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Contributors of articles to this journal will greatly oblige the editor if they will leave the upper half of the first sheet of manuscript blank, for the convenience of the editor, in entering instructions to the press regarding titling, style of printing, submission of proof, etc. Such instructions, when sent separately, are liable to result in confusion and delay.

Contributors will also greatly lighten the task of the editor, as well as lessen the cost of composition and correction, by observing the following suggestions:—

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2. Write plainly, especially proper names and foreign words. If foreign characters are to be employed, let them resemble as closely as possible the type in our fonts. If roman or italic characters with diacritical points are used, see that the points are distinct and rightly placed. Words to be printed in italics should be once underscored. Words to be printed in CLARENDON TYPE may be once underscored with blue pencil. Typewritten copy always needs to be carefully revised, with especial attention to mechanical faults and to the punctuation.

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in the case of the Vedas and the Brahmanic literature, the established custom of scholars should be followed. Titles of books will be printed in italics; titles or articles in periodicals, in quotation marks, with the name of the periodical in italics. But the well-established method of abbreviating the titles of the journals of the five principal oriental societies (J.A., JAOS., JASB, JRAS., ZDMG.) should be adhered to.

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## CORRECTION-SLIP.

Owing to certain difficulties and disabilities, Mr. Abdul Aziz's article on 'History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān' in the last issue (*Journal of Indian History*, XI, i, 86-113) could not be printed with the author's final corrections. As a result, the following correction-slip is issued. The reader is requested to make the necessary alterations in his copy.

1. Page 108 of *J. of I. H.*, XI, i, should be considered cancelled entire; and for it should be bodily substituted the following passage:

## LAND REVENUE.

We now proceed to appraise the land revenue of the Mughal empire, taking each successive reign separately.

## AKBAR.

One may begin with Abū'l-Faẓl. In the opening passage of the 'Account of the Twelve Provinces' in *Ā'in*, we are told that when the *Jam'-i-dahsāla* (annual revenue calculated on ten years' average) was assessed, viz., in the 25th. regnal year (1580-81 A.C.), the empire was divided into twelve provinces (which are named), the total revenue of which amounted to 3,62,97,55,246 *dāms* (or over 9 crores of rupees) and 12 lacs of betel leaves. (*Ā'in*, I, 386).

Now we know that the so-called Kabul province (one of the twelve provinces) was only nominally under the emperor at that time, and did not fall in until the death of Mīrzā Muḥammad Hakīm in 1585. Kashmir was annexed in the following year, while Kandahar came under Mughal sway in 1595. All these territories were included in what afterwards became the Kabul province.—Again, Sind was conquered in 1590-91, and Baluchistan followed suit five years later—both territories being placed together under Multan as 'Tatta'.

So even in 1595, while the number of provinces remained the same, viz., twelve, the revenue of the empire must have increased considerably. Abū'l-Faẓl tells us in the passage already referred

to that the empire in the 40th. regnal year (1595-96 A.C.) comprised 105 *sarkārs* and 2,737 *qaṣbas*,<sup>1</sup> though he gives no revenue total for that year.

Accretion to the empire, however, continued. Berar, Khandesh, and Ahmadnagar were conquered and organized into three additional provinces early in 1601, bringing the total number of provinces to fifteen.

Now *Ā'in* was finished in the first quarter of 1598. If nothing was added to the *Ā'in* gazetteer after that date it is obvious that there could be no mention of these three provinces in that work. But Abū'l-Faḍl not only mentions them in the passage already quoted from, but the statistics relating to the two provinces of Berar and Khandesh (called here *Dāndes*) are actually included in the gazetteer that follows (I, 387-596). The only possible explanation is that these details were entered and some necessary alterations made here and there some years after the *Ā'in* was completed, the heading 'Account of the Twelve Provinces' being allowed to stand as if by an oversight. The figures for the Ahmadnagar province are not, however, included—which is inexplicable.

The total given by Abū'l-Faḍl refers, as we have said, to 1580-81. But his Gazetteer is brought down to 1601. Casting up the sums separately given for the various provinces in the body of the Gazetteer, I arrive at a figure close upon 13¼ crores of rupees,<sup>2</sup> to which is probably yet to be added the revenue of the Ahmadnagar province, which is unknown. It is to be assumed that the difference is accounted for by the addition of territory already noted.

1. This word seems to mean here a *maḥal* or *pargana*.

2. I confess the exact revenue of the Kabul province is not easy to ascertain from Abū'l-Faḍl's statistics.

2. In Table on page 113 (end of the article) the second item in the list should have in the 'Date' column '1580-81' instead of '1595-96'; and this second entry should be placed at the top.



## Journal of Indian History

### A Chēra Royal Poet of the Śāṅgam Period

By

MR. K. G. SESA AİYAR,

*Retired High Court Judge, Trivandrum.*

EVERY student of the early history of South India knows that the Chēra kingdom was one of the three prominent Tamil kingdoms in ancient times. Scholars have in recent years attempted to give us, with some measure of success, the ancient history of the Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya kingdoms; and in those attempts, they were able to gain much valuable help from the recorded achievements of south Indian epigraphy. The story of the Chēra kingdom still awaits the magic hand, and the constructive genius of the scholar who will be able to weave it from the scanty material that is available. That story is unknown to epigraphy. It has to be gathered only from the old Śāṅgam works, which eminent Tamil scholars like Mahāmahōpādhyaya Pandit V. Swaminātha Aiyar—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—have, by their disinterested, indefatigable and inestimable effort, made it possible for lovers of Tamil to possess. The task of building up that story is manifestly difficult; and it requires a stout heart as well as a knowing head to attempt it; but let us hope that some day we will be able to have a reasonably connected account of the ancient history of the Chēra kingdom.

The eminent position which the land of the Chēra occupied in the Tamil country is patent from the Śāṅgam works. It is clear that its wealth and importance attracted foreign merchants to its ports, where trade on apparently an international scale was carried on. Tāyam Kaṇṇanār of Erukkāttur, a poet of the Śāṅgam

age, referring to Muširi, the modern Cranganore, writes in a poem included in the Ahanānūru collection: "The thriving port of Muširi, where large and beautiful ships of the Yavanas laden with gold come, splashing the white foam, on the waters of the Pēriyār belonging to the Chēra, on the banks of which grow kōngu and other trees, and go back laden with pepper." (*Aham* 149) Paraṇar, another Śāṅgam poet of the first rank, writes in one of his poems appearing in the Puṇa-nānūru collection: "Fish is bartered for paddy. Sacks of pepper are brought from the houses to the market. The gold received from the ships in exchange for commodities sold is brought to the shore in barges at Muširi, where the roar of the surging sea never ceases, and where Kuṭṭuvan presents the rare products of the sea and the mountain to visitors." (*Puṇam*. 343)

If the port of the Chēra king attracted foreign commerce, his court attracted Tamil poets from far and near. A reference to the Śāṅgam classics will show what great patrons of Tamil learning the Chēra kings were, and the countless number of poets who enjoyed their bounty and patronage. Even at the risk of offending the refined ear of the reader with a string of what may be regarded as uncouth names, I shall venture to mention some of the Tamil poets who were the recipients of the Chēra's bounty:—

1. Murañchiyūr Muḍi-nākarāyar,
2. Perum Śāttanār,
3. Kuruṁkōḷiyūr Kiḷār,
4. Poruntil Iḷam Kīranār,
5. Kūḍalūr Kiḷār,
6. Māñkuḍi Marudanār,
7. Muḍa-mōṣiyār,
8. Peruñkuñrūr Kiḷār,
9. Kuṇḍukaṭ-pāliyādan,
10. Mōsi Kīranār,
11. Pēy-makaḷ Iḷaveyini,
12. Kaḷāttalaiyār,
13. Ōrampōkiyār,
14. Ammūvanār,
15. Kumattūr Kaṇṇanār,
16. Pālai Gautamanār,
17. Kāppiyārruk-kāppiyanār
18. Naccheḷḷaiyār,
19. Ariśil-Kiḷār,
20. Auvai,
21. Paraṇar,

22. Kapilar,
23. Nakkīrar,
24. Poigaiyār.

The list is not exhaustive; but it is long enough to show how much Tamil literature of the Śāṅgam period owes to the generous patronage it received from Chēra kings. It is a fact of great interest that the well-known *Paḍiṇrup-pattu* collection is entirely devoted to the eulogy of the kings of the Chēra country; and another Śāṅgam collection, *Aiñkurunūru*, was collected at the instance of a Chēra prince, Yānaikkaṭ-Chēy Māntaram-Chēral-Irumporai.

The Chēra kings and princes were not only great patrons of learning; several among them took an honourable place among the Śāṅgam poets as poets themselves. To one of these royal poets, I desire in this short paper to call prominent attention and to pay my humble meed of respectful praise. Chēramān-Perum-Kaḍumkō was a ruling king of the Chēra country. Unfortunately, very little is known of this king's history; but there is indisputable evidence afforded by Tamil literature to show that he liberally patronized poets, and that he was himself a poet of the first magnitude. In *Puṇam* 11, a poetess named Pēy-makaḷ Iḷveyini acclaims him as the king of Vañchi, and extols him for his prowess in war and his munificence to poets. There is another poem in the same collection (*Puṇam* 282), which appears in a mutilated form; and so far as I can make out, it is also in praise of this king. He is different from Chēramān Kaḍumkō-Vāliyādan, about whom the well-known Śāṅgam poet, Kapilar, has sung the 7th decad of the *Paḍiṇrup-pattu* collection. This latter king is also known in literature as Chēramān Śelvak-kaḍumkō-Vāliyādan; and to differentiate from him the royal poet we are considering, the latter is usually known as Pālaipāḍiya-Chēramān Perum-kaḍumkō. The initial descriptive epithet has reference to the fact that this Chēra king is the author of *Pālaik-kali*, the first section of











harrowing scenes of anguish, and the moving tenderness of the loving Dravidian wife, whom the very thought of a possible separation from her husband fills with agony; and between these two extremes of horror and love, the poet sounds a range of passion tones with marvellous skill and subtlety. The poems form lovely cameos of the Tamil wife's invincible attachment to her husband, even though he may, as he occasionally appears to be, stone-hearted, and the Tamil maid's staunch loyalty to her mistress; and as illustrations of married life in ancient Tamil society, they are of great human interest. I append English echoes of the first ten poems of *Pālaik-kali*, in the hope that, perchance, some of my readers will thereby be attracted to the study, not only of this section but of the other sections also of *Kalit-tokai*, of which a very valuable and scholarly edition has been published by Brahmasri Pandit Anantarāma Aiyar, retired Tamil Pandit of the Presidency College, Madras, whose recent death will be deeply mourned as a great loss to sound Tamil scholarship.

*Specimens from Pālaik-kali.*

Palai 1.

As blazed the wrath of Śiva, when to save  
Ayan<sup>1</sup> and other gods, who sought His aid,  
He smote the dreaded, troublous Rākṣāsas,  
And their destructive triple fortress laid  
In utter ruin, with like fierceness burns  
The sun, whose heat intense beats on the rocks,  
And bursting them, with wreckage blocks the way  
In that vast desert! And in quest of wealth  
That fearful region dost thou now propose  
To cross, forsaking e'en thy loving wife,  
Whose constant thought is but of thee, and who,  
If thou shouldst leave her, would give up her life!

When those who once had wealth beseech thy help,  
It may vexation cause to thee to lack  
The needed means; and so, belike, thou dost  
Desire to cross the mountain, seeking wealth.  
What value has that wealth when it is weighed  
Against the bliss thou sharest with thy wife,  
To whom thy separation will bring death?

1. Brahma, the creator of the Hindu Trinity.

To fail to help the needy who implore  
Thy aid is mean and unbeseeming; so  
Thou wouldst go forth beyond the hills in search  
Of riches. But what are they worth, compared  
To the true happiness thy presence gives?  
Thy wife did marry thee, regarding thee  
As the reward deserved by her good deeds,  
And trusted thou wouldst never her desert.

If one not having sufficient to meet  
His want entreats thy help, and thou shouldst be  
Unable to assist him, thou wouldst feel  
Distressed; and so thou wouldst the desert cross,  
Pursuing wealth. What is it worth, compared  
With the felicitous companionship  
Of thy true wife, who like Arundhati<sup>2</sup>  
Is honoured as incarnate chastity?

When I with him expostulated thus  
And urged he should not prefer wealth to thee,  
If thee he truly loved, thy spouse, behold!  
E'en as the strong male leader-elephant  
Yields to the *yāl's*<sup>3</sup> soft, persuasive strains,  
Though unsubmissive to the mahout's goad,  
Submitted to thy humble servant's plea,  
And has his contemplated journey stopped!.

Palai 2.

Thou art intent on leaving; dost thou know  
The wretchedness felt by thy faithful wife?  
Her heartless neighbours' gossip fills her mind  
With pain and shame. She dreads the very thought  
Of thy great agony when thou dost cross  
The desert vast. The bracelets which she wore  
Have slipped from off her wrists. Her welling tears  
Her eyelids are too powerless to hold.  
The fever of her burning love hath wrought

2. The chaste wife of Vasishta. She is held as the ideal chaste wife and is given a place near her husband in Great Bear.

3. A Tamil stringed musical instrument somewhat like the Vina of modern times. Editor.



To be, dost thou expect thy wife can bear  
To continue to live when thou hast left?

Like to a country that has been laid waste,  
Which fills its ruler's mind with pain and grief,  
But still continues to exist, will she,  
Her face bereft of all its loveliness,  
Retain her life, when thou hast gone away?

Like lotus blooms which, though the tank wherein  
They grow runs dry o'er-night, fade not at once,  
But still continue fresh, dost thou believe  
She will remain alive when thou hast left?

O gracious sir! Know this for very sooth!  
The day thou leavest her and dost proceed  
Towards the desert in thy quest of wealth,  
That day will she give up her precious life!

Palai 5.

Thou tellest me the desert is so parched  
For want of rain, the wild and roving deer  
On prickly cactus plant is forced to feed;  
And by the shafts of heartless robbers pierced,  
Wayfares in that arid region lie  
Writhing with thirst, which they attempt to slake  
With tears that trickle to their dried-up tongue!  
If 'tis thy notion this would frighten me,  
Thou dost not know my nature. 'Tis not meet  
Thou shouldst our bond thus disregard and go!  
To be with thee and, in thy journey, share  
With thee the perils of the desert track,  
Know that alone can give me happiness!

Palai 6.

May I, fair sir, a simple question ask?  
Thou wantest now to go in search of wealth  
To foreign lands, beyond the desert wild,  
Where, scorched by summer heat, the elephants  
With bodies shrunk and thirst unquenched, pursue,  
Mistaking it for water, the mirage!  
Knowest thou how my mistress feels, while thou  
Dost preparations make to go abroad?

While thou, the bow-string tightening, dost test  
Its tautness with thy fingers, know from me,  
Across her shining face dim sorrow spreads  
As does a dark cloud o'er the faultless moon!

While thou thy belt dost gird and careful fill  
With arrows sharp thy quiver, know from me,  
Her tears the lids with black cosmetic lined  
O'erflow, like pouring rain from out the cup  
Of water lilies, slender stalked and blue!

While thou unfeeling, caring but for wealth,  
Thy trusty shield dost burnish, know from me,  
The shining bangles her round wrists desert,  
As falls the pollen from bright-petalled flowers!

Know, if thou dost depart, her life will cease!

The wealth thou bringest home from distant lands  
May bring thee pleasure. Will it also bring  
Thy dear departed wife to life again?

Palai 7.

Like to a king who by a minister bad,  
Unsympathetic and unjust, is led,  
The scorching sun with fiery rays doth beat  
Upon the desert sands. 'Must' elephants,  
The fragrant discharge from whose foreheads once  
Attracted swarms of buzzing beetles, now  
Deformed and shrunk, lie prone upon the ground,  
Their legs outspread, their tusks thrust in the sand,  
Like ploughs in dry, hard ground. From heated rocks  
Spread scorching waves that render all attempts  
To cross the desert futile. And these sands  
Thou wouldst now cross without informing us!  
A word I have to say; wilt thou hear me?

The seven stringed *yāl* when with the fingers played  
Yields music sweet. The strings may snap; and then  
The instrument is useless! Wealth is more  
Unstable than the *yāl*. Will, then, the wise  
Desire to seek such ephemeral wealth?





































































































































