the exponents of these religions.

In 1576 Akbar invited Julian Pereira, the Portuguese Vicar-General of Bengal living at Satgaon, to come to the Court. Akbar questioned him about Christianity but he failed to satisfy his keen curiosity. Next year, therefore, another Portuguese, Pietro Tavares was sent for, but with no better result. In 1578 Antonio Cabral was invited from Goa, and he too failed to give him full satisfaction. Hence in 1580 came to his court at his request, a Jesuit Mission consisting of Aquaviva and Monserrate with the Persian interpreter Enriquez. If dissatisfied with Islam (not because Islam was at fault, but because its exponents were not the right type of men) he admired Christianity, much to the annoyance of the Muslims; he did not confine his attention to the latter faith only. He wanted to learn the essentials of Zoroastrianism and Jainism. Impelled by an insatiable thirst for the truth embodied in these religions, he invited to the court in 1578, Dastur Mehji Rana, the religious head of the Parsis at Navsari. He was allowed to take part in the debates, and hold private discussions with Akbar. His influence on Akbar was soon felt to an amazing extent and the latter adopted many practices of the Zoroastrians, e.g., sun-worship, fire-worship, etc. Inheriting a love for everything Persian, he observed their festivals also. A little later, i.e., 1582 the Jains were also invited. Of the three exponents of Jainism, Hira Vijay Suri, Vijay Sen Suri and Bhanu Chandra Suri, the first exerted considerable influence on Akbar, and it was at his instance that Akbar attempted to stop the slaughter of animals in his kingdom.

¹ *Akbarnama*, vol. iii, p. 366.

In the meanwhile he was not neglecting Hinduism. He used to invite a learned Pandit at night to listen all alone, to his discourses on Hindu philosophy and religion. It is said, since the Pandit would not sit near a Mlechha nor would he enter his apartments, he (the Pandit) used to be seated on a charpai or cot, and pulled up the balcony, where Akbar used to rest for the night. There suspended between the heaven and earth he would explain in all solemnity the unfathomable mysteries of Hinduism to the intently listening emperor. Already in intimate contact with the Hindus, he soon learnt to appreciate a good many of their practices and favoured Hinduism in various ways. Thus his dissatisfaction with Islam prompted him to study other religions by means of discourses and debates, which eventually resulted in his eclecticism.

But his eclecticism led to another result. It has been suggested that he felt disgusted at the mode of the discussion between Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdun Nabi, and concluded that they were no good as the heads of religion. He was conscious on the other hand of his own superior intellect, magnetic personality, and genuine love for the Truth. These were further wedded to a spirit of robust optimism and boundless self-confidence bred by an unchequered career of conquest in Northern India. Beginning with a precarious claim to the throne and a negligible portion of Hindustan, he had in a score of years fought and conquered powerful enemies, suppressed dangerous rebellions, triumphed over great hardships and established an empire embracing the whole of Northern India. He had, by this time, impressed the people with his genius as a great king and conqueror. At such a time there came a suggestion from Shaikh Mubarak that head of the state as he was, he might be the head of the religion also. It was not an unworthy or novel suggestion. There were at this time so many who called themselves Prophets or Mahdis in different parts of the country. Could he not—Akbar might have thought now—make himself one? Perhaps he was not a whit inferior to them. This idea proved very fruitful in the mind of one, whose domineering nature prompted him constantly to impress his personality on all the activities of man.

But apart from this, Akbar had some political interest to serve by assuming headship of religion. For it is not only that 'so long as the spiritual supremacy over the recluse, which is called Holiness, and supremacy over laymen which is called Sovereignty, were distinct,

there was strife and confusion among the children of Noah', but that the authority of Ulamas served as the only effective check to Akbar's absolute or unrestrained political supremacy in Hindustan. According to the fundamental principles of Mahamadan polity, the government ought to be in consonance with the Quranic injunctions; and as such the interpretation and application of these injunctions were the province of the Ulamas. They gave the religious sanction to the temporal authority of the king by reading the Khutba in his name. Thus with the king they laid a parallel claim to the obedience of the people. It would have been extremely galling to Akbar, a man of domineering nature as he was, that he could not command the indivisible allegiance of his subjects. Further, it is a veritable cancer to the healthy development of the state. Akbar realized it, and therefore determined not to be thwarted by the parasitical ecclesiastics in the exercise of his absolute sway over the subjects, or enunciating new policies, that might be expedient but not in consonance with the Quranic laws. In this departure from the beaten track of Islamic statecraft, he was not the solitary exception. He had many an illustrious predecessor like Alauddin Khilji, and others, but Akbar proved far more shrewd and capable, and therefore attained complete success. Hence he had taken the suggestion of Shaikh Mubarak in right earnest, and set to destroy the authority of the Ulamas so that he might step into their place.

But Akbar's ambition for establishing his spiritual headship did not outrun his discretion. He proceeded step by step, broke one link after another of that chain which bound him to the priesthood. He took the first definite step in 1579. A year had passed since he fell into that spiritual trance, that ecstatic communion with God, at the time of the Kamargha hunt in May 1578. He perhaps felt strong enough to defy the religious traditions, and took the place of the preacher at the chief Mosque in Fatehpur Sikri and recited the Khutba in his own name so as to emphasize his new role as the spiritual leader of the nation, i.e., Imam-i-Adil. That was in June 1579, and that was the first blow at the authority of the Ulamas.

The second blow was not long in coming. In September 1579 a document was drafted 'with honest intentions, for the glory of God and propagation of Islam' by which the principal Ulamas and lawyers resigned into the hands of Akbar their authority in matters spiritual.

This was the Infallibility Decree. It placed Akbar's dispensation and wisdom in matters spiritual and temporal above those of the Mujtahids, and therefore it was laid down that 'should in future a religious question come up regarding which the opinions of the Mujtahids are at variance, and His Majesty in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom be inclined to adopt for the benefit of the nation and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point and should issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.' Akbar's decision was to be final because he would be able to square 'the benefit of the nation' with religious requirements, political expediency with the interest of Islam. Thus according to Akbar the political and religious well-being of 'the nation' was to take precedence over purely religious interest. Hence this Infallibility Decree made him supreme in temporal and spiritual matters.

But many took alarm at this interference in religion. Men like Balaoni thought that he was a humbug, for the time was long past when he 'spent whole nights in praising God', or when 'he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone of an old building, which lay near the palace in a lovely spot with his head bent over his chest, gathering bliss of the early hours of dawn,'¹ and now his political ambition eclipsed his love for God. But he was not a pretender. He did not mean to assume the spiritual leadership of 'the nation' without having spiritual attainments. That he believed, he had the mystic communion with God with all sincerity, is a fact; that he fancied he had attained the beatific vision, is a fact; and therefore, that he believed in his superior guidance in matters spiritual, is also a fact. From start to the finish, from ascending the pulpit at Fatehpur Sikri to the propagation of Din-i-Ilahi, Akbar was intensely sincere. His only fault was that he utilized his spiritual attainments for political purposes.

The time chosen for this interference was not inopportune. As has been indicated, on all sides there was a religious ebullition; new cults were preached and new ideals were upheld: the time itself was the revolt embodied—revolt against the old and orthodox creeds. There was nothing novel in Akbar's attitude. Further, a king

¹Badaoni, vol. II, p. 203.

claiming spiritual headship was not a new thing in the Muslim world. The Caliphs had the political power and spiritual guidance in their own person, and the Great Prophet himself had set the example. Akbar knew that the people resented his interference. But if he became the Prophet of a new creed, then he would be on an equal footing with Mahamad, and then the incongruity of spiritual and temporal supremacy resting in the same person would disappear. Hence the next logical step would be the foundation of a new religion. That would place Akbar's authority beyond the reach of mortal men and establish his bona-fides. In this too Akbar was sincere, for he earnestly believed that just as all his subjects paid homage to one sovereign, and lived under one government, so they should obey one Prophet and follow one religion. That would put an end to the rancours subsisting between different religions, and to the divided allegiance between the king and the priesthood. Since Akbar was to be the King and Prophet of India, he should suppress Islam and its claims on the obedience of the king. Islam appeared to be the most uncompromising of all the religions of India, and therefore he determined to render it innocuous before he propagated his Divine Faith, proclaimed his prophethood, and established his indivisible sovereignty.

Having thus determined, he dealt blow after blow at the priesthood in such a quick succession that it was prostrate in no time. The year after the Infallibility Decree, Akbar forbade the name of Mahamad in public prayers. Early that year (1580) he got rid of Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdun Nabi by sending them on a forced pilgrimage to Mecca. In the place of Abdun Nabi the Sadr-i-sadr, was appointed Khwaja Naqsbandi, who proved a pliant tool in the hand of Akbar and bowed to his will in all matters. This step was followed by a remarkable innovation in religion, and that was the substitution of 'There is no God but God, and Akbar is His Vicegerent' for 'There is no God but God, and Mahamad is His Prophet'. If Akbar was the Vicegerent of God on earth, then people must pay devotion to him. In 1580 therefore the four degrees of devotion to His Majesty were prescribed, and they consisted in the readiness to sacrifice property, life, honour and religion for the emperor. At this time Akbar ordered that 'Allahu Akbar' should be substituted for 'Bismillah'. This he did because it means 'Akbar is

God' besides meaning 'God is Great'. Side by side, a committee was instituted to inquire into the rights of the holders of Siyurghals. That was the hardest blow to the material interests of the Ulamas.

All these created a smouldering but almost universal discontent, which aggravated by the Fatwa of Mahamad Yazdi and disaffection of Bengal and Bihar officers owing to the reduction of their allowances, blazed up into a formidable rebellion. The rebels had actually aimed at the subversion of Akbar's sovereignty, and substitution of Mahamad Hakim's. The rebels had invited Mahamad Hakim, tried to seduce several high officers like Khwaja Shah Mansur and Kasim Khan from their allegiance to Akbar, and attacked and killed no less a person than the Governor of Bengal, Muzafar Khan Tarbati. All this happened in 1580, and towards the end of it, and beginning of 1581, Mahamad Hakim invaded from the North-west. Now was the most critical time for Akbar, and never was his resourcefulness better displayed than at this crisis. Starting at the head of an enormous army on February 8, 1581 from Fatehpur, he struck terror into the heart of the invader, who not only retreated but evacuated Kabul and fled away into the hills to allow Akbar to enter it safely and to avoid a meeting with his brother. Simultaneously, his generals in India defeated the rebels and broke the back of the rebellion in the eastern provinces of the empire. When Akbar returned from Kabul and stepped on the soil of the Punjab, the rebellion had been crushed in blood. This was the last and perhaps the greatest of his triumphs, and naturally enough engendered in him boundless self-confidence and convinced him of his divine destiny. He signaled his triumph by proclaiming the abolition of the office of Sadr-i-sadr. In full flush of triumph, he turned to teach a lesson to the ecclesiastics, and specially the arrogant ones. Shaikh Abdun Nabi and Makhdum-ul-Mulk died under highly suspicious circumstances;¹ Mir Muiz-ul-Mulk and another Mulla got watery graves because their boat foundered; and 'one by one he sent all the Mullas against whom he had any suspicions of dissatisfaction to the abode of annihilation.'² Thus did the priesthood lie prostrate under the blows of Akbar.

¹ A. N. iii, 406, note by Beveridge; Badaoni ii, 321.

² Badaoni ii, 285.

Now that all opposition had been completely overcome, Akbar resolved, as Bartoli says 'to make himself the founder of a new religion, compounded out of various elements, taken partly from the Quran of Mahamad, partly from the scriptures of the Brahmanas, and to a certain extent, as far as suited his purpose from the Gospel of Christ.'¹ In order to do this he summoned a general council of the theologians and Mansabdars, and impressed upon them the expediency of uniting all the discordant creeds and customs of his peoples, so that they might live in peace and prosperity. 'We ought' he said 'therefore to bring them all into one, but in such a fashion that they should be both 'one' and 'all', with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining what is better in another.'² That was his idea about a new religion. He wanted to found a religion, just as he had founded an empire. He would piece together the brilliant bits of every religion, and make a new one out of them, in the way he had conquered and annexed province after province of India, and built up one great empire. In his folly he forgot that religions are never made; their elements are not borrowed and pieced together. The great founders of religions, i.e., the prophets never meant to found them. They in their intense love of mankind, sought to impart it their own realizations, their own knowledge about the Truth, God and mysteries of life, and it was their followers who formed themselves into distinctive groups, and thus creeds came into being. Akbar was doing just the other way; he began where religions end. He planned and arranged the details of his Divine Faith, after enunciating its basic principles.

A number of fantastic regulations were issued in 1582, and a large number of Shaikhs, and Fakirs who resisted even then, were exiled to Qandahar and exchanged for horses. The Sijdah was now declared to be the due of the emperor. The fast of Ramzan, the pilgrimage to Mecca and the study of Arabic, of Mahamadan law and of Quranic exegesis were forbidden. Certain rites were prescribed for the converts, who, when they performed these became Darshaniyas or disciples of His Majesty. Many came attracted by material gains, but the faith did not gain popular support in spite of the attempts of Akbar, Shaikh Mubarak, Abul Fazl, and a host of other prominent nobles, and soon

¹ Smith, pp. 211-12.

² *Ibid*, p. 212.

after the death of Akbar his universal religion, Din-i-Ilahi or Divine Faith disappeared.

Thus the Divine Faith constituted out of many faiths, was one of the many institutions of Akbar. His political institutions were more lasting than this, because he was essentially a king, a statesman, a born ruler of men, and superficially a spiritual guide, a dabbler in religion. He was no doubt a mystic by temperament, and had imbibed a good deal of it from his environments; he was a freethinker by birth; he was domineering because of his wonderful talents; and the century in which he lived breathed into him a spirit of revolt against all creedal coercion. What was still wanting was supplied by his unchequered career of conquest. Out of these elements grew the Din-i-Ilahi, and from the nature of its constituents could not survive its maker.

Buddhist Logic in the Mañimekalai

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THE account of Buddhist Logic contained in the twenty-ninth chapter of the *Mañimekalai* is fairly full, and because of its close correspondence to Diñnāga's account, particularly of the fallacies, its composition is thought to be post-Diñnāga.¹ The view deserves to be examined afresh in the light of the material that has been made available to us recently about pre-Diñnāga Buddhist Logic.² A consideration of the *Mañimekalai* account would seem even otherwise to suggest strongly a rather early date for its composition, for, notwithstanding the elaborate classification of fallacies, the treatment of inference itself would seem to betray a great degree of nervousness about its service as a means of valid knowledge. Thus of the three types of inference recognized—*kāryānumāna*, *kāraṇānumāna* and *sāmānyānumāna* (corresponding to the *pūrvavat*, *śeṣavat* and *sāmānyato dr̥ṣṭa* of the *Naiyāyikas*)—, *kāraṇānumāna* is said to be liable to error; and the possibility of error is demonstrated later at great length. A stage of logical thought where the inference from smoke to fire was held to be essentially fallible, could not obviously have been very advanced; it certainly could not have belonged to the period of Diñnāga, in whose hands the syllogism had become the perfected instrument of logical thought. The list of fallacies no doubt presents a very strong resemblance to Diñnāga's exposition, but this, if not traceable (as so far it has not been) to any pre-Diñnāga work, may well have been a clumsy interpolation by a later hand, who sought to perfect the original account without realizing the incongruity of the later addition with the given basis. Such a

¹ See the supplement to Prof. Jacobi's article to the Hultzsche Jubilee Number of the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, (translated and published in the *Mañimekhalai*, pp. 31-34). See also 'Problems of Identity, etc.' by Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastri, *Journal of Oriental Research*, I, ii, pp. 191-201.

² 'Buddhist Logic before Diñnāga': Tucci, *JRAS*, July 1929, pp. 450-488; also *Pre-Diñnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources* by Tucci (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 49).

supposition would gain ground, if other apparently post-Diñnāga features may be shown to be pre-Diñnāga especially, in view of the omission of what one may reasonably expect (after line 108 and before line 109), viz., an exposition of *sāmāniya anumāna*, which comes next in order after the *kāriya-* and *kāraṇa-* *anumānas*, already explained. We shall first set out a translation of the relevant portion of the *Mañimekalai*, up to the account of the fallacies.

TRANSLATION

The means of knowledge recognized by the ancient Jinendra are but two—faultless perception and reasoning; sense-knowledge [*cut-ṭuparvu*, the sensation of the particular] they called perception, and left out name, class, quality and action, since these fall under reasoning. Reasoning is to the cause or to the effect or by analogy; these, if investigated, (will be found to) err at times; the only (type of) reasoning that does not err is that to the effect, as of smoke from fire. All other sources of knowledge being included under reasoning, they are but (types of) reasoning.

There are five (members), *pakkam* (*pakṣa*), *ētu* (*hētu*) *tiṭṭānta* (*dr̥ṣṭānta*), *upanaya* and *nikamaṇam* (*nigamana*). Of these, *pakka* is the statement (thesis) 'this hill is fiery'; 'because it has smoke' is the suitable *ētu*; 'like the domestic hearth' is the *tiṭṭānta*; the *upanaya* is 'the hill too has smoke'; the *nikamaṇam* is 'that which has smoke has fire.' The statement 'whatever is not fiery has no smoke, like water' signifies absence from *vipakka* (*vipakṣa*), and constitutes the instance of negative concomitance (*vaiṭaṇmīya tiṭṭānta*).

Enquiring into the nature of the pure reasoning (which is from the cause) to the effect,¹ the *pakka* is the statement 'sound is

¹ *Tūya kāriyavēttuccupāvam āyīṇ*. This has been rendered as 'when the real reason (*Hētu*) is based on identity (*Svabhāva*)', by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar (*Mañimekhalai*, p. 206), possibly under the influence of Dharmakīrti's recognition of three kinds of *vyāpti*, viz., identity, causality, and negation: see Stcherbatsky, *La Théorie de la Connaissance et la Logique chez les Bouddhistes Tardifs*, pp. 296-297. There is no doubt that the instances cited and the language used strongly suggest some such classification; the mention of the non-affirmative type of reasoning is particularly in point. It must, however, be remembered that even what is apparently the connection of identity (*svabhāva*) is still spoken of in the *Mañimekalai* as reasoning to the effect (*kāriya vētu*), while, according to Dharmakīrti, it is a connection quite distinct from that of cause and effect. In other words, while the latter distinguishes between causality and identity, we seem to

non-eternal'; 'because it is produced' is the statement of pakka-taṇṇa (pakṣadharmā, presence of the ground in the probans); 'whatever is produced is non-eternal, like a pot' is sapakkat toḍarcci (sapakṣe sattva, the statement of positive concomitance of the ground with other instances of the probandum); 'whatever is not non-eternal is not produced' is the statement denying presence (of the ground in the vipakka, what is not of the same class as the probandum).

This is how the non-affirmative (type of) reasoning brings about (valid) knowledge: 'there is no pot in this unoccupied spot' is the pakka; 'because it is not seen' is the statement of pakka-taṇṇa; 'we see not the horns of a hare, since they do not exist' is the sapakka in that case; 'whatever exists is open to perception, like the myrobalan in the hand' is the suitable statement in regard to vipakka. This is how the ground (ētu) establishes valid conclusions.

What is it that smoke, as effect, can prove? If you say that smoke proves fire by the positive concomitance that wherever there is smoke, there is fire, and the negative concomitance that where there is no fire, there is no smoke, then we say since the blackness, that results from smoke and goes up straight or in spirals, is an effect proceeding from the fire so proved, whatever looks black over-head [e.g., a storm-cloud] should of itself prove fire. If it is positive concomitance that proves, then he who on a prior occasion observed the positive concomitance of a damsel and a donkey at the same time and place, should infer the damsel, when he sees the donkey on a subsequent occasion. That cannot be. If it be said that what proves is suitable negative concomitance, as in 'where there is no fire, there is no smoke', then, since in the mane of the donkey, where there is no dog's tail, there is no jackal's tail either, on that very ground it would be hard to infer elsewhere the dog's tail from the jackal's. Hence, that too is not possible.

The upanaya and the nikamaṇaṃ which are connected (with the tiṭṭānta) are included in the tiṭṭānta.

have in the former a distinction between passing from cause to effect and *vice versa*, a distinction reminiscent of that between pūrvavat and śeṣavat, according to one interpretation. The intrusion here of the non-affirmative type of reasoning is as puzzling as the absence of all further exposition of sāmānya (sāmānyato dṛṣṭa). Is this an indication of a hotch-potch due to compilation by inexperienced hands or at different times?

Of the pakka, ētu, and tiṭṭānta, there are both valid and invalid varieties. That is settled to be a valid pakka, which has explicit in it (1) a subject (of which the predicate is to be proved), and (2) a predicate to be proved, which would vary in relation to (subjects) other than the present. Such is, for instance, the predication 'sound is non-eternal.'¹ That of which non-eternity is proved is the subject—sound (in the present case). Eternality or non-eternity is the predicate to be proved.

The valid ground (nal-lētu) appears in three forms: being firmly grounded in the declared pakka (pakṣa dharmatā), being present in the sapakka (sapakṣe sattva), abandoning the vipakka, not being present therein (vipakṣe 'sattva). To establish the sapakka: it is for the predicate to conform to the general nature of the pakka (the subject); thus, for instance, if the non-eternality of sound is to be proved, one says, it is similar to the non-eternality of the pots, etc. [which are products, as sound is, and are of the same general nature as sound]. To explain the vipakka: whatever is not non-eternal is not produced, like the ether. To be produced or to appear as the result of an act is present in the pakka (subject) and the sapakka, but absent from the vipakka, and thus functions as the most suitable ground for non-eternality.

Valid tiṭṭānta is of two kinds—sātaṇṇiya and vaitaṇṇiya. What is called sātaṇṇiya is the positive concomitance (of probandum and proof) in 'pot, etc. are non-eternal'; vaitaṇṇiya:tiṭṭānta consists in the absence of the ground where the probandum is absent. Such are the valid grounds.

[Note.—All explanatory remarks are enclosed in rectangular brackets.]

The rather elaborate exposition of the defectiveness of reasoning to the cause cannot but call for notice. Such suspicion of the reasoning process seems unintelligible except at a stage when the idea of necessary connection as determinative of inference had not yet struck root. It is difficult to reconcile such a mental attitude with an exhaustive classification of fallacies, such as we find in the *Maṇimēkalai*. But it seems more proper in any case to take the classification to be a later interpolation than to minimize the significance of the suspicious

¹ I prefer to read 'sattam anittam anittam enru', etc.

attitude to a certain type of inference, an attitude present from the beginning of the exposition and set out with a considerable degree of elaboration.

It may be noted that with the possible exception of the list of fallacies there is no clear indication of post-Diñnāga authorship. The qualification of perception as faultless (ētamil) is possibly equivalent to abhrānta; but this does not necessarily show indebtedness to Dharmakīrti,¹ for, as Prof. Tucci has shown, Dharmakīrti himself seems to have taken it from earlier Sautrāntika writers²; he was re-stating a qualification known to earlier Buddhist logicians, not formulating a new one. The *Mañimēkalai* could well have come long before Diñnāga and yet spoken of faultless perception (ētamil pirattiyam).

The attempt to curtail the members of the syllogism, stopping short with the dṛṣṭānta, is old as Vasubandhu and cannot be indicative of a later date.³

The doctrine of the trai-rūpya of the liṅga (the three-fold characteristic of the ground) is, again, long anterior to Diñnāga. Prof. Tucci says⁴: 'we have another text anterior to Diñnāga in which the trilakṣaṇa theory is clearly enunciated. This text is the *Tarka-Śāstra*, which, if we are to judge from the Chinese sources, enjoyed a very great authority not only in India but also in Central Asia and in China. . . . Paramārtha translated it into Chinese and commented upon it.'⁵

¹ Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastri identifies Aravapavaṭikal, the Buddhist preceptor of the *Mañimēkalai*, with Ācārya Dharmapāla, a logician who came after Diñnāga, and before Dharmakīrti. Partly to support this identification, and in the belief that the qualification 'abhrānta' was first introduced into the definition of perception by Dharmakīrti, the learned Professor twists the Tamil text, and takes ētamil (faultless) to qualify not perception, but knowledge in general. Not merely does this do violence to the text—'ādi ciṅṇḍiraṇ aḷavay irapḍē ētamil pirattiyāṇ karuttaḷav eṇṇa'—but it has not even the merit of bearing the sense the professor seeks to put upon it; for, ētamil construed with aḷavai does not mean samyag jñāna, as the professor says, but samyak pramāṇa. The truth would seem to be that ētamil means not samyak, but abhrānta, while the introduction of this qualification in the definition of perception cannot avail to settle any date, since it is now seen not to have been a distinctive contribution of Dharmakīrti's.

² 'Buddhist Logic before Diñnāga,' *JRAS*, July 1929, pp. 470, 472.

³ 'Buddhist Logic before Diñnāga,' *JRAS*, July 1929, p. 478.

⁴ 'Buddhist Logic before Diñnāga,' *JRAS*, July 1929, p. 483.

⁵ 'Buddhist Logic before Diñnāga,' *JRAS*, July 1929, p. 483; also the *Tarka-Śāstra* in *Pre-Diñnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources*, p. 13, line 16. The trai-rūpya of the liṅga is one of the points relied on by Jacobi for assigning a post-Diñnāga date to the Tamil work; see *Mañimekhalai*, p. 32.

The mention of Paramārtha is of some interest. This Buddhist monk translated the *Sāṃkhya Kārikā* too into Chinese. The account he gives there of the scheme of evolution shows many points of agreement with that given in the *Mañimēkalai*, while it differs from the orthodox or classical account.¹ The sense-organs are derived not from ahaṃkāra, but from the tanmātras by Paramārtha, and from the mahābhūtas in the *Mañimēkalai* account. The evolution of the organs of action is not clear in the latter; but one possible understanding of the text is that they result from a combination of the mahābhūtas; and Paramārtha says 'The hand, which is composed of five objects, is capable of seizing the five objects, as when it seizes a pot of water. As the hand, so the other organs of action.'² The great similarity between Paramārtha and the author of the *Mañimēkalai* in this respect may lend countenance to the supposition that even the account of Buddhist Logic in the latter was drawn probably from the *Tarkaśāstra*, said to have been translated by Paramārtha, or from some other work of that period. There is reason to think that the account of the Sāṃkhya probably belongs even to an earlier period than that of Paramārtha, since it contains no mention of the tanmātras, as such, unlike the commentary translated by the latter.

The absence of all reference to the distinction between svārtha and parārtha-anumāna may also be taken to indicate an early date for the *Mañimēkalai*. This distinction certainly appears in Diñnāga, for whom it is anything but barely formal, for svārthānumāna is really judgment.³ But the difference seems to have been foreshadowed,

¹ See 'The Mañimēkalai Account of the Sāṃkhya' by the present writer, *Journal of Indian History*, VIII, iii, pp. 322-27.

² *BFEO*, iv, pp. 1020, 1021. The words of the *Mañimēkalai* are ivarṇir rokku vikāramāy. The present writer understood them to mean that the organs of action were derived as evolutes of the tactile sense (tvak). But in the light of Paramārtha's commentary, which he read since writing the article in the *Journal of Indian History*, he feels that the other interpretation is more probable, viz., that the organs of action are the composite evolutes of the mahābhūtas; for this interpretation has some support from Sāṃkhya teaching, while the other, though not unintelligible, seems to have no known support.

³ See Stcherbatsky, *La Théorie de la Connaissance*, etc. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyagar remarks that the *Mañimēkalai* 'deals only with the first part,' i.e., with svārthānumāna (*Mañimekhalai*, p. 71). This is hardly accurate, for the work not merely does not make the distinction, but seems to be innocent of it. In so far as the distinction is significant for Diñnāga, svārthānumāna means judgment, and it is not this with which the *Mañimēkalai* deals, through its exposition of the five-membered syllogism.

if not made, as early as the time of Asaṅga.¹ Hence, the absence of all reference to it in the *Maṇimēkalai* should suggest for the latter a really early date. It has also been suggested that a consideration of the three types of reasoning seems to indicate priority to Vātsyāyana.² Though not one of the indications here pointed out is conclusive, it seems no longer possible to assert that the account of Buddhist Logic is drawn from Dinnāga. Even if it cannot be proved that the list of fallacies is taken from an earlier author there would appear to be strong ground for holding that part of the text to be a later interpolation, in preference to assigning a late date for the whole account

The hypothesis of interpolation is not as implausible as it may otherwise sound, in view of the other facts above mentioned, viz., the failure to explain *sāmānyato dṛṣṭa* premised in the opening lines, and the mention of the non-affirmative type of reasoning, not so premised. It has to be noted that what the heroine *Maṇimēkalai* asks for is instruction in the true doctrine,³ that this instruction is offered only in Chapter XXX, and that the whole of Chapter XXIX (over 400 lines) constitutes only a propaedeutic to that instruction. Granted that some logical grounding was necessary for metaphysical instruction, that grounding, as such, need not have been so elaborate; nor need the treatment of fallacies have figured so extensively, standing in relation to the exposition of *pramāṇas* in a proportion of five to one. One may excise from this chapter all the lines from 111 to 471 and do no violence either to the words or the sense. The excision may even better the sense in part, because lines 111 to 146 repeat only what has already been said of the two kinds of example and the three characteristics of the *līṅga*.⁴ One is tempted to conclude that the original text ended with line 110, 'tiṭṭāntattilē ceṇṇadangu (m)' followed by the present line 472, 'maiya (*not* laiya) miṇṇi yaṇindukoḷ āyṇden.'

¹ See 'Buddhist Logic before Dinnāga,' *JRAS*, July 1929, p. 474.

² See 'The *Maṇimēkalai* Account of the *Sāṃkhya*,' *Journal of Indian History*, VIII, iii, pp. 326-27.

³ Chapter XXIX, line 45.

⁴ The lines correspond to that part of the present translation which begins with 'Of the pakka, ētu, etc.,' right on to the end.

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

BY

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VIII

I. EVENTS AFTER THE BATTLE OF AMBUR

WHEN Ranga Pillai resumed his Diary in the beginning of September, 1749, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang, the victors of Ambur, were still at Arcot. Many of the *killedars* had submitted; but Mir Asad, the *killedar* of Chetpattu (in the North Arcot District), who had been *diwan* to Nawabs Dost Ali and Safdar Ali, stood out; and he was successful in his resistance, in spite of the fact that a body of 300 Europeans with two mortars and several guns was despatched from Pondicherry to coerce him.¹ Chanda Sahib proposed to leave Arcot for Pondicherry by way of Jinji, accompanied by Muzaffar Jang. The Chetpattu affair seemed to have been settled for three lakhs of rupees and the soldiers and French officers who were despatched to that place returned on September 8. An important event that took place at the time was the rendition of Madras to the English on Monday, September 1. The Diarist thus writes about that event. 'The Brahmans did *puja*, cocoanuts were broken, sheep sacrificed and other Tamil ceremonies performed, before the flag was hoisted; then an extraordinary salute was fired from the Fort and from the (Boscawen's) ships. We do not know where the Tamils were who left Madras and would not

¹ Mir Asad wrote to the English in November, complaining that they had not congratulated him on his successful resistance—(Country Correspondence, 1749, p. 54: of Madras Records)—note by Dodwell on p. 154 of vol. vi, of the *Diary*. Dupleix desired that Mir Asad might come to a settlement with Chanda Sahib and asked the Diarist to write to this effect to Shaikh Muhammad Sharif who was arranging terms (entry for September 4, 1749).

return in our time ; but when their (English) flag was hoisted, ten lakhs of Tamils, Muhammadans, Lubbays, Pattanawars, coolies, etc., crowded into the town as joyfully as though the Fort and town belonged to each one of them.¹ Of course the trade of the times was not prosperous. The country trade was dull ; but while Madras was ruined, Pondicherry was not correspondingly benefitted. Dupleix arranged about this time to invite various classes of weavers, *Kaikolars*, *Sedars* and *Seniyars* to settle at Villiyanallur in the vicinity of Pondicherry and to advance them ten pagodas a loom, in order to enable them to build houses and construct looms. This was as if an answer were to be made for the English planting of weaving villages at *Kaladipettah* (originally, Collettpettah) near Tiruvottiur and at Chintadripettah to the west of the Island Ground in Madras by Governors Joseph Collett and Morton Pitt in 1719 and 1734 respectively. These two suburban villages of Madras were peopled by weavers, painters, dyers and washers of the Company's cloth intended for export to Europe and were the necessary adjuncts of a trading settlement whose principal occupation was the manufacture and export of calico and other cloth. As early as 1742 the Madras Council wrote that 'the French had expended much money in settling weavers at Pondicherry, just as the English had done at Chintadripet, and with similar ill-success ;' and therefore they argued that it would be useless to attempt such a settlement at Cuddalore.²

¹ This is confirmed, as Mr. Dodwell notes, by the Fort St. David despatch to the Company, dated August 30, 1749 (old style) :—The rendition has occasioned 'universal joy among the late inhabitants who thronged there in great numbers, immediately on hoisting the English flag.' 'All French efforts failed to induce them to return ; and the French are mortified at the present token of attachment to the English. Its condition is indifferent ; all the fortifications are undermined and all useful stores have been carried off.' (Despatch from Charles Floyer and Council to the Company, from Fort St. David)—p. 79 of Dodwell's *The Madras Despatches (1744-55)*—1920. Ranga Pillai himself grieved that the French were destined by God to rule over Madras only for two years, eleven months and ten days and that Madras had become 'the Little City instead of the Golden City as it was once called'—the wealthy inhabitants of the Black Town being very few when compared with those of the past.

² One main reason of the ill-success of these attempts, according to Dodwell, was the relative dearth of grain in the coast towns. Dupleix's attempt to settle weavers at Villiyanallur seems to have succeeded much better, as 1,200 families of weavers were said to have been settled there, till they were scattered by the war in 1752. Dupleix arranged that the weavers should repay the advances given to them at the rate of one pagoda per year ; and they should be free from any tax on their

Meanwhile news was received that when Nasir Jang heard that Anwar-ud-din Khan had been killed, he cast his turban on the ground in vexation and despatched his younger brother (?) with a small army, recalling in disgrace Sayyad Lashkar Khan who was sent first. Chanda Sahib was planning to raise a large body of horse and foot in order to march with Muzaffar Jang to conquer Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Mysore. Both the leaders had appointed Taqi Sahib who was *killedar* of Wandewash and sometime *diwan* to Dost Ali to be the *naib* and *diwan* of Arcot—a step that Dupleix did not like. Dupleix also desired that Mylapore (including of course San Thomē) should not be delivered to one Muhiud-din Sahib who came with a *parwana* for that place from Chanda Sahib, but should be left in the hands of Father Antony, Padre of Mylapore, for whom a *parwana* was subsequently got from the Nawab.

II. THE VICTORS AT PONDICHERRY

On September 27, the Diarist went to Valudāvur in order to welcome Chanda Sahib and offer him Dupleix's compliments ; and the next morning he made a state entry into Pondicherry, the Governor meeting him at the Villiyanallur gate.¹ The next day Chanda Sahib went out to Valudāvur to meet Muzaffar Jang who was encamped there and to escort him to Pondicherry. His state entry into Pondicherry is described with an apparent relish by the Diarist in his entry for September 30. A number of days were spent in festivities, in the course of which, the Diarist contrived to plead both with Chanda Sahib and with Muzaffar Jang, for the assignation of a *jaghir* to himself, 'as a mark of remembrance, besides those stipulated for the

yarn and cotton for the first two years after their settlement. By this, the Diarist tells that Dupleix hoped that ten times as many weavers as went to Chintadripet and Madras would settle at Villiyanallur. For the terms of the *cowl* that was given to the settlers at Chintadripet, refer to the Madras Council Consultation of October 21, 1734, quoted almost in full by Talboys Wheeler in his *Madras in the Olden Time*—pp. 522-5 of the 1882 edition.

¹ Chanda Sahib is reported by the Diarist to have related to Dupleix all his vicissitudes since his release from prison from Satara. He detailed, particularly, the part that he took in the fighting at Chittirakkal Baman where his eldest son, Abid Sahib, perished. Compare this with the conflicting accounts of his doings at Bednore as given by Orme and Wilks and with Dodwell's account, as given in a note on part vi. (J.I.H. Vol. viii, Notes on pp. 154-6).

French.¹ The scarcity of money was very keenly felt by the Nawab and by Muzaffar Jang. The latter pressed Chanda Sahib who in turn importuned Dupleix for an accommodation of two lakhs of pagodas. Even thus Chanda Sahib's hopes of supremacy were high; he said to the Diarist, 'If you will send troops to settle my business with Tanjore and Trichinopoly, I will give many villages as an *inam* (besides those you now enjoy) and pay the Governor one or two lakhs and reward you also suitably. . . French troops will march to Aurangabad; and Masulipatam and other sea-ports shall be given to the French. I will also give a *jaghir* there. Moreover I will conquer all the countries from Mysore up to the Narbada and rule as the Nizam did formerly. The Marathas are coming to assist me with a lakh of horsemen under the Peishwa Sau Baji Rao, Fatteh Singh Bhonsle and others. . .'² But in spite of the brave show and high hopes indulged in by Chanda Sahib, he was nervous lest he would not have enough money and French auxiliaries for the expedition. Muzaffar Jang himself was not to be greatly relied upon; he was, in the words of the Diarist, 'like a child that will lie in any one's arms;,' also he was very close-fisted about money and constantly dunned his ally for a fresh supply. Moreover he was anxious to go north, since he heard that Morari Rao was marching down on the Carnatic with several thousands of horsemen and Pindaris, turning everything upside down and planning to march on Arcot, while Nasir Jang himself had begun

¹ The French had stipulated that as a condition of their help that they should be given the *jaghirs* of Villiyannallur and Bahur. And Muzaffar Jang had, in his abundant gratitude, given in addition the sea-port of Masulipatam and the district of Bahur which last included the villages immediately surrounding the limits of Fort St. David. Dupleix was particularly anxious to hoist flags and tie *loranams* in the thirty-six villages of the Bahur jaghir on the day of Chanda Sahib's departure (see p. 220 of vol. vi of *Diary*). The tying of *loranams* was a formal announcement of possession. He was also anxious that if English soldiers or peons came from Fort St. David or Madras and seized the inhabitants by stealth, they should be stopped and expelled. The Bahur villages were taken possession of on November 2, 1749. 'To Dupleix this may have seemed no more than a convenient rounding off of French territory; but to the English it bore the menacing aspect of a scheme to cut off all trade and communication with the interior of the country. Their fear was confirmed by certain sinister occurrences in the neighbourhood of Madras; (the action of Padre Antonio in taking possession of San Thomé); and thus the English Council were compelled to embark on a policy of opposition.'—Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 39.

² Diarist's report of a conversation that took place between him and Chanda Sahib on October 6, 1749, p. 215 of vol. vi of the *Diary*.

to march southward from Aurangabad with 30,000 horse. Dupleix's chief concern now was to have the grant of the proposed *jaghir* completed before his allies should depart from Pondicherry; and there now arose a new difficulty regarding Mylapore, about which mention has been made already.

III. ENGLISH OCCUPATION OF SAN THOMÉ

After Madras came back into the possession of the English, one of the first questions dealt with by them was the attitude that they should take towards the Catholic priests and others who were believed to have played a treacherous part at the time of the French capture of the place. Admiral Boscawen declared that the four priests of the Great Church in White Town (the Capuchin Church of St. Andrew in the Fort built in 1675) were greater enemies to the Company than any others and no man doubted of their affection and goodwill to the French and that he had 'certain proof of Mr. Dupleix has wrote to Goa desiring the Portuguese Viceroy to send the padre Antonio a Commission as Governour of St. Thomé and its Dependancies and a supply of men and money. . .'¹ Admiral Boscawen advised in September that Father Antony de la Purification of San Thomé should be

¹ Fort St. David Consultation, dated September 2 (old style) 1749. Father Antonio had been appointed Procurator of the Portuguese at San Thomé by the Viceroy of Goa and *havildar* of Mylapore by Chanda Sahib. San Thomé's history is briefly as follows:—

San Thomé and Mylapore formed one town as it were. Mylapore was a place of ancient importance, identified by some scholars with the Malirapha of Ptolemy, the Geographer (*cir.* A. D. 150). It was rendered illustrious in Tamil literary and religious tradition by its close association with the Saint Tiruvalluvar, author of the *Sacred Kural*, which treats of the Trivarga; and also with the activities of the great Saiva Nayanar, Tirugnanasambanda, as well as of an early Vaishnava Alvar. It is sacred on account of its Saiva temple, dedicated to Sri Kapālisvarar, and was mentioned as an important place along the coast by the European travellers of the sixteenth century. San Thomé's fame rests upon its close association with the Indian Apostolate of St. Thomas. It is not certain whether the Church of San Thomé was first founded by the Apostle himself or by a later personage of the name Thomas. The tradition that the Apostle suffered martyrdom at St. Thomas' Mount, a little to the west, has been current from the time of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, who touched the Coromandel coast towards the close of the thirteenth century. When the Portuguese became powerful on the west coast, they visited the Betumah (house or chapel of the Apostle) which, according to tradition, had been existing on the Madras coast. Gaspar Correa, the historian, visited the spot and made repairs to the chapel in 1521. The Portuguese are said to have founded the Church of St. Thomas in or soon after 1522; and the Church

deported as treasonable papers had been found in his house. The despatch of Governor Floyer of Fort St. David to the Company, dated

was consequently the most ancient European building on the coast. A monastic settlement was probably formed at St. Thomas' Mount about 1522; in 1547 the famous Bleeding Cross was discovered at the Mount by the Portuguese and built into the church wall behind the altar and gradually a town grew up at the base of the Mount.

The rise of San Thomē was rapid after 1550. It shot into great importance in the last quarter of the sixteenth century and came to be equipped with a fort. It was the seat of a bishop; and besides the principal church, it contained several others both within and outside the walls. The settlement included Mylapore and was known as San Thomē de Meliapour and was under the control of the Captain of the City who was usually a Portuguese nobleman. San Thomē began to decline in trade, particularly after Madras was founded, and it fell into the hands of the Mussalmans of Golconda in 1662. It remained under Golconda rule till 1672 when it was attacked and taken possession of by the French. The Mussalmans seem to have strengthened the fortifications whose area seems to have been nearly three times that of Fort St. George.

The French occupation of San Thomē was neither long nor peaceful. It lasted a little more than two years and was one long period of beleaguering, first by the forces of Golconda and then by the combined forces of Golconda and the Dutch, till the place was starved into capitulation. The first siege was slow and ineffective; it was raised in March, 1673; and De la Haye, the French Commander, occupied the Triplicane village and temple, though the place had been given over to the English by the Golconda representative in the previous year. The English Governor, Langhorne, protested against this action of the French, but without any effect. Meanwhile Martin, the future founder of Pondicherry, proceeded to Masulipatam and negotiated for a *farman* from the Sultan for San Thomē.

War had meanwhile been declared by Holland against England and France. Van Goens, the Dutch Governor of Ceylon, was soon before San Thomē with a powerful armament and began a blockade on the seaside, while the Golconda troops invested the place on land (August 1673). The English at Madras were too jealous of the French at San Thomē to co-operate actively with them. At last, after more than a year of resistance, De la Haye capitulated and surrendered himself into the hands of the Dutch who, according to agreement, delivered the Fort to the Sultan of Golconda (September, 1674). The English Governor of Madras urged the demolition of the San Thomē fortifications, as he was afraid that the French might recover the Fort, either by force or by negotiation. But the Dutch gained over to their side Madanna Pant, the minister of Golconda; and the French hope of recovering the place was frustrated.

One important consequence of the French evacuation of San Thomē was the withdrawal of François Martin, with a few followers to Pondicherry, where he founded a settlement on a small site for a factory which had been granted in the previous year by the governor of Jinji on behalf of his master, the Sultan of Bijapur. Thus originated the city of Pondicherry.

Urged on by the Dutch, who were apprehensive of French designs, the Sultan of Golconda ordered in 1675 the destruction of the fortifications of San Thomē; and only the chief buildings and the churches were spared from demolition. The English cast covetous eyes from time to time on the place. Their chief merchant,

October 18, 1749, tells us that Father Antonio forbade, under the severest penalties, any provisions to be carried through or out of his dependencies, with other insults until the English Council requested Boscawen's assistance; and the latter at once made the *padre* a prisoner and wanted to carry him to England and he also took possession of his papers.¹ Boscawen and the English Council had definite information that Dupleix was determined to get possession

Casa Verona (Kāsi Viranna), farmed the place from the Muslims, tried hard to repopulate it and spent large sums in building houses there. When Golconda's authority was superseded by the Mughals in 1687, the Madras factors began negotiations with the imperial officers for the grant of the town to them. In 1697 the Mughal representative in the Carnatic demolished such fortifications as still remained in San Thomē. Nawab Daud Khan, who was generally ill-disposed towards the English, often threatened to develop San Thomē at the expense of Madras; and it was from San Thomē that he frequently threatened the safety of Fort St. George in the time of Governor Thomas Pitt (1698-1709). Thus the place continued under the authority of the Nawabs of the Carnatic with very little trade and a decaying population. In 1710 the Armenian merchants of Madras were suspected of having designs on San Thomē and intending to use it as their port. Successive Nawabs visited the place; and in the course of Mahfuz Khan's defeat at the hands of Paradis, the town was plundered by French troops in a ruthless manner.

¹ The letters found in the *Padre's* house showed that Dupleix advised him to carry matters with a fair face till Chanda Sahib's affairs were more settled—see p. 82 of Dodwell's *The Madras Despatches, 1744-55*. From the entries of Ranga Pillai, it can be seen that, on the *Padre's* representation, Dupleix had the *parwana* that Chanda Sahib gave to one Muhi-ud-din Sahib for San Thomē cancelled; and that Raza Sahib gave the required *parwana* for the place to the *Padre* in the presence of Madame Dupleix who was a relation of his and used her own influence in the matter. Moreover Dupleix asked the Diarist, when he had news of the deportation of the *Padre* by Boscawen, to tell Chanda Sahib that the Viceroy of Goa would be very angry about this affair and that he would write to him for a squadron of warships if Chanda Sahib would promise to bear the expense (pp. 178, 199 and 219 of the *Diary*, vol. vi). Chanda Sahib was later asked by Dupleix to write a Persian letter to the Viceroy of Goa to this effect.—'In order to make their (the Portuguese) name shine here, we (Chanda Sahib) appointed Padre Antonio, a Portuguese, amaldar of Mylapore and conferred on him a name by which to give orders. But the English were jealous of Portuguese prosperity near their city. So Mr. Boscawen sent soldiers and peons to seize the *Padre*; they wounded four or five persons with him, plundered Mylapore, destroyed its beauty, captured the *Padre* and sent him on board ship. I cannot endure that the English should thus dishonour the Portuguese, and so I write to you. If you send ships of war, soldiers and ammunition to attack Madras, Cuddalore and Fort St. David, I will march with my forces, fight with them and punish them. Please regard the letters which M. Dupleix, the General of Pondicherry, writes to you about this at my request, as my own and act as the letters require.'¹ Meanwhile Dupleix thought that he could, with the help of the Portuguese soldiers who should be asked to come overland, overthrow Nasir Jang with ease. For the outcome of this letter to Goa see the sequel.

of San Thomē as a counterpoise to the loss of Madras. The Fort St. David Council wrote to Boscawen that the *Padre* was to come with a detachment of French troops to build the fort that he had already begun; and they wrote to Muhammad Ali Khan at Trichinopoly¹ that the French intended to keep possession of San Thomē and had actually begun to build a fort there and that Boscawen was determined to take possession of the place in his name. They requested the immediate despatch of a *farman* for that place which 'will engage the English strictly to adhere to your interest.' Accordingly Muhammad Ali despatched a *farman* dated October 2 (old style), delivering Mylapore (*alias* San Thomē) to the English; and Boscawen hoisted English colours at the place on the October 11 (old style). Writing to the Company on November 2, 1749, the Fort St. David Council justified their action, as the French occupation of San Thomē would have ruined the trade of Madras and enabled them 'constantly to observe all our transactions.'² Chanda Sahib had not, till that date,

¹ P. Country correspondence; vol. iii. September 21, 1749, quoted by Col. H. D. Love in his *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. ii, p. 393. The occupation of San Thomē was certainly proposed by Boscawen; but the Fort St. David Council did not seem to have tried to evade responsibility as was represented to the Diarist by Dupleix who said that they had written to Europe that it was done without their knowledge and attempted to shirk their responsibility (p. 255 of vol. vi of the *Diary*). Dodwell points out that there was no particular reason why the English Council should have done so.

² English occupation of San Thomē.—Note on the *Padre de la Purification*.

³ *Extract from Dispatch from Fort St. David*, October 18, 1749.

'The first act that he (Chanda Sahib) did, after arriving at this (Nabob's) Dignity was the recompensing his good allies, by granting them forty-two villages of the Villanour Country, which lay all round this Settlement (Fort St. David), and by way of reward to Mr. Dupleix in particular, the following towns and their revenues have been given to him and his relations, *viz* :—

Coibelong (Covelong) to Mr. Dupleix, Porto Novo to Madame Dupleix.

Alempara to Monsieur D'Autel, his brother-in-law.

St. Thomē to Padre D' (la Purification) a relation of Madame Dupleixes.

'So that we are surrounded in such a manner as for the French to have it entirely in their power to stop our trade or debar us from any supplies of provision from the Country, and we have great reason to believe, from what has already happened, they will not be wanting to make use of this advantage, for the Padre's zeal being either warmer than the other could not help discovering himself, by forbidding on the severest penalties, any sort of refreshments going to Madras through or out of his Dependances; and by insulting us in other respects, in so much that at last we were obliged to apply to General Boscawen for his assistance, who immediately sent and took the Padre prisoner, and is bringing him to England to be disposed of as His Majesty shall think proper.'

Forrest's (*Bengal and Madras Papers*, vol ii, 1688-1757.)

entered on any hostilities on this account against the English, as he was just then busy with his expedition to the south against Tanjore and Trichinopoly. Major Lawrence who was in command of the Madras garrison, was prepared to open fire on any body who should dispute the English possession of the place. The Portuguese, as if in answer to Dupleix's advice, sent a letter of remonstrance to the English at Fort St. David, claiming that the place was under the sway of their King. To this the English Council replied that there were no Portuguese colours flying when Boscawen took the place and that *Padre* Antonio declared that he was the representative of Chanda Sahib and that they had a valid *farman* for the place from Muhammad Ali, the lawful Nawab of the province¹. Dupleix told the Diarist, when Boscawen's fleet sailed to Cuddalore from Madras after San Thomē had been taken by him, that he feared that Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang would attack Cuddalore as a measure of retaliation and therefore he had postponed his journey to Europe and was going to Cuddalore and Fort St. David.² Boscawen, however, had definite orders to proceed home.

IV. CHANDA SAHIB'S EXPEDITION TO TANJORE

To return to Chanda Sahib:—He departed from Pondicherry on October 28, but the heavy rains prevented his rapid march; and for a few days he stayed on in the neighbourhood. He then camped in the vicinity of Fort St. David in the hope of being able to raise money on the mortgage of some villages; and it seemed as if he and Muzaffar Jang who accompanied him, set out 'to replenish their purses, rather than to complete their conquests.' Almost even before they had proceeded far, Muzaffar Jang quarrelled with Chanda Sahib about money matters and threatened to return to his headquarters at Adoni. Chanda Sahib had to mollify him by promising to pay him two lakhs of rupees in ready money and to put him in possession of

¹ See the Portuguese Viceroy's letter to Fort St. David, dated February 5, 1750, and the Council's letter to him in reply dated, May 14, 1750—both quoted by Love—vol. II, pp. 400-1.

² Entry of the Diarist for October 24 (new style)—p. 223 of vol. VI of the *Diary*. Boscawen's fleet sailed from Fort St. David on October 21 (old style); the French did not believe that he intended to quit India, but imagined that he only wanted to avoid the stormy monsoon of the coast. They took advantage of this absence, short as they imagined it, to send their allies to Tanjore the very next day.—*Orme*, vol. I, p. 133.

Nellore, Sarvepalle and other countries worth about ten lakhs a year in the opinion of the Diarist. Muzaffar Jang promised to demand no more money for four months. There was also news of Nasir Jang's rumoured advance to the bank of the Godavari from Aurangabad and of the advance of the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Kandamur to seize the fort and province of Adoni under instructions from the former. Muzaffar Jang got greatly frightened and ordered his troops to be ready to march back to Adoni; he said that as Chanda Sahib got the subah of Arcot with European help, he could manage affairs by himself, but that himself should go to Nasir Jang and reconcile himself to the latter somehow or other. It was with great difficulty that Chanda Sahib contrived to dissuade him from departing and to reassure him and finally to make him swear on the Quran that both would stand or fall together.¹ The situation was complicated by the arrival at Pondicherry of letters written to the French chief of Masulipatam by the Nawab of Rajahmundry, Khajah Namat-ullah Khan, son of Khajah Abdullah Khan, who was for a short time *interim* Nawab of the Carnatic in 1743 under the orders of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Herein the French were advised to give up the alliance of Chanda Sahib, join Nasir Jang and obey his orders; and they were told they could live at peace in Masulipatam if they acted as he wished. Copies of these letters and of the Mughal Emperor's *farman* confirming Nasir Jang as the *Subhedar* of the Deccan, which was sent along with them were despatched to Chanda Sahib by the Diarist according to Dupleix's instruction.²

Meanwhile Chanda Sahib, having failed to get any money in the country round Fort St. David, directed his attention to the Poligar of Udaiyarpalayam which was a considerable chiefship in the interior of the Trichinopoly District. The Poligar agreed to pay one lakh of rupees; but Chanda Sahib insisted on a lakh of pagodas. The

¹ Diarist's entry of a conversation he had with Jayaram Pandit on November 5, 1749, who desired that letters should be written to Raghuji Bhonsle, Fattah Singh and other Maratha chiefs requesting them to maintain Chanda Sahib in his position and hinder his enemies from attacking them.—p. 236 of *Diary*, vol. VI.

² Khajah Namatullah Khan had shown his enmity to the French as early as 1747, when he attempted to waylay M. d'Espreménil who proceeded overland from Madras to Yanam and extracted money from him; and it was suspected at Pondicherry that Antannan, a French servant at the Yanam factory, was intriguing with the Nawab.

Udaiyarpalayam people delayed the payment of the amount they agreed to give, in the hope that news of the coming of Nasir Jang might improve their position. Chanda Sahib spent about a fortnight before Udaiyarpalayam and succeeded in getting therefrom only about 70,000 pagodas. Even this was got only when three or four guns had been fired and the Nawab's troops had entered the bounds of the *palam*. He then joined Muzaffar Jang who was encamped about 12 *kos* from Tanjore. Dupleix was anxious to get a *parwana* for the villages round Karikal that he wanted for himself from the Raja of Tanjore. He expected that the affair of the Raja might be settled for about half a crore of rupees, which was also the modest estimate of Chanda Sahib. Of course, in his accustomed vein of vainglory, Dupleix proudly exclaimed: 'Affairs have been settled with the Udaiyarpalayam and other *killedars*, because of their fear of me; else, at a time when Nasir Jang had given orders to advance, no one would have joined Chanda Sahib's army or paid him a cash.'¹

Abdul Amin Khan, the younger son (or brother) of Abdul Nabi Khan, Nawab of Cuddapah, wrote to Chanda Sahib that it would be an easy task for him to capture Tanjore and Trichinopoly, but Jinji was very strong and should be kept in friendly hands; his elder brother was now the ruling Nawab of Cuddapah and he was the Nawab of Savanur and Bankapur;² he expressed a desire in the letter to open communications with Dupleix. He was to play later a prominent part in the intrigues that brought about the deaths of Nasir Jang and Muzaffar Jang in quick succession. When Nasir Jang marched south through Kalyan and Gulburga and his general, Sayyad Lashkar Khan, reached the banks of the Krishna, the Diarist heard that the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Savanur were moving against him; and the Nawab of Kurnool, Himayat Khan, the other member of this infamous triumvirate, appears to have actually attacked and defeated a small force sent to him from Nasir Jang.

Things did not advance well in Chanda Sahib's camp. Though some money was got from Ariyalur, there was general unrest among the troops on account of growing arrears of pay; while Miyan Ma'sud,

¹ See Diarist's entry for November 25, 1749—p. 272 of vol. iv.

² There is some doubt about the identity of this person. The Diarist speaks of him in another place as Abdul Majid Khan. The families of the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Savanur were related. He probably confuses the Nawab of Savanur with Abdul Majid who succeeded Abdul Nabi of Cuddapah.

the *diwan* of Muzaffar Jang, went to Chanda Sahib's camp before Udaiyarpalayam and demanded a lakh of rupees for expenses; when the latter expressed his inability, he behaved disrespectfully and said, among other things, that he (Chanda Sahib) should not continue to live. There was for some time great likelihood of a revolution breaking out in the camp, while Chanda Sahib complained that the northern poligars did not join him effectively, as one Dabbili Rayappa Raja, presumably an adventurer, who promised him a big sum of money for being allowed to seize Bommarajapalayam, was being detained in custody at Pondicherry.

Letters were received early in December at Pondicherry from Nasir Jang and Muhammad Ali Khan. That of Nasir Jang promised to forgive the French their past offences if they should separate from their allies and be faithful to the Nizam in the future; otherwise he would order that the French factories should be pulled down and would write to Bengal to the same effect. Muhammad Ali's letter solicited French friendship and asked Dupleix to make peace with Nasir Jang and offered twice as much gains as the French might secure from his enemies. To this Dupleix replied exhorting Muhammad Ali to obey Muzaffar Jang's orders and win his favour, and through it, French friendship.¹ He had news—at least so he told the Diarist—that Sau Baji Rao had surrounded Nasir Jang and was harrassing him and the latter had abandoned the idea of coming down to the Carnatic and so Chanda Sahib need not fear him now. He was intent that Chanda Sahib should settle the Tanjore affair for at least 50 lakhs of rupees, so that he might get back all the amounts he had advanced to Muzaffar Jang.²

V. OPERATIONS AT TANJORE

The united forces of Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib crossed the Coleroon into the Tanjore country on December 13. The French contingent with them was composed of 800 Europeans, a train of field

¹ Diarist's entries for December 7 and 9—pp. 289 and 290 of the *Diary*, vol. VI. The English records have another version of Nasir Jang's letter received from Muhammad Ali by Dupleix—see Country Correspondence, 1749, p. 60.

² The Diarist heard from Dupleix that these amounted to 40 lakhs; but Dodwell estimates that even if the advances made to Chanda Sahib were included, the total would still fall far short of 40 lakhs. Muzaffar Jang's debts to Dupleix and the French Company fell short of 7 lakhs, according to M. Cultru, even at a much later date—(Dodwell's note on p. 292 of vol. vi. of the *Diary*.)

artillery and 300 Coffres and Topasses. Chanda Sahib was being pressed for money on all sides. He was anxious to settle the affair for a large sum with the help of the Frenchman Duquesne who was in camp; he applied to Dupleix for guns, flints and cartridges; he complained of the importunate demands of Muzaffar Jang for money and of the slights he received at his hands. He kept Dupleix in good humour by sending his own *inam parwanas* for Tirunallār, Kōttaichēri and another place on whose possession the French Governor was bent and promised to send the Tanjore ruler's *parwanas* for these three places as soon as a settlement should have been arrived at with him.¹ Dupleix agreed to send a supply of guns and ammunition to Karaikal whither Chanda Sahib might send to fetch them. For six weeks Chanda Sahib allowed himself to be duped by protestations of good faith and promises of speedy payment made by Pratap Singh, the Raja of Tanjore. Chanda Sahib first gave him a peremptory order to pay all arrears of tribute due from the death of Nawab Safdar Ali in 1742, and contended that whatever might have been paid in the interval to Anwar-ud-din was not a tribute to the legitimate suzerain, but only a forced contribution exacted by and paid to a rebel authority. Pratap Singh shut himself up in his capital and offered to pay a ransom which was more agreeable to Chanda Sahib than either the reduction of the capital or the conquest of the kingdom. He did not permit his troops to approach nearer than three miles of the capital and requested the French troops not to commit hostilities.²

¹ Chanda Sahib's autograph letter received by Dupleix on December 14, said.—'Nawab Hidāyat Muhiud-din Khan has received great sums for one or two affairs he has settled, and slights me. If I quarrel with him, we shall fare ill; so I have entrusted this matter to M. Duquesne as then no one will question what is done. Vol. vi, p. 305 of *Diary*.

² The wily Tanjorean knew that by protracting time, he should increase the distress of his enemies, and in his letters expressed himself with so much seeming humility that Chanda Sahib suffered himself to be amused to the middle of December (O.S.) without having settled the terms of accommodation. In the meantime the king, corresponding with Muhammad Ali at Trichinopoly, joined with him in exhorting Nasir Jang at Golcondah, to come and settle the affairs of the Carnatic in person. . . . He likewise solicited the assistance of the English, who exhorted him to defend himself to the last extremity; but sent to his assistance no more than twenty Europeans who were detached from Trichinopoly and entered the city of Tanjore in the night.' (*Orme*, vol. i, p. 134-5.) See Diarist's details of the Raja's haggling in p. 399 of vol. vi.

News reached Pondicherry on December 19, that Nasir Jang who had advanced as far as Gulbarga had again gone back to Satara, but had ordered Sayyad Lashkar Khan to seize Adoni, Rayachoti and other places (belonging to Muzaffar Jang) south of the Krishna and that the latter had already captured Rayachoti and hoisted his flag there. Also the English were creating disturbances in the neighbourhood of Covelong which had been granted to Dupleix and over which French authority was being attempted to be enforced.¹

Report reached the next day that Chanda Sahib had asked the French commandant in his camp to write to Karikal that *toranams* might be tied in the villages of Tirunallar and Kōttaichēri *nadus*, as a token of the establishment of French authority, though the Tanjore Raja's *parwana* had not been received. Chanda Sahib and Duquesne had surrounded the Tanjore fort, as Manoji Appa, the general of the Raja, insisted on a fight, in spite of his master's dissuasion and encamped in front of them.² The fight, according to the version of the Diarist, is at variance with the generally accepted version. The Diarist heard that in the engagement on December 17, the Tanjore forces were scattered and begged for quarter which was granted and then the French advanced and seized a gate of the Fort. According

¹ Letter of M. Bruno, French representative at Covelong, near Chingleput, to the Diarist (pp. 309-10 of *Diary*, vol. vi).

Grant-Duff, the historian of the Marathas, thus details the circumstances of Nasir Jang's troubles with the Marathas.—'Very shortly afterwards, intelligence was received of the defeat and death of Anwar-ud-deen . . . on which Nasir Jang applied to Rughoojee Bhonslay, for a body of his troops, promising to grant some cessions of territory as the reward of their service. He also summoned the whole of the Moghul dependents and tributaries in the Carnatic to be prepared to join his army, as he advanced to the southward. Moorar Rao Ghorepuray, as Jagheerdar of Ghooty, the Raja of Mysore, the Nabobs of Kurpa, Karnoul and Savanoor, and Muhammad Ally, second son of the late Anwar-ud-deen, with his supporters, and the President of the Council at Madras (Fort St. David?) were the principal authorities who joined or sent their troops to accompany Nasir Jang.' Before Shahu's death which occurred in December, 1749, Raghuji had sent his son Janoji to accompany Nasir Jang into the Carnatic with 10,000 horse.—pp. 511, 512 and 520 of *History of the Marhattas*, 4th ed., vol. i.

* The Diarist wrote that he heard that Manoji Appa had raised a battery in the middle of the Mariamman Temple outside the Tanjore Fort and camped there with 4,000 horse, 30,000 foot and 500 or 600 English and Dutch (the figures are greatly exaggerated) and that he retired into the Fort after a fight on the 17th; M. Duquesne's letter received by Dupleix is alleged to make mention of an English flag in the Tanjore ranks which the French people took; the French then seized a gateway of the Fort of Tanjore (Diarist's entry for December 22, 1749).

to Malleson and Orme, the details are different. Malleson says that Duquesne, acting under positive instructions from Dupleix, captured three redoubts situated at a little distance from the walls on December 26; and three days later, after some fruitless negotiations, he assaulted and carried one of the gates of the town, after which the Raja gave in and concluded a treaty on the 31st, which included, among other provisions, that he should pay Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang 70 lakhs of rupees, remit the annual ground-rent due for the Karikal territory and add to the French possessions new territory comprising 81 villages¹. According to Orme, Dupleix, finding that his exhortations to Chanda Sahib had no effect, ordered the French captain to break off the negotiations by some signal act of hostility; and by this time Chanda Sahib likewise thought it necessary to deliver an attack and made a hostile demonstration round the walls for four days continuously; and on the fifth day, the French troops attacked three redoubts about 600 yards from the walls and carried them. Early the next morning the Raja sent proposals for accommodation. Chanda Sahib allowed him two days to consent to his proposals; and on the third, directed the French commandant to bombard the town with shells which act so frightened the Raja that he sent emissaries who in their turn wasted three days without concluding anything. The French commandant then renewed the bombardment and assaulted and carried one of the gates of the city². Then the Raja became serious about the conclusions of peace and ratified the treaty on December 21 (o.s.).

Anandaranga Pillai writes of letters from Duquesne, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang, received at Pondicherry on December 22, and containing news of the fight with the Tanjoreans, their retreat, the French advance to the gate of the Fort and their capture of it, the grant of some armistice and the demand made for a crore of rupees by the allies. The seeming discrepancies between these versions are not very serious except perhaps the statement that a gateway of the Tanjore Fort was carried by the French attackers, much earlier according to our Diarist, than according to Orme and Malleson. Certain posts outside the town were certainly seized by the French on December 18, and envoys were sent out that day or the next day.

¹ *History of the French in India* (1893)—pp. 247-8.

² *History of Hindostan*, (fourth ed.),—Vol. i., pp. 135-6.

But Duquesne seized, according to these historians, one of the gates of the city on December 28—a discrepancy of dates which can be accounted for only by a confusion of the new and old styles of reckoning. The Diarist wrote, on December 28, that the Raja of Tanjore, despairing because his counsellors (like Manoji Appa) had brought matters to such a pass, and preferring death to the loss of his fort and country, fell upon the enemy who had crossed the ditch and seized the entrance to the Fort and drove them back to the Mariamman Temple where they were discussing terms yet. On January 5, Dupleix told the Diarist joyfully that Duquesne had written to him that the Tanjore affair had been settled by him for seventy lakhs of rupees, and a *parwana* for the French occupation of Tirunallār and other villages, eighty in all, had been obtained from the Raja as an *inam* attached to Karikal and that he had secured the yearly *peshcush* of 2,000 pagodas for Karikal; lastly, the Raja having paid a part of the amount agreed upon, the army was encamped two *kos* this (northern) side of Tanjore. A supplementary letter received three days later said that Chanda Sahib was to receive thirty lakhs in ready money and have some territories mortgaged for the balance and that he was to be requested to accept the amount in instalments. As usual there was a lot of wrangling and procrastination over the payment of the stipulated sum. The French Commandant of Karikal complained that the Tirunallār *jaghir* of eighty-one villages were but worth 40,000 pagodas, instead of 70,000, as first reported.¹

Throughout January and February the negotiations about the actual payment of money went on. It was the custom in those days that in these military collections, the first payment rarely exceeded a fourth part of the whole assessment. The Raja was a past master in the art of procrastination and contrived to delay the payment in full of the first instalment for several weeks.²

¹ According to the Diarist, Dupleix is said to have told him—'He (Le Riche, the Commandant) wants to cheat the Company. As you are the Company's courtier, you must manage them to the Company's benefit. Appoint proper men to manage them.' So far from Dupleix realizing even the estimated sum from the newly added villages, they actually realized only about 30,000 pagodas between 1750 and 1754, (vol. vi, of the *Diary*, p. 358).

² One day he sent gold and silver plate, and his officers wrangled like pedlars for the prices at which it should be valued; another day he sent old and obsolete coins, such as he knew would require strict and tedious examination; and then he sent jewels and precious stones, of which the value was still more difficult to

Dupleix saw clearly the danger of such procrastination especially as Nasir Jang was fast approaching the Carnatic. The death of the Maratha Raja Shahu at Satara in December 1749 had its remote repercussions even in Tanjore. Chanda Sahib, as soon as he received the news, seriously thought of renewing hostilities and capturing the fort of Tanjore; he even raised some batteries with that object and wrote to Dupleix requesting him to write to the French captain and the *jamadars* of sepoy not to plunder the fort when it should be captured.

The Commandant of Karikal wrote to Dupleix that Chanda Sahib entertained the design of capturing Tanjore and establishing his son as its ruler.¹ Dupleix who had a wider perspective of the political situation, was apprehensive that such an action on the part of Chanda Sahib might anger the great Maratha chiefs like the Peishwa Balaji Baji Rao, Fattah Singh, Raghuji Bhonsle, Sripat Rao and others and incline them to support Nasir Jang;² and so he advised that

he ascertained. Chanda Sahib saw the drift of these artifices, and knowing them to be common practices, submitted to wait, rather than lose the money of which he was so much in want.' (Orme, vol. i, p. 136).

By February 10, articles of gold and silver and jewels worth about 7 lakhs only were paid to Chanda Sahib (Diarist's entry for the date—p. 362 of the *Diary*, vol. vi.).

¹ Letter of Le Riche to Dupleix, dated February 10, 1750—quoted by Dodwell from the Pondicherry Records (*Diary*, vol. vi, p. 363).

² The death of Raja Shahu produced a revolution in the Maratha State. The Peishwa acted with promptitude, made himself master of Satara fort, put down all pretensions of Shahu's widow and the aged Tara Bai who set up a spurious grandson of hers as king, got over Raghuji Bhonsle to his side by confirming him in his eastern possessions and giving him full powers in Bengal, Berar and Gondwana and quieted the opposition of other ministers like the Sachiv. He made himself the ruler of the Maratha state, since the inveterate malice of Tara Bai led to the imprisonment of the new king and the fall of the house of Sivaji. So far from Maratha leaders taking any offence at the action of Chanda Sahib, they were very busy at home, in the domestic revolution that followed the death of Shahu. Balaji himself was engaged in consolidating his own position of supremacy till the late monsoon of 1750.

Sripat Rao, the Pratinidhi, whom Dupleix mentions among the great Maratha leaders who might take offence at Chanda Sahib's proposed capture of Tanjore, died in November 1746, three years before Shahu; and his younger brother, Jagjivan, was now the Pratinidhi, but was degraded and imprisoned by Balaji Rao at this time for his adhesion to Sukwar Bai, the elder wife of Shahu (Kincaid and Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People*, vol. ii, pp. 295 and 311). Fattah Singh was like an adopted son of Rajah Shahu and was confirmed by the Peishwa in the possession of his *jaghirs* and in the title of the Raja of Akalkote. Raghuji Bhonsle was mollified as already told; his son Janoji Bhonsle who was with Nasir

Chanda Sahib should consider the future and avoid evils that might happen. He gave orders to the French captain and the *jamadars* of sepoys not to plunder the fort of Tanjore, even if Chanda Sahib should capture it¹ and obey the latter's orders.

VI. THE COMING OF NASIR JANG INTO THE CARNATIC AND THE RETREAT OF CHANDA SAHIB

Nasir Jang had advanced by February 10 as far as Sirpi; he sent two emissaries to Chanda Saheb at Tanjore to treat for peace. Dupleix was anxious that Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang should not make any agreement without his knowledge and the emissaries of Nasir Jang should be told that 'though we (Dupleix, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang) have three bodies, our life is one; peace cannot be made without me (Dupleix); and if the matter is to be settled satisfactorily, they must come here (to Pondicherry).'²

Moro Pant and Khazi Dāyem—these were the two emissaries of Nasir Jang—are said by the Diarist in one place to offer terms to Muzaffar Jang, that Chanda Sahib was too busy with the Tanjore affair to care about the enemy's approach and that he was unwilling to do anything until the fort should be captured.³ Dupleix suspected that Muzaffar Jang might be purposely spreading the rumour that Nasir Jang was coming down rapidly into the Carnatic, because Chanda Sahib was not letting him manage the Tanjore affair and he hoped, by spreading such news, to cause confusion and prevent him from taking the fort.

But in spite of rumours that Nasir Jang had turned back, news arrived early in March that he had reached the Chengama passes.

Jang's army did not assert himself. Thus as Grant-Duff says:—'The arrangements before and consequent to (Shahu) Raja's death had, as already adverted to, prevented the Mahrattas from seizing an opportunity of enlarging their conquests in the Deccan, afforded by the absence of so great an army in the Carnatic. . . .'
Vol. i (4th ed.), p. 524.

¹ Chanda Sahib actually forbade Goupil, the French captain, to deliver an attack on the fort on February 24.

² Diarist's entry for February 10, 1759 (p. 367 of vol. vi).

³ On February 19, Chanda Sahib forbade an attack on the city in spite of Goupil, the French Commandant, desiring and urging it. Regarding this, Dodwell remarks that as yet Dupleix had not really become the master of the situation. 'The French were as yet neither masters, nor even partners, but auxiliary troops serving for hire.' (*Dupleix and Clive*, p. 45).

Chanda Saheb had, meanwhile, retreated from Tanjore¹ and had encamped on the northern side of the Coleroon in the neighbourhood of Chidambaram which was surrounded and plundered by a body of Maratha horse under Murari Rao who retreated on the approach of the Muhammadans. Murari Rao was joined by Moro Pant and the former fought a small action with the enemy near the old Coleroon, a little to the south of Chidambaram. Being continually harrassed by the Maratha troops, and often repulsing them with the fire of the French field-pieces, Chanda Sahib, Muzaffar Jang and the French troops reached Tiruvathi (a temple-fort on the Pennar, near Panruti Railway Station). Rumour came that the Marathas were actually joined by a body of English troops from Fort St. David, though it was not true. The Marathas had come up to the place, even before the French reached it and the fear of Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang was very great. The former reached Pondicherry on March 11. Immediately afterwards began their importunate demands for money. Dupleix refused to give him any amount, but promised to supply plenty of powder, shot and guns and also to pay the French soldiers and sepoys. But Chanda Sahib was timid, declared that this was not the proper time to attack Nasir Jang and desired to stay at Pondicherry till he should go away. Dupleix answered that he should advance and meet Nasir Jang, as otherwise he would be dishonoured.² Muzaffar Jang entered Pondicherry on March 15, and likewise importuned Dupleix for money. The latter scraped up somehow or other three lakhs of rupees, one lakh of this

¹ Dupleix seems to have advised now the seizure of Tanjore where Chanda Sahib and his ally might have 'maintained themselves until famine compelled the hosts of Nasir Jang to withdraw.' He also suggested that, according to the advice proffered by the killedar of Jinji, a body of European troops should be sent there along with ammunition (Diarist's entry for February 10—p. 369 of vol. vi of the Diary). But even this did not seem to have been taken advantage of by Chanda Sahib. Note Dupleix's words according to the Diarist—'I ordered them to march towards Jinji, but they have not gone there. I wrote . . . that if they occupied the Valudavur Fort . . . they could even drive Nasir Jang's army through the passes.'

² 'If you refuse to attack him you will dishonour me, your ally. . . Put your trust in Him (God) and attack Nasir Jang. If he falls in battle you shall march to Aurangabad; and I will give you the subahs of the Deccan; but if it falls out as you fear, it is the will of God.' (Entry of the Diarist for March 14, 1715)—p. 394 of the *Diary*, vol. vi.

sum being got from the Company's merchants; and Muzaffar Jang gave a bill of exchange for this sum as well as for four lakhs that Chanda Sahib owed, on the treasury of the province of Adoni. The allies pitched their camp at Villiyanallur, almost under the very walls of Pondicherry, as if for protection from its guns. Large arrears were due to the troops and every day some tumult or mutiny among them was feared. Muzaffar Jang did not give to Chanda Sahib anything out of the sum that Dupleix advanced. The sepoys, horsemen and bazaar people belonging to Muzaffar Jang's camp had to be sternly ordered by Dupleix, on pain of being shot, to quit the bounds of Pondicherry where they were loitering, and join camp.

VII. FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH NASIR JANG

On the March 18, Nasir Jang's troops occupied Jinji; but the *killedar* that was appointed to that fort allowed the French at that place to depart with their money in peace; while Chanda Sahib's garrison at the fort quietly gave it up to the enemy. Chanda Sahib's sepoys and horsemen greatly troubled him for the payment of the arrears due to him; and Dupleix had to order M. d'Auteuil to encamp with French soldiers at Villiyanallur and see that the sepoys ceased to disturb Chanda Sahib. But in spite of French reinforcements and protection, Maratha horsemen hovered on the outskirts of the camp, broke into a choultry at Villiyanallur and killed some Coffre troops. The sense of insecurity that prevailed in the camp was great; and a rumour got about that Nasir Jang had reached Trichinopoly. On March 23, Chanda Sahib sent his *gumastah*, Rajo Pandit and Muhammad Raza Sahib with letters from himself and Nasir Jang's emissaries to the effect that they were willing to let Chanda Sahib retain the subah of Arcot, as he had been connected with that province for a number of years from the time of Nawab Sadatullah Khan and as the French Governor would not be content unless he were confirmed as the Nawab of the Carnatic. This and another communication received from Chanda Sahib the next day, made the Diarist suspect that 'he (Chanda Sahib) was waiting to see which way the cat would jump' and hoped that Dupleix would advise the making of peace with Nasir Jang,

particularly as he himself was to be confirmed in the possession of Arcot.¹

Uncertainty continued to prevail till the end of March when the sixth volume of the *Diary* terminates. An action took place on April 4, between Nasir Jang's forces and the allies; but little injury was done to either side; on the evening of that day, thirteen French officers insisted on resigning their commissions and returning immediately to Pondicherry. This action, made in face of the enemy, is condemned as 'even more disgraceful than the mutiny of the English officers in Bengal in 1766.' The French troops had become unreliable and their officers demoralized. It is indeed true that the French contingent had borne the brunt of fighting at Ambur and before Tanjore. But the fighting before Tanjore was not serious; and many of the French officers, when the army had returned, insisted on being relieved from field-duty. Those who replaced them had been placated by the advance of a month's *batta*; but even so they hesitated. D'Auteuil wrote to Dupleix from camp on April 1, that fifteen officers refused to fight, because 'our army is too small to attack the enemy's 50,000 horse, besides 2,000 sepoys and ten or twelve guns belonging to the English . . . we can be safe only under the walls of a fortress; how can we conquer an enemy who has both men and walls, whereas we lack both?' Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib also wrote that all the officers and soldiers opposed d'Auteuil's fighting, as the enemy was strong with great stores of powder and shot, guns and good artillery men, the Muhammadans could not shoot well before the English and could not fight without shelter or bear the heat.²

¹Muzaffar Jang, whom Nasir Jang was resolved to abase, seeing that Chanda Sahib was wavering, sent a letter to Dupleix in which he urged that d'Auteuil and his army should attack the enemy and this was not the time to halt. Dupleix himself had, on the receipt of the offers made on behalf of Nasir Jang, ordered the French troops to halt, expecting that peace would be made (Dodwell's note based on Dupleix's letter to the Company, dated October 3, 1750, quoted on p. 426 of the *Diary*, vol. vi.)

²Diarist's entry for April 1, 1750 (pp. 9 and 10 of vol. vii. of the *Diary*. Later the *Diary* tells us that the Governor sent M. Bussy to advise the mutinous officers to obey and the latter went to the camp and persuaded them to agree to fight. (Chanda Sahib's explanation to the Diarist made on April 5.)

After the cannonade of April 4, and the mutinous refusal of the French officers to continue in camp, d'Auteuil, finding that the soldiers refused to fight without their officers, retired on Villianallur, much to the chagrin and mortification of Dupleix, accompanied by Chanda Sahib and 4,000 of his horse. Muzaffar Jang, however, refused to move, saying that Nasir Jang's people had come to treat with him after the engagement of the previous day and that he preferred to remain where he was, even at the risk of his life. This meant that Muzaffar Jang had deserted his allies; Dupleix ordered a strict guard to be placed over the house where his family resided. Chanda Sahib was inclined to throw the blame for this cowardly retreat on d'Auteuil; he declared that the Maratha officers were ready to abandon Nasir Jang who, just before the engagement, was inclined to retreat; but Muhammad Ali, Mahfuz Khan and others tried to restrain him from such a dishonourable action. At such a moment he urged d'Auteuil to attack Nasir Jang; but he obstinately refused as all his officers had departed; the Europeans scattered in all directions; d'Auteuil and a few soldiers went one way; Muzaffar Khan, the *jamadar*, went another way; and his sepoy, a third. Muzaffar Jang declared that he could not incur the disgrace of running away out of fear; Chanda Sahib was pursued by Maratha horsemen and could not reach Muzaffar Jang's camp; when in the early morning the retreating army was surrounded by the enemy, they fought so well that Mahfuz Khan fell and Muhammad Ali was wounded—quite false news told by Chanda Sahib, who wanted to persuade others that he could have won in the engagement, if d'Auteuil had not retreated. Chanda Sahib also wanted to persuade the Diarist that Muzaffar Jang was in no way at fault, that he had not any previous design of joining Nasir Jang in which case he would have secured the restoration of his family from Pondicherry and that affairs were spoiled by d'Auteuil and not by Muzaffar Jang. Of course Dupleix threw the entire blame on Muzaffar Jang; but he permitted Chanda Sahib to negotiate with Murari Rao and his companion to abandon Nasir Jang, in return for Tadpatri and the neighbouring country which were to be given to him¹.

¹ Diarist's entry for April 5,—pp. 17-22 of the *Diary*, vol. vii.

Nasir Jang, on entering the Carnatic, first summoned Muhammad Ali to join him from Trichinopoly and wrote letters to Fort St. David requesting the English to send him a body of European troops. He ordered his own army to concentrate under the hills of Jinji and the protection of its walls. Nasir Jang himself seems to have reached Jinji about the last week of March. Muhammad Ali joined him with about 6,000 horse at Valudavur, about 10 miles from Pondicherry; the English detachment under Cope which had been sent previously to Trichinopoly to Muhammad Ali, accompanied him. On March 28, Nasir Jang was encamped between Villupuram and Koliyanur; the English troops were said to be about 200 English soldiers, 100 *mestizos* and 200 *topasses* besides 400 sepoy.¹ Moreover additional troops from Fort St. David were sent under the command of Lawrence. The camp stretched for about five miles from north to south and three miles from east to west. It was heard and recorded by the Diarist that the Marathas and Kallars in Nasir Jang's camp made a sortie or two on the French camp on that afternoon, but there was nothing that could be called fighting. Even in this situation, an emissary from Nasir Jang arrived to treat for peace, to whom, in the presence of Bussy, Muzaffar Jang replied that there could be no talk of peace without the approval of Dupleix. The emissary offered to grant *jaghirs* to both Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib and to repay the amounts they had borrowed from the French. Muzaffar Jang to whom the emissary came, sent for a French representative to be present during the conversations and his reply was given in the presence of Bussy.² Dupleix wrote to Chanda Sahib that any negotiation should be conducted only through himself; otherwise he was not for any compromise at all. Shortly afterwards Nasir Jang's engagement took place, on account of which the English Captain Cope, and the French Commandant, d'Auteuil, exchanged 'mutual recriminations regarding the breach of peace between the two nations.' Lawrence, with an English embassy was also present in Nasir Jang's

¹ The figures are not accurate.

² Diarist's entry for March 31—pp. 435-48 of vol. vi. This is an effective support of Chanda Sahib's opinion that Muzaffar Jang had no preconceived plan of making his own terms with and submitting to Nasir Jang and that Dupleix's estimate of him was not fully justified.

camp; and he no doubt inspired Cope's recriminations with d'Auteuil.¹ Thus the beginning was made of the direct conflict between the two Companies on the eve of the great revolution that was to see the fall of Nasir Jang and the triumph of the French.

¹ Orme estimates the troops under d'Auteuil at 2,000 Europeans; and the English troops that came with Lawrence at 600. But Dodwell shows that besides the detachment of 100 under Cope that came from Trichinopoly, only about 200 men were sent subsequently from Fort St. David (Dupleix and Clive, p. 46, footnote 5.)

Gollapallee Diamond Mines

BY

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[NOTE:—This was presented to the Indian Historical Records Commission in December last at its Patna Session and is published here by permission.]

SIR STREYNHAM MASTER'S ACCOUNT OF THE GOLLAPALLEE DIAMOND MINES.

THE extract given below is taken from the Diary of the President of Council at Fort St. George, Sir Streynsham Master, who succeeded Sir William Langhorn as President of the Factory, and was in turn succeeded by Sir William Gyfford. The period of his office extended from January 1678 to July 3, 1681. The Diary here extracted actually refers to the dates April 20, 1679 to April 22, 1679. Master went to Masulipatam and places in the vicinity. Having completed his business of inspection and examination of accounts, he started on the return journey, and made a diversion from Madapollam to Ellore with a view to visit the diamond mines, which apparently were known to him, as Mr. Nathaniel Cholmley, another of the Company's servants, made purchases of diamonds in the mines for the Company. As is clear from the Diary itself, the road from Ellore to Bezwada passes through the mines at the foot of the hill to Mustabad, and thence to Bezwada, the whole mining area being covered by the road. There are many points of interest in the account of the mines as given by Master. This mine came into existence in 1670 first of all, was soon abandoned, and the license for mining here was renewed in 1673, when the other famous mine at Kollur had been abandoned, apparently owing to exhaustion. The licensing of this mine began soon after Abul Hasan Qutb Shah had established himself on the throne of Golkonda in succession to Abdullah Qutb Shah. The description given of the mine, the processes of manufacture in the extraction of the diamonds, the public arrangements under which the operations of mining were permitted, and the mineral value of the industry as such—all of them come in for remark by Master. This detailed description challenges comparison with that given by Tavernier, who visited other mines in the vicinity, and not this one in particular, as this had not come into existence at the time Tavernier visited these mines.

Tavernier's visit to the mine of Kollur, not very far off, and to that at Ramallakotta, just before that, both took place in the reign of Abdulla Qutb Shah, the predecessor of the ruler who licensed actually the Gollapallee mines. The visit apparently took place in the fifties of the seventeenth century, actually before the year A. D. 1655, when he visited Mir Jumla at Gandikotta. What Tavernier has to say, therefore, of the working of the mines of Golkonda, both at Ramallakotta and at Kollur, both of them in the Kurnool District and its immediate neighbourhood, have reference consequently to the arrangements under Abdulla Qutb Shah. Of course, Tavernier's account is not always reliable in every detail. He claims to be the first European to describe these mines, whereas three or four others before him,¹ have left accounts of these mines. He says in his account of the visit to Ramallakotta mines thus, 'I am able to claim that I have cleared the way for others, that I am the first European who has opened the route to the Franks to these mines, which are the only places in the world where the diamond is found.' A few sentences before, he mentions that he had been at four mines, the four being according to his account Ramallakotta (Ravalakonda in the Kurnool District); Coulour (Kollur or Gani Kollur now in the Sattanapallee Taluq of the Guntur District) and Soumeilpur in the Lohardaga District of Bihar. The fourth mine is not specifically mentioned by him, and has been identified with an abandoned mine near Damarapad and Malavaram where old excavations were visible when Ball examined the sites. So we see Tavernier travelled in about the same locality; but the actual workings at Gollapallee, as a matter of fact, came into existence after his time.

The details of the working, etc., he gives of the Kollur mines, which he visited, he describes in chapter xvi of his work. He puts this down at seven days' journey east of Golkonda and says 'it was called Gani in the *language of the country*, and Colour in the Persian tongue.' From the description given of it, the place has been located correctly enough at Kollur, situated in the loop of the river Krishna where an outcrop of the Nallamalais spreads itself and provides a suitable ground for this industry. It is almost in the middle of a line

drawn from Bellamkonda to Jaggayyapetta, and is in the Sattanapallee Taluq of the Guntur District. This was apparently called Gani Kollur, sometimes merely Gani, to distinguish the place from another Kollur lower down on the river Krishna, also called Kollur *in the language of the country*, that is by the people, the language being of course, Telugu. The word therefore means a mine, as it is even in Kanarese, as one might say in the vernacular languages of the country, as the Kolar Gold Fields now are generally referred to by the name Gani. It is not a Persian word, as Tavernier, and even Sir William Crooke, the latest commentator on the work, take it. The word is neither Persian, nor is the construction of the word given correctly. It is in fact *Sans*. Khanin adopted into the Dravidian languages. In describing this mine, he speaks of a diamond of 900 carats; it is 900 *ratīs* elsewhere, equivalent to 787½ carats. He further refers to the mine as of importance because of the unusually large number of larger diamonds that have been found there. He then goes on to describe the way in which the Indians examined the stones, and mentions that there were as many as 60,000 workmen engaged, including men, women and children, and notes that the working here was different from that which he noticed at Ramallakotta. The process of lixiviation, for washing the stones of the earth sticking to it, is given here differently. A space is enclosed by a short wall running round it with holes at the bottom for running off the water. All the diggings are carried into this place and water is thrown the earth to soften first of all. After a day or two of this treatment, it is reduced to the consistency of a pulp; and then they pour more water and open the holes to drain off the water. Then again they pour more water to wash away the rest of the earth. They let it dry in the sun and after winnowing the dust, they pass on to the second process. They spread the gravel-like pebbles on even ground, and make it level. By means of wooden dampers they pound it and after winnowing again, they sit down to pick the diamonds from among the gravelly pebbles. This differs, of course, from the process that Mastér describes in some particulars, and so far as these processes are concerned, they are bound to differ from locality to locality, according to the character of the soil from which diamonds are actually dug out.

In regard to the arrangements for mining itself, here is what Tavernier has to say, and it will be found that this differs to some

¹ Cesare Federici, Methold, Linschoten and Fryer, not to mention the anonymous Portuguese gentleman who visited Vajra Karur in 1610,

extent materially from Master's description. The following is Tavernier's. 'I come to the government of the mines. Business is conducted with freedom and fidelity. Two per cent on all purchases is paid to the king, who receives also a royalty from the merchants for permission to mine. These merchants having prospected with the aid of the miners, who know the spots where the diamonds are to be found, take an area of 200 paces in circumference, where they employ fifty miners and sometimes a hundred if they wish the work to proceed rapidly. From the day they commenced mining till they finished, the merchants pay a duty of two pagodas per diem for fifty men, and four pagodas when they employ a hundred men.' 'These poor people get only *three pagodas per annum*, although they must be men who thoroughly understand their work. As their wages are so small, they do not show any scruple when searching the sand in concealing a stone for themselves when they go and dig naked, save for a small cloth, which covers their private parts, they adroitly contrive to swallow it.' This differs in two particulars from Master's narrative. The licensing fee that has to be paid is *two pagodas per diem* according to Tavernier, but according to Master, it is *three pagodas per mensem* up to forty men, and four or five pagodas if more men are employed. In regard to the other point, their *annual earnings* are only *three pagodas per annum* according to Tavernier; Master notes that they receive *a pagoda and a quarter per mensem* in money and corn. What is more, he notes the appearance and condition of the worker as good by direct observation. Perhaps this second discrepancy may be explained away by taking it that the labourers received three pagodas per annum in cash, and grain for the rest of it, Tavernier noting down only the cash perhaps forgetting the grain. This is a little too much of a modification of the author's statement, and there are no grounds which would justify our assuming it. This objection to the assumption is strengthened by the statement that we find made in the Earl Marshal of England's paper presented to the Royal Society, London, published in 1677, just one year after the first edition of Tavernier's work itself. It would perhaps go to show that Tavernier's statement is correct for the period that he recorded, and for the particular mine to which it has reference. But unfortunately, we have no knowledge of the sources of information for the Earl Marshal's paper. It is generally taken that it is information supplied by Nathaniel Cholmley, who was

employed for buying diamonds for the Company at Fort St. George. Cholmley was a contemporary of Master, and was engaged in this work at the time, to which Master's notes refer, and he left Madras at the same time as Master himself. If Cholmley were actually the source from which the Earl Marshal drew his information, it is much more difficult to understand the inconsistency of statement which really becomes an inconsistency between Cholmley the diamond buyer and Master, almost his employer, who visited the mines at Gollapallee. The differences could not be altogether due to the differences of locality. One explanation seems possible and that is, Tavernier's statement refers to a period when Abdullah Qutb Shah was the ruler, and the organization of the mines and their work were those of Mir Jumla; whereas Master's notes have reference to a mine that actually was licensed to be worked by Abul Hasan Qutb Shah his successor, and the organization might be those of his ministers, Mauanna and Akkanna. In such a case, the difference may be explainable as being due to a really more liberal arrangement under the new ruler who perhaps improved upon the rack-renting arrangements under the previous regime, and it may well be so, as the Gollapallee mines started work after the Kollur mines had ceased to yield.

The route by which Tavernier reached the Kollur mines presents problems, which are not perhaps quite capable of a final settlement as yet. We shall not take that up here, as in all the discussions in connection with these and even in the notes by Sir William Crooke, valuable as they are in very many particulars, no reference is made to the entry in the Diary of Master,¹ and hence it seems worth while drawing attention to this note of Master.

EXTRACT FROM STREYNESHAM MASTER'S DIARY

Having finished what was thought necessary to be done in this visitation of these factories, in the morning about 8 Miles: 9 o'clock, we set forward upon our journey to return to Vera- Madraspatnam intending to go the upward inland sheroone. way and to make an elbow to take a sight of the Diamond

¹ *Diary and Consultations for 1679-80*, pp. 100-1.

Sir Richard Temple: *Diary of Sir Streynsham Master* II, pp. 170-77. The extract from the Diary appended is slightly modernized and punctuated for the convenience of the ordinary reader of the *Journal of Indian History*. (Editor.)

Mines. We went this forenoon to Verasheroone¹ which is about 9 or 10 miles from Madapollam, those two places and Pollicull making a triangle. We viewed the Company's two houses at Verasheroon which stand one over against the other in one street, both of them part fallen to the ground, and that which stands of them it was not safe to adventure in to see them. The compounds of the houses are small but well situated, being raised high from the streets, above a mile from the town. There is a very large mango garden of the Company's by which the tent was pitched for us; but the Country Governors claiming the right to the fruit of the trees by reason we have neglected it, the Agent gave order to Mr. Hatton to send 4 or 5 peons from Madapollam every year about mangoe season, which is at this time of the year, to watch the trees and gather the fruit to send to Madapollam, thereby to preserve the Company's right and title to the garden. There are also two other small gardens nearer the town belonging to the Company; but all lie waste, and only the great trees standing to shade the cattle and travellers from the sun. These with many others that are (about) this town would very well accommodate weavers to work under, if the place were rented of the King by the Company² and kept under their government which was now adjudged to be for the Company's interest, keeping only a warehouse at Verasheroone, and the factory to continue at Madapollam. But the town of Verasheroone is now ruined and empty of people through the tyranny of the Government.

In the morning by break of day we parted with Mr. Hatton, etc. the factors that came to accompany us thus far on our way, and about noon we reached Pentepoll³ reckoned 2½ gentu leagues.

We set forward early in the night, and by 9 or 10 in the morning came to Ellore 3 gentu leagues. This Ellore is reckoned one of the greatest towns in this country. The King in his last progress coming to see it, where are made the best carpets after the

¹ This is Trāvāsaram in Bhīmāvaram Taluq, Godavari District. Important Eng: Factory from 1635; only one person 1661; in decay 1668, and laid down 1674. Finally abandoned in 1702. (Temple Diaries of Sir Streynsham Master II, pp. 170-7.)

² Marshall gives a similar account in his notes and observations of East Indies: (Diaries of Sir Str. Master, Ed. by Sir Richard Temple II, 170, n. 3.)

³ Pentapād in the Tanuku Taluq, Godavari District.

manner of those in Persia, by a race of Persians who they told us came over above 100 years ago, the manner of making them we saw, and is in brief thus, the loom is stretched right up and down made of cotton threads and the carpet wrought upon them with the woollen yarn of several colours by young boys of 8 to 12 years old. A man with the pattern of the work drawn upon paper stands at the back side of the carpet, and directs the boys that work it, how much of each colour of yarn should be wrought in. Every thread being wrought they shear or cut it with a pair of scissors and then proceed to the next.¹ At this place a horse of the Company's which we took with us from Madapollam falling lame, we left him here with one of our English men and a peon to return to Madapollam.

At Ellore we lodged in a house of Aga Jalal's whose brother-in-law prepared us victuals, and gave us hens and sheep, to whom for his kindness and, in respect to Aga Jalal who married his sister, we presented three yards of scarlet at parting.

About two o'clock in the morning we set out of Ellore, and about 7 arrived at Gollapalle² upon the Diamond Mines and lodged in the house where Mr. Cholmley made his investment of diamonds the last year. In the afternoon about 4 o'clock we went to the mines about a mile and half out of town upon a hill to see them dig and look for the diamonds, which is done after this manner; the ground is loose, of a red fat sand and gravel, great and small, black, red and white stones. One or two of the miners loosen the earth with an iron grow,⁴ and others with iron pawraes^{4(a)} or spades heave it up to a heap from whence others with baskets wind the small dust from it with the wind. Thence it is carried to a trough made up of stones and earth, and filled with water which is brought thither above a mile upon men's heads, where all the gross earth is washed away from the gravel; for the earth melts like sugar, and runs out of

¹ Ellore still maintains this reputation for its carpets.

² Gollapalle in the Nuzvid Zamindari 25 miles N.-E. of Bezwada. See Madras Presidency Sheet Atlas, Sheet 3.

³ The pits are in gravelly laterite resting on sandstones according to Biligrami and Wilmott's *Nizam's Dominions*, I, p. 234.

⁴ Error for crow used for crowbar in the 17th century.

^{4(a)} This seems another vernacular expression for a digging apparatus more or less like a crowbar, a big, long pick or pike.

a hole with the water, so the gravel is all that remains. That they carry thence and spread upon a smooth flat place prepared for the purpose. There the same *meu* (that dig, dust and wash the earth), sit all the heat of the day in a rank one by another with their faces towards the sun, looking for the diamonds. And the man that employs them sits over against them, to see that what they find they deliver to him. In this manner they find the diamonds in the same fashion and shape as they are sold rough. By what we observed the cost and labour of finding them countervails the value and worth of the diamonds. Those that employ the miners do not buy the ground as some have reported; but they and any one that has a desire to employ his money that way first acquaints the governor of the mines with it. Then he grants him license to spring a mine where the employer thinks best, paying 3 pagodas per mensem if he employ no more than 10, 20, 30 or 40 men in it. If more, then 4 and of some 5 pagodas per mensem.¹ The miners or those labourers that work in the mines are paid 1½ pagodas per mensem in money and corn,² and this is all the charge the adventurer in the mines is at, except it be that they overbid one another sometimes for a good piece of ground which one hath lighted upon, and another hearing of it bids the governor money for it and he that gives most has it. But besides the rent of 3 to 5 pagodas per mensem to the governor for the king there is a custom or excise set upon all corn at about 50 per cent above the market; upon salt, betel and tobacco at above double and treble the market rate. All the miners and those that deal there (except a privileged Englishman or such like) are compelled to live upon the mines in those towns where that excise is raised. The town of Gollapallee though within a mile and a half of the mines is without those limits, and therefore none of the miners or dealers in diamonds are allowed to live there, but at Mellwillee³ about 4 or 5 miles from Gollapallee, where the

¹ In the mines at Ramallakotta, according to Tavernier, 'the merchants pay a duty of 2 pagodas per diem for 50 men, and 4 pagodas when they employ 100 men.' (Tavernier, Crooke's Edn. II, 46. According to Thevenot, 'the king exacted a pagoda every hour they work there whether they find any diamonds or no.' Quoted in Bitigrami and Willmott's *the Nizam's Dominions II*, 505.

² 'These poor people only earn 3 pagodas per annum, although they must be men who thoroughly understand their work' Crooke's Tavernier II, 46.

³ This name appears as Mullally in sheet 94 of Indian Atlas. The following extract from the Earl Marshal's paper of 1677 in the *Philosophical Transactions*

governor of the mines lives. The whole rent of these mines is reckoned to the King worth 60,000 pagodas per annum, and as much more to the governor to bribe the courtiers to hold the place. There was none of the mines that we saw this day which were dug above three feet deep from the surface of the earth, and most of them about two feet. The ground first overgrown with shrubs and bushes which the miners dig up with the earth. These mines lie upon a flat hill upon the top and on the side of it, where are found small and great diamonds of good and bad waters but very little bort,¹ and they say that the adventurers in these mines seldom lose in their undertakings.

This morning came several of the most eminent merchants from the mines to visit us at Gollapallee, and to try how we were inclined to buy. At first they asked moderate rates, which when we bought they raised and afterwards would not shew more but what they asked dear for, so we could not lay out 1,000 pagodas amongst us all for fear of injuring the market. At 3 in the afternoon we set out of Gollapallee, passed over the mines to Mellwillee and Raizpent² which is about 6 miles, almost all that ground being spread with miners. And the mines in the valleys were much deeper than those upon the hills, being some of them 10 and 12 feet deep, and some mines were sprung upon ground where corn had been sown and reaped a few months since. The governor of the mines at Mellwillee sent to compliment

gives the history of the mines. 'Melwillee or the new mine, so called because it was but lately found out (or at least permitted to be made use of) in the year 1670, it had then a year employed the miners, but it was forbidden and lay unoccupied till 1673, when complaints being made at Quoleur (Kollur), that the vein was worn out, the king again licensed its settlement. The earth they mine in, is very red and many of the stones found there have (some) of it sticking to them, as if it had clung there while they were of a soft glutinous substance and had not attained that hardness, maintaining its colour on its skin (to be roughened with it) that it cannot be fetched out by grinding on a rough stone with such seeming, which they make use of to clean them. The stones are generally well-shaped . . . most of them have a thick dull skin, incline to a yellowish water not altogether so strong and lively as the other mines, very few of them of a crystallized water and skin. (Temple; Master's Diary ii, 173-4.)

¹ Diamonds of a quality too coarse to be fit for jewellery.

² These places are neither of them found in the new Indian Atlas issued by the Survey of India. Temple gives reference to sheet 94 as stated above, but the Atlas with me does not show it; nor does the Route-Map of the Madras Presidency in sheets.

the Agent and excuse his not coming out to meet him as he said he intended to do, to which a civil answer was returned. The two towns at Melwillee and Raizpent upon the mines are very large and populous; but the buildings all thatched hovels. The people are well favoured, well clothed, and look as though they fed well to undergo their great and hot labour. The corn etc., being at excessive rates,¹ the place must needs be full of money to pay 30, or 40,000 labourers in the mines besides many others, the diamonds being also always bought with ready money. The country pleasant like England about London; by Raizpent is a large pleasant green valley full of flocks of woolly sheep; thence to Mustabad² where we lodged this night, we travelled through a mountainous country, by very pleasant valleys with tanks of water, and came to our journey's end about 8 at night, having travelled two Gentu leagues.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON MULLAVELLY

'A village near Ellore. It belongs to the Nizam who, in ceding the Circars, specially reserved the villages in which diamonds are found.

'Diamonds are found in its vicinity. Some account of the geology of the place is extant, from which the following extract may be offered: "Near the village the plain is strewn with blocks and fragments of a very hard conglomerate sandstone, some pieces of which are of a purplish colour. There are also some large blocks of garnetic gneiss, in a state of decomposition; but the red sandstone abounds most, although rolled pieces of quartz, with a covering of a ferruginous clay, or carbonate of iron, together with the conglomerate sandstone, are scattered over the plain. The hollow flat, where the diamond pits are excavated, is surrounded by a bank, or rising of the soil in a circular

¹. Ball notes: 'We are told in the Earl Marshal's paper that in Golkonda, the miners and merchants were much oppressed, and in a miserable state of poverty, from having to submit to tyrannical squeezing and heavy duties on provisions, tobacco and betel.' (Croker's Taverier II, 354.) If Mr. Nathaniel Chalmley is to be given responsibility for this statement, how is this to be reconciled with Mr. Master's?

². A station on the railway line between Bezwada and Ellore in the Nuzvid State.

manner. It has the appearance of having been once a lake. The banks are formed of the red ferruginous sandy soil; prevailing all round the place. Through this plain no river or rivulet flows, and the pools in its lower part, dry up about the month of March, when the excavation may commence, and not before."

'A few hills in the vicinity lie to the northward, not above two or three hundred feet above the plain, and are covered with underwood, interspersed with large trees. Some miles beyond these hillocks runs another range, loftier than the nearer ones, having however the same direction.

'The diamond pits are in general excavated at the north end of the bank that surrounds the hollow, to a depth of not more than twelve feet. The strata penetrated during the search for diamonds, are a grey, clayey, vegetable mould, about a foot or two thick; below this an alluvium, composed of the following pebbles (not including the diamonds) which have evidently undergone attrition, their angles having been worn off; sandstone, quartz, siliceous iron hornstone, carbonate of iron, felspar, conglomerate sandstone, and a prodigious quantity of kunkur, or concretionary limestone. Besides the numerous pieces of this concretionary rock, scattered on the surface of the soil, and also intermixed in large quantities in the diamond alluvium, it forms regular strata or veins in a horizontal position, both in the vegetable earth, and in the diamond alluvium, precisely like flints in chalk. Many of the pebbles of quartz, and hornstone, are not only varnished as it were, with a ferruginous *enduit*, but it penetrates into their substance.

'The kunkur contains not a trace of quartz, or any other mineral; and that in strata, in the vegetable soil, and in the diamond alluvium, is more friable than that exposed on the surface of the ground. It is in this alluvial detritus that the diamonds are found. The diamond is never found imbedded, or in any way attached to any of the pebbles, with which they are invariably associated in this locality. They are always found loose, mixed with other little stones, and never attached to kunkur. The pebbles most constantly associated with it, and forming infallible indications of the existence of diamond, are iron ore and hornstone.

'Notwithstanding the prodigious quantity of carbonate of lime in this locality, the water does not contain any traces of it; and the

inhabitants use even that collected in the pits. The detritus, forming the diamond stratum, must proceed from the hills north, the only ones near this place; being probably the continuation of the sandstone range, which extends easterly from Banganapilly, Condapilly, and Mullavelly, in all of which localities the matrix of the diamond lies in conglomerate sandstone.'

Note.—The above is an extract from *Pharaoh's Gazetteer of Southern India*, pages 56 and 57. This work was published in 1855 and the condition of the mining locality about that time is what is reflected in the quotation.

Reviews

'A HISTORY OF KERALA, WRITTEN IN THE FORM OF
NOTES ON VISSCHER'S LETTERS FROM MALABAR'

BY

K. PADMANABHA MENON,

AND EDITED BY

SAHITYAKUSALAN T. K. KRISHNA MENON

[Vol. II, 1929—Printed at the Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam.]

THE first volume of this book, published in 1924, had for its nominal subject, the first eight letters of Jacobus Canter Visscher, a Dutch chaplain who lived at Cochin in the years 1717-23, embodying his observations on the manners and customs of the people of Malabar, their kingdoms and modes of administration, laws, rites and ceremonies; and this volume takes us further through the Letters ix-xix. Visscher's *Letters* have been made use of by other writers on the History of Cochin. Mr. Padmanabha Menon, who wrote a *History of Cochin* in two volumes in Malayalam, made use, according to the Editor, of some portion of the valuable notes he prepared for Canter Visscher's *Letters*. Objection may well be taken to the title of the book which is really a series of topics dealing with various aspects of the ancient history and civilization of the people of the Malabar Coast. The *Letters* of Visscher which form the formal basis of the work, include topics of varying importance. Dutch sources of information for the history of Cochin in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are numerous and valuable and include worthy observers and writers like Baldaeus, Nieuhoff, Canter Visscher and Stavorinus among others. Visscher touched in the previous volume upon the situation and significance of the name of Malabar, traditions of its first colonisation, a description of Cochin, Calicut and other places, the customs of the Portuguese, the methods of Dutch colonial administration and the state of the English trade; in the present volume his *Letters* deal with the royal houses of Malabar, prevalence of trial by ordeal, Cochin reventes

and government, national assemblies collected in times of emergency, coins, customs of the people, accounts of the Syrian Christians, the Roman Catholic priests, the Jews of Cochin, the Moors of the coast and the ecclesiastical and temporal grandees of the country. In the elaborate annotations of the book, we find that the matter sometimes becomes necessarily disjointed and varying in length as well as in importance. The Editor has attempted in the preface a justification of this method of treatment into which we need not now enter. Certain it is that some of the longer notes are very valuable and informing, particularly those dealing with the Zamorin and the Syrian Christians, and with the prevalent ordeals and administration of criminal justice.

In the first chapter of Notes, the Attingal Kingdom and its connection with the origin of the Travancore Dynasty are clearly brought out; and we are told that Attingal is identical with *Kupadēsam* mentioned among the Chola conquests in the inscriptions of Raja Raja I and the *Kalingattu-pparani* as well as in a Travancore inscription of A.D. 1576. The statement is also made that the present Ruling House of Travancore represents the early Chera dynasty in all likelihood, though the caution is given that an uninterrupted line of succession cannot be traced. Quilon, known as Signati (Desinganād or Jayasimhanād), played a very prominent part in the early struggles of the Portuguese; but it subsequently declined in importance until it was annexed by the powerful Martanda Varma. The Cochin family claims direct descent in the female line from the last Cheraman Perumal; while the Hebrew version of the Perumal's grant of privileges to the Jews of Cochin is said to contain a statement that the Raja of Cochin was not called on to witness the deed, because he was the Perumal's heir. The Zamorins cut a conspicuous figure in the political arena of Malabar from very early times and trace their origin to a grant of the last Perumal to two Eradi brothers who were empowered to carve out as much land as they could with the aid of a sword with which they were invested. They continued to play a prominent part till late in the eighteenth century, when they were subdued by Hyder Ali. The Colastri Rajas receive a long note, particularly full about their dealings with the Europeans. The author supplies at the end of this chapter a list of the Nair militia which was in the service of the lords of Malabar, as preserved by Captain Alexander Hamilton who got it

from the papers of Heer Van Rhee, then Dutch Commissary-General for the East.

The chapter on the administration of justice describes the methods by which oaths were administered and the ordeals which were intensively prevalent till almost the beginning of the nineteenth century. These ordeals were not confined to the Hindus and were in use among the Moors also, according to the testimony of Barbosa. That Christians were also subjected to these is evident from the sixteenth decree of the Synod of Diamper (A.D. 1599) which warned them against submitting to such heathen tests. Ordeals were first resorted to mostly in criminal cases, but gradually came to be popular in the adjudication of civil disputes also. Slavery, its origin and its recruitment are all described in a compact and clearly arranged note. It was not till 1854-5 that slavery was formally abolished in Travancore and Cochin. The author points out the evident mistakes in Visscher's account of the prevailing land-tenures and supplements the note with a short account of the systems of land-tenure extant in Malabar. He attributes a military origin to the Kanam tenure and details the series of transactions which had to be fulfilled in order that full freehold could be transferred to the purchaser, who got consequently an ownership in the soil as complete as was ever enjoyed by an English freeholder. The art of conveyancing was very highly developed before the stamp and registration laws came into force and was embodied perfectly in the *Vyavaharamala* which has now become a sealed book to most people. A description of the various items of taxation and revenue is accompanied by an account of the national institution of hunting, in connection with which the local chief had the right to appropriate to himself specified portions of each wild game animal slain. *Changdām* or protection fee and *raksha-bhogam* which bears a close resemblance to tribute for general protection, were levied; and there seems to have been no regular land-tax as such which was unknown in Malabar till about A.D. 1736-7. Mr. Logan controverts this view; but he was challenged with arguments that he could not easily answer. Our author is inclined to hold the view that the land-tax was introduced only sometime about the date of the Mysorean conquest, and that the land-owners were only subject to occasional contributions in times of war and invasion.

The administrative system of the land, it is maintained, had a continuous development till the time of the Mysore conquest, based on the *Nad*, *Desam*, *Gramam* and *Tara*. The history of coinage has a chapter for itself. Coins, both European and Indian, appear to have been current from very early times. *Topasses* the various classes of Malabar Christians, the tradition of St. Thomas, the history of the Malabar Christian Church, the tradition about the Jews, their settlement and history, the Moors and Mappillas—all these are put forward and described with an admirable amount of concentrated information culled from many sources. Different opinions might be held by scholars on minor points connected with these topics; but in this book we find a regular condensing of the best part of the literature available on each topic. The Editor is to be congratulated on the publication of this volume in which the peculiar treatment followed has been qualified by a careful, sober and discriminating—withal plenteous—annotation of topics which should be useful alike to the lay reader and the scholar.

C. S. S.

‘AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICT OF PURNEA
IN 1809-10’

BY

FRANCIS BUCHANAN, AND EDITED FROM THE BUCHANAN
MSS. IN THE INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY

BY

V. H. JACKSON, M.A., I.E.S.

[Patna: published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1928.

Price Rs. 10. Pp. 620+xxlvii.]

THE Bihar and Orissa Research Society have been publishing the Journals of Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton (1762-1829) who was a versatile scientist and the first writer of gazetteers for the Bengal and Bihar Districts; his well-known *Journal Through Mysore, Canara and Malabar* compiled during a tour through those territories in 1800-1, still continues to be a valuable source-book for their economic and social conditions on the eve of the establishment of British rule in them. Extracts from his manuscript which is preserved in the India Office

were issued by Montgomery Martin in 1838 (Martin's name alone appearing on the title-page) in three volumes containing ill-arranged information about the agrarian conditions that prevailed in the regions. The scheme of publishing in their entirety all the manuscripts of Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton about Eastern India was conceived and pushed forward by the late Mr. V. H. Jackson of the Government College, Patna; and it has been realised by the publication in the *Journal* of the Society of the journal of daily record written for the survey or during his tour in the districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811-2 (edited by Mr. Jackson), in the district of Shahabad in 1812-3 (edited by Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham); and in the district of Bhagalpur in 1810-1 (edited by Mr. Oldham), while that of the Purnea district appears to have been lost.

The Purnea Report was prepared for publication by Mr. Jackson who arranged the matter on the model of the *Report of the Dinajpur District* (entitled *Account of Dinajpur*) published in Calcutta in 1833, and being the only one of his Reports which have been hitherto published. The book lacks the introduction which it was the intention of Mr. Jackson to provide, but which was prevented by his untimely death. The arrangement begins with an account of the extent and boundaries of the district, its soil, elevation and appearance; a preface containing historical notices of the district which contains the ancient regions of Gaur and Mithila and traces the later history of the district down to the middle of eighteenth century; it might perhaps have been better if this account had been annotated so as to improve upon and bring up-to-date our historical knowledge of the region. The ruins of Gaur, in which no monuments of the ancient Hindu kings were observable, but wherein, outside the works of Lakhnauti, the remnants of the supposed residence of King Adisura are pointed out, are described very fully, particularly concerning the monuments of Muslim rule. Succeeding chapters forming the second part give us plenty of information about the condition and manner of living of the people, the prevalence of slavery, the languages and dialects spoken, pandits and their scholarship for which the district has been justly famous, the different kinds of Brahmans and other classes, the caste system, etc.

The third part of the Report deals with the fauna, flora and minerals of the region; and the last two parts are devoted to a description of

agriculture, arts, manufacture and commerce, including the culture of indigo, which under the system of plantations managed by Europeans, even then occasioned much discontent both among landlords and tenants. Coins, weights and measures were mostly the same as those that were current in Dinajpur. Stress should be laid on the value of Dr. Buchanan's account of Hindu and Sanskrit scholarship and the condition of the knowledge of pandits and others. The plans of the district and of the city of Gaur are interesting and useful. The index is very detailed and has been compiled by Dr. A. Banerji Sastri.

C.S.S.

'A SHORT HISTORY OF BRITISH EXPANSION'

BY

JAMES A. WILLIAMSON

[(Second Ed.)—Vol. I : The Old Colonial Empire ; Vol. II : The Modern Empire and Commonwealth. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1930. Pages xxii + 470 and xvi + 315. Price 15s. net each.]

THE second edition of this history of the British people in its external aspects is, on its modern side, practically a new work. Parts V and VI which make up volume II now contain 'seventeen chapters in place of the former eight and about three-fourths of the text is new.' The book is a conscientious and accurate statement in a very handy and readable form of the best results of modern research into some of the most important aspects of British history. Though it covers a wide range of subjects, the narrative is always clear and well-proportioned. The topics selected for study and the sequence in which they are treated help the reader to follow the expansion step by step and see clearly the interaction of various forces on national character and policy at every stage. The analytical table of contents, the maps and indexes are well calculated to make reference easy and the bibliographical notes are models of concise and suggestive criticism of recent literature on the subjects treated in the book.

Mr. Williamson has been generally successful in commanding a strictly scientific outlook; even in instances where he differs from the conclusions of other writers, as for instance in Vignaud's account of Columbus, he provides a clear and fair summary of the arguments on

the other side and helps the reader to judge for himself. He deprecates 'the attempt to give a romantic colouring', to the achievements of the Elizabethan age as it renders the whole picture untrue. The Puritan emigration of the seventeenth century 'was an unnatural phenomenon in the national life, arising not from a healthy instinct for expansion, but from a schism in the Church and the State so deep and so embittered that the passions to which it gave rise never wholly subsided in the Puritan colonies.' It was on the whole well that the separation of America from England took place when it did; else the government of the composite Empire filled with cosmopolitan immigrants of Germans, Slavs, Latins and disaffected Irish, 'would have moved ere long from the banks of the Thames to those of the Hudson' and 'the people of the British Isles might now or in the future—if the suggestion is not too fantastic—be contemplating their own forlorn war of independence against the great non-British combination which had engulfed them!'

In recent times, in dealing with the problems of the Pacific 'there has been much double-dealing and shifty diplomacy.' 'In its international aspects, the Pacific situation bears some resemblance to that in the West Indies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although the threat of disturbance to peace has never been quite so acute.' The changes in the Imperial constitution of the British Empire during the Great War and after are very well stated in the concluding chapters of the book, 'The British nations had gone into the War as an Empire, . . . They emerged from it as something different, something that is not quite accurately described as an alliance of independent states; for there is no treaty of alliance, as in other such unions, but only an unwritten working understanding and there is a formal bond, of quite undefinable nature in the common sovereignty of the Crown. The divergence between the legal and constitutional positions was by 1919 wider than ever.' The Locarno Pact threatened the unity of the British Commonwealth still further. In 1925 and the resolution of the Imperial Conference in 1926 contained nothing new and like most British constitutional documents 'it placed 'on formal record a state of affairs already in existence' and left institutions to evolve under pressure of circumstances.

'In writing of modern India', Mr. Williamson admits, 'it is hardly possible to avoid error, for authoritative opinions are completely

at variance on almost every important question.' The chapter on modern India is very instructive as a record of the impressions of an earnest English scholar derived from a careful study of the literature to which he has ready access; and the bibliographical note (p. 308) shows its nature. England, says Mr. Williamson, did not conquer India, but conquered and tamed her conquerors and Indians know this in their hearts and this more than anything else explains India's response to the call of 1914. But one may doubt the validity of Mr. Williamson's psychology when he draws from this the comfortable conclusion that 'the rioting and sedition and incendiary talk, and even the murderous outrages of the preceding years, were but the tropical expression of that criticism of the existing order which is universal in intelligent communities.' On the other hand, few will question the need for his wise, if somewhat strident, warning: 'The results of Asiatic Swaraj approached by way of democratic theory are evident in China, where the overthrow of autocracy has created misery for the victims of the experiment and a chronic nuisance to the world. Reform must be realistic and combine the lessons of China with those of Japan.'

We may congratulate Mr. Williamson and his publishers on the thoroughness and excellence of his work which will, one hopes, be soon found in all the libraries of our colleges and schools.

K. A. N.

'THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS'

BY

A. R. KEITH

[Messrs. Macmillans, London.]

THE rapid development of the incidents of Dominion Status is of absorbing interest to the student of politics. Starting as mere dependencies of England, these Dominions have now reached a practically sovereign and independent status with an assured membership in the family of nations (in their own right). Prof. Keith traces the story of this progress in its legal and constitutional aspects with skill and judgment in the pages of his book 'The Sovereignty of the British Dominions.'

When the Balfour formula was accepted in the Imperial Conference of 1926, nothing remained but to work out the problem of how to effectuate the actual independence of the Dominions in the matter of legislation of an extra-territorial character in the appointment, status and functions of Governor-General and as also details regarding diplomatic technique. The Privy Council's jurisdiction over Dominion causes had already been effectually questioned and frustrated by the action of the Free State authorities, and it was a dead issue. Prof. Keith's effort to argue its unconstitutionality and its inconsistency with the obligations under the treaty has only given point to the fact that British Imperial history is not always the record of logical growth under strictly legal or constitutional forms. As regards Parliamentary sovereignty in legislation, the Dominion Laws Conference, whose report was published after the work under review came out, has quite clearly laid down the principle that such sovereignty does not exist, and that the machinery of Parliament is only to be availed of with the consent of the Dominions and for purposes of convenience. There is little doubt that the Dominions will now get the right of extra-territorial legislation in respect of their citizens, as even India has the right to-day. Thus, the Dominions have, in fact as in law, to-day risen to a status of equality with the Mother Country.

As regards their status in international law, the position is not clear equally. Some of them are of course members of the League of Nations. But New Zealand and Newfoundland are not yet members of the League. They continue to be represented by England. Even as regards the other Dominions, while it is clear that each of them is entitled to the full rights of membership and has occasionally taken up positions hostile to the views of England, the claim has been made that they are members of the League only *qua* members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Irish Free State has resisted this reading of the relations between the Dominions individually and the Empire as a whole, and has claimed that at any rate the Irish Free State is a perfectly independent international entity. Prof. Keith points out with great clarity the implications of this claim. The practical questions arising from this are these. Should one of the Dominions desire to sever her connection with England and the Empire, will she be entitled to ask the League to intervene and assist her to fight the attempt of the United Kingdom to resist the secession? The

League guarantees the territorial integrity of its members; and if the whole of the Empire is considered one unit, the League would be bound to prevent any attempt at dismemberment of the Empire. On the other hand, if the Dominions are international persons in the accepted sense of that term, the League would be bound to intervene to prevent wars in which attempts are made by one member to assert constitutional rights over another. In other words, does secession involve the snapping of a constitutional tie or an international one? The answer of the Irish Free State and of S. Africa to this question would be unambiguous. They look upon the Empire as a smaller edition of the League of Nations, co-equal and independent; leagued it may be by reason of facts of history but nevertheless admitting of no doubt as to the present equality of status of the Dominions; units of the Empire, each to the other. This equality is conceived increasingly in the spirit of international law. The transition is slow, but very clearly perceptible. Very similar would be the difficulty in the event of war. Is any Dominion entitled to go to war with any state on her own responsibility? Should the United Kingdom declare war against any state, are all the Dominions to be in a state of belligerency? Attempts have been made to assert that it is possible for a Dominion to be neutral while the rest of the Empire may be at war. The way of getting over this very delicate situation is not yet clear; but it appears that the solution will be in the direction of having Dominions' representatives in London, with whose previous consent alone international decisions, especially of war and peace would be taken. A clear-cut legal definition of status is yet impossible but there is no doubt as to how any particular question in regard to this has actually to be answered at the present moment.

Prof. Keith has very rightly not considered the case of India as she is no Dominion as yet. In fact India's battles are being won by the other Dominions. There is the promise of Dominion status for India, and every augmentation and advance of that status will ultimately ensure to the benefit of India as well. To publicists in this country, therefore, the invaluable study of Dominion Status which Prof. Keith has offered, is of the utmost practical interest.

We have only to add a word more. The Dominion Laws Conference and the present Imperial Conference have really taken matters far ahead. There are many chapters in Prof. Keith's work, in which

expressions of views will have to be very largely modified in consequence of the actual manner in which the various questions have been authoritatively settled. Prof. Keith has approached the questions from a strictly legal and constitutional point of view. But, are not these questions predominantly political, once an equality of status is asserted and conceded? If only Prof. Keith will discuss in greater detail the political actualities of the Empire to-day, incorporating the progress achieved during the last four years, the second edition of his work should prove immeasurably useful to students of British Imperial problems.

(NOTE.—Official Report of the proceedings of the Imperial Conference, 1930, is not yet available.)

N. D. V.

'THROUGH THE HEART OF AFGHANISTAN'

BY

EMIL TRINKLER

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

B. K. FRATHERSTONE

[London, Faber & Gwyer. 1930. Pp. 246 and illustrations. Price 15s. net.]

AMIR Amanullah and his fateful, though brief, rule have created world-wide interest in Afghanistan which, even till the reign of Habib-ullah, was forbidden ground to the unauthorized private European traveller. We in India have but known too well that the doors of the Khyber and other passes have refused to open to all save a few among the seekers of adventure who have attempted to pass that way. Lowell Thomas, the author of the well-known book, *With Lawrence in Arabia*, has written in his own inimitable manner of the Khyber Pass and of Afghanistan beyond it with the diplomatic groupings, British and Chinese, Turkish and Russian, Persian and Bokharan, that waited in the ante-chambers of Amanullah's palace; and Sir George Macmunn has given us quite recently a more serious account of the wild Afghan country and its chequered history from the age of Darius Hystaspes to the epoch of Amanullah. Now we have an account of his experiences in the country by Emil Trinkler, who

travelled into it *via* Russian Turkestan and prospected in the Hindu Kush region for coal and iron at the request of the modernizing Amir Trinkler is a geologist of reputation, but he has carefully omitted from embodying in this book all the scientific results of his travel and put in only such extracts from his diary showing the adventures of his journey and his capacity for observing details and his humorous methods of description. He had been fascinated even as a student, by the countries of Central Asia; and his journey as the agent of a German-Afghan trading company was made through Tashkent, Samarkand, Merv, Kushk and Herat and thence across the mountains to Kabul, Charikar and Bamian among the Hindu Kush ranges and finally through Peshawar and India, back again to Europe. His distressing experiences at the frontier stations of Soviet Turkestan do not speak well for the frontier officials either of the Soviet or of the Russian Government. His account of Herat is that of a decayed city fallen from its ancient magnificence and refers to the references made to it by Babar in his *Memoirs* and Central Asian historians. We have also frequent references made to Arthur Conolly's travels from Kabul to Khiva in 1831, to the Bamian valley so full of Buddhist relics described in all their freshness by Hiuen Tsiang, the famous Chinese pilgrim and to the accounts of these antiquities by Moorcroft, Jaworski and Foucher. In one place the author comments strongly on the difference in condition between Peshawar and Kushk, between the Punjab and Russian Turkestan, between English and Russian rule, very much to the disadvantage of the latter. Lastly he describes the rising of the Mangals against the Amir, which was the beginning of the troubles that led to the revolution. The writer's visit to Delhi, Jaipur and other beauty-spots in Northern India ending with his embarkation for Europe from Calcutta are good; but one is afraid that if his mistakes are as bad as those that he makes about his touching at Madras, where he strolled 'along the Strand Promenade, the Morena to the town' and 'took lunch at the Garden Hotel,' there may be a great deal of charge of inaccuracy levelled against his narrative, however excellent and readable it may be. The book is supplemented with a brief glossary of the non-European terms used and with a sketch-map of the Afghan country, indicating the route of the author.

C. S. S.

'THE INVASIONS OF EUROPE BY THE BARBARIANS'

BY

J. B. BURY

[Macmillan & Co. 1928. Pp. xii and 296.]

PROFESSOR BURY succeeded Acton in the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge and interpreted the term 'Modern History' very liberally, as beginning not with the Renaissance, but practically from the disruption of the Roman Empire. He was of the opinion that history should supply the material for political and social science, but would not admit Acton's claim that it should sit in judgment on men and movements. Though it might supply material for literary art or philosophical speculation, it was by itself 'simply to be a science, no less and no more.' His researches into the history of the Later Roman Empire were supplemented recently by his revised and amplified *History of the Roman Empire, 395-565 A.D.* (1923). This book is in the form of a series of lectures delivered from time to time before the University of Cambridge and covers roughly the two centuries of transition from Roman to Mediæval Europe (A.D. 375 to 575). As Professor Hearnshaw, the editor of this posthumous work, says in the Preface that he has contributed, these lectures contained 'little or nothing which was not being incorporated in greater detail and with an elaborate apparatus of notes and references in the larger works which were being produced simultaneously with them.' As summaries of his considered conclusions on a number of points connected with this period, the lectures are very useful. Thus the part played by the readjustment of the military organization of the Empire in the struggle that it waged with the German invaders, the gradually increasing Germanic penetration into the Empire, the danger of which was not realized at first, the importance of the battle of Nedao in A.D. 454 in which the Germans utterly defeated the host of their Hun lords; the double phase of Odovacar, the fall of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy which is indicative of the comparative failure of East German peoples; the relation of Clovis to the Roman Empire and Emperor; and the legislative administration of the Lombards—these are only the more important of the topics discussed on which much new and refreshing light has been thrown.

The work of Professor Hearnshaw has been (1) to supply an appropriate title for each of these fifteen lectures, and (2) to divide each lecture into sections and sub-headings so as to give a clearer idea of the contents and facilitate references on particular points.

Professor Bury is particularly vivid in the matter of the reign of Theoderic in its constitutional and administrative aspects and he deals at length with the extent of Germanic influences in it. He is fuller than other historians regarding the relation of the Empire to the rule of Clovis and the contributions of the Lombard law-givers, Rothari and Liutprand. The Professor has by this book, completed his own survey of the Roman Empire and connected two separated links of his treatment there.

S.

‘THE HISTORY OF JAHANGIR BY FRANCIS
GLADWIN’

EDITED WITH NOTES BY

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AYYANGAR, M.A.

[Messrs. B. G. Paul & Co., Madras. 1930. Pp. xxiii and 184. Price Rs. 5.]

FRANCIS Gladwin, who was in the Bengal Army and was encouraged by Warren Hastings in his studies in Oriental Literature, became later the first Professor of Persian in the College of Fort William and translated a portion of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, *The Gulistan* and other works. He also compiled a *Persian-Hindustani-English Dictionary*. He planned a *History of Hindustan* during the reigns of Akbar's successors, but only brought out *The History of Jahangir* which was published as the first volume of the *History* in 1788 at Calcutta. This *History* abstracted copiously from the work of Khwaja Kamgar Gairat Khan. He was a nobleman of the Mughal Court under Jahangir and Shah Jahan and took a prominent part in the suppression of the rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi. It was usually styled *Jahangir-Nama* by Indian writers, but is said to have been given the name of *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* by Gladwin. About one-sixth of it is devoted to the proceedings of Jahangir previous to his accession to the throne. This particular portion is said to be ‘very independent and free-spoken in its tone’ by Sir H. M. Elliot and affords a favourable contrast to the *Iqbal Nama* (of Mutamad Khan) which was written for the

purpose of courting the Emperor's favour.’ However it has been remarked that the manner in which the *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* describes the murder of Abul Fazl scarcely bears out this encomium of superiority to flattery ascribed to it. The work has not yet been printed; two extracts from it, dealing respectively with the murder of Abul Fazl and Shah Jahan's move after the coup of Mahabat Khan, are given in translation in the sixth volume of Elliot and Dowson (pp. 442-5). The chief point of value of the work is, according to Dr. Beni Prasad, in the first portion dealing with Jahangir's actions before his accession, where it supplies information contained neither in Jahangir's *Memoirs* nor in the *Iqbal Nama*; and in the later portions of the Emperor's life, it mainly follows these two works.

The *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* is, according to all authorities, the main basis and quarry for Gladwin; it is regarded as a partisan work in favour of Shah Jahan in whose reign the author was promoted to the governorship of Thattah with a *mansab* of 3,000.

Perhaps it would be too much to maintain, as the Editor does, that Gladwin's history ‘merits republication as a sober scholarly work based on a careful study of the original sources in Persian.’ Vincent Smith himself who is invoked in support of its value, would regard it as ‘a sound book, chiefly valuable for the life of the Emperor as Prince Salim in Akbar's reign.’ Gladwin's book did useful service, as the Editor points out, in counterbalancing the influence of the spurious version of Jahangir's *Memoirs*, translated by Major David Price, in the Oriental Translation Fund Series and he made good use of the copy of the *Memoirs* which he had secured. His style is good and the annalistic form in which the narrative is made does not create any feeling of dullness in spite of the old-fashioned spelling of proper names which is retained. The notes supplied by the Editor elaborate the extant sources from which the author had largely taken his matter as well as various other points which are indicated in the literature on the period since published. It may be wished that the indicative footnotes were somewhat fuller in places and that more care had been taken in avoiding small mistakes in spelling, as in Blochman in p. 150 and Avicenna in p. 67. The re-publication is however welcome. Its usefulness is enhanced by the introductory note on Gladwin.

S.

'FOREIGN BIOGRAPHIES OF SHIVAJI'

BY

DR. SURENDRA NATH SEN

[Book Co., Ltd., Calcutta]

THIS is a work consisting of extracts from a number of writers generally foreign, bearing on the life of Shivaji. Mr. Sen has already published a translation of the *Sabhased Bakhair* on Shivaji in a translation and this constitutes a supplement to that work. Another source of material for the history of this period is being exploited in another publication, the *Source Book of Mahratha History* published under the auspices of the Government of Bombay. Some extracts from English writers that one would expect should be included in this are omitted for the reason that they would constitute a portion of this Bombay series. What is included in this work is an extract from Cosme da Guarda's account of Shivaji, an account of Shivaji by Barthelemy, and the sequel to this account by the same author, an account of the Karnatak expedition of Shivaji by Francois Martin, Description of Surate by Francois Valentine, some extracts from Dutch records and English embassies to the court of Shivaji. This is supplemented by a few additional notes.

The work naturally consists of these extracts translated, providing the material for a life of Shivaji. So far as that part of the work is concerned, we should say it is very well done and is a creditable performance of considerable value to the student of the Mahratta history of the period. Prefixed to this is an introduction of over fifty pages, which attempts an estimate of the relative value of these sources for purposes of history. The summary given by Dr. Sen is a good one and deserves careful perusal by the serious student of history. In a matter like this one set of sources alone cannot give the final word, and for a tenable judgment the various sources will have to be considered together in their cumulative result. While therefore one may differ in detail from Dr. Sen in regard to his conclusions in this particular, this very introduction furnishes the evidence of earnest-minded investigation of the various questions on which these various sources shed light. We congratulate the author upon this excellent work of his and welcome the work among those contributing to a satisfactory study of Mahratta history.

'ISLAM: BELIEFS AND INSTITUTIONS'

BY

HENRI LAMMENS, S.J.

[Translated from the French by Sir Denison Ross.
Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.]

THE author of this work is Professor of Arabic in the University of Jerusalem and goes to the work of describing the beliefs and institutions of the votaries of Islam from a detached point of view. The fact that it is translated by such a high authority as the Director of the School of Oriental Studies, London, is guarantee that the work is quite a reliable one in expounding Muslim history and theology. The work is based on first-hand sources of information like the *Koran* and the varying ramifications of Islamic tradition. In a brief compass, the work provides a thoroughly reliable and comprehensive survey of Islam through the thirteen centuries of its existence, and ought to be welcome to those that wish to know something of Islam at first hand, but could not go to the sources, be they Muslims or non-Muslims. It is a compact little book, very precise and clear in its statement and covers practically every detail of Islamic religion and institutions. We welcome the work as a very important addition to the literature of a difficult subject.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Indian Antiquary

August, 1930 -

J. CHARPENTIER: 'Pindāri.'

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN: 'A further note on the Svetambara and Digambara sects.'

MUDALIYAR, C. RASANAYAGAM: 'The origin of the Pallavas.'

Mr. Mudaliyar puts forward a vigorous defence in support of his theory of the Chola-Naga origin of the Pallavas. The late Mr. Kanakasabhai has mentioned five Tirayars of whom Pallava Tirayar were one. The earliest Pallava Tondaman Ilam Tirayan was a Pallava Tirayan who reigned at Kanchi just as the later Pallavas.

K. DE. B. CODRINGTON: 'The Culture of Mediæval India as illustrated by the Ajanta frescoes.'

This is an attempt to picture Indian culture as illustrated in the Ajanta frescoes, under the following heads: (a) costume and embroidery, (b) textiles, (c) ships and boats, (d) house furniture, (e) arms, (f) pottery, (g) metal work.

R. R. HALDER: 'Chitor and its seiges.'

September, 1930—

K. DE. B. CODRINGTON: 'The Culture of Mediæval India as illustrated by the Ajanta frescoes' (*continued*).

SATINDRA KUMAR MUKHERJEA, M.A.: 'Samkara on the conditions of Knowledge.'

L. V. RAMASWAMY AIYAR, M.A., B.L.: 'Tamil Arisi and Greek Orizon.'

Supports Bishop Caldwell's view that Greek *Oriza* was borrowed from Dravidian *Arisi*. The author opines that though Caldwell expressed only an opinion, yet it appears to be justified on closer analysis despite the objections raised by scholars.

REV. H. HERAS, S. J.: 'The Portuguese Fort of Barcelor.'

The Portuguese fort of the above name is here located in the modern town of Kundapur; *Upper Barcelor* of the Portuguese records is identified with *Basrur*.

SIR R. C. TEMPLE: 'Scraps of Tibeto-Burman Folk-lore.'

October, 1930—

DR. S. N. PRADHAN (BRIHASPATI): 'The site of the Rig Vedic battle between Divodasa and Sambara.'

The following conclusions are arrived at:—

- (1) The country named *Timingilāšana* situated in the south according to *Varāhamihira* agrees remarkably with the title of *Timidhwaja*—used in the *Rāmāyana* for *Sambara*—and also with the description of *Sambara's* country as situated near *Dandaka* forest in the *Rāmāyana*.
- (2) The battle according to *Bharadvāja* took place at *Udabraja* which is the most interesting and appropriate Rig Vedic name for *Kathiawar*.
- (3) Several Rig Vedic expressions agree remarkably with the ancient names *Purātanapura*, etc., for *Junagadh*.
- (4) *Urjayanta* of the Rig Veda. *Ujjayanta* of the 'Maha Bharatha' and *Prabandha Chintamani Vijayanta* of the *Rāmāyana*. *Urjayant* of the Inscriptions of *Skandagupta* and *Rudradāman*, *Girinagara* of the *Prabandhacintāmani* and *Rudradāman* Inscription, establishes it that the great Rig Vedic battle was fought near the ancient castle *Uparkot* of *Junagadh* and was fought about 1500 B.C. in the middle Rig Vedic period.

S. CHARLES HILL: 'Origin of the caste system in India, (*continued*).

L. V. RAMASWAMY AIYAR, M.A., B.L.: 'The Velar aspirate in Dravidian.'

SASHI BHUSHAN CHAUDHARI, M.A.: 'The Nine Dwipas of Bharatha Varsha.'

Bharatha Varsha bore a wider sense within which the islands of the Far East were included. The ninth Dwipa is identical with India proper and hence the other eight have to be identified.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

July, 1930—

V. N. SARDESAI: 'Some problems in the Nasalisation of Ma-rāthi.'

GIUSEPPE TUCCI: 'A Fragment from the Pratitya Samutpāda of Vasubandhu.'

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

DR. R. SHAMA SASTRY, B.A., PH.D.: 'The author of the Gadāyuddha.'

Adduces a long list of reasons—16 in number—and supports the conclusions of Srinivasa Rangāchari that Ajitanāthapurāna and Gadāyuddha were the works of a Jain and a Brahmin respectively.

K. RAMAVARMA RAJA, B.A.: 'Story of Vrishākapi and his transformation.'

P. S. GOVINDA RAO: 'Facts about the Elephant.'

D. VENKATA RAMIAH, B.A., L.T.: 'Swetāsvatāropanishad' (English metrical translation with notes).

C. M. RAMACHANDRA CHETTIAR: 'Kongu Cholās A.D. 1000-1300.'

Mr. Chettiar points out that—

- (1) The inscription in the Kongu country reveals a new line of the Chōlas—though feudatory to, but different from the Vijayālaya line.
- (2) That this dynasty was the only one that continued without break till about 1300.

L. A. KRISHNA IYER, M.A.: 'The Sabarimalai Pagoda.'

The pagoda is situated some fifty miles west of Kottayam in Travancore and attracts lakhs of devotees every year. The God worshipped is Harihara or Śasta—and the chief festival comes on the 1st of Thai or otherwise called Makara Vilakku. The author here gives an account of what a pilgrim going to that place should do? how he should conduct himself, the way to the pagoda, the march and return.

S. SOMASUNDARA DESIKAR: 'Ellappa Navalār.'

S. SRIKANTA SASTRY: 'Mulakas.'

PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA: 'Studies in the Bird Myths—No. XXXI.'

Journal of Oriental Research

VOL. IV, PART III

July to September—

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRY, M.A.: 'An Examination of a new interpretation.'

Dr. Prān Nāth's new interpretation of the word *grama* into *estate*, is here called into question. On an examination of the authorities cited by the doctor himself, the learned Professor points out that they do not support the new interpretation.

O. K. ANANTALAKSHMI AMMAL, M.A.: 'Studies in the Upanishads' (*continued*).

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A.: 'Lakshana Ratnāvali.'

An unknown work of Srimad Appayya Dikshitar.

PROF. P. T. S. AIYANGAR, M.A., L.T.: 'Saka-Pallavas in Indian History.' (*continued*).

N. VAIDYNATHA SASTRI SIROMANI: 'Life of Chokkanatha Makkin of Kausika Gotra from literary sources.'

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A.: 'Asoka's Religion—The evidence of Archaeology.'

Mr. Dikshitar here questions the orthodox idea that Asoka was a Buddhist. Archaeological remains and other evidences have, according to the learned lecturer, in no way, conclusively proved that the great Mauryan Emperor was a Buddhist. In his own words the monuments of Asoka cannot carry conviction hence to decide the religious leaning of the Emperor to Buddhism.

Journal of the American Oriental Society

VOL. L

March, 1930—

BARRET, LE ROY CARR: 'The Kashmirian Atharvaveda.'

Book 15 edited with critical notes.

The Calcutta Review

August, 1930—

R. GANGULY, M.A.: 'The Agricultural land in Ancient India.'

PARIML RAY, M.A.: 'The History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company.'

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJEA, M.A., B.L.: 'Brahmanism, Monasticism and Buddhism.'

JAYANTA KUMAR DAS GUPTA, M.A.: 'Nepal's Relations with the outer World.'

NARAYAN CHANDRA BANERJEA, M.A.: 'Slavery in Ancient India.'

Accounts for the existence of slavery, and traces its history in India down to very modern times.

Modern Review

August, 1930—

RAJANI KANTA DAS: 'Political Reorganization and Industrial Efficiency.'

Pointing out the inter-relation between politics and economics in general; the author considers the question of Indian industrial reorganization and her political condition under three heads:

- (1) National Government.
- (2) Constructive Research.
- (3) Functional Education.

N. K. BHATTASALI: 'Influence of physical features on Indian History.'

Holds that some time-honoured conclusions regarding the success of the foreigners (Moslems, etc.), require revision and reconsideration. Special attention is drawn towards statements made in the Bengal Matriculation Texts. The author holds that the facts of Indian history show that the real weakness of India lay not in her hot climate, absence of a navy or courage, etc., but in the absence of a fighting race of men, constituting the whole nation, i.e., to say, the caste system gave a hereditary body of professional fighters which, though it gave excellent material, was not sufficient in numerical strength. When that class was extinguished or defeated, the other classes lay at the mercy of the enemy.

The Round Table

Summary of Articles in the September Number

THE subject of the first article in the September number of *The Round Table* is, of course, 'The Crisis in India'. Its nature and history are explained, and the difference shown between the British and the Indian standpoints—those of the best British and the best Indian minds. The writer considers the gulf to be narrower than it is usually supposed to be, though he is sure that there is only one way in which a bridge can be found.

The next article is 'The Task of the Imperial Conference', a task left over from the 1926 gathering, and now brought back to the Imperial Conference again from the Committee to which it was referred, the Dominions' Legislation Committee, with definite recommendations. What degree of significance should be attached to these is explained. The writer reminds us that the problem now is not to look back, trying to save something here and there from what is left of Great Britain's old supremacy, but to construct something better in its place.

The next article takes us across the Atlantic to 'Hoover and his first Congress', and it is plain that not only the President, but the Senate have come with credit out of the Naval Pact business. It is obvious, too, from the account of other events in the American political world, that Mr. Hoover's stock is rising.

The fourth article is 'Imperial Economic Unity'. Lord Beaverbrook's scheme for Empire Free Trade is subjected to a searching criticism, and the causes of the world-wide depression are discussed. In the writer's view, there are other ways in which the peoples of the British Empire can endeavour to help one another with less risk of disappointment.

'England from Without' gives us a picture of ourselves as others see us. We get foreign impressions of our moral, social and political life, and the American, it seems, differs from the Continental. The view, apparently common enough, that we are on the downward grade, is discussed. Fortunately there are, as the writer points out, some consoling features.

Next comes 'China in 1930' from the Far East itself, a front where a quarter of the human race, and the pockets of all of us are affected by the struggle. But in spite of everything—the despair of the people has recently been increased by the new Communist terror—the writer still sees the best hope of the future in the Nanking Government, though the diplomatic body still clings to its Peking quarter.

Next comes the 'Reaction to the Simon Report' from an Indian pen. The Viceroy's famous pronouncement of last October has, in the writer's opinion, detracted from the importance of the Report, but for all that, consciously or unconsciously, its main conclusions seem already to have been endorsed by Indian opinion, although there are two points upon which the writer is sure that no good can ever be expected.

The 'Great Britain' article shows the plans of the various parties for meeting unemployment, as well as the effect which that problem is itself, directly or indirectly, having upon the parties.

The usual Irish article follows. The success of the new loan shows the progress achieved by the young Irish Free State, the only country, it would appear, whose foreign trade shows improving figures. Among the Dominion contributions, the article on the recent election campaign in Canada and the Australian comment on the proposals of the Dominions' Legislation Conference, to which the first section of the South African article also refers, will probably attract most attention.

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.

24. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archæological 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, Ahlu*, 6 Hermon Hill, London, E. 11.
29. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.
30. *The Mysore University Journal*, Mysore University, Mysore.
31. *The People*, 2 Court Street, Post Box 116, Lahore.
32. *The Young Men of India*, The Thottam, Salem.
33. *The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
34. The Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.
35. *Social Science Abstracts*, 611, Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.
36. 'Tarikh' *Kollah Akbar Jah*, Hyderabad (Deccan).
37. The Superintendent of Archæology, Gwalior State, Gwalior.
38. Verlag Der Asia Major, Leipzig C1, Scherlstr, 2.

