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Journal of Indian History

Mohenjo Daro—The most Important Archaeological Site in India

By

REV. H. HERAS, S.J.

DURING the winter of 1923, the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, Superintendent of Archaeology, Western Circle, while excavating the remains of a Buddhist *stūpa* and monastery situated on some mounds in a place called Mohenjo Daro in the Larkhana District of Northern Sind, was lucky enough to find some relics of a much more ancient civilization. Mr. Banerji, one of the greatest scholars that India has ever produced, at once realized the great importance of that discovery. The civilization, the relics of which so accidentally came into his hands, was a totally unknown civilization, not only in India, but all over the world. That was the beginning of the discovery of a new period in the history of man.

The excavations carried out by the Archaeological Department in subsequent years fully confirmed the surmise of Mr. Banerji. Mohenjo Daro and for the matter of that also Harappa in the Panjab, and several other sites in the Indus valley are cities of a pre-Aryan nation whose civilization was in a highly flourishing state, which may be fully styled the proto-civilization of India. Accordingly, Mohenjo Daro and other similar sites in Sind and the Panjab are the most important archæological sites in India.

1. The consequence deduced by Sir John Marshall after the study of the Mohenjo Daro remains that this civilization probably is Dravidian is now fully confirmed by the decipherment by the present writer of about one thousand eight hundred inscriptions found in all these sites.

First of all there are signs the values of which can only be explained in Dravidian languages. Let us take the three following ones :

-  *mīn*, "fish"
 *mīn*, "shining", "glittering", "illustrations"
 *mīn*, "star" (or proper name of a person)

Only in Dravidian languages these three signs, which evidently represent a fish, may have the same phonetic values corresponding to three different meanings, according to the three differences shown in the signs themselves. If we suppose, for instance, that the language of Mohenjo Daro were Samskr̥ta and we read the three above signs *matsya* or even *mīna*—a word borrowed from Dravidian languages—these two words in Samskr̥ta have no other meaning than fish and therefore we shall not be able to give a proper meaning to the two other signs.

Another case. The sign  in Sumerian writing means "one-sixth". Now this division being totally exotic in Dravidian languages, should be converted into "one-fourth". Therefore it will read *kāl*. Now a sign equal to this but drawn in the opposite direction, thus , should also have similar phonetic value but reading in the opposite direction. Since the first sign reads *kāl*, this must read *lak*. Now this word which is lost in all other Dravidian languages, keeps still its meaning in Tuḷu. It means, "to rise." Now let us put the two signs together thus 

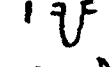
If one of these two signs separately reads *kāl* and the other *lak*, both put together will read *kāl-lak* = *kālak*, which in Dravidian languages means "union," "mixture."

Let us put another combination:  The two parallel lines joining both original signs in several other signs have the phonetic value of *a*. This *a* according to the sign itself must be placed between *kāl* and *lak*. Hence this sign will read *kālalak*, i.e., *kāl-alak*, which means, "stone weapon". Still another sign:

 The two parallel vertical lines in other signs phonetically read *am*. Therefore the syllable must be joined to the value of the preceding sign *kālalak*; thus the whole sign will read *kalamalak*,

which means "field-measuring". Neither in Samskr̥ta nor in any other language will this wonderful phonetic values, following so easily the value of the original sign, , have any meaning.

Moreover, in these inscriptions a number of phonetic combinations of signs have been found which also prove that the language of Mohenjo Daro cannot but be Dravidian. Each sign separately has its independent value and meaning. But when the signs are united, their values combine and this third reading has a totally different meaning. Let us put some examples:

-  *kude*, "umbrella"
 *ir*, "dwelling"
 Combination:  *kudir*, granary.
 *adu*, "that"
 *ir*, "to be"
 Combination:  *adir*, "to tremble", "to shake"
 *nāi*, "dog"
 *vēl*, "trident"
 Combination:  *nāivēl*, a shrub or creeper, scientifically called *Flacourtia Sapida* Roxb. or *Flacourtia ramoutchi*, L'Hérit.

A much more powerful argument to determine the language family is the construction of the phrase which is purely and exclusively Dravidian. It is a construction which may be called qualificative: the main word is always relegated to the end, but it is preceded by a number of qualificatives which have likewise other qualificatives of their own. Moreover, according to Dravidian construction the verb must always be at the end of the sentence and the adjectives in front of the nouns. Let us read, for instance, the following inscription:



The inscription reads thus :

Mīn ēl sā kaḍavuḷ kaṇ īr maram

It means : "Two trees (under which) the seven shining (persons) saw the god of death". Let us analyse this epigraph :

Main word : *maram*, "trees" (at the end)

Qualificatives : 1. numeral : *īr*, "two"

2. the whole sentence : *Mīn ēl sā kaḍavuḷ kaṇ*,
"the seven shining people saw the god of death."

Subject of the sentence : *Mīn ēl*, "seven shining (people)" (at the beginning).

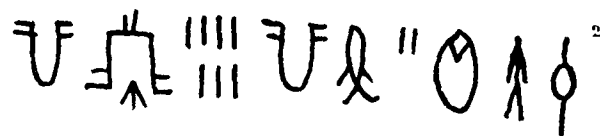
Verb of the phrase : *Kaṇ*, "to see". (at the end)

Complement of the phrase : *sā kaḍavuḷ*, "the god of death".

Qualificative of *kaḍavuḷ* : *sā*, "death", taking the place of an adjective qualifying the noun.

All this arrangement is according to the rules of Dravidian construction.

Another example :



This inscription reads thus :

El Āṇ ūril ire mīn adu ēl sā adu

That means : "Of the death of seven (persons) of the fish who were in the country of the sunny Supreme Being". This inscription

1. Marshall, Pl. CXVIII, No. 3 (Hr. 4337). The Mohenjo Daro script reads from right to left, though the second line reads in the opposite direction, as all *boustrophedon* scripts.

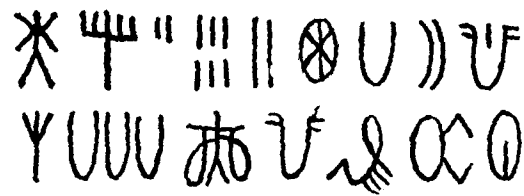
2. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 553.

ends by the suffix of possession, *adu*, showing that something which is not mentioned belongs to or is about "the death of seven", etc. Otherwise the phrase may be analysed as we did with the preceding inscription. One thing we may add here. Dravidian languages do not know the relative pronoun. Accordingly no relative pronoun has ever been found in the inscriptions, though possessive and demonstrative pronouns are often come across. Instead of the relative pronoun they use a participle, for instance, *irekera* in Tamil. Thus for instance, instead of saying "who is", they say "being". Now in the participle *irekera*, the termination *kera* evidently smacks of Samskr̥ta origin. So the real old Dravidian will be *ire*. Now the sign that represents this sound is the fourth sign of the preceding inscription (always commencing from the right). This sign ||, independently from the above reading cannot but read *ire* phonetically. The numeral || reads *īr*, "two". So those two small strokes must read *īr*, also. But, besides those two small strokes are placed in the upper portion of the writing line. Now this location, "above," is always expressed by the sound *e* in Dravidian languages.³ Therefore this sign necessarily reads *ire*, "being", "who is" or "who was".

The decipherment of the inscriptions of the Indus Valley has supplied us with yet another proof of the Dravidian family of the language spoken there. Almost mechanically I had placed the respective values under each sign in every inscription. Last October, thanks to the generosity of the University of Bombay, I could go to Nallur, Jaffna (Ceylon), to revise all my interpretations with Rev. Fr. S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., who is rightly held as the foremost Dravidian philologist.⁴ What was not my surprise when while reading my interpretations of the inscriptions, Fr. Gnana Prakasar discovered about twenty-five fragments of poetry. These verses are written in different metres, five of them being written in the famous *kural* metre, the most beautiful metre of Tamil literature. Our readers will like to read one of these fragments of poetry properly scanned. The inscription as found in one of the Mohenjo Daro objects is this :

3. Cf. Gnana Prakasar, *Root-words of the Dravidian group of Languages*, *Anthropos*, XXX, pp. 140-141.

4. Fr. Gnana Prakasar is now publishing the first part of his etymological Dictionary of the Tamil language.



Now this inscription is carved on two different planes of a prism, and the impressions of the two lines are placed in the above order in the plate of Sir John Marshall's work.⁵ The lines are not placed in the proper order: the second line reads first and the first line continues the reading of the second. This inverted order of the lines is not strange, for neither the authors nor the editor were able to read the script. But what is most extraordinary is that the reading of the second line (actually the first) is from left to right, while the first line (actually the second) reads from right to left. This makes one suspect that perhaps there was another really first line, reading from right to left; thus the actual first line of the inscription would be in reality the second of the full inscription. This presupposed the epigraph reads as follows:

Naṇ rururu tūku adu karumugil ūrvelī ōrūr
Ēḍu eṭu ru uyarel īr ar ire pēr kaḍavul.

Which means: "The great god who has the two paths of the noisy high sun reaching the year of Orūr (is) outside the country of the rain clouds of the approaching thunder-sounding scale."⁶

Now this inscription contains two verses that are scanned in the following way:

Naṇ rururu | tūku adu | karumugil ūr | velī ōrūr ||
Ēḍu eṭu | rū uyarel | īr ar ire | pēr kaḍavul

For the sake of Tamil readers we transcribe these verses in Tamil characters below.

நண்ணுந் தூக்குஅது கருமுகிலூர் வெளிஓரூர்
எட்டு எது ரு உயரெல் ிர அர இரே பீரகடவுள்

The remains of the cities discovered in the Indus Valley, being therefore early Dravidian, offer unique materials for the study of

5. Marshall, M.D., Pl. CXVI, No. 23.

6. The explanation of this inscription, which is totally outside the scope of the present article, would be too long to be put here. The inscription will be fully explained in my work on *The Proto-Indian Script and Civilization*,

the pre-Aryan civilization of India, which hitherto was only known through stray and indirect references in the Vedas and epics and other works of ancient Samskr̥ta literature.

2. Contrary to what was clearly hinted at in those works, it was always supposed twelve or fifteen years ago that the Dravidian peoples at the time of the Aryan invasion were in a totally uncivilized state, almost next to savagery. Thus Mr. Romesh C. Dutt described the first encounters of the two races, in the beginning of our century: "There was a continuous war between the Indo-Aryan and the dark-skinned aborigines during this age. The aborigines retreated before the more civilized organization of the Aryans, but hung around in fastness and forests, plundered the peaceful villages of the Aryans and stable their cattle. With that tenacity which is peculiar to barbarians, they fought for centuries as they retreated; they interrupted the religious sacrifices of the conquerors, despised their "bright gods", and plundered their wealth. But the Aryans conquered in the end; the area of civilization widened, waste and jungle lands were reclaimed and dotted with villages and towns, and the barbarians either submitted to the conquerors or retreated to the mountains where their descendants still live".⁷

Such statements could on no account be substantiated by any historical source. They were only the last expression of the baseless feelings of many Dravidian kings⁸ and groups of people⁹ who being unreasonably ashamed of their Dravidian origin, claimed Aryan descent. But after the discovery of Mohenjo Daro, Mr. R. D. Banerji could daringly challenge all Aryan feelings by writing that the "Dravidians were certainly far more civilized than the Indo-Aryan invaders".¹⁰ Furthermore, he states: "At this time (when they settled in the Panjab) the Indo-Aryans were carrying on a ceaseless war with the earlier and more civilized inhabitants of the country".¹¹ Thus the discovery of the Mohenjo Daro civilization marks the opening of a new era of Proto-historical research in India by finally settling the true and unmistakable point of view.

3. The relics of the Indus Valley disclose extraordinary similarities with the relics of ancient Sumer. These similarities were

7. Dutt, *The Civilization of India*, p. 3 (London, 1900).

8. Cf. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 8 ff, etc.

9. For instance the Singhalese of Ceylon, the South Indian Brāhmins, or the Paravas of the Fishery Coast.

10. Banerji, *Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, p. 19.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

already pointed out by several scholars in the *Illustrated London News*¹² and elsewhere,¹³ even before the publication of the work of Sir John Marshall. These similarities suggest intimate connections between the Mohenjo Daro people and the Sumerians. The study of these connections will undoubtedly discover the foreign relations of our proto-Indian people and perhaps will solve the so-called Sumerian problem. Besides other arguments derived from the study of the script and of the inscriptions, it is interesting to note that the ancient tradition of Sumer points to the East as the country of origin of the Sumerians.¹⁴ Berosus, the Babylonian priest of the first century B.C., has kept two names of the several chiefs who brought civilization and the art of writing to Sumer. One was called Oannes,¹⁵ an evident hellenized form of the name *Ūvaṇṇa*, "elder brother of the flower", a name very common even at present among the Tulus. The other name, *Odakon*,¹⁶ is in this very form a Tamilian name which means "the master of the boat", from *ōḍa*, "boat", and *kon*, "lord", "master", "king". This tradition so faithfully recorded by the Babylonian historian has its parallel account in Genesis. After narrating the different generations of the sons of Noah, the biblical account continues thus:

"And when they removed from the East, they found a plain in the land of Sennaar (Sumer), and dwelt in it."

"And each one said to his neighbour: come let us make brick and bake them with fire. And they had brick instead of stones, and slime instead of mortar."¹⁷

4. But the connections with ancient Sumer are not the only foreign connections of Mohenjo Daro. A small carving on a steatite seal shows a bull-fight scene,¹⁸ altogether similar to those that

12. Gadd-Smith, *The New Links between India and Babylonian Civilization*, *Illustrated London News*, Oct. 4, 1924, pp. 614-616.

13. For instance by Waddel, *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*, (London, 1925.)

14. Cf. Woolley, *The Sumerians*, pp. 6-9 (Oxford, 1928).

15. Schnabel, *Berosos und die Babylonisch Hellenistische Literature*, pp. 173-174.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

17. *Gen.* XI, 2-3. The beautifully built houses with bricks and cement which have been found at Mohenjo Daro seem to be the best comment on this passage of the Bible. Evidently the reed-and-mud huts of Mesopotamia in pre-Sumerian days did not please those who had inhabited brick-built dwellings.

18. This object found in the DK area, in 1931-2, is not yet published.

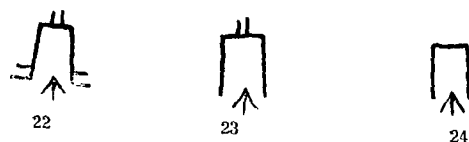
take place in Spain at present. Similar bull-fights have been found represented on the walls of the palace of Minos in Crete.¹⁹ The authors of the Minoan civilization as well as the Iberians of Spain are supposed to belong to the so-called Mediterranean race,²⁰ to which according to modern anthropologists the Dravidians belong also. This view is now confirmed by the archaeological discoveries at Mohenjo Daro. A good historical illustration of such taurine customs might be found in the so-called "bull marriage" described in the Tamil works of the Sangam period. When several young-men were courting a girl, the father of the latter used to set loose a bull within a ring. The lad who succeeded in catching the bull by the horns proved to be worthy of his beloved.²¹

5. Among the relics found at Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and other sites, the collection of steatite seals is of extraordinary importance. These seals, as a general rule, bear the figure of an animal in the lower portion, animal which seems to represent the totem of the tribe, viz., a unicorn, an elephant, a bull, a buffalo, a tiger, etc. The upper portion of the seal is occupied by an inscription in characters which were totally unknown. The study of these characters reveal undreamt of contacts with other nations of the ancient world—China, Sumer, Egypt, Crete, the Hittites, etc., contacts which may prove some ethnological affinities and may finally detect the parent of all the scripts used by them. I shall only mention one case which is very significant: the sign meaning "death" in the Mohenjo Daro script. The upper portion of this sign is the funeral monument, called *stīpa*, at a later period. The small arrow-like sign below is full of interest and meaning. The sign | in our script means "one". Therefore it reads *or*. Now if we want to speak of one person we shall write the determinative of personification of this sign, thus ↑. This sign consequently reads *ōrvan*, "one person". This is precisely the sign placed under the funeral mound. The whole sign therefore is a pictograph representing a person buried under the funeral mound. Now this sign passes through three stages of simplification within the Mohenjo Daro period. These stages are the following:

19. Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, III, pp. 219-232.

20. Cf. Mélida, *Arqueologia Española*, pp. 70-71 (Barcelona, 1929); Barton, *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*, p. 53 (Philadelphia, 1934).

21. Kalitogai, 104, vv. 50-51.



Now in early Sumerian script, in the tablets of Jemdet Nasr, death is expressed by the arrow-like sign only, turned 90 degrees to the left as usual, thus : $\leftarrow$ ²⁵. This seems to be the last stage of simplification of this sign, impossible to explain in Sumerian writing without reference to the Mohenjo Daro script. (The above signs of Mohenjo Daro read *sā*, which etymologically means "to fall on one side". The majority of the corpses buried in Harappa²⁶ and also the corpses of the royal cemetery of Ur²⁷ were found lying on one side, practically always on the right side.)

6. The script of Mohenjo Daro is a pictophonographic script of such a logical nature that it may be at times read without knowing its meaning.²⁸ It is a script which tends to depict the sound, when in its phonetic signs it cannot depict the objects meant by the sounds. Such a script discloses a clear tendency to become alphabetic. When the Āryas entered India, they had no script of their own and they adopted this script which was the script of their enemies, the Dasyus. Thus the script developed through two different channels. In Northern India under the Āryas and their Aryanized friends, the Dravidians. In Southern India and Ceylon it developed under its own inventors, the Dravidians, more or less influenced by the Āryas of the North and by their Samskr̥ta language. Such is the origin of the two kinds of Brāhmi characters of North and South India, from which all the modern Indian alphabets proceed. The value of many of these Brāhmi characters is still a consonant sound of the primitive word represented by the Mohenjo Daro sign.²⁹

22. Marshall, M.D., Nos. 14, 20, 84, 99, 146, 344, 553, 557 and *passim*.

23. Marshall, H., No. 23; Photo, M.D., 1930-1, No. 11359; Photo, H. No. 3006.

24. Marshall, M.D., No. 535; Photo, M.D., 1929-30, D.K. Nos. 7875 and 8254.

25. Langdon, *Pictorial Tablets of Jemdet Nasr*, No. 271.

26. Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, p. 80, fig. 2.

27. Woolley, *Ur Excavation*, II, *The Royal Cemetery*, Plates, pl. 71.

28. Cf. above p. 2.

29. Cf. Heras, *Light on the Mohenjo Daro Riddle*, *The New Review* (Calcutta), III, p. 7.

7. The language used in these inscriptions most certainly belongs to the family of Dravidian languages. I style it the Proto-Indian language. It must be older than all the Dravidian languages spoken in India at present, and may finally be acknowledged as the parent of all these languages. This evidently opens an extraordinarily vast field, totally new indeed, for philological studies in Dravidian languages. My good friend Rev. S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., has already made use of one of the inscriptions published by me³⁰ in a recently published article on *Tamil Verse Seven Thousand Years Ago*.³¹

8. After the study of above one thousand eight hundred inscriptions which up to now have been deciphered by the present writer, it is easy to realize that the wave of migration of the Mediterranean race which was supposed to have been from West to East,³² must now be finally settled as having taken place in the opposite direction, i.e., from East to West. The development of the script of Mohenjo Daro in relation with the Sumerian script, the religion of these two countries and that of Egypt,³³ the titles of kings, the number of zodiacal constellations among the proto-Indian people and the relative position of these constellations, the changing of the proto-Indian constellation of the Harp (*yāl*) for *taurus* (the bull) which must have taken place in Sumer, the tradition of the ancient people of Mesopotamia recorded by Berosus, the parallel biblical account in Gen. II, 1-5,—all point to the same conclusion that the migration of the Mediterranean race commenced from India and extended through Southern Mesopotamia and Northern Africa; spread through Crete, Cyprus, Greece, Italy and Spain, and crossing the Pyrenees reached Central Europe and the British Isles. This route starting from Ceylon up to Ireland is marked by an interrupted chain of dolmens and other megaliths, that seem to be relics of this enterprising and highly civilized race which is termed the Mediterranean by the anthropologists and which in India has been quite unreasonably despised under the name "Dravidian".

30. Cf. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

31. *The Ceylon Spectator*, (Jaffna), Nov. 11, 1936, pp. 291-292.

32. Cf. Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race*, pp. 157-185 (London, 1901).

33. Cf. Heras, *The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions*, *Journal of the University of Bombay* (Hist. & Econ.) III, p. 17.

9. It has been an error to call the civilization discovered at Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and other sites, "the Indus Valley Civilization," for this phrase seems to suggest that such civilization flourished in the Indus Valley only. Relics of the same civilization have also been found in the Gangetic valley³⁴ and in Kathiawar.³⁵ Signs like those of the Indus Valley have also been discovered in pieces of pottery found in the Tinnevely District,³⁶ the southern most district of India, on some rocks in the Nilgiris,³⁷ and on pottery found in the pre-historic tombs of the Hyderabad State.³⁸ The background of the *taks*, so common in the Deccan, bearing images of Khandoba or another Śaiva deity, is covered with similar signs too.³⁹ The Liṅgāyats of Karnāṭaka mark their houses with another Mohenjo Daro sign, the meaning of which is now totally unknown to them.⁴⁰ The present writer has lately discovered some signs of that script in a pre-historic cave of the Kegalle District of Ceylon and also in the earliest struck coins of Ceylon which bear quite intelligible inscriptions.⁴¹

34. Banerji-Sastri, *Remains of a Pre-Historic Civilization in the Gangetic Valley*, J.B.H.S., III, pp. 187-191.

35. In the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute there are some specimens unearthed at Vela by the present writer which belong to the same Proto-Indian period of history.

36. Bruce Foote, *Government Museum, Madras, Catalogue of the Pre-historic Antiquities*, pl. XXXV (Madras 1901).

37. Brecks, *An account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of Nilagiris*, pl. XLIVA (London, 1873).

38. *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1917, p. 57.

39. I am indebted to my late friend Mr. Vishnu R. Karandikar for drawing my attention to these signs.

40. I am likewise indebted to Prof. K. S. Kundangar, Kolhapur, for this information.

41. Cf. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, pl. I and II.

The Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscription

By

MR. DASHARATHA SHARMA

THE Mehrauli iron pillar inscription, though first published more than a century back, still presents certain difficulties to historians. The identity of Chandra has not been settled yet. We do not know where Viṣṇupada actually is, even though almost all the passages bearing on the word have been collected together, published, and discussed by eminent scholars. And finally we are not sure whether the inscription is really posthumous, even though it was so decided by Dr. Fleet in his monumental edition of the Gupta inscriptions. We propose to deal with these very difficulties in this paper.

I. The inscription gives the following particulars about Chandra :—

(i) 'In the Vaṅga country he kneaded and turned back with his breast the enemies, who uniting together came against him.' (v. 1).

(ii) 'He conquered the Vāhlikas, crossing the seven *mukhas* of the river Sindhu : ' (v. 1).

(iii) 'The breezes of his prowess perfumed the southern ocean' (v. 1.)

(iv) 'He attained sole sovereignty with his own arm and enjoyed it for a long time.' (v. 3.)

The ruler to be identified with him must have, therefore, all the above achievements to his credit.

Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri regarded one Chandra-varman of the Sisunia inscription, mentioned therein as *mahārāja* and *Puṣkaraṇādhīpatī*, as the best candidate for this honour.¹ The very foundation of his theory has been, however, knocked out by the discovery that the Puṣkaraṇa of this Bengal inscription is not the distant Pokaraṇa of the Jodhpur State, as contended by the

1. EI., Vol. XII, p. 315 ff and Vol. XIII, p. 133ff. For the theory see also R. C. Majumdar's *History of Bengal and EI.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 368-71, and *Dacca Review*, Vol. X, 1920-1, Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5.

Mahāmahōpādhyāya, but a site with the same name not far away from the findspot of the Sisunia rock.² Chandravarman was thus barely a local ruler, and not the mighty Chandra of the Mehrauli inscription.

The case for Chandra's identification with Chandragupta I has been similarly weakened by the discovery of the *Kaumudī-mahōtsava*, a drama giving us a wonderful and much needed insight into the political condition of the early Gupta period. It shows that the Gupta territory under Chandragupta I really went no further than Prayāga, Sāketa (Ayodhyā), and Magadha, the three places put under the Gupta rule by the Vāyu and the Viṣṇu Purāṇas.³ On the west it was bounded by the kingdom of the Yādavas of Mathurā, and on the south by the tracts under the control of the half-civilised Śabarās and Pulindas. Chandragupta I does not seem to have ruled long too. Kalyāṇavarman was a young boy of ten or eleven years when Chandragupta I usurped the throne of Magadha.⁴ He came back and reconquered his kingdom as soon as he attained majority. This gives a reign of merely ten to fifteen years to his adversary. The Chandra of our inscription ruled long, and had almost the whole of northern India under his undisputed control. He cannot, therefore, obviously be identical with Chandragupta I who is never called a *Mahārājādhirāja* even by his great grand-daughter Prabhāvatī Guptā.⁵

The impossibility of satisfactorily identifying Chandra with Chandravarman or Chandragupta I naturally strengthens the case for his identity with Chandragupta II. That this emperor ruled long and successfully over all the territories, mentioned as conquered by Chandra, has been well known to every student of Indian History for the last fifty years or so. That he acquired this sovereignty by his own valour was, however, revealed only some time back by the discovery of the fragments of the drama *Dēvī-Chandraguptam*, according to which Chandragupta II's elder brother Rāmagupta, was pressed so hard by a certain Śaka ruler that he promised to surrender his queen Dhruvasvāminī in order

2. ASIR, 1927-8, pp. 188-9.

3. *विष्णुपुराण*, Bk. IV, Chapter 24 and Vāyupurāṇa, Chap. 99.

4. That he could not have been probably younger than this is shown by his friend the Vidūṣka having recognized the *parivrajika* Yogasiddhi as the Prince's nurse Vinayandharā as soon as he set his eyes upon her. The Vidūṣaka was most probably of the same age as his master.

5. See E.I., XV, 41, and J.A.S.B. 1924, p. 58.

to gain some respite for his people.⁶ We should not feel surprised if we were to learn some day that he agreed to pay an annual tribute also. It was Chandragupta II's⁷ skill which retrieved the situation. Disguised as Dhruvasvāminī, he killed the Śaka chief, and thereafter by some means of which we are not fully aware, undated the whole Śaka army, and probably established his undisputed authority in the Punjab. This was surely an achievement of which he could deservedly be proud, and which he could prominently refer to in his inscriptions. Writing in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XIV, Part I, I placed the scene of this encounter somewhere near Karūr. Now if this conclusion be accepted as correct, we might rightly say that Chandra defeated the Vāhlikas⁸ by crossing the seven *mukhas*, i.e., the sources or tributaries of the river Sindhu.⁹ Not very long after the defeat of the Śakas, Chandragupta II is known to have assassinated his brother, married his wife, and ascended the throne as Chandragupta Vikramaditya.¹⁰ His unbrotherly behaviour probably provoked a rising in Bengal which was put down with some difficulty, and has been referred to in our inscription. Chandragupta II thus satisfies best the conditions of identification with the Chandra of the Mehrauli iron pillar inscription.

2. The location of the Viṣṇupadagiri is our next object of enquiry. We find it mentioned in the following verses of the Rāmāyaṇa :—

ततो मध्येन वाल्हीकान् सुदामानं च पर्वतम् ।
विष्णोः पदं प्रेक्षमाणा विपाशां चापि शाल्मलिम् ।
(II, 68. 18-9.)

As these describe the route followed by messengers travelling post-haste from Ayodhyā to Girivraja (modern Jalālpur in the Gujrānwāla district, Punjab) via. Hastināpura, and Viṣṇupāda is mentioned as having been reached before the Vipāśa, it is clear that it lay to the

6. Malaviya Commemoration Vol., p. 207, Extract G.

7. *Ibid*, pp. 189-212.

8. According to the *Karṇa-Parvan* the Vāhlikas were the inhabitants of the Punjab. Their outlandish character is shown by Karṇa's diatribe against them.

9. For a similar interpretation, see Dr. Vogel, *Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 22, p. 44.

10. Malaviya Commemoration, Vol., pp. 189 ff.

south-east of the lower-most course of this river. It could not possibly be near its upper course, somewhere near Gurdāspur, as suggested by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and Mr. J. C. Ghosh.¹¹ To convince oneself of this, one has just to consult a good geographical atlas and remember that circumstances required the messengers to adopt the shortest route possible.

The verses of the Mahābhārata given below mention Viṣṇupāda as lying on the northerly route followed by pilgrims travelling from Kurukṣetra to Mount Gandhamādāna:

एषा सरस्वती पुण्या दिव्या चौवती नदी
एतद् विनशनं नाम सरस्वत्या विशां पते ॥ ३ ॥
एतन् प्रभासते तीर्थं प्रभासं भास्करवृते
इन्द्रस्य दयितं नित्यं पवित्रं पापनाशनम् ॥ ७ ॥
एतद् विष्णुपदं नाम दृश्यते तीर्थमुत्तमम्
एषा रम्या विपाशा च नदी परमपावनी ॥ ८ ॥
काश्मीरमण्डलञ्चैतन् सर्वपुण्यमरिन्दम
महर्षिभिश्चाध्युषितं पश्येदं भ्रातृभिस्सह ॥ १० ॥

(Aranyaparva, Chapter 104, Madras edition.)

As here again the Viṣṇupada is reached before the Vipāśā, it is obvious that it is somewhere to its south. The view that 'not only the Vipāśā, but also Kāśmīra was visible from Viṣṇupada,¹² is based on a wrong understanding of verses 8 and 10 quoted above. It would have been surely their import, if Lomaśa, the guide of the Pāṇḍavas, had described all the sacred places standing on some high peak like Viṣṇupada. But we know that he has not done so. He merely describes these places in the order in which they come on the way to Mount Gandhamādāna. If he says, 'this is Prabhāsa', 'this is Viṣṇupada', 'this is Vipāśā', 'this is Kāśmīra', it means nothing more than that Prabhāsa is the first item in his itinerary and Kāśmīra the last, and that Viṣṇupada, the second sacred place mentioned here, besides being to the north of Prabhāsa on the Sarasvatī and south of the Vipāśā, is probably at a lesser distance from Prabhāsa than Kāśmīra.

11. Indian Culture, Vol. I, p. 515, and Vol. III, p. 512.
12. *Ibid.*

We have seen above that both the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata put Viṣṇupada to the south-east of the Vipāśā. The Rāmāyaṇa puts it on the north-westerly route crossing the lower-most course of this river. The Mahābhārata puts it on the northerly route between Kurukṣetra and Mount Gandhamādāna. Viṣṇupada must therefore surely be at a point where these two routes intersect somewhere to the south-east of the river Beas. It is mentioned in the sixty-sixth chapter of the Vanaparvan also.¹³ Here it is a sacred place in the territory between the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛśadvatī. If we combine this reference with the conclusion as to its location reached just now, we must without the least possibility of doubt place it somewhere in the hills near Sadhaurā, a small town in the Ambālā district.

The territory adjoining Sadhaurā, i.e., Kurukṣetra is known to have been once ruled by the Tōmaras. So it was most probably from this very place that the Iron Pillar was removed to its present site, on the original temple being perhaps destroyed by a raid of the Ghaznavites.

3. We now pass on to our final problem, viz., that of seeing whether the inscription is really posthumous. It must doubtless appear so, if its second verse is translated as follows:—

"He, the remnant of the great zeal of whose energy, which utterly destroyed (his) enemies, like, (the remnant of the great glowing heat) of a burned out fire in a great forest, even now leaves not the earth though, he, the king, as if wearied, has left the earth, and has gone to the other world moving in (bodily) form to the land (of paradise) won by (the merit of his) actions, (but) remaining on (this) earth by (the memory of his) fame:—"¹⁴

I do not, however, regard this translation as correct. In my opinion, the word 'pratāpa' is syntactically as much connected with 'खिन्नस्येव नरपतेः' and 'प्रणाशितरिपोर्यत्नस्य' as with 'शान्तस्येव हुत-भुजः', and therefore the correct rendering of the verse should be as follows:—

'He whose pratāpa, the remnant of that energy which destroyed his enemies, does not even now leave the earth like the heat

13. P. P. S. Sastri's Madras edition.

14. The translation is by Mr. D. B. Diskalkar. It is not materially different from that of Fleet.

(*pratāpa*) of an ash-covered fire (that burns out a forest), or like the glory (*pratāpa*) of a monarch who, though bodily gone to another world won by his actions, still remains on this earth by his fame."

Thus translated, the verse gives no ground for the statement that the inscription is posthumous. All that it asserts, and that of course in a very poetical and beautiful way, is that his supremacy and unequalled prestige at the time of incising the record were the result of a number of successful battles in the past in which he uprooted and destroyed his enemies. Sanskritists who re-examine the passage will, I hope, agree with my translation.

History of the Rashtrakutas and Prof. Majumdar

By

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A CRITICISM of my history of Rāshtrakūtas, by Professor R. C. Majumdar of the Dacca University, was published in the 'Modern Review' of May 1934. There the Professor begins as under:—

"The title of the book is somewhat misleading as it is not a systematic history of the Rāshtrakūtas as it professes to be."

But can Dr. Majumdar mention the name of a more systematic history of Rāshtrakūtas published before the one in question?

1. Then the Professor refers the Hāthī Gumphā and sāta-vāhana inscriptions. But I don't think they will go against the theory that at the time of "Mahābhārata" Rāshtrakūtas lived in the Punjab and thence they migrated to the south. In the time of Ashōka they were at the north-western part of India, Saurāshtra and Kalinga, and from these places they advanced towards the Deccan.

This is the only reason that we find mention of the dynasty in the edicts of Ashōka found in those provinces as well as in the Kharvela inscription, of B. C. 165, of Hāthīgumphā and in the records of Sātavāhanas on the southern bank of the Gōdāvarī.

Sir George A. Grierson in his letter of 13-6-33 writes that "There are no less than five dialects in India called "Rāthī", and perhaps the most important is that spoken in the eastern Punjab. It is described in Volume IX, part I, pp. 610 and 696 of the 'Linguistic survey'. I there gave the local explanation of the word "Rāthī" as meaning ruthless but it is quite possibly really connected with "Rāshtras"."

2. The Professor hesitates to accept¹ the Rāshtrakūta sway over Kannauj prior to Chandradēva. But had it not been so how would it have been mentioned in the inscription of Sōlankī Tri-

1. In this connection, he may also see 'Indian Antiquary,' Vol. III, p. 41; and Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. V, p. 329.

lōchanapāla of 1068 A.D., as Chandradēva took possession of Kannauj after that date.

3. The article of Pandit Ramkarna mentioned by Dr. Majumdar contains only 2 pages devoted to the hypothesis that the Gāhadwāls were a branch of Rāshtrakūtas while my book named 'Bhārata-kē-Prāchīna Rājavamsha', Vol. III, published in 1925 A.D., contains more proofs in support of the theory.

4. As regards the association of Gādhipura with the name of Gāhadwāl, I may point out that as a branch of Rāshtrakūtas has been called Renkwāl for their association with a village named Renka and a branch of Chauhanas owing to their being the masters of "Suvarnagiri", are known as Sōnagara, in the like manner if a branch of Rāshtrakūtas came to be known as Gāhadwāl, owing to their association with 'Gādhipur', there seems no reason to disbelieve it.

5. As regards the classification of the Rāshtrakūtas as "Sūryavamshīs", I have given a number of proofs and have illustrated the mistakes committed by old writers.

Further the Professor writes that "while only six lines have been devoted to the art of Rāshtrakūtas, almost as many pages have been devoted to the determination of their gōtra and Vamśa". But he should note that the author considered it more important to deal fully with their Vamśa than art.

Going further the learned Professor writes—'The penultimate chapter of the first part entitled—"The Glory of the early Rāshtrakūtas" betrays the real motive of the author which is not so much to write a sober history of the Rāshtrakūtas as to make the present Rāthōds of Jodhpur shine in the reflected glory of the ancient Rāshtrakūtas.'

I think the expression of such views is only due to prejudice, or to ignorance of the facts and to remove this I give below the summary of the chapter devoted to the "Glory of the latter Rāshtrakūtas" in the second volume of the history, at present, in press:—

The Ghōsunḍī inscription² of Mahārānā Rāyamāl, of Mewar, dated V. S. 1561 (1504 A.D.), contains:—

श्रीयोधक्षितिपतिरुग्रखड्गधारानिर्घातप्रहतपठानपारशीकः ।

पूर्वानताप्सोद्भूयया विमुक्तया काश्यां सुवर्णेर्विपुलैर्विपश्चितः ॥

i.e. Rao Jodha killed the Pathāns and Persians by his sword.

2. Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. 56, part I, No. 2.

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He satisfied his ancestors by freeing the holy city of Gayā from the tax, and pleased the scholars by giving a huge quantity of gold in charity at Kāshī (Benares).

Muhammad Kāsim in his "Tārīkh-i-Farishtā", which he wrote in V. S. 1671, states³:—

Shērshāh, at the end of the battle fought with Rāo Māldēva's army, abruptly uttered—"Praise be to God by whose grace, anyhow, I have achieved the victory, otherwise I would have lost the kingdom of Hindustān for a handful of Bājra."

Abulfazal in his 'Akbarnama'⁴ mentions Rāo Māldēva as the greatest ruler among the Rāos and Rājās of the time.

The author of "Tuzuk-i-Jahāngirī"⁵ refers to Rāo Māldēva holding larger territory and bigger army than Mahārānā Sāngā (Sangrāmsingh I of Mewar). The numerical strength of Māldēva's army is given as 80,000.

A poet of Rājasthān describes Mahārānā Pratāp and Rāo Chandrasēn, son and successor of Rāo Māldēva, as under:—

अणदगिया तुरा ऊजला असमर, चाकर रहण न डिगियौ चीत ।
सारे हिन्दुस्थान तणै सिर, पातलने चन्द्रसेण प्रवीत ।

i.e. Mahārānā Pratāp and Rāo Chandrasēn were only two persons who neither accepted the suzerainty of the Mughal emperor nor allowed their horses to be branded with Akbar's mark.

Besides this Mahārānā Pratāp himself followed the path trodden by Rāo Chandrasēn some ten years back.

"Ālamgīr Nāmā"⁶ mentions Mahārājā Jaswantsingh I as being the greatest of all in power and prestige and a pillar of the Mughal empire.

The author of 'Maāsir-ul-Umrā'⁷ writes that this Mahārājā Jaswantsingh I, due to his largest army and biggest paraphernalia, was the greatest of all the rulers of Hindustān.

3. Vol. I, chapter 2, p. 228.

4. Vol. II, p. 160.

5. Preface, p. 7.

6. P. 32.

7. Vol. III, p. 603.

He demolished mosques and built temples⁸ in their places even in the time of emperor Aurangzeb and the emperor dared not lay 'Jaziā' as long as the Mahārājā survived, but was able to impose it only after his death.⁹

Mahārājā Ajitsingh, the son of Mahārājā Jaswant I, joined hands with 'Sayyad' brothers and massacring emperor Farrukhsiyar placed in succession three emperors on the throne of Delhi.

The chivalry of Rathōr Durgādās is well known to almost every Indian.

As regards the magnanimity of the Rāthōrs the author of 'Sehr-ul-Mutākharin'¹⁰ states :—

"After fighting for some time when the army of Amīr-ul-Umrā (Zulfi-kār-Jang) was confounded owing to lack of water the opponent Rāthor army of Mahārājā Rāmsingh of Marwar quenched the thirst of his men and horses by supplying water freely and then bidding them go unmolested."

As regards Mahārājā Bakhtsingh Col. Tod writes¹¹ :—

"... and but for that one damning crime,¹² he would have been handed down to posterity as one of the noblest princes Rājwārā ever knew."

The Colonel further states¹³ :—

"The Moghal emperors were indebted for half their conquest to the 'Lākh Tarwār Rāthōrān', the 1,00,000 swords of the Rāthōrs."

Further in the recent Great War, besides the help given by other Rāthōr rulers, Mahārājā Sumērsingh of Jodhpur, aged only 16 years, and his grand uncle Mahārājā Pratāpsingh, aged 69, laid an example before the princely order by voluntarily joining the armies in the field.

8. Sarkar's History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III pp. 368-369.

9. V. A. Smith's Oxford History of India, p. 438.

10. Vol. III, p. 885.

11. Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (Ed. by Crooke), Vol. II, p. 1057.

12. Committed under special circumstances (see Indian Antiquary, vol. LVIII, pp. 47-51).

13. Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (Ed. by Crooke), Vol. I, pp. 105-106.

The chivalry shown by the Jodhpur lancers in the eastern front, during the Great War, can be judged by the speech¹⁴ of Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy and the Governor-General of India, delivered at Jodhpur, wherein he said :—

"By their exploits at Haifa and in the Jordan valley they recalled the deeds of their ancestors who fought at Tongā, Mērtā and Pātan. The reputation which they have gained is well worthy of the glorious annals of Marwar."

Now I only quote two more events of individual Rāthōr chivalry from Akbarnāmā. Abulfazal writes :—

(1) "That when the army of Akbar invaded Mērtā, in the time of Rāo Māldēva, Rāthōr Dēvidās came out of the fort, with his four hundred followers, and fought in such a way against the vast army of Mughals that the people who witnessed the event forgot the well-known warrior Rustam."¹⁵

(2) "That when Akbar invaded Chittor Rana Udaisingh was obliged to seek shelter in the mountains leaving the responsibility of guarding the fort, against the enemy upon the shoulders of Rāthōr Jaimal. And as long as this Rāthōr warrior survived Akbar did not get a chance to capture the fort. It only slipped into the hands of the Mughal emperor¹⁶ after Jaimal's death."

These few facts, I think, will convince the scholars that the Rāthōrs are famous for their chivalry and magnanimity and for this they are called— 'रण-बंकाराढोड़'

As regards the glorious military exploits of Dhruvarāja and Gōvindarāja III, if the Professor will go through carefully the history of these two rulers given in the book his doubts will soon be removed.

In conclusion, scholars will judge for themselves, by the words of Dr. Majumdar used in his criticism of the book, how far he was prejudiced against the writer, the book and the dynasty with which it deals.

14. Delivered on 20th November, 1920.

15. Akbarnāmā, Vol. II, p. 162.

16. " " " pp. 320-321.

References to Muhammadans in Sanskrit Inscriptions of Northern India

By

MR. AMALANANDA GHOSH AND MR. RAMA SHANKER AVASTHY

WE have the following additions to make to our article with the above heading, published in *Journal of Indian History*, XV, pp. 161-184.

A fragmentary and mutilated inscription from Hund (Attock),¹ to be ascribed to the eighth or ninth century on palaeographical grounds, contains a reference to the rising Turuṣkas (*udrikta-Turuṣka*). The unsatisfactory condition of the inscription does not allow any further inference.

The passage about the Kalachuri Jayasinhha (p. 174 of our article), quoted from the Kumbhi plates,² also occurs in the recently published Jabalpur plates of Jayasinhha, dated A.D. 1167,³ in a slightly altered form.

On p. 172 we quoted a verse from a Verawal inscription,⁴ which says about a saint that he was worshipped by the Chaulukya royal family and that through his grace even a woman conquered the Hammira. The position of the verse in the inscription indicates that it refers to an incident in the reign of Mūlarāja II of Gujrat (c. 1176). In this connexion we are reminded of a story in Merutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* that Queen Nāikī, the mother of Mūlarāja, fought an invading Mleccha king with the child king in her lap and won the battle by the aid of a mass of rain-clouds.⁵ Our Verawal inscription may be referring to the same incident.

1. JASB., 6, 878. An examination of the original inscription, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, shows that Prinsep's reading requires revision. However, the reading of the passage in question (l. 3) appears certain.

2. *Ibid.*, 31, 116.

3. *El.*, 21, 93.

4. *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, 210.

5. *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, tr. Tawney, 154.

On p. 173 we referred to the Ahada plates of Bhimadeva II of Gujrat,⁶ mentioning the defeat of the 'invincible lord of Garjanaka' (i.e. Ghazna) by Mūlarāja II. The same epithet (*āhava-parābhūta-durjaya-Garjanakādhirāja*) is applied to Mūlarāja in six Kadi plates⁷ and also in a Patan grant.⁸

Three more Kadi plates⁹ have the following epithet for Mūlarāja instead of the previous one: *mleccha-tamo-nichaya-cchanna-mahīvalaya-pradyotana-bālārka*, 'the newly risen sun to illumine the orb of the earth that had been engulfed by the cumulating darkness (spread by) the Mlecchas,' evidently referring to the same incident.

An unsuccessful invasion of Gujrat in 1178 by Muḥammad bin Sām is recorded in Muslim chronicles; but as the king mentioned is Bhimadeva and not Mūlarāja, Dr. H. C. Ray thinks that the above phrases must refer to an earlier invasion of the Ghaznavids of Lahore or to a raid of a Sumra chief of Maṇṣūra.¹⁰

The Dabhoi inscription¹¹ (p. 172) and the Verawal fragmentary inscription¹² (p. 173) refer to Lavanaprasāda and Śrīdhara, the gallant employees of Bhimadeva II of Gujrat, who defeated the Turuṣka army. This is confirmed by Muslim historians. Firishṭa refers to Dalān and Araisi who distinguished themselves in the engagement of the Gujrat army with that of Aibak in 1197.¹³ The evidence of the *Tāj-al-Ma'āṣir* is more conclusive. Its author Ḥasan Niẓāmī specially refers to La'an and Dārābaras as the invulnerable pillars of Gujrat. It is very interesting to note that his language is no less eulogistic than that of the Sanskrit inscriptions: 'Intelligence arrived that La'an and Dārābaras had collected an army as innumerable as the particles of dust and were sitting at the entrance of the pass of the Abu Hill like a mountain of iron, determined upon fight. They were as brave and stout as a lion

6. *Proceedings of the Seventh Oriental Conference*, 643.

7. *IA.*, 6, 194, 196, 201, 203 and 208.

8. *Ibid.*, 11, 71. The corresponding passage of a Royal Asiatic Society grant has been read by Fleet as *āhava-parābhūta-durjaya-Nāgārjuna-kavi-rāja*, *ibid.*, 16, 112.

9. *Ibid.*, 6, 199, 205 and 207.

10. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, 2, 1004 f.

11. *El.*, 1, 26.

12. *Ibid.*, 2, 445.

13. *Firishṭa*, Lucknow text, 62.

or an elephant, as dauntless as a tiger or a crocodile, with their bright diamond-like claws like those of a lion or a wolf. Their bodies were as strong as steel. *KHusrū*, . . . who could lift up a lofty mountain on his spear, arrived at the pass with a huge army. The Musalmāns did not dare attack them in that strong position, specially as at that very place Sultān Muḥammad Sām had been wounded.¹⁴ Thus, these people had again high hopes of their success, thinking that in all probability the dice of their ambition would again fall in their favour.¹⁵ Elliot reads *Karan* for *La'an*.¹⁶

In *La'an* of the *Tāj-al-Ma'āṣir* we can easily recognize *Lava-naprasāda*. Whether *Dārābaras* can be identified with *Śrīdhara* may be left an open question.

Deccani Diplomacy and Diplomatic Usage in the Middle of the Fifteenth Century

By

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INTRODUCTION

THERE is a remarkable book, the *Riādhul'l-inshā*, two copies of which are to my knowledge, extant in Hyderabad,¹ which contains some of the letters written by the great Bahmanī minister, Maḥmūd Gāwān, and other correspondence entered into by him on behalf of his Bahmanī master, as well as the replies of certain well-known figures of the middle of the fifteenth century. Except for the late Mr. 'Azīz Mirzā, once the Home Secretary of the Nizam's Dominions, who refers to these letters in his life of the minister, these letters have not been utilised by anyone except as a model for flowery and conventional Persian style, and Mr. 'Azīz Mirzā himself has not attempted to draw on them as the source of Deccan history. Reference was made to the collection by the writer of the present paper on another occasion.² Here they are utilised for showing the diplomatic usage current in India in those far off days and the renown which the Kingdom of the Deccan had attained at the hands of Maḥmūd.

The compass of the letters dealing with diplomatic and foreign relations extends from the reign of Nizām Shāh (1461-1462) till about the end of the reign of Muhammad Shah (1462-1482), and before dealing directly with the actual diplomatic correspondence it would be well to give a short sketch of the political map of India about this period in order to present a perspective of the conditions under which the correspondence was entered into.

14. The historian does not clearly state that the Sultān was defeated, but simply says that he 'suffered in consequence of some evil influence of the eye.'

15. *Tāj-al-Ma'āṣir*, R.A.S.B. Ms., 357f.—359f.

16. Elliot, 2, 230.

1. One at the Asafiah State Library (Inshra, 148), the other at the Dāfar-i-Mulki (Record Office) (No. 8.)

2. Sherwani: *Khwāja-i-Jehān Maḥmūd Gāwān's campaigns in the Mahārāshtra*; Indian Historical Congress session, Poona, 1935.

THE BAHMANI SULTANATE

After Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī's death in 1461, his son Nizām Shāh succeeded to the throne at the age of 8 with his versatile mother, the dowager queen, Makhdūma-i Jahān Nargis Bēgam as regent. The ministerial honours were equally divided between K̲H̲wāja-i Jahān Turk, Governor of Tilangānah and the Maliku't-tujjār Maḥmūd Gāwaṇ, Governor of Bijāpūr. Nizām Shāh reigned only about eight months, but during this short period his kingdom had to deal with the Rāi of Orissa in the east and the formidable Maḥmūd K̲H̲iljī of Mālwa in the north. The eastern campaign was a success, the Raja having to pay a large idemnity, but the northern campaign resulted in the defeat of the Bahmani forces at Qandhār, the temporary shifting of the Bahmani capital from Bidar to Firōzābād and the capture of Barār, Bir and Daulatābād by the Malwese. By a great stroke of diplomacy Maḥmūd Gāwān invited Maḥmūd Shāh of Gujarat to help the Deccan, and the Malwese had to recross the border.³ Maḥmūd K̲H̲iljī of Malwa again attacked the Deccan in 1462 but returned forthwith on hearing that the King of Gujrāt was still an ally of the Bahmani ruler.

On Nizām Shāh's sudden death in 1463 his younger brother Muḥammad ascended the throne at the age of nine. It was not long after that the co-minister, K̲H̲wāja-i Jahān Turk was murdered in open court, and the sole conduct of administration devolved on Maliku't-tujjār Maḥmūd Gāwaṇ who was created the K̲H̲wāja-i Jahān, and controlled the government firstly during the regency of the dowager Queen and then during the direct rule of the King from 1468 right up to his own tragic death in 1481. A great change had taken place in the Bahmani power during the last five or six years, and the government felt powerful enough to send an army to the territory which was in dispute between Mālwa and the Deccan, i.e., the district of Kherla, and it was only the appeal of the K̲H̲iljī king to past traditions and his avowal to sue for peace

3. There is quite a large correspondence between the three parties included in the Riādh as well as in the Burhānu'l-ma'athir, the phototype of which was very kindly lent to me by Mr. Hāshimī, Asst. Educational Secretary, H.E.H. The Nizam's Government. The Burhān is now being published by the Persian Manuscripts Society, Hyderabad.

that a formal and final treaty was entered into in 1466, so that there was no further quarrel with the northern neighbour.⁴

ORISSA.

In the east a great diplomatic success was achieved when the Bahmanis supported Hamir Rāi against Mangal Rāi in his struggle for the throne of Orissa, overthrew Mangal Rāi and made Orissa a protectorate of the Deccani Sultanate, annexing the long coveted districts of Rajamandri and Kondavir as the price of this successful interference. In the south the King himself led a campaign against Vijayānagar and repaired an outpost of the Deccani Empire. The western campaigns of Maḥmūd and his master have been dealt with elsewhere⁵ and are here mentioned as they take up a considerable amount of space in the correspondence entered into chiefly with non-Indian potentates.⁶

MALWA

Malwa was governed right through the ascendancy of Maḥmūd Gāwaṇ at Bidar by that remarkable man, Maḥmūd K̲H̲iljī, who reigned at Shādiābād Māndū from 1436 to 1475. It is said that Maḥmūd was 'the greatest of the Muslim kings of Malwa,'⁷ and there is no doubt that his ambitions knew no bounds. Himself not of the royal stock of Malwa, he came to the throne after poisoning his own brother-in-law, Muḥammad Shāh, tried to annex the capital of the Northern Empire, Delhi, and of the Southern Empire, Bidar, and was a perpetual enemy of Gujrāt where he had to face another great ruler, Maḥmūd Bēgarhah who almost invariably held the day against Malwa either by force of arms or by his diplomatic tact. In the north, where he could not overpower the might of Bahlōl Lōdī, he made friends with him and promised to furnish him a large army against the pretensions of Ḥusain Shāh, the Sharqī king of Jaunpūr with whose predecessor he had waged a war on his own account. It was mainly due to his ambitious and diplomatic nature rather than to his success on the field of battle that he was so well known all over the world, was honoured by the shadowy K̲H̲alifah of Cairo, el Mustanjid

4. Vide Burhān and Ferishtah. The former contains a greater detail, as also the letter of the Bahmani ruler in which he orders the withdrawal of the army from the district.

5. Vide N. 1, *Supra*.

6. Thus, e.g., in the letters to the Sultan of Gilan, p. 11, *infra*.

7. Camb. Hist. of India, III, cap. 14.

bi'l-Lāh,⁸ with the bestowal of a robe of honour, and had diplomatic relations with Timūr's grandson, Abu Sa'id Mirzā, ruler of Central Asia.⁹

GUJRĀT.

This was a period of great men in Central and Southern India, and Gujrāt was no exception to the rule. The king with whom we are chiefly concerned here is Maḥmūd II, Bēgarhah,¹⁰ who came to the help of the Bahmanī kingdom so many times and who, in fact, saved the Deccan from falling under the tutelage of the *Khilji* of Malwa. Maḥmūd was the sixth king of his line and ruled from 1458 to 1511. He was a real friend of the Deccan, and though it was mainly through the efforts of Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ and the Queen, Maḥdūma-i Jahān that he stepped in to check the onslaughts of the Malwese king, still his conduct as a chivalrous man is shown by a letter he wrote to Maḥmūd *Khilji* saying that it was not proper to attack a kingdom with a child ruler.¹¹ He fought many battles, but wherever he fought, he did so with great acumen and bravery and extended the borders of his state from Malwa to Sindh and from the Siwāliks to Malkāpūr in the Deccan. He was the man who allied with the Mamlūk Sultān, Malik Ashraf Qansauh el-Ghawri (1500-1526) resulting in the utter rout of the Portuguese under Larenço de Almeida at Chaul in January, 1508. Like Maḥmūd *Khilji* of Malwa, Maḥmūd of Gujrāt was greatly respected by contemporary sovereigns not only in India but overseas as well, and he received ambassadorial missions from Shāh Isma'il the Great of Persia and Sultān Sikandar Lōdī of Delhi.

JAUNPŪR

The last Indian ruler mentioned in Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ's correspondence is Husain Shāh, the Sharqī king, who reigned at Jaunpūr from 1458 right up to the dissolution of his kingdom in 1479. Jaunpūr had always been at daggers drawn with Malwa, and Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ seems to have been particularly anxious that the Bahmanī monarchy should ally itself with the Sharqīs of Jaunpūr, mainly because Jaunpūr was the neighbour of Malwa in the north in the same way as Gujrāt was its neighbour in the west, and

8. 1460-1470.

9. 1461-1468.

10. Maḥmūd was nicknamed 'Bēgarhah' probably because of his capture of the great forts of Girnār and Champanēr.

11. Mentioned in Cambr. Hist. of India, III, 305.

Husain Shah was known to have ambitions to make Jaunpūr a Deccani power by making Orissa its protectorate, and at the same time to extend his sway to the borders of Delhi. It was really this latter venture which cost him his throne, as Sultān Bahlōl Lōdī proved more than a match for him, annexing the kingdom to the Delhi Sultānate in 1479.

NON-INDIAN STATES—GILĀN.

It is only natural that Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ carried on diplomatic correspondence with states bordering on the Bahmanī kingdom to a greater extent than with those which were distant from it, such as Jaunpūr, and the only two states outside India which find a place in the collection mentioned above are the land of his birth, Gilān, and the greatest muslim empire of those days, Turkey. Gilān was the country bordering on the Caspian Sea and was independent under its own rulers since 1227 right up till the reign of the Persian Emperor, Shah Tihmāsp Sefevī (1526-1576) (who is well known to readers of Indian history as the host of our own Emperor Humāyūn in his wanderings) who annexed it to the Persian Empire in 1567. The ruler of Gilān in the days of Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ's greatness was Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn Abū Sa'id Gūrgān, and Maḥmūd, with the greatness of heart which he had, is ever protesting his fidelity and homage to the successors of the rulers who were the forbears, and when the Sultān requested him to come and serve his erstwhile country, he replied that with all the kindness shown to him by the Indian Sultans of the Bahmanī kingdom, he felt it his duty to continue serving his adopted land till his last breath. At the same time he did all he could to recount to the Sultān of Gilān the great work the Bahmanīs were doing to pacify the country and make it law-abiding, and enumerating the deeds of bravery shown by the Indian Muslims on the field of battle.

TURKEY

Such is also the burden of the letters which the *Khwājā* wrote to the Sultān of Turkey. It is evidently wrongly stated in the collection that the letters were written to 'Sultān Murād *Khān* er-Rūmī,' as Mūrād, by whom is no doubt meant Murād II, ruled from 1421 to 1451, while we are aware that the *Khwājā* did not come to India till 1455 and did not attain any eminence till the accession of Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī in 1457. We know from other sources that it was the son of Murād II. Muḥammad II, Conqueror of Constantinople, who corresponded with eminent men

as Maulānā Jāmī and KHwājā Maḥmūd Gāwān,¹² and there is no doubt that it was this emperor to whom the letters in the collection were addressed. As we are aware Muḥammad was one of the greatest Sultans Turkey ever had, and it was he who not only conquered the 'Imperial City,' annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina and besieged the Island of Rhodes, but his armies actually crossed the Adriatic, storming the castle of Otranto near Brindisi on the Italian mainland and virtually annexing a large part of southern Italy. Although it was some years before Sultān Selīm I formally proclaimed himself the KHalifah of Islam, still the greatness of such conquerors as Murād II and Muḥammad II had caused them to be regarded as the bulwark of Islam in the West, and the KHwāja correspondent with Muḥammad as he wanted to show the Conqueror of the West the feats of the Deccani kingdom.

THE KHWAJA'S STYLE

We would now give a *resumé* of some of the diplomatic letters mentioned above, but before doing so, it would be better to give a short account of the method of the KHwāja's letter writing. The letters written by him are mostly couched in fine flowery phrases and sentences, interspersed with couplets not only from Arabic and Persian poets but with Quranic verses, the Apostolic traditions and his own poetic compositions. Except for the letters addressed to Maḥmūd KHiljī of Malwa and his plenipotentiaries, they are almost invariably long, and in the case of Sultān of Gīlān and the Ottoman Emperor, even the beginning, containing their names and titles, runs sometimes to a number of pages. Some letters in the collection are supposed to be written on behalf of the Bahmanī Sultān, but in case of letters written during the minority of Nizām Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh, they must have been written by the KHwāja in the name of the King perhaps at the instance of the Dowager Queen. In giving a summary of these letters we would slip over the more conventional paragraphs and only summarise such parts as would throw some light on the diplomatic conduct in those remote times.

12. Stanley Lane-Poole: Turkey, ch. 7, where it is related how the Sultān used to send annual presents to Jāmī and the Indian 'Khoja Jahan'. I learn from Mr. 'Abdu'l-lāh Chaghtāi of Lahore, brother of the famous artist, that he has himself seen original letters written by Maḥmūd Gāwān to Muḥammad the Conqueror, in the Istanbul Museum.

I. TO MAḤMŪD SHĀH OF GUJRĀT.

(1) (Leaf¹³, 34 ff.)¹⁴ :—

Reply to a letter written on behalf of the great and good Sultān, Muḥammad Shāh el-Bahmanī to the Sultān of justice, Muḥammad Shāh el-Gujrāti (*the names of neither the writer nor the addressee are mentioned therein, according to custom*) :

[Strategy. Mutual Envoys, Their names. Alliance between the Deccan and Gujrāt.]

It should be plain that in the presence of Him in whom are gathered all goodness and kindness, His Highness Ṣafdar KHān, the foundations of love and alliance have been laid on the basis of mutual promises and contracts, and it is with the Grace of the Almighty that our conquering armies are preceded by banners of good will. Our action is according to the Apostolic tradition that 'Paradise lies in the shadow of the sword,' and we have taken up arms in order that we might cut off the knot of disorder and opposition and wipe away all the filth of darkness and waywardness and so that the earth may be rid of that accursed KHiljī. If at this time the all-conquering army were to appear before the province of Asīr, there is no doubt that the crafty, fire-breathing traitor would go to the lowest portion of hell and our joint armies would enter his country which has been the cause of so much cruelty, disorder and opposition, causing our mutual alliance to shine like the very Sun before the eyes of the denizens of the East and the West. The rest will be related to you by the chiefest of our friends, KHān-i A'zam Tamar KHān.

(2) (pp. 47 ff.)¹⁵ :—

[Malwese envoys arrive with pourparlers. Reference to a former envoy from Malwa. Reference to the proposal for partition of Malwā.]

All our thanks are due to the Almighty who caused the world-shining sun of the alliance of pious rulers to clear away darkness from this world. It should be known that Qazī. . . Zāhir and Is-ḥāq Zāhir have arrived here on behalf of the KHiljī and

13. This letter must have been written after the Battle of Qandhār in 1462.

14. References are to the M.S.S. of Riādhul-Inshā in the Asafiah Library, 148, Inshā, unless otherwise stated.

15. This letter must have been written after the retreat of the Malwese

are thoroughly ashamed of the hold the Devil has had on him recently. The *Khilji* wants that all traces of opposition from among the followers of Islām might disappear and the light of mutual understanding might shine with all its effects. These envoys also said things which are outwardly well-meaning and in accordance with the Islamic spirit. We must remember at the same time that he is still burning with the fire of vengeance and there is no confidence left in the action of that crafty traitor. But the learned men, Syyids, good persons and those versed in the Law are telling me that according to Qur'ānic verse: 'And if they incline to peace, incline them also to it,'¹⁶ it would be according to the dictates of Islam to send someone to Mālwa with the above-mentioned envoys. When Shaikh Dāwūd¹⁷ came here last year, his message was duly conveyed to Your Majesty, and it was regarded as fit and proper that if in the division of the country regard is paid to the rules laid down by past Sultāns it would lead to the ending of all quarrels between the followers of Islām. It is for this reason that Qāzi Sukhan and Qāzi Ahmad, Censor and Deputy Censor, are being sent along with these envoys in order to find out which is the best policy for our future relations with the enemy.

(3) (pp. 56 ff.) :—

[Proposal of an alliance with Jaunpūr.]

Whatever has been written about the Sultān Husain Shāh of Jaunpūr is the exact truth, as any help given to him would lead to the strengthening of the foundations of the Faith, the end of those who are wont to create disorder and sweeping away of those who side with the wicked or oppress the pious.....¹⁸

(4) (pp. 114 ff.)¹⁹ :—

[Reply to the letter from the King of Gujrat, in which the latter is informed of the demise of the Dowager Queen, Makhdūma-i Jahān.]

16. Qur'an, VIII, 61.

17. Vide letter IV, 2, *infra*. The "message" was from the King of Malwa, and it was conveyed to the King of Gujrat, perhaps because it was regarded proper that peace should be concluded only when the allies have agreed to it.

18. Probably written after V *infra*.

19. This letter must have been written after the Mahārāshtra campaign of 1472.

(5) (pp. 124 ff.) :—

[End of the Malwese danger. Proposals for a permanent union with Gujrat.]

Thanks without limits of thought are due to the Creator—may His Greatness increase and may His Benevolence be further distributed—that all traces of the burning spark of the treason of sedition-mongers has already been extinguished and swept off by the continuous rain of the might of pious and just kings and the sharp swords of puissant rulers causing the Sun of friendship to rise from the East according to the Qur'ānic verse, 'And so they became brothers through His Grace,' ridding the sphere of this earth and the extent of the habitable Fourth from the darkness of cruelty and blackness of disorder and enmity..... It should further be known that it is necessary for courageous Sultans to cleanse the distance of the earth by all traces of the disorder and seditious disturbances by the strength and support of the Faith and to destroy the serpent of the curse of their existence by the edge of the sword of the great Faith and the rain of the arrows of following the Path of the Chief of the Apostles..... Malik Ashraf will carry a message to your royal ears, which would be based on these principles founded on the true aims of Islām, and proposal for mutual union.....

II. FROM THE KING OF GUJRAT.

(pp. 128 ff.)²⁰ :—

[Names of the Deccani and the Malwese envoys. Strategy.]

Your Majesty's letter has been received through its bearer, Khān-i A'zam Islām Khān,²¹ carrier of all the appurtenances of embassy in the most auspicious of times and owner of all the necessary qualities of his office; and forthwith the folds of the sky of union began to shine with the stars of love and regard..... At the same time the Syyyid of the Syyyids, the rising place of the star of good qualities, Syyyid Muẓaffaru'd-dīn, who had in his hands the high banner of the goodwill of both the parties.... was sent, so that he might open the chain of alliance and amity with the keys of truth and cause the hearts of the friends of both parties with the scent of kind words.... Secondly, it is incumbent on successful

20. Probably a reply to I, 1, *supra*.

21. The Khān-i-A'zam is named 'Tamar Khan' in I, 1.

kings to eliminate all disturbing factors caused by the recalcitrantso according to the adage, 'In postponement are troubles' if you were to pay attention to the removal of the chief obstacle immediately by the action of the victorious army which is now at the fortress of Gulnār, then the chronicle of time will be ornamented by the seal of good acts and the blessing of this cure of old wounds would result in the fulfilment of the rest of our ambitions, so that our victorious arms will be able to conquer the forts and fortresses of the enemy with ease.....

III. TO MAḤMŪD KHILJĪ OF MALWA.

(pp. 129 ff.²²) :—

[Exchange of mutual envoys.]

Written on behalf of the just Sultān Muḥammad Shāh el-Bahmanī, in reply :—

It should be made clear and plain that letters of friendship and beautiful proofs of union have been received on the arrival of that link in the chain of the great and the venerable, the source of all that is good,..... At present.....²³ being sent for Your Majesty's companionship, for he is one who unites the marks of leadership in himself and puts forward his opinions with sincerity and courage, in order that the rules of friendship might be the foundation and cement of love which should shine like a glittering and a highly ornamented palace.

IV. TO MAḤMŪD KHILJĪ'S ENVOYS.

(1) To el-Mendāwī.²⁴

(pp. 119 ff.) :—

[Conditions of mutual alliance. Purity and sincerity in foreign relations. Threat.]

The way of bettering the relations between Islāmic peoples is dependant on internal as well as external purity. By internal

22. Chronologically this should come after I, 2; a reference to these envoys appears there, where they are named 'Qazi . . . Zāhir' and 'Ishāq Zāhir'.

23. Vide letter I, 2 where the Bahmanī envoys are named.

24. Written probably after the campaign of 1462, Vide I, 2.

purity is meant the obliteration of cunning and deceit and the ending of lies and false excuses by ablution by the waters of sincerity according to the paths laid down by those who were wont to keep their words.... The fact is that the kings of old—may God keep them in their abode of paradise—wanted to end all quarrels among the Muslims.

And as at this time the filth of guilty conscience and deceits of self are patent on the other side, I would advise you to be the same in deeds as in words and remind you that a Muslim should never be a hypocrite in his conduct. Otherwise you must remember that the storm of our arrow-heads and the hurricane of our swords would soon uproot the very existence of the recalcitrant and send to atoms the economy of their lives.

(2) To Shaikh Dāwūd.²⁵

(pp. 48 b. ff.) :—

[Greatness of the Bahmanī dynasty. Former Khiljī envoys.

Anti-Bahmanī party at the Malwese court. Condition of alliance. Definition of purity. Threat.]

It should be known that the fine character and the universally accepted royal qualities of the House of His Bahmanic Majesty (whose personality and the true conception of royalty have been twins from the time of Kiūmarth, the first of the sovereigns of the earth and the progenitor of this royal family) have been shining like the very Sun in centre of the Firmament on the residents of the four alcoves of the world and the population of the continents in their length and breadth.... His late Majesty Sultān Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad Shāh—may God shower his bounties on his grave—and may Heaven be his abode—in the first year of his reign, sent back two KHiljī envoys who had come to him with presents . . . in a manner proper for the dynasty, according to the Qur'ānic dictate, 'If they offer a present, give a better one or at least one as good.' This was the treatment on the part of the Bahmanī Sultān. While on his part the KHiljī showed his opposition and antagonism instead of love and alliance and did not desist from the wayward path which is against the route laid down by the Sultāns past and present, always turning his ear to the party which delighted to spread scandals. At that time the KHalafu'l-Mashāikh wrote something

25. Written probably after the campaign of 1462. Vide Letters I, 2 and III.

about the strength of the banner of Islām, suppression of the fire of revenge and action according to the tradition of the Apostle (Peace be on him). The best of kings consider that the way of bettering the condition of the people is based on external as well as internal purity: by external purity is meant the ending of internecine feuds, a halt in the showers of arrows and the sheathing of the swords in their scabbards; while by internal purity is meant turning from the way of falsity and deceit.... Now if it is known that the said KHilji is acting on what has been agreed upon with all its conditions and principles, then this friend (the writer) might be informed accordingly so that he might do his duty and act upon the dictates of the Ancient Faith, otherwise you might know that according to the grace of the Almighty and the power of the axe of fortune, the strength of the arm of diplomacy and the general bearing and the number of the troops, the power of the sword and of the arrow-points, and the blows on the chests and foreheads, the rule of this dynasty is based not on a mere chance but on matters of right.

V. TO THE SULTAN OF JAUNPŪR.²⁶

(pp. 113 ff.) :—

[Need for mutual union. Importance of envoys. Names of envoys.]

Written on behalf of the great Sultān Muḥammad SHāh el-Bahmanī to the just Sultān Ḥusain SHāh el-Jaunpurī.

As the causes of mutual union are all present and traces of disunion have all disappeared and as alliances between great kings and sincerity between Islāmic potentates is praised by the high and the low, and as the surest way of clearing off all opposition by sending envoys, creating a sincere atmosphere and good relationship, so the ornament of the savants of the age, Qadi 'Uthmān—may his respect increase—is being sent to Your Majesty, and he has been told all that is good for the people of Islām in particular and the population in general. We request Your Majesty to give him a good hearing. The first condition of mutual regard and the corner stone of the foundation of alliances is that the darkness of distance should be removed by the light of diplomatic messages²⁷

26. Probably written before December, 1470; vide next letter, VI.

27. The truth of this principle of diplomacy needs no demonstration.

and the garden of our regard be enriched by the receipt of Your Majesty's welfare.

VI. TO A MINISTER.

(pp. 57 ff.) :—

[Reception of the Jaunpūr envoys. Royal letter to the King of Jaunpūr. News from the western front.]

To the Chairman of the Headship of the Paved Court.²⁸

It should not be kept secret that the beautiful details of the facts described in your letter have come to my notice as also the news of the reception of the envoys of Jaunpur according to the manner prescribed by His Majesty—may God keep his umbrage on this wide world. Moreover, I gather that the letter from His Majesty to His Majesty the Sultan of Jaunpur has also been sent. It might here be mentioned that all the victorious armies will be assembled by the end of this month, and about the beginning of Jemādiu'th-thānī I will enter the province of Sangēsar.²⁹...and taking men of war and other ships from the port of Chaul and Dābhōl along with soldiers of action and well-known commanders, will proceed to uproot all disorders in those regions.

VII. TO 'ALĪ EL-YEZDĪ.

(pp. 29-b. ff.) :—

[Envoys from Gilān. General conditions of Gilān.]

This letter which is full of feeling, was written from the city of Muḥammadābād—may it ever be saved from all disturbing factors and its master from all reactionary forces—in the month of Rabī I. You must have heard about the arrival of the Gilān envoys at the foot of the High Throne—may its Empire last till the end of time—for taking with them the noble son, KHwājah Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad, and of their unlucky return and of the departure of that son according to his own desire. It should be made plain that

28. 'Suffah' literally means 'paved court', and was the name given to the place where the pre-Islamic Meccans held meetings of the republican council. Later the name was given to the Council itself.

29. This gives the approximate date of this as well as the previous letter, i.e., about December 1470. See my paper on Maḥmūd Gāwān's Mahārāshtra campaigns, *op. cit.*

my homage to Amīr Muḥammad, the representative of all blessing, is according to the habit of our family, still just at present he is absolutely powerless and the reins of government are in the hands of certain ministers and noblemen, every one of whom is not only the commander-in-chief but also the president of the lowset parts of hell, i.e., the Commander Ḥājī Muḥammad, the leader and chief councillor, and *Shāikh* 'Alī. As a matter of fact Ḥājī Muḥammad was brought up by his own sincere friend (Maḥmūd Gāwān).³⁰

VIII. TO THE SULTĀN OF GILĀN.

[There are altogether ten letters addressed to this ruler, but the burden of most of them consists of (i) Maḥmūd's inherent loyalty to the land of his birth; (ii) Recommendation that his son 'Abdu'l-lāh be treated well and be not allowed to lead a bad life; (iii) News of the success of Bahmanī government and Bahmanī arms. It is really this last point which is useful for our purpose, as in this case Maḥmūd wants to create an impression of the greatness of his acquired home. Some of these letters are inordinately long, and we would content ourselves with giving extracts from three of them.]

[Bahmanī Victories. Theory of Obedience and Authority.]

(1) (pp.35.ff.) :—

To the great Sultān, Sun of the firmament of the *KHilāfat* of the world and of religion, Sultan Muḥammad Gilānī, may his realm last for ever. By the Unlimited Grace of the Creator of all that the welfare of the Faith and the permanence of the community requires for its completion and highest government, and according to the Qur'ānic verse, 'And He sent iron in which is great power,'³¹ every year sees a new victory to our arms and a large section of the enemy is sent to the bottom of hell. On the 22nd Rabi I, the victorious army, like the halo round the moon, and like multi-coloured leaves of trees,.....besieged and captured the great fort of Māchāl after a long seige.³²

30. This letter gives the condition of the land of Maḥmūd Gāwān's birth about this period. Evidently the government was in inefficient hands and that was probably why he was so anxious about his son, 'Abdu'l-lah. *Vide* letters to the Emīr of Gilān, *infra*.

31. Qur'an, LVII, 25.

32. This defines the approximate date of the latter. Māchāl fell on the 22nd of Rabi'u'l-awwal (22nd September, 1470). The letter must have been written about that time.

When I cast a look of thought on the theory of justice and the causes of power and slavery and the ultimate objects of both, I clearly perceive that those who accept the dictates of the Book and the Traditions without force or fear, receive the turban of greatness on their heads; while those who put a cap of pride on their heads with the hands of denial and waywardness, fall from the fleeing steed of authority into the halter of commotion and agitation..... Some rise from the ranks of obedience to high ranks and noble duties, while some, whose fortune favours them, even sit on mighty thrones.

(2) (50 ff.) :—

[Reasons for leaving Gilān. Treatment at the hands of the Bahmanis.]

When I left Gilān, the Revealer of hidden thing ordered that I should serve the House of Bahman, the members of which had the qualities of Anūshīrwān, the heart of Ḥātam, so that by the ointment of their kindness, the wound of the distance from my native land and the grief of leaving brethren and tribesmen was changed into a condition of comfort and ease.... Then His late Majesty Sultan Humāyūn Shāh—may God purify his grave and may He make his life hereafter better than his worldly existence—went away from this Inn of Pride to the Realm of the Everlasting, and his dear son, Sultān of the dignity of Jem, courage of Kai, heir of the *KHilāfat* of Bahman and Isfandār, shadow of the Kindness of the Creator, Nizām Shāh, came to the throne. As the pigeon of the soul of this servant was bound by the neckband of the care and kindness of the late Sultān Humāyūn Shāh, and the stability of the present as well as hope for the future was really derived from the fountain of all the kindness and regard shown by His late Majesty, so I am in duty bound to serve his son.

(3) (pp. 76 ff.) :—

[The Raingnah campaign. The fortifications of the Rāi of Sangēssar. The reasons for taking out a campaign in the Mahārāshtra. Operations round Māchāl. The march to Goa.]

By the Grace of the Maker of all, a spark from the torch of whose Kindness shows the way to all the seekers of the Straight Path, and owing to the Majesty and courage of the King of the country and the community, the strong fort of Raingnah was cap-

tured in the month of Muḥarramu-l-Harām,³³ it was a fort which the power of the eye could not reach by the rope of the thread of the eye-sight, and it was impossible for the bravest of the lion-hunters to budge from their abodes owing to the awe of its rarities and the magnificence of its hills. After waiting for a long time, spending all the powers of method and thought and disbursing no end of Dirhems and Dinars as well as the energy of men of action, the fortress was at last conquered. After this we went and overpowered the forts and habitations of the Rāi of Sangēssar, every one of which was, owing to the vastness of its garrison and the extent of its forests like the country of Ṭabaristān and the Trans-Caspian provinces..., while the slings from the catapults and the balls from the cannon went up to the minarets of the constellation of the Aries; the abundance of trees round about and their mutual contact was such that the whole country-side was filled with darkness, and the difficulty of finding the way so great as to make the peacock and the parrot utterly hopeless. It was really with all the power of organization and method at our command that our desire was, after all, satisfied. Every year there used to be three hundred mountain-like boats anchored on the shore, from which the said Rāi, his allies and relations, women as well as men, poor as well as rich, set out to shed the blood of the Muslims and loot their wealth. On the first of Rajab, the advance guard of our victorious army with a host of courageous men from the Turkish, Arab and other tribes, advanced with the courage of lions. These and the rest of the forces, boiling like the sea, elephants with roars like thunder, slaves and Abyssinians with all the sense of daring their command—all these were put on the right and left wing and the centre of the army now operating round the fortress of Māchāl. A number of persons were now sent with persuasive words, and it was owing to the beneficent effects of the stars, the Grace of the Almighty and the distinctive courage of my victorious sovereign that the forbidding fort of Māchāl, the largest of the hills and forts of that mischief-monger, was conquered.³⁴

When the power of the victorious army came to the notice of the said Rāi, he put the ropes of humility and lowness round his neck, and having given up his ideas of revenge and freedom as the means of attaining his desires, he sent his own son with some wise

33. Actually, 22nd Muḥarram, July 19, 1470; Vide 'Māharāshtra campaigns, op. cit.

34. The siege of Māchāl lasted from 22nd Rabi'ū'l-awwal, 22nd September, to 1st Rajab, 29th December.

men from the fort of Raingnah, the seat of that vile man just opposite the fort of Māchāl, and surrounded the said fortress. At last he was given all the protection he wanted after he had put the mark of obedience and service on his forehead, and was granted certain villages in return.

After this success Goa was invested by 108 sail from the sea-side and a large army from the land-side, and conquered on the 20th of Sha'ban.³⁵⁻³⁶

IX. TO SULTAN MURAD (SIC.) OF TURKEY

[Importance of the Sultānate.]

(1) (pp. 16-B. pp.) :—

To the greatest Sultan, Owner of the neck of Nations, Sultān Muḥammad Murād er-Rūmī, may the days of his rule last for ever.

O, Sultan, you are the Firmament of the Sultanate, Caliphate and Justice, and are called the Reins of the Faith, the most respected of the Kings—while I am the lowest of the servants whom the travellers of the seven continents and seas and the denizens of the seven skies have ever discovered by their flights of imagination, power of thought and mental capacity.... The successful enterprises of Your Majesty are patent to all, for the wide surface of the continents of this earth in all their length and breadth is subjects to Your Majesty's order and laws. According to the Qur'ānic verse, which has so much foundation, 'Verily, We have made thee our Khalifah on earth, so judge between men with the hands of thought and argument.

(2) (pp. 97 ff.) :—

[Arrival of the Turkish envoy.]

To the great Sultān, the most beneficent and just, Sultān, son of Sultān, Muḥammad Murād er-Rūmī.....

I have received the *fermān*, fit to be obeyed by the whole world, in an auspicious time, the *fermān* which Your Majesty was good enough to send through the Pride of his kind and epoch, Emīr Jalālu'd-dīn—may God be good to him. The nightingale of the

35-36. 11th February, 1471. The letter was evidently written after this.

soul immediately began to warble the song of 'Praise be to the Lord who revealed the Book to the servant'³⁷ from the branch of sincerity in the palace of thanks and praise.

LETTERS FROM THE BURHĀNU'L-MAĀTHIR.

Leaf 74 :—

[Extract from a letter³⁸ from Queen Makhdūma-i Jahān to the King of Gujrāt,]

About the cruelties and tyrannies of the enemies of the State and containing bitter complaints of the antagonist of the Deccan. The letter was sent to 'the pious ruler whose sovereignty extended to the sky, who regarded justice as his own native quality, who was backed by God Almighty, the Father of conquest, Sultān Maḥmūd, King of Gujrāt' through an emissary.

Leaf 75 ff. :—

Nizām Shāh to Sultān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt³⁹ :—
[Importance of alliances.]

All thanks are due to God—may His Might increase and may His Bounties be more common—that He has strengthened the foundations of the different countries by the mutual alliance and help of pious kings and sovereigns and illumined the hearts of the believers and the innermost depths of men with the sharpness of the swords of kings. It should be known to Your Majesty that from the contents of the petition of the great noble Nizāmu-l-mulk and Miliku'sh-sharq, Muḥammad Parviz Sultānī, thānadār of Faṭḥabad came to know that Your Majesty intends to come by continuous marches in order to strengthen Islām and invogorate the foundations of love and regard. There is no doubt that the love and alliance between the two sides demands that the two should be united to put courage in the minds of friends and crush the enemies. It is for this reason that Your Majesty intends to take

37. Qur'ān, XVIII, 1.

38. The letter was written after the Queen and the young king, Nizām Shāh, had to leave the capital, Muḥammadābād Bidar in the face of the attack of Maḥmūd khiljī of Malwa in 1462. It has, therefore, precedent over all the letters included in this paper.

39. This was probably written before the letter I, 1, *supra*.

advantage of your leisure to come here and see yourself the large trained army, both infantry and cavalry, which has been collected here.

Leaf 78 ff. :—

Nizām Shāh to Sultān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt⁴⁰ :—

[Letter written after Maḥmūd Khiljī's flight. Blessings of alliances and curses of disunion.]

After the praise (of God and the Apostles) it should be clear to the Resplendant self, which is like the mirror showing what is hidden and like the key opening up all that is difficult, that when it was heard that Your Majesty had followed in the footsteps of the great and the successful Sultāns of old, reviving the ancient manners and traditions of the Khalifahs, watering the garden of the State by union and alliance, the whole world was filled with a feeling of intense delight. . . . Those who can see and in whom are united outward and inward goodness are certain that in any case the union between two great dynasties becomes the basis of the organization of the world and alliances and the fruit of the tree of kindness uproot the very foundation of disorder and jealousy from the edifice of the habitable world. All this caused the end of that sedition-monger and fickle man without any religious belief and one who has never confined himself to any principle or law. According to the Tradition, 'If disorder be asleep, God curses him who wakes it up,' he himself put a rope round his neck and caused division among the servants of God. . . . When he heard the news of Your Majesty's arrival at Bahālēz and the action of the victorious army, he left the Asīr route out of fear from the soldiers of Your Majesty and turned towards his grave by way of Ellīchpūr. Praise of God for that—and compliments.

CONCLUSIONS

As will be seen, the letters detailed above are interesting in a number of ways. In the first place they show that the Deccani government not only rightly differentiated between their natural friend and foe and had definite and prolonged friendly relations not only with Gujrat which could strike easily and well against the great adversary of the Deccan, Mālwa, owing to its peculiar geographical position but also with Jaunpūr, situated as it was just

40. This letter, in point of date, ought to follow letter I (4), *supra*.

north of Mālwa much in the same way as the Bahmanī kingdom was situated in the south and was a kind of counterpart to the southern kingdom in its relations with it. Moreover, as it has been mentioned above, the more ambitious kings of Jaunpūr had a natural desire to reach the Bay of Bengal and thus to envelop the kingdom of Mālwa from the east. It was this stroke of diplomacy, that of utilising the western as well as the potential eastern neighbour of Mālwa which was the real cause of the final success of the Deccanese and the rout of its enemy.

Most of the letters detailed above relate to this conflict, and what is interesting is that they throb with the pulse of their writers and are the pen pictures of the innermost recesses of the diplomats of those distant days. It is certain that there were no permanent envoys at the court of the various rulers dealt with, although there seems to be a continuous despatch of envoys by allied states such as Gujrāt and the Deccan and to a lesser extent, between the southern kingdom of Bidar and the northern kingdom of Jaunpūr. We may liken this to a state of affairs if at the present there were no ambassadorial appointments but diplomatic correspondence were to be carried out by means of couriers of note and responsibility. As a matter of fact the great distances of those days precluded the possibility of resident ambassadors, because it would not be possible to take an initiative in all complicated matters without reference to the central government, which would necessitate the sending of special couriers who would have to be equally trusted and responsible diplomats as the ambassadors themselves. It seems therefore, obvious that it would be far easier and less costly if ambassadorial couriers were to go from one capital to the other with the latest news and instructions.

When responsible couriers were sent from capital to capital, it is only natural that they carried not only diplomatic matters but confidential military advice as well, such as the names of places which the addressee might strike and the military programme of the party communicating. Moreover it is interesting that although Mālwa was the direct antagonist of the Deccan and it was the Deccan which sought the help of Gujrāt, still, when Mālwa was on her knees, the Deccani kingdom did not see its way to make peace without a direct and detailed consultation with Gujrāt. This leads us to the enunciation of the principles of clean diplomacy so well set forth by Maḥmūd Gāwān in his two letters to the Malwese envoys who had come to sue for peace after the disaster to their arms and

prestige, when he puts down the highly laudable doctrine that sincerity should be the very root of all diplomatic conduct, a principle which is, alas, such a desideratum these days. The length to which the court of Bidar could go in this direction was seen in the return of Kherlā to Mālwa on the basis of former possession.

The last thing which might be noted here is the complete accord between the Queen-mother and the minister in the matter of policy, and it redounds to the credit of the Queen that she saw the direction in which the wind was blowing, and not only agreed with Maḥmūd Gāwān that Gujrāt should be approached as against Mālwa, but herself set the ball rolling by writing a personal letter to the King of Gujrāt. The letters written in the name of Maḥmūd and Nizām to the King of Gujrāt must have been written by the minister in consultation with the Queen.

The letters from Maḥmūd Gāwān to the King of Gilān and the Sultān of Turkey fall into a different category in that these countries are beyond the direct concern of the Bahmanī kingdom. We have given extracts from the letters addressed to the Sultān of Gilān, although there are actually ten letters (all very long) in the *Riādhū'l-inshā*, mainly because the burden of all of them is practically the same. We are here concerned chiefly with the accounts of the Bahmanī victories given in these letters, for Maḥmūd does a service to the land of his adoption by informing the ruler of the land of his birth the great strides taken by the latter and the place it holds in the estimates of the people of India.

In his letters to the Turkish sovereign, one of the greatest Turkey has ever had, he is profuse in his compliments on the continued success achieved by him in the western lands, at the same time letting him know how his own adopted land has progressed under him and is doing its mite in the cause which the great conqueror himself holds dear. There is even a mention of a Turkish envoy coming to Bidar in one of the letters addressed to the Ottoman Emperor. Thus while in the case of the Indian States the Bahmanis actually took sides and played off one neighbour against the other, in the case of non-Indian states they achieved the same end by showing them how great their state was and the way it was expanding on all sides.

NOTE

The following is the list of letters utilised in this paper in their probable chronological order :—

I. *Letters relating to the Deccani-Malwese War :*

1. Queen Makhdūma-i Jahān to Maḥmūd of Gujrāt. Burhan, Leaf 74. (Cruelties of the enemies of the Deccan)—1462.
2. Nizām Shāh Bahmanī to Maḥmūd of Gujrāt. Bur., 74. (Importance of alliances)—1462.
3. Nizām Shāh to Maḥmūd of Gujrāt. Riādh., Leaf 34. (Strategy. Mutual envoys. Their names. Alliances between Deccan and Gujrāt).—After the battle of Qandhar.
4. Maḥmūd of Gujrāt to Nizām Shāh. Riādh., 128. (Reply to the above. Names of Deccani and Malwese envoys. Strategy).—1462.
5. Nizām Shāh to Maḥmūd of Gujrāt. Riādh., 47. (Malwese envoys arrive with pourparlers. Reference to a former envoy from Malwa. Reference to proposal for the partition of Malwa). Written after the final retreat of the Malwese army.
6. Nizām Shāh to Maḥmūd Khilji of Mālwa. Riādh., 129. (Exchange of mutual envoys).—1462.
7. Maḥmūd Gāwān to Shaikh Dawūd, the Malwese envoy. Riādh., 48. (Greatness of the Bahmanī dynasty. Former Khilji envoys. Anti-Bahmanī party at the court of Mandu. Moral bases of alliances. Definition of Purity).—1462.
8. Maḥmūd Gāwān to el-Mendāvi, the Malwese envoy. Riādh., 119. (Condition of mutual alliances. Purity and sincerity on foreign relations. Threat).—1462 or 1463.
9. Nizām Shāh to the King of Gujrāt. Riādh., 124. (End of the Malwese danger. Proposal for permanent union with Gujrāt).—1463.
10. Nizām Shāh to King of Gujrāt. Bur., 78. (Blessings of International alliances).—1463.

II. *Miscellaneous Letters :*

11. Maḥmūd Gāwān to the Sulṭān of Gilān. Riādh., 35. (Bahmanī victories. Theory of obedience and authority).—About 22nd September, 1470.
12. Maḥmūd Gāwān to the Sulṭān of Gilān. Riādh., 50. (Reasons for leaving Gilān. Good treatment at the hands of the Bahmanis).

13. Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī to Ḥusain Shāh of Jaunpur. Riādh., 113. (Need for union. Importance of envoys. Their names).—Before December, 1470.
14. Muḥammad Shāh to the King of Gujrāt. Riādh., 56. (Proposal for alliance with Jaunpur.)—About the same time as 13 above.
15. Maḥmūd Gāwān to a minister. Riādh., 57. (Reception of the Jaunpur envoys. Royal letter to the King of Jaunpur. News of the Western front).—Before December, 1470.
16. To the King of Gujrāt. Riādh., 114. (News of the demise of the Dowager Queen).—1472.
17. Maḥmūd Gāwān to 'Alī el-Yezdī. Riādh., 29. (Envoys from Gilān. General condition of Gilān).
18. Maḥmūd Gāwān to the Sulṭān of Turkey. Riādh., 16. (Importance of the Sultanate).
19. Maḥmūd Gāwān to the Sulṭān of Turkey. Riādh., 97. (Arrival of the Turkish envoy).

Some Notes on Mughal Mansabs

By

C. S. K. RAO SAHIB.

ORIGIN OF THE MUGHAL MANSABS

THERE is a good deal of controversy about the origin of the elaborate organisation of mansabs, in India. Whether Akbar really invented or whether he borrowed it from elsewhere is still undecided. Dr. Tripathy thinks that "the system of mansabdars or officers organised into a graded hierarchy was by no means entirely unknown in India; for reference to fards, girohdars, officers of 5, 10, 20 thousand are found in the works of Abdulla Abdul Hâq and Abdul Qadir. The points of difference were that Akbar with his characteristic fondness for details organised them in a more systematic way. Etc."¹ So Dr. Tripathy seems to think that the mansabdari system had an Indian origin.

The late Dr. V. A. Smith categorically asserted that the system was borrowed directly from Persia.² His authority is Dr. Fryer's *A New Account of East India and Persia*. Fryer visited these countries towards the close of 17th century.³ Dr. Smith is followed by Mr. Edwards⁴

In this short note an attempt will be made to trace the origin of Mughal Mansabs in India.

Mansabs arose from the number of horsemen an officer commanded. The Central Asian ancestors of the Indian Mughals were essentially a race of horsemen. The foot soldier they despised and the Mughal army to the end was mainly an army of cavalry men, or as Monsserrate puts it neatly "although the infantry which has various types of arms is entirely a fighting force yet the cavalry is regarded as the very flower of the army." Ross translates the word Mansab as "Privileges." Irvine prefers the word "rank." "Rank and Privileges" would be perhaps a better expression as

Mansab not only denoted the cavalry an officer commanded but also indicated everything that went with the command, as infantry, elephants, camels, carts, position and precedence.

Even the most primitive army will have some organisation, some principles or regimentations. We need not be surprised if the Mongol army followed some sensible principles, in its divisions which enabled it to overthrow the armies of the so-called civilized powers, and to create the biggest Empire the world has known. The Mongols usually preferred the decimal divisions. The lowest limit was that of 10 and the highest that of 10,000, or as Abul Fazl expresses it 'from Dahbasie to Dah-hazarie. This decimal division existed even in times of Chengiz Khan for one of his regulations clearly refers to this: 'It says "The ruling that divides the army into tens and hundreds and thousands and ten thousands is to be observed. This arrangement serves to raise an army in a short time and to from the units of commands."⁵

Wherever the Mongol army penetrated we find this decimal division prevailing. Marco Polo noticed it in China under Kublai Khan, the grandson of Chengiz, and enthusiastically describes it and approves of it. He writes:—

"You see when a Tartar prince goes forth to war he takes with him say 100,000 horse. Well he appoints an officer to every ten men, one to every hundred, one to every thousand, one to every ten thousand, so that his own orders have to be given to ten persons only and each of these ten persons has to pass the orders only to another ten and so on; no one having to give orders to more than ten and every one in turn is responsible to the officer immediately over him; and the discipline and order that comes of this method is marvellous for they are a people very obedient to their chiefs. Further they call a corps of 100,000 of men a Tuc; that of 10,000 Toman; the thousand they call (Ming) the hundred Guz (Yuz?) and ten Un."⁶

The term Tman or Tma was according to Herberstein still used in Russia in his day for a corps of ten thousand, and we know that Russia was long ruled by Mongol Khans, the descendants of Juzi Khan.⁷

1. Army Organisation of Akbar "proceedings of meetings Ind. His. Records Commission" Vol. V.

2. Akbar the Great Mogul Foot-Note 5, p. 362.

3. Vol. III, p. 56, Hac. Soc: Ed.

4. Edwards and Garrett. 'Mogul Rule in India,' p. 165.

5. Petis de la Croix op. cit. Harold Lamb's *Chengiz Khan—Emperor of Men*, pp. 201-20.

6. Marco Polo Yule Cordier Bk. 1, ch. LIV, p. 261.

7. Ramusio 11. 159. op. cit. Yule Cordier in *Marco-Polo*.

After Chengiz Khan's death Persia fell to the share of Chagatay Khan. The actual governor was Tuli Khan, whose son Hulagu Khan can be regarded as the first Mongol sovereign of Persia. His accession occurred in 1256 A.D. The Persian Khans paid a nominal homage to Kha-Khan—the great Khan in China and officially recognised this dependence in their title of *il-Khan*, i.e., provincial or dependent Khans. From 1258 to 1335 A.D. the *il-Khans* were not seriously threatened. In 1335 the *il-Khani* dynasty came to an end and Persia was divided into five principalities all of which ultimately fell before the armies of Timur. After 1447 the Timurid dynasty ceased to have any authority in Persia.⁸

It is not a matter for surprise if the decimal division prevailed in Persia. The *il-Khans* would have certainly organised their armies on the principles of Chengiz Khan—their ancestor. As for the Timurids there is evidence that they followed the principle of decimal division. If the principal of decimal division prevailed under the Safavis, as it did in fact, the conclusion is that the Safavis owed their system to their predecessors the *il-Khans* and Timurids.

John Fryer, an English traveller visited Persia and India in the latter half of the 17th century. He noticed the Persian military system and describes it in his book *East India and Persia*. He writes:—

Coloro gosse [Turkish—Qullar Agashi—Chief of eunuchs or or slaves] leads the host.

Corgee Bashee (Persian; Qurchi Bashi—Commander of horse guards) is next to him and is commander of 12,000 horse.

Min Bashee (Turkish; Min Bashi—Commander of a thousand) is a colonel of a thousand horse.

Eus Bashi (Turkish Yuz-Bashi) Captain of an hundred horse.

Below this office none of noble extraction will accept choosing rather to ride volunteers . . . being listed *Goolomy Shaws* the King's slaves . . . under these are *Cusle Bashees* (*Quzil Bash—Red head*) . . . the cavaliers . . . of these are made sub-centurions, commanders of Fifty and so downwards to ten horses (*Dah bastri*).⁹

8. Encyclo: Britt.—Article Persia.

9. Fryer's *East India* Ed. by Crooke, Vol. III, pp. 55-57, Hac. Soc.: Ed.

This account of Fryer led Dr. Smith to assert "that the system was borrowed from Persia"¹⁰ and his editor Mr. Edwards to accept it.¹¹ If any one borrowed it, it is the Safavis who borrowed from the *il-Khans* and Persian Timurids.

Timur certainly followed these principles in his army organisations. He does not claim originality for any of his institutions. He declares plainly "Be it known to my sons and descendents that I have collected together these laws and regulations for the well governing of my dominions, as a model for others. Let them make these regulations the rule of their conduct in the affairs of their Empire."¹²

Timur evidently "collected" these rules from the Chagatays. Timur was a descendent of Karachar Nenan, the minister of Chagatay Khan—and one of the first converts to Islam. Timur's army was divided into, units of ten, hundred, and thousand. Each under officers respectively known as 'Eun basi,' 'Eus basi' and 'Ming basi.'

The portion dealing with the army reads as follows:—

"I ordained that when ten select soldiers were collected together that one of them who was distinguished for valour should with the advice and consent of the remaining nine be appointed commander over them and that he should be called *Oun bashee*.

'And when ten *Oun bashees* were assembled together that one of them who was qualified by service and abilities should be appointed their leader and he should be styled *Euz-bashee*.

'And that when ten *Euz-bashees* were assembled together an officer of exalted lineage, the son of a chief of approved knowledge and intrepidity should be appointed commander over them and that he should be called *Ming bashee* and leader of a thousand."¹³

Clavijo who went to Timur's Court at Samarkhand as an ambassador from the King of Castile refers to this decimal division. He says "The Lord [i.e., Amir Timur] arranges his host which follows him every day in this manner. He divides it into captain-

10. V. A. Smith, Akbar Note 5, p. 362.

11. Edwards and Garrett 'Mughal Rule in India.'

12. Timur's Institute "Davy and Whyte" p. 165.

13. Institutes of Timur "Davy and Whyte" Bk. II, p. 221.

cies and has captains over a hundred men, others over a thousand, others over ten thousand and one over all as a constable and when a force is ordered to march to any place the orders are given through these captains."¹⁴

Babar himself testifies to his family's observing the laws of Chengiz Khan even in such trivial matters as getting up and sitting down. "My forefathers and family" he writes in his Memoirs "have always sacredly observed the rules of Chengiz. In their parties, their courts, their festivals and their entertainments, in their sitting down and rising up they never acted contrary to the institutions of Chengiz."¹⁵ There are many curious references to the 'Turah' or Customs of Chengiz' in Gulbadan Begam's Memoirs, and Jahangir prided himself on observing the customs of Chengiz as well as the regulations of Timur."¹⁶

Besides Monsserrate also definitely says that Akbar borrowed the system from Chengiz Khan. 'The Mongols' he writes 'retain their ancestral system of dividing their troops into regiments' and remarks "the strength of the Tartar army lies in their cavalry which is organised as follows in accordance with the system of Cinguis-canous, the ancestor of Zelaluddin, the lowest officers are leaders of ten; above them the leaders of a hundred; and above them the leaders of a thousand; and above them the leaders of ten thousand."¹⁷

What Akbar did was to take the Tuman or division of ten thousand and divided it into two equal halves. The decimal of 5,000 is 500. Between these he created a number of intervening ranks so that promotions might be gradual and not by jumps. Ranks above 5,000 was at first reserved for his 'August sons, but later on relaxed in favour of royal relatives like Raja Mansingh and Mirza Shah Rukh.

Still the anxiety to preserve the decimal principle is discernible in the *Ain* 'In the contingent [Tabinan] of a commander of ten thousand Mansabdars as high as Hazaris serve. In the contingent of a commander of Eight thousand Mansabdars up to *hast sadis* serve; In the contingent of a Mansabdar of seven thousand, Mansabdars up to *haft sadis* serve; In the contingent of a Mansabdar

14. Clairyo 'Embassy to Timur.' Hac. Soc. Ed. p. 177.

15. Babar's memoirs—Erskine and Leyden Ed. p. 202.

16. Tuzuki Jahangiri Roger's and Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 68 and 76.

17. Monsserrate—Commentaries trans. by Holyland and Banerji pp. 68-69.

of five thousand other Mansabdars as high as *Pansadies* serve and in the contingent of a Pansadi Mansabdars as high as a *sadi* serve. Mansabdars of lower rank do not serve in the contingent of high Mansabdars.¹⁸

This was not a mere paper regulation. Abul Fazl gives at least two instances where this rule was followed in practice. In 1002 A.H. [1594 A.D.] 10,000 cavalry was assigned to the Prince Royal Salim, the future Jahangir. Five thousand of them received jagirs in Bengals. Among them was Jagat Singh, Sakat Singh, Rai Mandhar, Bahadur Khan Qurdar and others. Four thousand received Jagirs in Lahore. Among them Mir Murad Sarmast and others. 1000 were Ahdis. Sakat Singh was a Mansabdar of 900. Rai Mandhar and Bahadur Khan were Mansabdars of 400.¹⁹

Again Abul Fazl writes that Khusru was raised to the rank of 5000 and gives a list of the Mansabdars serving under the young prince.^{19a}

So we come to the conclusion that Akbar did not borrow the system of Mansabs either from India or Persia. He borrowed the system from his own distinguished ancestors, Chengiz Khan and Amir Timur. The adaptation of this essentially military organisation for civil purposes or conversion of army gradations into a bureaucratic hierarchy was Akbar's own idea.

II.

CLASSIFICATION OF MANSABS

Mansabdars were divided into first, second and third class which depended on the suwar rank. Mansabdars whose sawar was equal to their personal or Zat rank were considered to belong to the first class. Those whose sawar was less upto half their Zat were placed in the second class. Those whose sawar was less than half their zat or who had no sawar rank were placed in the third class. From this rule Mansabdars above the rank of 5,000 were exempted. They all belonged to one class.

Irwine says that in addition to this simple division there was a further grouping of officers. From 20 to 400 Mansabdars were merely officers with rank. From 500 to 2,500 Amirs or nobles

18. Ain Blochmann.

19. Akbarnāmāh, Vol. III, p. 995, Ch. CXIX.

19a. Ibid.

[Blochmann, Note 1, 535]. From 3,000-7,000 great Amirs or Amiri Azam or Umda (Pillars). [Blochmann, 1. P. 529. Note].

Irvine's authority for this classification is Blochmann. Mansabdars below the rank of 500 were not entitled to be classed as Amirs is certain. For this we have the authority Nizamudin Ahmed. In his list of grandees he affixes an explanatory note that "let it be known that the title of Amir is given to all such as hold Mansabs from 500 onwards. None of those whom I have mentioned hold a less rank.²⁰ This I think explains that whereas Abul Fazl and after him Abdul Hamid Lahori give the names of all nobles dead or alive from the Mansab of 500 and above that honour is not extended to those holding lesser Mansabs. From 500 down to the Mansab of 200 Abul Fazl gives the names of those who were alive in the 40th year and below 200 he gives the totals of different grades of Mansabs. Lahori does not give even these details. Besides the Ming basi or Hazary was an important officer under the Mongol and Timur's regulations. When Akbar reduced the Toman by half it looks reasonable under the decimal principles that some distinction should be attached to 500. So we may conclude that below the rank of 500 Mansabdars were not entitled to the title of Amir and from 20 to 400 they formed a group, viz., Mansabdars. But Irvine's classification that Mansabdars above the Mansab of 3,000 belonged to the Amir-I-Azam or Umda seems rather arbitrary. His authority is Blochmann and Blochmann writes in the note 'Mentioned in the Tabaqat as belonging to the Umari-Kibar—the great Amirs, i.e., probably commanders of 5,000.' This atleast does not support Irvine. Besides Blochmann is not at all sure. He says "To judge from Nizam's Tabaqat and the Maasiri Rahimi, Mansabdars from the Hazary upwards were at Akbar's time styled Umari-Kibar or Umairi Azam—great Amirs and I am not quite sure whether the title of Amir is not restricted to Mansabdars from Hazary upwards."²¹

Bernier clearly says that the Amiri Azam or Kibar or Umdah class was from the mansab or 1,000 or hazary upwards. Bernier writes "The Omrahs in the provinces, in the army and at court are very numerous; but it was not in my power to ascertain their number which is not fixed..... All of whom are in receipt of large incomes.....dependent for the amount upon their number of horses from one to twelve thousand.

20. Blochmann Ain, Vol. I, P. 529, Note.
21. P. 239, Blochmann.

It is these Omrahs [i.e., from one to twelve thousand] who attain to the highest honour and situation of the state—at court, in the provinces and in the armies and who are as they call themselves the *Pillars of the Empire* [Umdah?].²²

We may reasonably assume that the Amiri Azam class in Akbar's time also was from Hazary upwards. As Mansabs increased in number its relative value decreased. Had the title of Amiri Azam or Umdah been restricted to 3,000 and above we should expect in Shah Jehan's time that it would be reserved for still higher ranks and not for ranks below three thousand.

Ain, 24, Bk. I.²³ on marriages seems to support this view. It says "His Majesty also takes from both parties to enable them to show their gratitude. The payment of this tax is looked upon as auspicious. Mansabdars commanding from five thousand to one thousand pay 10 mohurs; Mansabdars from one thousand to five hundred pay 4 mohurs; from five hundred to one hundred Rs. 4 and so on."

This regulation suggests that Mansabdars from 5,000 to 1,000 belongs to one class and Mansabdars from 1000 to 500 to another class and from 500 downwards to a third class.

Besides we have the comparisons of Captain Hawkins of Mughal Mansabs with the grades in English Peerage which we were inclined to dismiss as "very interesting." Hawkins writes They that be of the fame of 12,000 horsemen belong to the King and his mother and eldest son....

Dukes	be of	9,000	Fame.
Marquesses	"	5,000	"
Earles	"	3,000	"
Viscounts	"	2,000	"
Barons	"	1,000	"
Knights	"	400	"
Esquires	"	100	"
Gentlemen	"	50	"
Yeomen from 20 downwards." ²⁴			

In this very interesting comparison it is significant that Hawkins compares the Barons the lowest grade in English Peerage with the

22. Bernier—Travels in the Mogul Empire, Ed. V. A. Smith, Letter to Colbert, p. 213.

23. Blochmann, p. 277.

24. Purchas—His Pilgrimes, Vol. III, pp. 29-30.

Hazary the lowest grade of Amir-i-Azam class. Hawkins seems to be comparing the Amir-i-Azam class with the English peerage with which he was familiar.²⁵

The Ming basi was an important official under Timur's regulation and it is reasonable to expect that some special importance should be attached to this mansab by his descendents in India.

So the grouping of the Mansabdars, I think, ought to be from 20—400 Mansabdars, from 500 to 900 Amirs, 1,000 upwards to 9,000. "The duke" of Captain Hawkins Amir-i-Azam or Umdah. Ranks above 9,000 were not given to subjects even in the most decadent times and were exclusively reserved for Royal Princes. Prince Dara Shikoh received the unprecedented rank of 60,000 zat towards the close of Shah Jehan's reign. [Sarkar's Aurangzeb]

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The household cavalry numbered 12,000 horsemen. This whole corps was placed under the command of Prince Salim.²⁶ They had their own organisation, their special Bakshi and Bitikchi and were treated as a "corps de elite". They were not placed under the command of any other mansabdars.

They most probably corresponded to what in Persia were called "gulami shahs" or the emperor's slaves. Fryer, as we have seen, tells us that "Eus-bashee" captains of an hundred horse—below this none of noble extract will accept chusing rather to ride volunteers, till they gain preferment being enlisted galomy shaws."²⁷

25. Incidentally it would be interesting to know Hawkins's mansab. Elsewhere [J.I.H. Vol. XIV, Part 2] I have shown that Hawkins meant Zat by "Horsefame" and suwar by "horse." He says he was appointed a captain of 400 horse and his pay was fixed at £3,200. The Jesuit account gives the pay of Hawkins as Rs. 30,000. Since Hawkins suwar rank was 400 his Zat must have been at least 400 if not higher. But the pay of a first class mansabdar of 400 Zat—400 suwar is Rs. 24,000. But Hawkins pay is £3,200 or Rs. 30,000, which is the pay of a mansabdar of 500. I think his Zat rank was 500 and he was a mansabdar of 500 Zat and 400 suwar. This evidently caused some confusion for William Finch writes to Hawkins "Reports said you were sworn the kings servant and that he had given you . . . 400 horsemen to attend you and that he had made you a captain over 500 horsemen"—It is evident the Zat-Suwar—the nominal and actual command caused some confusion at Surat—Letters Received, Vol. I, 1602-1613, p. 27.

26. Akbarnāmā, Vol. III, Ch. XXXIX, p. 308.

27. Fryer's "East India and Persia" *ibid.*

This agrees with what Blochmann tells us that he has seen in some historian of Akbar's reign that a senior Ahadi was promoted to a yuzbasiship.²⁸ Probably similar reasons prevented the Ahadi, like his Persian contemporary, from accepting lesser mansabs than that of a hundred. Akbar disliked the name of slaves. He called even the slaves Chelas—disciples. So we have 'Ahadi' because they are reminded of the "unity of God". They were the immediate servants of the Emperor or as Abul Fazl puts it "they are thus dignified by their independence by not being placed under any one."

Marco-Polo noticed a similar corps de elite in China under Kublai Khan. He writes "The great Khan (i.e. Kublai) hath a guard of 12,000 horsemen, who are styled Keshican. These twelve thousand have four captains each of whom is in command of 3,000 and each body of 3,000 takes a turn of three days and nights to guard the palace."²⁹

Cordier gives us many instances of this corps existing in countries where Mongol influence prevailed. Friar Cedric speaks of the four Barons who kept watch by the great Khan's side as *Cuthe* which Cordier says probably represents the Chinese form of *Kiesie*.

Timur declares in his *Institutes* that he "ordered 12,000 Kalchimen, men of the sword, completely armed should be cantoned in the palace; to the right, to the left to the front and in the rear of the imperial Diwan."³⁰ The Mogai guards who watched the king's persons at night were called *Keshikchi* in Persia.

It was probably to this corps that Captain Hawkins refers. "Of horses", he writes, "there be twelve thousand, where of these be of Persian horses four thousand, of Turkie horses six thousand and of Kismire (Kashmir) horses two thousand and all are twelve thousand."³¹ This reference to 'Kismire horses' is very interesting. Jahangir writes in his memoirs that "herds of Iraqi and Turkey were given to breed from . . . in a short time horses were obtainable so that many Kashmiri horses were bought and sold for 200, 300, and even 1,000 rupees."³² The result of this favourable

28. Blochmann *Ain*, p. 250, N. 2.

29. Marco-Polo—Yule-Cordier, Bk. II, Ch. XII, p. 379.

30. *Institutes of Timur* 'Davy and Whyte', p. 235.

31. Purchas: *His Pilgrimes*, Vol. III, p. 33.

32. Tuzuki Jahangiri, Vol. II, p. 148.

experiment was that Jahangir had 2,000 'Kismire horses' in his stables.

Manucci writes that of the imported horses from Balkh, Bukhara and Kabul "The best are chosen for the king's service, the usual number being 12,000."³³

In a former 'Note' on the Mughal military terms *Zat* and *suwar* published in this journal,³⁴ I arrived at the conclusion that *Zat* probably represented the infantry a mansabdar had to command and *suwar* the cavalry. For instance, a mansabdar with the rank of "sih hazari *Zat* sih hazar *suwar*" commanded 3,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry. In the reign of Shah Jehan the rule of branding the fourth part was introduced, according to which 'a mansabdar holding a jagir in the subah in which he holds his mansab has to muster 1/3 of the force indicated by his rank. Accordingly a *sih hazarie* *Zat*-*sih hazar suwar* has to muster (bring to the brand) 1,000 cavalry. But if he holds an appointment in another subah he has only to muster a fourth part. Accordingly a *chahar hazari chahar hazar suwar* has only to muster 1,000 cavalry."³⁵

We can visualise the necessity for this 1/4 rule, in Shah Jehan's time. Akbar would never allow his rules to be disregarded with impunity. It is evident the administrative vehicle must have gone off the track in the time of Jahangir. Terry tells that mansabdars, when they were obliged to keep 5 or 6 thousand horse kept only a thousand or so.³⁶ Roe in his journal (August 12, 1616) writes about Mir Jamaludin Hussain Inju that his government "which was esteemed at 5,000 horse, the pay of everyone at 200 rupees by year whereof he kept 1,500 and was allowed the surplus as dead pay."³⁷ From the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* we know that in 1615 Mir Jamaludin's rank which was 5,000 *Zat* 2,500 *suwar* was increased to 5,000 *Zat* 3,500 *suwar* on 19th March 1616.³⁸ Roe's entry in his journal, is later. So Mir Jamaludin, a mansabdar of 5,000 *Zat*—3,500 *suwar*, kept only 1,500 horse when he was required to keep under the rules 3,500 horse.³⁹ This state of affairs must have been

33. *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II, p. 391.

34. *J.I.H.* Vol. XIV, Pt. 2.

35. *Padshah Namah* II. Trans. Blochmann *Ain*, p. 244.

36. Terry's *Voyage to East India*, 410, op. cit. Roe, Note, p. 239.

37. Roe Vol. I, p. 239.

38. 10th year of Jahangir. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*.

39. Cf. Baqir Khan's case. Baqir Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000 *Zat* and 1000 horse. On his parading 2000 foot and 1000 horse, before

affecting the morale of the military service, hence the necessity for the law to fix up some definite proportion which may be described as the military reorganisation of Shah Jehan.

Every mansabdar in Akbar's time had to muster according to what was called *Dah bisti*: 3 *sib asp*, 4 *Do asp* and 3 *yak asp*, i.e. 10 troopers with 20 horses. Abul Fazl writes in *Akbarnamah*. "At this time (1595 A.D.) a different scale (*Baraward*) was made. On 11 *mihir* an order was passed that Mughals, Afghans and Hindusthanis who had 3 horses should get 1,000 Dams (Rs. 25). Those who had 2 horses 800 Dams (Rs. 20). Those who had one horse 600 Dams (Rs. 15). Rajputs of the first class got 800 Dams (Rs. 20) and of the middle 600 Dams (Rs. 15)."⁴⁰

Mr. Beveridge points out that this scale agrees with that given in the *Ain* for *Barawadi* soldiers. Abul Fazl says many are poor but worthy. 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. Turanis and Iranis get Rs. 25. Hindusthanis Rs. 20. If employed to collect the revenue they get Rs. 15. Such troops are called *Barawardi*.⁴¹

According to the same authority commanders who found it troublesome to furnish men got a number of such *Barawardi* troopers to accept the imperial brand who were then known as *Dakhilis*. These *Dakhili* troopers were preferred and were considered superior to other classes of soldiers.⁴²

These passages suggest that the major portion of the army consisted of *Tazis* and *Janglahs* as Blochmann suggests in a footnote.⁴³ The differences in the pay of Afghan, Persian and Turani soldiers and the Rajput soldiers is rather curious. Perhaps the explanation is given by Monserrate, "The gentoos ride countrybred."⁴⁴ In the commentaries he writes 'for the cavalry of the *gedrosii* who are called *Rasputi* and the Indians who are called *Rafi* ride on little ponies as big as donkeys.'⁴⁵

Jahangir and the great *Bakshis* recording it. *Tuzuk* Vol. II, p. 199. Rogers and Beveridge.

40. *Akbarnamah*, Vol. III, p. 1931-32.

41. *Ain* I, Bk. II, Blochmann, p. 238.

42. *Ain*, *ibid*.

43. Blochmann *Ain*, p. 234, Note.

44. *Relacam do Equebar*, J.A.S.B., 1912 p. 185 et. seq.

45. *Commentaries*—trans. Hoyland and Banerji.

To recapitulate, mansabdars had to bring to the muster the number of horsemen indicated by their suwar rank, and they had to muster according to the rule of Dah bisti, i.e., 10 troopers for every 20 horses. This rule of Dah bisti was meant to secure a tolerably efficient remount service, as the efficiency of cavalry depends upon its mobility. This was the case under Akbar. Under Jahangir, mansabdars would not bring to muster the requisite number, as it was advantageous to them, and the government did not insist because it was inefficient. Under Shah Jahan the one-fourth rule was brought into force to check the demoralization which must have affected the service. Another innovation of Shah Jehan was that a mansabdar of sih hazari Zat sih hazar suwar or chahar hazari Zat chahar hazar suwar mustered 1,000 cavalry of which 300 were sih asp, 600 do asp and 100 yak asp, if the haçil was fixed for 12 months and so on as follows :—

Hacil Months	Sib asp	Do asp	Yak asp	Total of men and horses.
12	300	600	100	1,000 men + 2,200 horses
11	250	500	250	1,000 „ + 2,000 „
10	nil	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 „

From this it is clear that whereas the number of horsemen remained constant, the horses varied with the haçil. Conversely it may be said that the pay of a mansabdar depended on the number of horses he commands and not horsemen. This is exactly what Bernier says. "Their (mansabdars) pay is proportionate not to the number of men but to the number of horses and two horses are generally allowed to one trooper."

We need not say anything about the Do asp sih asp rank by which the Amir's sabinan was doubled and his pay also was doubled. It was a rare honour, rarely given and seems to have been invented to get over the conventions which restricted mansabs over 5,000 and in more decadent times over 9,000 to Princes of the blood Royal.

Johan van Twist's Description of India

By

W. H. MORELAND

[With this article on Johan van Twist's description of India Mr. Moreland almost completes the study of Dutch writers who had written anything about India in the first half of the seventeenth century. His account of van den Broeke at Surat and the most useful parts of Geleynssen have already appeared in this journal, and the text of the latter is now available in print. Mr. Moreland has published separately the history of Jahangir's reign as in Pelsaert. The writings of De Laet and van Linschoten are already available in English. That practically completes all important Dutch writers who lived in that Period.—Ed.]

In 1638, or possibly a little earlier, Johan van Twist, who had recently been in charge of the Dutch factories at Ahmadabad, Cambay, Baroda and Broach, completed a work which he called "A General Description (*Beschrijvinge*) of India." The first extant edition appeared in Issac Commeline's collection of voyages, known compendiously as *Begin ende Voortgangh* (Amsterdam, 1644-46), when the Description passed, more or less mutilated, into the collections issued in Holland during the next few years by Doncker, Hartgerts and others; there seems to be no modern edition or translation. The title-page in Commeline's collection stated that the work was reproduced from the edition published in 1638 at Batavia "at the Goose-quill Press;" no example of this edition is known, and Dutch bibliographers incline to the view that the statement is a mystification, "the goose-quill press" indicating that the copy used by Commeline was written by hand.

The work is now exceedingly rare, and at one time I thought of preparing a full translation for the use of Indian students, but when I came to examine the text in detail, I found that much the greater part is a compilation from other works which are now available, so that it would be a waste of time to translate the second-hand matter. In this article therefore I will give a short account of the work, and translate only those chapters which appear to be original. It must not be supposed that I am suggesting that van Twist was dishonest in a literary sense; the title-page states that the Description is "collected and compiled from various authors and from personal observation," and this is an accurate account, but the proportion of compilation to observation is surprisingly

great in the case of a man with so much personal experience of the country.

The basis of the work is the compilation *De Imperio Magni Mongolis* by John de Laet. De Laet's sources are now fairly well known. He relied largely on the Portuguese writer Teixeira and the English collection of voyages known as *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, while the rest of his matter was drawn mainly from unnamed Dutch writers. Comparison shows that practically the whole of the latter section was drawn from the *Relations (Remonstrantie)* of Francisco Pelsaert and Wollebrant Geleynssen de Jongh; and so we have the picture of van Twist laboriously translating from Latin into Dutch what de Laet had previously rendered from Dutch into Latin. Van Twist, however, had copies of these two *Relations* before him, and, next to de Laet, his principal source is Geleynssen. A few characteristic passages show that he had access to Pelsaert, but nearly everything he took from *Relation* came through de Laet. He drew also on the *Itinerary* of van Linschoten: I have not identified any other source, and treat as original whatever cannot be traced in one of the four, which I have named, but it is possible that he may also have drawn on some writer not known to me.

Van Twist was not a servile copyist. He frequently condensed, he sometimes altered an expression, and occasionally he inserted something from his own experience. Three instances of his methods will suffice. Geleynssen wrote (p. 40) that in Gujarat the peasant paid three-quarters of their produce as revenue: de Laet seems to have suspected this to be an exaggeration, for he wrote (p. 130) "nearly three-quarters;" van Twist amended (p. 67) to "one-half, or sometimes three-quarters." Again, Geleynssen (p. 52) named the whip used by Mogul officials *koria*; van Twist substituted (p. 29) the correct Persian name *siambak*, that is, *chābuk*. (This word *koria* by the way has been the subject of some guessing: my own guess is that it is the Portuguese word *correira*, which means "a thong"). Such charges are definite though small improvements, but occasionally things went wrong. De Laet, describing the emperor's throne, wrote (p. 133) that nobody could come on the dais without orders, except the princes "and two fanners called *punkavvas* to make a breeze and drive away flies;" van Twist omitted (p. 22) the two fanners, and so left the princes to do the fanning. It is possible that in this case the printers may have been to blame, for my copy, which is from Hartgert's collection, is a very slovenly production, and the distortion of Indian names and words is often outrageous.

The Description consists of forty-six chapters, nearly all short, and some containing only two or three sentences. The opening chapters on topography (I and II) come straight from de Laet with no additions of value, but to II is appended a note on the famine of 1631, which forms the subject of III; this is first-hand matter and I translate it. IV to XI deal with the chief places in Gujarat: they are based on de Laet with large additions from Geleynssen, and an occasional insertion of original observations, which do not seem worth reproducing, though one or two of them might possibly interest some local antiquary. As a sample, I give an extract from the chapter on Ahmadabad, which shows, at least, the kind of tales which might be gathered by foreigners in the India of the time.

The next group of chapters, XII to XVI, deal with the Mogul court, a topic of which van Twist had apparently no personal experience, and they come straight from de Laet, except for the account of Shah Jahan's field army, and an extraordinary explanation of the Muharram, which I give below. Gujarat forms the main subject of Chapters XVII to XXI, which contain a little from de Laet but are in essence condensations from Geleynssen, with practically no original matter. The writer then passes to the ethnography of Gujarat (XXII-XXXVI), and here again Geleynssen, with additions from van Linschoten, supplies almost the whole; but I extract the account of a suttee, which is original. Economic and social life forms the subject of the rest of the book: XXXVII to XLI are compounded from de Laet, van Linschoten and Geleynssen, except XXXIX, on units, which I translate; XLII and XLIII, which deal with birds, beasts and fishes, are built up from de Laet and van Linschoten; the remaining three chapters are mostly original. The Description has no formal conclusion, and may have been longer.

THE FAMINE IN GUJARAT

END OF CHAPTER II.—Gujarat is the most productive country in all India, and ordinarily furnishes necessities and provisions to all neighbouring places; consequently a large trade is carried on by the inhabitants and by other Indians and neighbours, also by Portuguese, English, Dutch, Persians, Arabs, Armenians, and nearly all the nations of Asia except the Chinese and Japanese, who are not found there. But as universal experience has proved that no kingdom or monarchy has been so firmly established as to escape change—now passing from one dynasty to another, now suffering great desolation, pestilence, war, famine, etc., and finally

deprived of everything, wholly ruined and destroyed: so it was seen a few years ago that the righteous wrath of the Lord God blazed up against the sins and abominations of these various nations and peoples, and He deigned to make this country of Gujarat feel in a notable manner His plagues and hand of punishment, first sending in the year 1630 an excessive drought, so that the crops withered and the cattle starved in the fields, then 1631 such continuous and unusual heavy rains that the rivers overflowed and covered the land, destroying whole stretches of country, towns, and many villages, and ruining the standing crops, which were most promising. The result was a great famine and horrible mortality both of men and cattle, which we think necessary to describe briefly at this point, since it is relevant to our story.

CHAPTER III.—To come then to the detailed description and the origin of this famine in Gujarat, it is important to observe that the country has a definite rainy season, namely four months from June (when the sun approaches the tropic of Cancer) to September. Outside this season rain is exceptional, and such a year is expected to be productive; in the remaining eight months the weather is so fine and clear that scarcely a cloud is seen. The land is ploughed and sown in the rainy season, and with the help of the rain used to yield such an overflowing harvest that all neighbouring countries were provisioned thence. This great divine blessing was misused by many of the inhabitants, who fell into such supposed security that when they had earned the day's livelihood they would not work any more to get something to put by against old age or sickness or famine; and if any of them had obtained a surplus, they spent and squandered it on their devilish festivals, or sometimes on the very next day. These excesses and abominations of every conceivable kind in vogue among the various nations and peoples of the country aroused the righteous wrath of God, the All-Highest Ruler, who inflicted a very grievous punishment, sending in the year of our Lord 1630 such a drought that for the space of twelve months there was no rain, or at least so little that the sown corn could not mature, or any grass spring up. The result was such a great and grievous famine that not only did the cattle which were very numerous—oxen, cows and buffaloes—die, but also the people lay dead in great numbers in towns, villages, fields and roads, raising such a stench that it was horrible to make use of the ways.

Owing to the want of grass cows were seen feeding on corpses. People took the dried hides of cattle. Some in despair went about

seeking for bones which had been gnawed by dogs long before, cooking them on coals and eating them. In a word the variety of food that was used would take too long to detail.

Hunger increased from day to day to such an extent that many people deserted their towns and villages, loathing their own houses as though the famine had prevailed only in their neighbourhood. Everywhere one saw helpless men wandering about. Their appearance was terrible: the eyes were deep in the head, the face often swollen, the lips and mouth pale, spittle running from the teeth, the skin very hard, with the bones showing through, more-over the belling hanging just like an empty sack; starvation had made the knuckles and knee-caps show bare; one man cried and howled from hunger, the next lay stretched on the ground, dying miserably. Wherever one went, he saw nothing but corpses lying.

How mournfully one saw husbands desert their wives and children! The wives sold themselves as slaves and bondwomen, the mothers sold their children, the children deserted by their parents sold themselves, to escape starvation. Some families in desperation took poison and so died together; others, anxious to hasten death, threw themselves into the rivers. Some mothers, to avoid the unbearable pain of starvation, went and sat on the river bank with their children, and joining hands fell into the water together and drowned themselves, so that the rivers ran full of corpses. Some ate dead carrion and animals; others, cutting up the bodies of dead people, drew out the offals and used them to fill their starved bellies—yes, many lying languishing in the streets and not yet dead had their bellies ripped up by others and the livers taken out; men fed on living men, so that one could hardly go through the streets alone, still less travel on the roads, without great danger of having his throat cut and being eaten. Thus a boy of seven or eight years old was seized by the neck and his throat cut in the market place of Baroda by a beggar who wanted to stay his hunger thereby.

Similar horrible tragedies were seen every day, and a heathen's heart would be amazed and moved to pity when it was known that a mother had killed and cooked her only son: still more must a Christian be amazed at the tiding that various husbands had eaten their wives, wives their husbands, children their parents. In a word, it would take too long to describe in detail the miseries and woeful sights, setting out the truth of all. Many hundreds of thousands died of hunger, so that the ground was everywhere covered with dead corpses, which lay unburied, causing

such a stench that the whole air was fouled and infected thereby. Some Dutchmen, coming from Ahmadabad, found some people sitting at a little fire where human hands and feet were being cooked—a horrible thing to see; but a still more horrible sight was seen in a village named Susuntra, where human flesh was sold openly in the market.

This heavy divine punishment and plague fell chiefly on the poor and the common people who had nothing in store, for the rich and the people who had money could still buy grain, though at an exceedingly high price: formerly 45 sers (i.e. $33\frac{3}{4}$ Holland pounds) of wheat could be bought for a mahmudi (equal to $10\frac{2}{3}$ of our stivers), but now that sum would only buy two or three sers, or $2\frac{2}{3}$ [sic] Dutch pounds—a great difference in price and weight: yet the Lord God knew well how to find the means.

In the following year, 1631 the rains at the outset gave promise of a good season for grain; the crops looked very well, and prices began to fall in consequence. But alas! this did not last long, and it was apparent that the punishment was not yet over, for the Lord God sent from heaven great numbers of locusts, rats, mice and other vermin, which injured the new crops severely. Then when they began to ripen, and particularly needed dry weather, such excessive and continuous rain fell that much grain was destroyed in the fields. The rivers, being overcharged with flood-water, rose so high as to flood many towns, villages and fields, which caused the greatest loss of all; and grain became dearer even than before. Then it was seen that rich men who had escaped starvation for the whole year suffered want, and some of them died of hunger. Further, the Almighty sent such grievous sickness and fevers that a healthy man could scarcely be found, and these again carried off millions of people. Again one saw corpses lying here and there in the streets. Some people had to keep their dead in the house for three or four days because they had no money to pay the men who are accustomed to carry away corpses. Others, whose rule is to burn their dead to ashes, could not obtain sufficient wood, but were compelled to throw the corpses unburnt into the river, or bury them in the ground. In the years which followed, these calamities began to cease, and food began to grow at the former price, but still the present days and abundance of provisions are not to be compared to former times. May God Almighty preserve all Christian countries from such plagues, whereof sin is the true and certain cause; and may He restore everything by His grace and bounteous blessing, and cause this country of Gujarat to flourish as before!

THE TOMB OF HAJOM MOJOM

(EXTRACT from Ch. VIII. I have no idea of what *Hajom Mojom* represents). About a league from Ahmadabad there is another tomb, that of a wealthy Moslem merchant named Hajom Mojom. He had an exceptionally beautiful daughter, and was inflamed with an improper passion for her. To give some appearance of propriety to his scandalous purpose, he went to the Kazi who attests all marriage-contracts and sale-deeds of houses, land, etc., (being in consequence of his learning authorised thereto by the king), and put a question to him by way of parable: "If there is an exceedingly productive field, should not the owner be able to enjoy the produce freely, and have it for himself?" The Kazi answered, Yes. Thereupon the merchant replied: "I have a splendid field; give me a writing to the effect that I alone may take the produce." The Kazi without reflection gave it; and he, supposing himself to be fully protected thereby, had carnal knowledge of his daughter, by no means with her good will since she fully understood that such an abominable sin is accursed of God and Man. She revealed the matter to her mother and other women, so that eventually it reached the ears of Sultan Mahmud Begarha, the reigning king of Gujarat, who took no notice of the Kazi's writing, and had the offender publicly beheaded. He lies buried here along with his wife and daughter who died after him; and consequently the tomb is called Bety-chuit as a memorial of such a horrible deed.

SHAH JAHAN'S FIELD ARMY

(Ch. XIII). In the year 1630, when this king took the field in person to pursue the fugitive Lord Khan Jahan, his army consisted of 144,500 horse, in addition to large numbers of elephants, camels, mules and beasts of burden, as can be seen from the following statement of each division with the names of the officers and the total of horse.

The first division under the flag of Shaista Khan, son of Asaf Khan	..	32,000 horse
The second division, under the flag of Iradat Khan	..	28,000 "
The third division, under Raja Gedsing [Gaj Singh]	..	22,000 "
Troops guarding the king at Burhanpur	..	19,500 "
Total of horse		<u>144,500</u>

NOTE.—In the text the name of each mansabdar and the number of his horse are set out: the names are exceedingly corrupt, and in the absence of any complete list of mansabdars at this period identification would be largely guess work. The numbers also contain errors, for the sum of the items differs from the printed totals in three cases out of four: the most probable figures seem to be 32,000, 29,000, 22,000, and 61,500. In the last case there is an obvious error, as the items total 61,500, and in the type used 61 when read upside down appears as 19. As to the occasion, Shah-Jahan left Agra for the Deccan in December, 1629, and doubtless van Twist had got hold of an official statement of the strength of the army which accompanied him.

THE MUHARRAM

(Ch. xv. reproduces de Laet's account of the festivals at the Mogul court, and continues). Apart from these two Court festivals, the Moslems celebrate some other annual feasts, for instance the festival of *Janze* and *Jauwzee*, in commemoration of two brothers so named, servants of Muhammad Ali, who having travelled to the Coromandel Coast to make pilgrimage and earn absolution, were surrounded by a multitude of heathens, gentiles and brahmans, and besieged in a fortress where they took refuge; their water being contaminated by a lizard, which Moslems consider an exceedingly unclean animal, they threw themselves among the heathen with manly courage, killing many at the point of the sword, till at last they were overpowered by numbers and slain. Their death is mourned on these days, beginning ten days after the new moon which falls in the month of July. Biers are carried through the streets with the semblance of corpses, adorned with bows, arrows, swords, turbans and many costly silk garments; many Moslems accompany these on foot, singing songs of mourning, dancing and fencing with naked swords, making a great uproar some of them wounding themselves in various places with knives or swords, so that the blood flows and runs over their clothes—a strange sight to see. In the evening some figures of men made of straw, representing the murderers, are placed on a platform in the *maidan* or market, which after many ceremonies and dramatic representations are shot through with arrows and finally burnt to ashes, signifying the punishment which the heathen earned by the slaughter of these two holy men and brothers, Janze and Jauwzee. What is more, at this festival they are provoked to such sympathy and desire for revenge that for a quarter of the day the gentiles,

banyans and other Hindus do not dare to come into the streets, but sit in their houses with locked doors, or run great risk of being massacred or slaughtered *en masse* by the Moslems in revenge for the dead.

NOTE.—I have traced no other example of the death of Hasan and Husain being located in India, but apparently some story of the kind was current at this period, for Pelsaert wrote (p. 74) that they were killed in battle against a "heathen" Raja, that is, a Hindu. The distortion of the names may perhaps be attributed in part at least to the printer, who I suspect may have omitted "and" between Muhammad and Ali in the first sentence.

SUTTEE

(The description of the practice of suttee in Ch. XXV follows van Linschoten (c.36); it ends as follows). Where Moslems are numerous, the burning of a wife with her husband is not permitted, being opposed to their law; all the same they often bribe the Governors with money, as I saw in the city of Baroda, in the case of a young wife who burnt herself alive with her dead husband, after the Governor had been persuaded with Rs. 200 to give his consent. The story is as follows. (Ch. XXVI). A banyan, a clerk of the Governor Fazl Khan, who had been sent out by his master to collect the revenue of the neighbouring villages, was attacked and murdered on the road by thieves and robbers. His wife mourned him so greatly that she desired only to die along with her dead husband, though her relatives tried to hinder her or dissuade her from her purpose; but finding that this was impossible, they applied for the Governor's permission obtained it with a present. They built a round hut with dry branches and other combustible material on the river bank outside the city: in this hut the deceased was laid on a large pile of wood, and to it wife was conducted with a blithe and cheerful countenance, going to the river bank to bathe, where she put on a single garment smeared with saffron and other herbs. She distributed her necklace, arm-rings and gold earrings among her relatives, went to the hut, round which she walked once with intrepid countenance, took leave of her friends, sat down in the hut, and lit the fire in several places with her own hand. Then the [? position] was so changed by the relatives pouring out some jars of oil that she was quickly burnt to ashes. As soon as the flames rose, the relatives and on-lookers, men and women alike, embraced, and made such an outcry that no laments or cries of the burning woman could be heard. The

woman was by appearance 22 or 23 years of age and left a baby of about three months.

NOTE.—This chapter raises a question which I cannot answer. The account of suttee at Agra given in Pelsaert (p. 79) shows that Jahangir maintained his father's rule that voluntary suttee should be permitted. If that rule was still in force under Shah Jahan, it is hard to believe that the Governor should have extorted a large sum from the family of one of his own servants for a permission which he was bound to grant; but the difficulty disappears if van Twist is right in saying that in his time suttee was illegal, and there is thus a suggestion that Shah Jahan, very early in his reign, had prohibited it. Is there any record of such action on his part?

CHAPTER XXXIX.

WEIGHTS, MEASURES AND COINS IN GUJARAT

In Gujarat there is a single weight called maund, meaning a hand. This is used for butter, meat, sugar, indigo, saltpetre, wood, salt, etc., and everything that is weighable. The maund weighs 40 ser, making $30\frac{1}{2}$ Holland pounds: a ser weighs 18 pice, which is a copper coin (like our oortjens), making $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. troy.

In measuring they use two different ells: 19 of the larger make fully $23\frac{1}{2}$ Dutch ells; the smaller differ from ours only by the breadth of a thumb.

Money of the country is two-fold, mahmudis and rupees. Mahmudis are struck in Surat of alloyed silver, worth about $10\frac{2}{3}$ stivers by our reckoning. These are current only in Broach, Cambay, Baroda and the said Gujarat: In Ahmadabad and the whole of Gujarat, rupees chagamy [*? chalani*] are current, of good alloy, and worth 24 Dutch stivers. For small payments they use pice, 24 or 25 to the mahmudi and 53 or 54 to a rupee (24 stivers). Pice are copper coins like our oortjens and doits, but heavier, equal to $10\frac{1}{3}$ [Dutch] pennies, ordinary reckoning. Almonds too are current here, at 36 to a pice; also a kind of shell called cowries (which are found on the seashore), at 80 to the pice. Spanish reals and rix dollars are usually worth in Surat 5 mahmudis, and lion-dollars 4, that is $53\frac{2}{3}$ and $42\frac{1}{2}$ stivers.

Further there is a coin called larin imported largely from Persia, oblong, very fine silver without alloy: these are worth 16 stivers, varying with the exchange as is the case with all other coins. All gold and silver, whether coined or uncoined, imported

from other countries, is melted and struck into coins with inscriptions in Persian containing the name and style of the king, for here they use pure gold and fine silver. They have also gold coins, called mohurs or xeraphins, worth $12\frac{1}{2}$ rupees, but they are little used; most of them are kept by the nobles shut up in their treasures. Other coins, Venetians or ducats, which come from Venice or Turkey, are worth usually $8\frac{1}{2}$ or 9 Surat mahmudis: for it must be understood that money has not a uniform fixed value, but often rises or fall with the exchange. Many banyans do their business in this, and also many who understand how to make profit by exchange, buying silver and gold when they are cheapest on the arrival of the Dutch and English ships from Europe, and the Moslem ships from Aden and Persia, and then raising the rate when the coin is wanted for up-country. There is much falsification of the coinage, and consequently banyan money-changers, called here Paraffes [*sarrāf*], sit at many corners of the principal streets and markets, who test money for a small change, and are so expert that merely while counting the coins they can distinguish one that is false. Consequently nobody dares to receive money without showing it to these men, who bind themselves to make good and repay any coins that are found to be short-weight or false after they have counted; but this happens very rarely.

They count in lacs, equal to 100,000. A crore equals 100 lacs, and an arb equals 10 [*sic*] crores. In silver one *theyl* (20 to the lb. troy) makes 11, 12, or 13 current rupees, and $11\frac{1}{2}$ *mashas* make one *theyl*. Ten *theyl* silver make one *theyl* gold, as we reckon. Copper money is reckoned in tankas, 12 to 13 to a mahmudi, and 26 or 27 to a rupee. The copper and brass imported here may not be re-exported under pain of death; but it is time for us to speak of the principal goods of this country.

NOTE.—This chapter gives the main facts correctly, but contains some errors and misapprehensions. The erroneous derivation of maund, in the Portuguese from *mao*, comes from Linschoten (c. 35). The unit specified is the Gujarat maund, which was 33lb. avoirdupois until Shah Jahan increased it to nearly 37lb.: the ser weighed 18 dam, or about 5,820 grains, which is just over one lb. troy. "Oortgens" and "doits" were small Dutch coins of the period: the former was $\frac{1}{4}$ stiver, the later $\frac{1}{8}$ stiver, the stiver being one-twentieth of a guilder.

The smaller ell is the Gujarat covad, a little under 27 inches. The equation given in the text shows that the larger ell was the *Ilahi gaz*, between 32 and 33 inches.

There is a verbal contradiction in the sentence about the currency of mahmudis: the fact is that rupees were superseding the older Gujarat coinage, but had not yet ousted it. As usual, "pice" is used in two senses: first it denotes the dam, but later the half-dam: the equation, 53 or 54 pice to a rupee, reflects the appreciation of copper which had taken place since Akbar's time, when the rupee was worth 80 half-dam.

The "theyl" is puzzling; the equivalent given of $11\frac{1}{2}$ mashas points to the tola, but there are over 30 tola (not 20) in the lb. troy, and the rupee weighed about a tola. I suspect some confusion with the Malay unit of weight, tael, with which the writer must have been familiar. As the figures given show, "tanka" denotes the dam.

The sentence regarding the minting of all imported gold and silver is from de Laet (p. 114); and the account of the money-changers is adapted from van Linschoten (c. 35).

CHAPTER XLIV

SEA TRADE OF THE MOSLEMS OF GUJARAT

THE ships which sail annually from Surat to Mocha in the Red Sea are indeed large but badly built, and though they carry many guns, they are not protected by them, for [the guns] are on the top orlop without any defence, while they do not know how to handle them. On each of these ships there are sometimes fully 1,000 men, who travel on them less for trade than to visit Medina or Mocha [sic], the grave of Muhammad; having once made this journey, they are thereafter named Haji (that is, holy men). These ships usually sail at the new moon in March, and return in the following September. The voyage can be made much more quickly and performed in about two months, but during the rains there are such storms in the Indian Sea that you cannot sail without great danger.

The goods sent to Mocha and the coast of Aden are mostly cotton and various sorts of cotton cloth, tobacco, alum, camphor, indigo, sulphur, benzoin, some spices, various preserves and myrobalans: they bring little on the return voyage except some red coral, amber, misseyt, a red dyestuff [sc, *rūnās*], coffee, from which Moslems make black water and drink it hot, as the Chinese and Japanese make tea; also some drugs, and opium, which is considered the best in India. The rest of their returns consist of silver and gold ducats. Smaller ships sail annually from Surat, Broach,

and Cambay for Persia, carrying to and fro the same goods as mentioned above for the Arabian and Aden voyage, and bringing back in addition much cloth of gold, silk-cloth, stuffs, camelots, velvets, pearls, many fruits such as almonds, raisins, nuts and dates, some cases of rosewater, and other Persian goods. These ships sail in January and February, and return in April or the beginning of May. Some ships of from 100 to 300 tons sail annually to Achin and Kedah, taking as cargo opium, cotton, and various Gujarat cloths; they bring back sulphur, benzoin, camphor, porcelain, tin, and as much pepper and other spices as they can get. These ships sail in May, because the Portuguese give passports to carry pepper or spices from any places only to their own towns, on pain of death and forfeiture of the goods: to avoid this difficulty, these Moslem ships wait until the Portuguese armada and foists (which annually cruise at sea and along the coast to convoy vessels, in order to protect the Indian coast against the great violence of the Malabar pirates, their mortal enemies) are laid up in their harbours for the winter. And they make the next voyage in the beginning of October, before the Portuguese forces are again at sea.

Further, many small vessels and frigates of 60, 80, and up to 100 tons, sail to Goa, Diu, Daman, etc., and other Portuguese places, with wheat, rice, melted butter in pots (used for cooking), and other eatables and provisions; Coming back they bring usually coarse Ormuz salt, and old nets useful for the paper-makers, also *sajji* (soda), much used for washing nets, for which it is very serviceable. So far in brief of the principal traffic of the natives of Gujarat, Hindus as well as Moslems.

NOTE.—The first paragraph is from de Laet (p. 113), but the rest of the chapter appears to be based on first-hand knowledge.

Coffee is described as *mirrikiser* or *kohouwa*; the latter word is the Arabic *qahwa*, but I cannot identify the former.

The last sentence, it will be seen, qualifies the heading of the chapter, which refers only to the trade carried on by Moslems. Among the Dutch of the period the expression "Moors' trade" was sometimes used in the wider sense of trade carried on by Indians in general, presumably because Moslems were the principal shipowners in the ports which they frequented on their first arrival in India.

CHAPTER XLV

THE MALABAR TRADE WITH GUJARAT

THE Malabars occupy a large portion of the Indian coast from Cape Rama, which is ten leagues S. of Goa (the capital or metropolis of the Portuguese of all India), as far as Cape Comorin, that is for 107 or 108 leagues, including the towns of Onor, Bacalor, Mangalor, Cananor and Cranganor. They conduct in their frigates a large trade with Surat, Cambay and Broach: their goods are coir, or coconut fibre, from which ropes are made; copra, the meat of these coconuts taken out of the fibre [sic: ? shell], also whole nuts; *jāgrī* or black sugar which comes chiefly from the Maldiv Islands; areca or betel, called *dimang* in Malay; a red wood for dyeing called in these countries *patang*; pitch for caulking and covering ships (an important commodity); also much rice and other provisions. They take back much opium, saffron, red coral; also the coarsest cloths such as *baftas*, black *candekins*, etc.; also some cotton and cotton yarn. They come in December, and return about mid-April.

NOTE.—Confusion between the betel leaf and the areca nut is noted in *Hobson Jobson* (S. V. Areca). “*Dimang*” is probably a perversion of *pinang*, the Malay name of areca; while “*patang*” may be for *sappan*, the common dye-wood.

The first sentence is from van Linschoten (c. 11).

CHAPTER XLVI

THE PORTUGUESE TRADE WITH GUJARAT

FOR many years the Portuguese had a monopoly of the trade with Gujarat and Hindustan, and made large profits from it, as can be reckoned from the important colonies, towns and fortresses of Daman, Diu, Goa, etc., which they built at great cost, and have to protect against the Malabars and their other enemies. They imported various European goods—lead, tin, vermilion, quicksilver, many woollen cloths, coarse and fine; also ivory, sandalwood, pepper, cardamomns, small quantities of cloves, porcelain, Chinese silk-stuffs, cinnamon, coconuts, and coir, or rope made of coco-tree fibre; also various curiosities—golden cups, drinking vessels, dishes, etc., very skilfully inlaid with precious stones and pearls, and many diamond and other rings, very finely set with various precious stones. For returns, they carried to Goa, to load the carracks which sailed annually for Portugal in January, or at

latest February, various kinds of cloths, cotton, calico, some indigo, saltpetre, lac, sugar, quantities of preserves and myrobalans, various handsome stitched quilts and hangings for beds, writing desks, very neatly and exquisitely made. They also purchased in Cambay and Surat much melted butter in leather pots or bales, *assafoetida*, opium, cummin, mustard seed, much cotton and cotton yarn, which they despatched to Malacca, Macao and China, getting not less than two or three profits, whereby they advanced greatly in wealth and power, notwithstanding much loss of ships, and great injury at various times, particularly on the coast of China and in Japan. But since, 20 or 30 years ago, the English and Dutch Companies arrived with their factories and trade in Gujarat, Hindustan and Persia, through the efforts of the servants of the said companies—Portuguese trade has greatly declined, and has in fact been abandoned for fear of the Companies' ships, which they have indeed often attacked but with discredit and no small loss. Now they come yearly to Cambay and Surat with only some foists and frigates for the necessary pursuit of their traffic in the southern part of India, bringing as cargo the goods already enumerated for the Malabars. For returns, they buy some cloths, coarse and fine, silk stuffs, and other goods of less value, with which they return in January or February to Diu, Daman, Chaul, Mascat and Goa. Thus far in brief of the present trade of the Portuguese in Gujarat and Hindustan.

NOTE.—The following editions are quoted:—

DE LAET: *De Imperio Magni Mogolia*. Leiden, 1631. The references are to the first issue of that year.

GELEYNSSEN: *De Remonstrantie van W. Geleynssen de Jongh*. Ed. W. Caland. Linschoten Society, 1929.

PELSAERT: *Jahangir's India*. The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert. Tr. W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl, Cambridge, 1925.

VAN LINSCHOTEN: *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten*. Ed. A. C. Burnell and P. A. Tiele. Hakluyt Society, 1885.

Lord Ellenborough and the Taluqdars of Oudh

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THE name of Lord Canning is justly remembered to-day with feelings of genuine respect and gratitude by the landed aristocracy of Oudh for the boon of the famous "Taluqdari Settlement" conferred on them after the Mutiny of 1857 during his Viceroyalty. A close examination of the contemporary sources, however, compels one to revise the commonly accepted belief that Lord Canning had always been a friend of the landlords of Oudh.

It may come as a surprise to students of Indian history; still the truth is that Lord Ellenborough was really the greatest benefactor of the Taluqdars, as he saved their order from actual extinction decided upon by Lord Canning. It is a pity that the fact is not generally known. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that, but for the generous and statesmanlike interest of Lord Ellenborough, the Taluqdars of Oudh would have gone out of existence altogether; yet no Taluqdar cares to remember their saviour at the present day.

There is sufficient evidence to show that the Taluqdars of Oudh had joined the Mutineers not out of any sympathy for the political ambitions of the Mutiny leaders, but merely as a protest against the extinction of their seignorial, or landlord status over the rural communities of Oudh; yet instead of winning back their loyalty and goodwill by a policy of conciliation, Lord Canning resolved virtually to destroy the landlord class of Oudh both as a punitive measure, and for the purpose of securing the contentment and loyalty of the tenantry by the protection of their subordinate tenures. The Viceroy had prepared a general proclamation ordering the confiscation of all the Taluqdari Estates even before the recapture of Lucknow, and he ordered this to be issued immediately after the city was retaken from the possession of the rebels.

Lord Canning's Oudh Proclamation which need not be reproduced in this connection is an extremely interesting document. It recapitulates the crimes of which the people of Oudh in gene-

ral, and the Taluqdars in particular had been guilty of, and the consequences arising therefrom. It points out that Lucknow should henceforth be held by such a powerful force that rebellion would be impossible; that the authority of the Government would be strictly upheld and vindicated in every distant corner of the country; and that, with the exception of a few Estates, the entire soil of Oudh would be confiscated to the Government.

Had the Proclamation been fully enforced, the entire landed property of the Taluqdars would have been confiscated. From such a catastrophe, however, the Taluqdars were saved unexpectedly by the then President of the Board of Control, Lord Ellenborough, whose severe denunciation of the Proclamation averted the destruction of the landed aristocracy of Oudh.

Lord Canning's decision to wipe out the baronial class of Oudh was not wholly fair, or statesmanlike. On a critical analysis of the Mutiny-guilt of the Taluqdars from the original sources the following facts emerge:—

(1) The Taluqdars had a just and undeniable grievance against the British Government, as their proprietary rights had been suddenly attacked during the settlement proceedings of 1856 without due regard having been paid to the peculiar agrarian conditions of the country.

(2) Their Estates had been resumed, and the revenue settlement had been made with the subordinate communities in violation of the ancient and traditional rights and privileges existing in Oudh.

(3) It was the inevitable resentment and despair caused by the Government's policy that had compelled most of them to defy the authorities.

(4) In spite of their resentment, many of the Taluqdars such as Hardeo Bux, Rustam Shah, Hanwant Singh and others had even at the risk of their own safety saved the lives of Englishmen and their parties, and, in the words of Mr. Tucker, "the chiefs behaved like gentlemen." (Vide, Ludlow's "Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown towards India," p. 309). This showed that the bulk of the Taluqdars were at heart not anti-English.

(5) Very few among the Taluqdars had actually sent aid to, or joined the Mutineers.

(6) The majority among them had only taken advantage of the Sepoy Mutiny and the consequent confusion, by forcibly eject-

ing those to whom their Estates had been granted in the last settlement.

(7) Many Taluqdars had even actively helped the Company's troops, and sent supplies to them. It may be noted that the Residency of Lucknow could not have been provisioned by Sir Henry Lawrence but for the help of some Taluqdars.

(8) A large number of Taluqdars had loyally submitted on the clear assurance of Sir Robert Montgomery that their land would not be confiscated. Confiscation after this assurance would have amounted to a clear breach of faith.

It is an undeniable fact that Lord Canning's insistence on the enforcement of the Proclamation was one of the many errors that made the task of reconquest and pacification of Oudh both difficult and prolonged. Contemporary papers show that men like Sir James Outram had not failed to remind the Viceroy that the Taluqdars had been very unjustly and harshly treated, and that, unless the possession of their lands were guaranteed to them, they would be compelled to carry on a guerrilla war, thereby making the position of the Government extremely difficult and insecure. Lord Canning was relentless inspite of all representations and warnings, and it is all the more striking that a Viceroy who was nicknamed "Clemency Canning" for his excessive mildness and leniency, happened to disregard such counsels of caution and moderation from responsible advisers, and persisted in decreeing against the whole order of the landlords, for the crimes of some among them, a punishment as hasty and impolitic as it was excessive.

It appears that the only concession that the Viceroy could be prevailed upon by his advisers to make was to include a clause in the aforesaid Proclamation to the effect that those who would agree to support the Government immediately and unconditionally might expect some measure of indulgence. It is needless to add that such a half-hearted and halting promise could not have succeeded in procuring the loyal submission of the refractory landlords.

It is worthy of note that such a shrewd statesman and administrator as Sir John Lawrence had pleaded for an amnesty to all the rebel landlords who had not committed murder of Europeans. In his letter, dated February 1, 1858, he wrote to Lord Canning, "I do not know whether you may feel disposed or not to grant anything like an amnesty in favour of the least guilty of the insurgents in Oudh . . . But I feel persuaded that such a measure would be

very politic . . . Unless matters are managed with great tact and judgment, our difficulties in Oudh may only commence after the capture of Lucknow . . ." (Vide, "Life of Lord Lawrence," by Bosworth Smith, pp. 423-24).

The views of Sir John Lawrence mentioned above were equally shared among others by Sir James Outram, and by General Mansfield too, as their correspondence shows. But, it is strange that these had no effect on Lord Canning, and were disregarded by his Government with an obstinacy that was both surprising and regrettable.

Lord Canning insisted not only on the confiscation of the lands of all the Taluqdars, but also proposed condign punishment for those among them who had murdered Englishmen. The lives of only such people whose hands had not been stained with European blood were to be spared. The Viceroy chose to reward only six Taluqdars for their loyalty—the landowners of Balrampur, Pundah, Kutiaree, Sissendi, Gopalchair, and Baiswarah. The latter alone, in the words of the Proclamation, were "to be henceforward the sole hereditary proprietors of the land which they held when Oudh came under the British rule, subject only to such moderate assessment as may be imposed upon them; and that these loyal men will be further rewarded in such manner and to such extent as upon consideration of their merits and their position the Governor-General shall determine". Had Lord Canning had his own way, none but the above-mentioned six Taluqdars would have remained today in Oudh.

Fortunately for the Oudh landlords, Lord Ellenborough made a timely intervention in their favour in his capacity of President of the Board of Control, and prevented the Viceroy from carrying out this drastic policy. He sent a long despatch to Lord Canning protesting against the contemplated confiscation of all the lands in Oudh, and condemned the Oudh Proclamation in such scathing terms as to be almost insulting to the Viceroy, and referred to the Taluqdars as more sinned against than sinning.

The memorable despatch of Lord Ellenborough concludes thus:—

"Other conquerors, when they have succeeded in overcoming resistance, have excepted a few persons as still deserving of punishment, but have, with a generous policy, extended their clemency to the great body of the people. You have acted on a different principle. You have reserved a few

as deserving of special favour, and you have struck with what they feel as the severest of punishment the mass of the country.

"We cannot but think that the precedents, from which you have departed, will appear to have been conceived in a spirit of wisdom superior to that which appears in the precedent you have made. We desire, therefore, that you will mitigate in practice the stringent severity of the decree of confiscation you have issued against the landowners of Oudh. We desire to see British authority in India rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people: there cannot be contentment when there is general confiscation. Government cannot long be maintained by any force in a country where the whole people is rendered hostile by a sense of wrong; and if it were possible so to maintain it, it would not be a consummation to be desired."

It is needless to add that this noble pronouncement with which students of Indian History are not familiar, certainly deserves a careful perusal. It breathes sentiments which are echoed in Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858.

The eventual abandonment of the settlement policy of 1856, resettlement of the land revenue with the Taluqdars, and the restoration of their Estates are an aspect of the post-Mutiny reconstruction in Oudh begun by Lord Canning, which, but for Lord Ellenborough's timely despatch, would have been impossible. It is thus to the magnanimity and statesmanship of Lord Ellenborough that the Taluqdars of Oudh owe their existence today.

Editorial

OBITUARY

MORITZ WINTERNITZ

We record with sorrow the passing away, on the 7th of January last, of Maurice Winternitz, Professor of Indology and Ethnology at the German University of Prague, Czechoslovakia. It was only very recently in December 1933 that his 70th birthday and his retirement from the University in consequence were celebrated by his friends presenting him a Commemoration Volume. It was hardly expected that he would pass away so soon after. He suffered a bad bereavement soon after his retirement in the death of his wife, which seems to have left him sadly shaken, and his death followed soon after.

The name of Winternitz is so well-known in the world of Sanskrit letters that it is hardly necessary to mention all that he has written. His great work, however, is the History of Sanskrit Literature in three volumes, of which two have been done into English under his own supervision and published by the Calcutta University. This great work consists of three parts: the first part, Vedic Literature, the second part, the great Epics and the Puranas. That makes the first volume. The second volume was published, dealing with Buddhist and Jaina literature. The third volume treats of classical Sanskrit literature, the scientific literature of Sanskrit, and an appendix upon Indian vernacular literature as well. That has not so far been translated into English, although we hope that the Calcutta University will complete the work by bringing out a translation of this as well. It is, however, matter for regret that this part would then have to be published without the Professor's supervision.

The Calcutta University did him the honour of a Special Readership, and he delivered his Readership lecture in 1925 on "Some Problems of Indian Literature". He edited the Apastamba Grihya Sutra about fifty years ago, and the *Mantrapatha* of the Apastamba ten years after. He also wrote a paper in English on "A Comparative Study of Indo-European Customs", particularly marriage customs, and this was published in 1903. His latest contribution, however, was made in April last under the name "Historical Dramas in Indian Literature" to the Commemoration Volume pre-

sented to us. Our sorrow is the keener, therefore, that he should be taken away from us so unexpectedly and so soon after.

BRAHMAVIDYA

The Adyar Library Bulletin

We welcome the publication of a new journal, at any rate, an old journal in a revived form, the Brahmavidya, a bulletin issued from the Adyar Library. The Adyar Library Bulletin, as it is called, carries out an idea, one of the many fruitful ideas of the late Col. Olcott, the founder of the Library, which has just reached its Golden Jubilee this year, and the first number is published on the 17th of February 1937, the birthday of the distinguished founder of the Library. It is intended that the bulletin should serve the double purpose of bringing out in print the valuable, rare manuscripts which lie collected in the library, and the publication of articles which are the result of critical study of the works in manuscript in the library. The Adyar Library staff and the editor of the journal, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, alike deserve congratulation upon having succeeded in bringing out the first issue. This begins with an article on the name Kalkin by Prof. Otto Schrader, who was himself connected with the Adyar Library, followed by Notes on Pramāṇasamuccaya of Dīnāga by Aiyaswami Sastri. This is followed by serial publications, R̥gveda-vyākhyā Mādha-vakṛta edited by Dr. Raja, followed by the Yoga-Upanishads by Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri, and T. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar. This is followed by Āśvalāyanagr̥hyasūtra with Dēvasvāmibhāṣya edited by Prof. Raja. This is followed by a section, notes on manuscripts, and there are two items under this head, the first, Vārarucaniruk-tasamuccaya and Nṛsimha Campu and Nṛsimhavijñāpana by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja and Dr. V. Raghavan. The first issue of this new quarterly gives promise of great usefulness to Sanskrit scholars and attempts to realise one of the cherished wishes of the founders of the Adyar Library. We wish the enterprise as complete a success as possible.

THE JOURNAL OF THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

We welcome again a new addition to the ranks of University journalism, the Journal of the Benares Hindu University, edited by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Principal of the Arts College in the Benares Hindu University. The project for the

issue of a journal has been under discussion for a considerable length of time, and we congratulate those concerned on having achieved success in bringing out the journal early this year.

Of course the journal follows the usual practice of dividing into the two parts, Arts and Letters, and Science. There are seven articles in the first section, of which the first is merely in benediction. The first article is the Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda by MM. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya of the Calcutta University. The second is Agastya or the Rise and Spread of Hindu Culture by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri of the Madras University. The state of Hinduism and Buddhism as Revealed in Mṛcchakatika by Dr. Belvalkar of the Benares University is the third. Then follows the Kaleidoscopic Changes in Kant's Conception of the Thing-in-Itself by S. K. Maitra, Head of the Department of Philosophy at the Benares University. Then follows an article by Professor K. C. Varadachari, Professor of Philosophy, Lingaraj College, Belgaum, on the Concept of Lila in Viśiṣṭādvaita. Professor A. S. Altekar, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture at Benares, writes on the History of Benares. Dr. Appadurai of Loyola College, Madras, has an article on "Joint Deliberation under Dyarchy". Professor S. V. Puntambekar, Head of the Department of History writes an article on Vijayanagara Polity. In the science group there is an article on the Solar System by V. V. Narlikar, Head of the Department of Mathematics at Benares. The Synthesis of 4-Methylcyclohexane-Spiro-Cyclopentane by R. D. Desai, of the Muslim University, Aligarh, is the next. This is followed by an article on Halogenation by Professors, P. S. Varma, and K. S. Venkat Raman. Then follows the Exploration of the Ionosphere by Radio Waves by S. S. Banerjee of the Department of Physics. The last article is Bergson on Morality and Religion by S. K. Maitra, head of the Department of Philosophy. Of course there is the usual complement of reviews, etc. Almost every University in India with few exceptions have journals of their own, and it is a welcome sign of progress that Benares should have fallen into line and brought out its own journal. We congratulate those concerned upon the first issue which gives promise of a very good standard. We wish for it a long and successful career.

Reviews

MODERN MYSTICS

By

SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND,

John Murray & Co., London. Price 10sh. 6d. net.

Mysticism and mystics are terms which are regarded with a certain amount of suspicion even by the cultured, as something novel, and therefore suspicious from the point of view of knowledge. Undoubtedly there is something in mysticism which it may not be possible easily to understand. But that does not mean, at least it should not mean, that it does not exist as a phenomenon of nature. In order really to investigate the problem, Sir Francis Younghusband sets out in this work of his, among the many that he has already published, to investigate the problem seriously. He goes to work by studying mystics of various nationalities and various religions, and belonging to times more or less contemporary with himself, so that his enquiry may partake of the character of the real in it. This investigation he takes up objectively in the study of Hindu mystics, such as Keshub Chander Sen, Ramakrishna and Vivekenanda. For Muslim mystics, he similarly studies the Bab and his followers who lived and flourished in the last century, and the influence of whose work is still active. As an example of the Roman Catholic mysticism he studies Ste Therese de Lisieux. For the Protestant Mystics he similarly takes up the study of the authoress of the Golden Fountain, and, for what might be called Mass Mysticism, he takes up the Welsh Revival of thirty years ago. He passes this series of studies in review, and arrives at certain conclusions.

The comparative study of these mystics leads him to the conclusion that all of them, with their experiences, could not be frauds, and almost establishes beyond cavail that mysticism is a real phenomenon and is worthy perhaps of more attention than it has really got so far. On this comparative study he finds that while the differences in the beliefs and practices of mystics vary very much, there is also a very substantial agreement in character among the mystics and their practices and the resulting experience. This view of the mystics as a whole, seems to give a more or less satisfactory and cogent account of all that is observable as taking place

about us, and seems to lead, by imperceptible steps, to an agency behind all visible phenomena which seems to direct and control all the multitudinous changes taking place around us. He makes an effort in the last chapter to point out how this mystical experience is not out of accord with modern scientific investigations and the advanced scientific knowledge that we possess at the present time, and forecasts a human development along mystical lines for the future.

The work deserves well of all serious-minded people interested in studies such as these. We were struck particularly by the almost common experience of these mystics and the exposition of one Indian variety of mysticism we have had occasion recently to study, the Vaishnavism of the Pāncharātra. The work is worth the attention of all those who are interested in religion and religious experiences. It is hardly necessary to say it is a very interesting presentation of a difficult question, and the method adopted throughout, perhaps the most satisfactory possible.

MODERN MYSORE

By

RAJAKARYAPRASAKTA RAO BAHADUR M. SHAMA RAO, M.A.

Messrs. Higginbothams, Bangalore.

This is a work in two volumes which treats of the history of Mysore under the present ruling family down to the present time. There is of course the necessary retrospect going back to the end of the 14th century when the present ruling family came into possession of a small part of what is now the state of Mysore. Having regard to the nearness of time, the work is one of peculiar difficulty as the sources of information cannot as yet be regarded as public property, much of it being still held officially confidential for a considerable portion of this period. Mr. Shama Rao, as an old official associated intimately with the administration, is eminently fitted to do this work by qualifications and experience, as he has had unrivalled opportunities, in the course of his official career, to study the records bearing upon this period of history. He divides the work into two parts, the first volume bringing the history down to 1868 the year of the death of the late Maharaja Krishnarajendra Wodeyar. The second part takes up the history from them and brings it down to the present time, thus covering practically the reigns of the late Maharaja of Mysore, Chamarajendra Wodeyar,

and His present Highness who has completed 43 years of his rule and almost 35 of his administration. He brings the history quite down to date, and therefore one could understand what a mass of material must have been studied and digested before the work could be written in the compass of two volumes of a little more than 500 pages each. The work is written in a popular and interesting style, without all the paraphernalia of critical scholarship. It is content with being what might be regarded as a plain, unvarnished tale of the story of Mysore. The work seems based nevertheless on historical documents which are largely quoted throughout the work, so that the work is authoritative and popular at the same time. Mr. Shama Rao has taken particular pains to give a full account of those parts in his historical survey which have remained contentious, such as the part for instance bearing upon the taking over of the administration by the British Government in 1831. The detailed history of the actual circumstances which ultimately led to this serious step, and, as has been admitted by its very author, erroneous step, is given a satisfactory exposition, which is only typical of his work on the whole. Many another point which is matter for discussion at present receives sufficient illumination in this work, into the details of which we can hardly go in a review. It is quite a readable work, and is almost free from the blemishes of printing. We congratulate Mr. Shama Rao on having been able to complete this work at an age when he should have been longing for rest and quiet. It is particularly satisfactory, after the long years of preparation, that he should have been enabled to complete it, and we wish him long enjoyment in life of this satisfaction.

AN OUTLINE OF INDIAN TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

By

DR. F. H. GRAVELY, D.Sc., F.R.A.S.B.

Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum. Price As. 12.

In this new bulletin Dr. Gravelly makes a study of Indian temple architecture confining his attention more or less to the southern school. It is a brochure of just about a score of pages, and studies the subject objectively from the examples available in photographs and illustrations in published works. In a short introduction Dr. Gravelly points out that having discussed the three main styles of temple architecture in a previous bulletin, he attempts in this "a unified framework (of temple architecture) as

a basis for further study, that will satisfactorily interpret the facts so far as they are known; and to suggest a terminology reasonably free from controversial implications". The division into Jain, Buddhist and Hindu is discarded for purposes of chronology, and it is now recognised frankly that architecturally they formed more or less one school. He follows the details of the classification of temples in the Tamil country by Jouveau-Dubreuil in external forms of these temples and their evolution. He therefore attempts to proceed on the basis of a study of decorative detail to mark out a course of evolution in temple architecture. These details are pillars, corbels, niches, etc., comparing these with similar features in temples outside the Tamil region. The *Vimāna*, the upper part of the shrine itself is a part of the temple which offers the best material for differentiating styles. In regard to this feature, the tendency to obliterate the classical distinction between a *Nāgara*, and a *Vēsara* style is passed over as almost negligible, and the only distinction recognised here is a northern style and a *Dravidian* style, of course, not altogether omitting the possibility of minor classifications. The *vimāna* is studied in all its details on the basis of this, bringing into comparison the new Kadamba style, and the style associated with the region of Malabar drawing attention to its similarity to temples in Nepal. Illustrations are also given of the Kashmir form and the Bengalee, which last is obviously a development from the leaf-hut. He accepts the division of Jouveau-Dubreuil, and makes the Pallava period extend from A.D. 600 to 850, an earlier Chola for the next 250 years, and the later Chola for a similar period following, terminating in a 250 year period for the Vijayanagar empire. While this division must be accepted more or less roughly, it may not be always possible or easy to distinguish the one from the other on the basis of structural features generally. But, if some detail of these features are studied, such as the corbels, it is possible to classify these in series, more or less answering to this division. The Hoysala style is regarded as a compound of the northern and the southern, according to this author, but it also absorbed the Kadamba style in it. He finds an illustrative example for this in the Lakshmi Devi temple at Dodda Gaddavalli built in 1113. He notices as a common feature of the towers the attempt at producing these towers by a process of vertical repetition instead of by a mere increase of height of any single structure. That is, these are made either by a repetition of roofs, or by a repetition of terraces, till the desired height is reached. He sees this vertical repetition also in the northern styles, and would find in this a fundamental unity of principle underlying all the temples, northern and the southern. It is a com-

mendable effort on the part of Dr. Gravely. We hope this bulletin will lead to a further study of the subject with fruitful results.

INDIAN STATES IN THE FEDERATION

By

MR. N. D. VARADACHARIAR
Oxford University Press.

This book consists of the three lectures delivered by Mr. Varadachariar early last year under the Sundaram Aiyar—Krishnaswami Aiyar Endowment of the University of Madras. He took for his subject the position of Indian States in the Federation of India. The Constitution Act of 1935 framed with a view to give India a new constitution makes proposals for the federation of India so as to bring the whole of India under one constitution. As everybody knows India consists of a portion entirely under the rule of the British and called British India, and another which is under Indian rule consisting of a number of states under Indian rulers. The distinction is generally recognised briefly as British India and Indian India sometimes. One of the difficult questions to solve in the introduction of a federal government in India is the actual relationship that should subsist between the federal government on the one side and the Indian states on the other, the relation between the federal government and the various provinces of British India being somewhat simpler. Mr. Varadachariar proceeds to examine the Act of 1935 carefully as to how far the Act will meet successfully the aim of its authors, namely, a unified Government of India as a federation, bringing into it the heterogeneous elements constituting the states on the one hand and the British provinces the other. As Professor Keith says in a foreword he contributes to the book "his attitude to the question is essentially founded on sound legal considerations; he states fairly the claims which have been put forward regarding the position of the States, and shows how they rest on mistaken assumptions, incompatible with history. He investigates the very difficult question of the position of the States which accede to the federation, and indicates the importance and complexity of the problem of the effect of alteration of the constitution, as enacted in the Government of India Act of 1935, on the obligation of the States to respect the federal bond." One could see from this what difficulties one has to meet in attempting an exposition of this subject.

The first question to be tackled in regard to this subject is the question of the actual relations obtaining between the British Government in India—the Central Government—and the Indian States. This is from the history of the case naturally one of opposition between the claims of paramountcy on the one side and sovereignty on the other. In this part of the book, which is really one of great difficulty, Mr. Varadachariar has dealt with the subject fully and fairly, but the constitutional lawyer sometimes gets the better of the historian. This question essentially is one more or less of historical evolution, and the clear-cut definition that a constitutional lawyer is accustomed to look for perhaps cannot be found here. British paramountcy cannot be regarded as a power inherent in the British Government, but has to be regarded altogether as one which has gradually evolved through more than a century of varying relationship between the British power in India and that of the individual Indian states. It has never been recognised or laid down in a clear-cut document, but is more or less inferable from the century of relations between the two parties. Mr. Varadachariar's study, careful and comprehensive as it is, does not exhibit an adequate appreciation of this difficulty. He often shows that, because a federation may prove to be ultimately good and bring about the much-desired unity of India, the question of the sovereignty of the states could be swept away. In discussing the position of Mysore for instance, he assumes that the Treaty of Seringapatam created the state of Mysore under a Hindu prince, which description neither anterior history nor subsequent transactions justify in the least. Undoubtedly he looks at the question from the point of view of modern federal constitutions which really do not have much real analogy with the Indian federation. The conditions in India are unique, and the struggle to adjust the claims of paramountcy with those of sovereignty requires a great deal of give and take, and could at the very best be a compromise which would still leave survivals of the previous position of imperfect applications of the principles of international law.

In the next lecture he attempts to describe the background of the federal constitution and tries to trace in detail the policy of the British Government towards Indian States. Here again the policy has not been uniform, and it is by a course of historical evolution again that the British Government has come to occupy more or less the position that it does. Naturally therefore it would be difficult to define the legal position of the state as against the paramount power. It is this that led to the somewhat peculiar device

of the instrument of accession by means of which Indian States could join the federation, and, in this connection, we are again up against the difficulty whether these instruments could be regarded as of the character of treaties between two powers, or as constitutional documents imposed by an authority possessing full legal power to make them, imposing them upon rulers who are bound to follow. Varadachariar recognised that the Act of 1935 merely provides the important meeting point of two opposing policies. In regard to the provinces, it shows itself to be more or less a process of substituting self-government in place of simple autocracy. In regard to Indian States, however, the position would be just the opposite. It would leave the states still under autocratic governments in very many particulars, at the same time bringing them under the federal government in respect of a few of them, which may be agreed upon in the instruments of accession of these states. That provides the real crux of the problem. It would certainly be very desirable that India is united and is brought under one government, but that cannot sweep away at one stroke the century-long history and the varied relationship of the British Government and the large number of Indian States. The fact that the states show an inclination to accede to the federation is merely an indication that Indian rulers see the advantages of the proposed federation, while at the same time they show a natural reluctance to forego the sovereign powers that they enjoyed so long. It is here that Mr. Varadachariar finds fault with the Lord Chancellor for his views regarding federation. He charges the Lord Chancellor roundly, and the authority that he quoted, the article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, with inaccurate language on the ground that the article implies that the powers of the federal government are delegated to it by the federating states, which according to him implies agency, while according to him the powers of the federal government are granted by the constitution. He erects here an **abstract constitution** in a superior position and considers the document bringing about the federation as merely incorporating the distribution of powers by this superior authority, the constitution. The next objection from his point of view is the question of residual power, which according to the Lord Chancellor remains in the federating states thereby indicating that the State has and retains the sovereign power. As against him is quoted the authority of Willoughby, according to whom sovereignty is the law-making power and is indivisible. He makes a distinction between a federal state where the so-called constitution is a veritable law embodying the will of the national government, or of its citizens, as the

legal authority, whereas in the alternative the document becomes merely a contract, as it were, and draws the distinction between a confederation and a federation. The case unfortunately of India is not so clearly analogous to that of America to apply this doctrine throughout, and one cannot altogether get out of its political and historical circumstances in making a constitution as the proposed federation of India is. A federation such as that of Willoughby, may ultimately emerge from out of the federal constitution which is projected for the time, and the juristical requirement of the author, it would be difficult to bring about in the actual circumstances of the position. Here again, it is the anterior historical circumstances of the case that colour the whole proceedings, and the compromise effected must necessarily be unsatisfactory from the point of view of a mere juristic notion of a federal constitution. Then he points out quite correctly that the agreement in this case is not between the states people and the federal authority, but between the ruler of the state and the British sovereign exercising paramountcy which again is another difficulty actually existing, and short of sweeping away obstacles and drawing up an abstract constitution and imposing it upon the whole of India, there seems to be no other way of improving the position. This impatience of the legal mind against the hard facts of historical circumstances shows itself throughout the work. While the work shows a careful and critical study of the constitution from the point of view of the constitutional lawyer, much of the criticism does not take sufficient note of the historical circumstances of the position. A federation such as is sought to be brought about in India has no precedent in history, and the constitution that is projected for bringing the whole of India under a federation, is but the application of the federal principle to suit the actual political circumstances of India at the time, and can hardly satisfy the requirements of the strict application of the constitutional law. The study is certainly of importance and serves usefully to exhibit if nothing else at least the great difficulty that lies in the way of adapting the constitutional principle from elsewhere under altogether different circumstances and give it practical application in circumstances so entirely different as the political condition of India at present.

MADRAS UNIVERSITY HISTORICAL SERIES NO. 12.
ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN SOUTHERN INDIA
(1000—1500 A.D.)

By

DR. A. APPADORAI, M.A., PH.D.,
Loyola College,

(In 2 Vols. Madras, 1936, pp. xii & 892.)

The economic condition of South India in the five centuries extending roughly from the time of Raja Raja Chola I to the epoch of Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar, based mainly on the life and activities of the people, is presented by the author with as much comprehensiveness as the nature and scope of the available sources and the progress of their interpretation will allow. He distinguishes between records of economic value and those containing mere statements of economic facts, and attempts to classify the former on the basis of the motives to which they owe their origin. He supplements them with a study of the available coins, and of chronicles and histories, both indigenous and foreign. Commentaries on the *smritis* are also sifted for what economic thought there may be found in them; and information has also been gleaned from books and papers of a later time which incorporate information gathered from the sources of the period of study.

With this preliminary survey of sources the author rightly combines an account of the people of the land and of the political background of the period. He discusses at great length the existence of the right of private property in land, and would equate the word *Kāṇiyāṭchi* with the term *Kshētrasvāmyam* occurring in the *Mitākshara*. Stress is laid on the close connection that existed between joint tenure and local administration; the view is put forward that the committee organisation, we find adverted in some of the sources was confined to only particular type of village, the *chaturvēdimangalam* wherein the Brahman community was a landlord body exercising rights over a class of tenants. As against this it must be stated that in *agraharams* the Brahmans were not always the proprietors of all the land; nor can it be maintained that they were the only proprietors. In other villages there was a body of elders who controlled all questions of administration. The prevailing special tenures, both beneficiary and service, are discussed in their incidence and other features. An obvious attempt is made to stretch too far the distinction drawn between

specific and occasional services, and continuous and permanent ones, and between services of a sectional character and those applicable to the whole village, the service of Brahman teachers being deemed to be of a sectional character. The maintenance of irrigation works was shared between local and central agencies on the one side, and between public and private agencies, on the other. Though the bulk of agricultural operations was carried on by the small peasant-farmer or tenant, there was a considerable employment of hired labour, besides several categories of servile labour. Attention is drawn to the method of estimating land values in relation to the annual rent or yield, and to the economy of the temple as a land-holder and owner of house-property, in particular; Rightly is the reader told that a study of the temple in its economic aspect should warn him against the notion of exaggerating the isolation and self-sufficiency of the mediaeval village.

In the section on town-life, great attention is naturally devoted to guild-organisation. In the first place the connection between caste and guild is made clear; the guild being composed of members of the same caste, but admitting men of other castes following the same trade. Among the guilds, the Ayyāvole, the Manigramam and the Anjuvannam are detailed in their peculiar status and rights. There was no stigma attached to lending as in Europe, but exorbitant rates were condemned as immoral; and attempts were made to fix the permissible rates of interest. Industry is surveyed on the basis of the main types and of the system of production followed in each. Wage-payment was diverse in method. Foreign trade based on the writings of travellers, is elaborately treated, particular attention being paid to its prevalence in the first half of the 10th century, for which the evidence is abundant and named specially for the west coast and Ceylon. The settlement of Arab traders on the Coromandel Coast is tentatively put down for the 11th century. Indigenous ships and boats had no iron in them and no caulking and gave rise to numerous legends like that of the magnetic mountain. Evidence bearing on Chinese ships plying in South Indian waters is more voluminous. The Persian Gulf route to the Mediterranean lost its importance after the middle of the 13th century and came to be supplemented by the Red Sea route. An abundance of detailed information is given regarding the perils of navigation and the technical and other equipment of the sailors.

Following the analogy of modern works, our author tries to theorise on the sphere of the State in the economy of the people,

in other words, in maintaining security and enforcing justice. He cautiously avoids any general conclusion as to the burden of land-revenue falling upon the cultivator. Forced labour as one of the perquisites of the ruler was always insisted upon while other dues and rights were given upon occasions. Assaying and weighing of coins, which were based essentially on gold and copper, silver having been only in use very sparingly, money-changing, and banking, and a variety of taxes falling upon land are all properly told. The classification of the taxes on land, described in p. 728, is shrewd, and generally acceptable. Famine and poor-relief also come in for some treatment; and the last chapter, discussing the prevalent standard of life, claims to utilise both the general qualitative statements of travellers, quantitative data of prices and wages, would claim to substantiate the remarks of travellers about the abundance and cheapness of commodities in the country. Evidence leading to the ascertainment of the standard of living is certainly one-sided and incomplete and does not allow of any acceptable generalising at the present stage.

The whole treatment is full and elaborate, with ample documentation and sound and cautious discussions. The width of the period and area covered, the difficulty of securing generalisable data for every important aspect of economic life and the clarity which the author has successfully brought to bear upon the whole treatment deserve commendation, though in places one can perceive a disproportion in stress as well as scope of treatment, evidently due, among other factors to lack of data.

C. S. S.

MALWA IN TRANSITION: OR A CENTURY OF ANARCHY—
THE FIRST PHASE 1698—1765

By

RAGHUBIR SINH, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT.,

With a Foreword

By

SIR J. N. SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., D.LITT.,

pp. XV & 391, & IV. Price Rs. 5.

The history of Malwa has a special significance for several reasons in the decline of the Mughal Empire. The province may be said to have been denationalised by Mughal rule.

The Marathas who came in the wake of the Mughals planted their own feudal institutions, and gave the feudal remains of the Mughal empire their permanence by accepting the state of affairs as it existed. Prince Raghubir Singh, Heir-Apparent of Sitamau has made a thorough examination of all available materials, unpublished and printed, and has made an intensive topographical and genealogical knowledge of Malwa. Thus equipped, he has reconstructed its history from 1698, which marked the first stage in the Maratha conquest, down to the beginning of the disintegration of Maratha unity which followed the disaster of Panipat. This period is termed the first of phase of Malwan history in the 18th century is followed by that which witnessed the undoing of the Marathas themselves. Our author puts down very clearly that though the Marathas represented the spirit of opposition to Mughal religious fanaticism and muslim cultural domination, the Hindu population of Malwa, particularly its Rajput element, could not feel at one with them and could not but look upon the bulk of the Maratha leaders as upstarts and enemies. He also points out that except Kotah on the border of the province, no other state was actually created by the Mughals who gave merely *diwani* rights to the *zamindars* and *jaghirdars*. They however helped in the introduction of the new Rajput element in the shape of the younger sons and brothers of the princes of Rajputana the grants to whom later developed into full-fledged states. Thus the modern state of Sitamau was founded by an imperial grant in 1701. Ratlam had come into existence by 1705; but it had nothing to do with the State of Ratan Singh which had ceased to exist in the 17th century. Most of these states meant the localisation of the interests of their princes and, consequently, "their being cut off from greater avenues." Malcolm's account of the invasion of the Marathas has been corrected by our author who would regard it as entirely antiquated. The various phases of the Mughal-Maratha struggle were complicated by many factors, particularly by the personality and ambition of Sawai Jai Singh. Girdhar Bahadur and Daya Bahadur are proved to have been both killed in the same battle near Amjhera in 1728; and the theory of a second and distinct battle is refuted. The loss of Malwa to the Empire became complete in 1741; and the causes therefore are analysed. The beginning of Maratha states in Malwa and their subsequent enlargement and legalisation led to a like consolidation and legalisation of those in actual possession of lands and districts. Maratha generals neglected the administration in Malwa hoping to reap greater gain from other fields; and their regulation of a full-

fledged administration came about only when all hope of their domination in Delhi politics was gone. It was only after 1775 that the Maratha administration of Malwa as distinct from legal possession, was established. Thus after 1765 began a new complex in Malwa's history when other factors operated.

The chapter on the condition of the province in the epoch under treatment shows clearly the setback to cultural life and the barrenness that prevailed. That this was due to the phase of transition is clear enough; but Mr. Singh pleads that the result of the impact of the Marathas on the province could only be fully understood by a study of the later phase of Malwa's history. The notes on the historical materials relating to the period are informing and full; particularly the growing value of the Maratha records which slowly begin to take the first place and the significance of local material like the Mandloi *daftar* are brought out. Sir J. N. Sarkar says that the book should stand out as "a model and exemplar for other provincial histories of India in future" and the sober and scholarly treatment; largely justifies the encomium.

C. S. S.

STUDIES IN TAMIL LITERATURE AND HISTORY
(SECOND EDITION) :

By

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DISHITAR,
Lecturer in Indian History,
University of Madras

Published by the University, 1936, pp. xi and 339, Rs. 5 As. 8.

The first edition of this book was published in 1930 by Messrs Luzac and Co., London. As that edition was exhausted and as the demand for the book which has been prescribed for study by candidates taking Tamil at the Intermediate Arts Examination of the London University has been steadily increasing, the Madras University was good enough to undertake the publication of a second and enlarged edition containing additional matter in the shape of a large number of notes embodying the further studies of the learned author on several topics occurring in the course of the book. With his usual caution, the author says that it is by no means an easy task to establish a connection between the people of the Indus Valley civilisation and the Tamils of South India. He would fix a date like the 5th century B.C. for the origin of the

Sangham Tamil; pre-historic culture was at first lithic and passed on to the age of metals, as he would claim in his paper on What is Tamil Culture? (*The New Review*; Vol. V; p. 519). Variation in culture and its dependence on environment are very easily obvious in Tamil culture which, in the later stages of its evolution, would falsify any theory of evolution. The reader is cautioned to approach the study of the Tamil mystic poets in a spirit of reverence and sympathy for a correct appreciation of their significance. The study of the *Sacred Kural* is most comprehensive and clearly collated with Sanskrit works on Dharma. Tamil administrative institutions are traced in their evolution; and a subtle plea is put forth for their individuality, in spite of there being little obvious difference between the politics of South and North India. The art of war and the ethics of warfare as portrayed in Tamil literature are then detailed; and at the end comes a clear picture of the social life and institutions of the people. Among the notes we find a statement that Valluwar may be a variant of Vallabha as confirmed by similar expressions in epigraphy. The book presents in readable compass a highly instructive account of the salient features of Tamil culture; and the treatment is very clear.

C. S. S.

HERMANN GOETZ,

Rembrandt en het Oosten

Rembrandt and the East. In Dutch. (*Maandblad voor Beeldenden Kunsten*. Monthly for Fine Arts April 1937, Amsterdam, Holland.

The great Dutch painter Rembrandt was one of the foremost western artists to make use of Eastern themes. His 21 copies from Indian miniatures have been a difficult problem for art historians. Probably they were a gift of Dara Shukoh to the Dutch representative Fr. Timmers, 1636 A.D., and were given to Rembrandt by A. Wilmerdonks, one of the Directors of the Dutch East India Company, in 1642; the master had to sell them in 1656 when in financial difficulties; then they were included in the collections of the mayor of Amsterdam, N. Witsen, and finally found their way into the collections of the Austrian empress Mary Theresa; at present a part is in the National Library in Vienna, another has been used for the decoration of the Feketin Room in Schoenbrunn Castle near Vienna. The Indian motives in Rembrandt's paintings, however, must have been taken over from another collection of Indian paint-

ings (Jahangir School), sold in 1628. The prevalent Eastern themes are, however, Turkish and Persian. The Turkish scenes are under the influence of two earlier artists, P. Coecke van Aelst and M. Lorch, who both had visited Constantinople. The Persian subjects, on the other hand, are a consequence of the visit of a Persian Embassy under Musa Beg to Holland in 1626-27. The Eastern tradition in Dutch art was continued by the pupils of Rembrandt, Koninok, Lievens, Maes, de Wet, Fabritius, de Poorter, Victors, Eeckhout, de Gelder, etc.

SOME ASPECTS OF MUSLIM ADMINISTRATION

By

DR. R. P. TRIPATHI, M.A., D.Sc., (Lond.)

Allahabad University.

—The Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad, 1936—pp. VI and 408.

This thesis traces the history of the Sultanat and the Vizarat as they developed in the mediæval polity of Hindustan, down to the close of the sixteenth century. It is based on an examination of many obscure sources, in the reading and collation of which much care had been bestowed. The work lays claim to have pursued both the telescopic and the microscopic methods of research and synthetic interpretation. Under the Ghaznavides and the Ghorides the Sultanat aimed at establishing a hoary descent, and getting confirmation of sovereignty from the Khalif. It was not Qutbud-din, but Iltutmish that initiated the fully independent Sultanat of Delhi. Balban's conception of sovereignty was to give a distinct and separate individuality to the crown, and to draw its power not from the nobility, but from its inherent vitality. Dr. Tripathi holds that the Khilji revolution injured the position of the crown which had, consequently, to assert itself in an atmosphere of militarism under Alauddin, and threw into the shade the civil side of the government. The Khilji rule however enabled kingship to exist without any special religious support and to make the outlook of the sovereign divergent from that of the Ulema. Muhammad Tughlak got rid of the high-browed nobility and raised a new class of officials from the unprivileged. He educated the people in loyalty to the Sultan by means of his coin-legends. The significance of Firuz Tughlak's accession is discussed at great length. Firuz styled himself the Naib or Khalifa of the Khalif. The Afghan Sultanat of the 15th century did not contribute any new positive idea; and the rule of the Lodis and the Surs only set in full motion the

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conflict of tribal and clanish independence with the idea of supreme monarchy, buttressed by Turkish theory and practice.

Babar was a believer in the hereditary theory of sovereignty; but he and his successors did not accept the legal superiority of the Khalifa or of the Ottoman Sultan. Akbar's accession was the first recognition of the right of a minor to the Delhi throne. Dr. Tripathi discusses at length Abul Fazl's theory of kingship, according to which the sovereign's conscience is guided by God himself to maintain good will and concord between different religions and creeds. Akbar's idea was not so much of a national as of universal kingship. The autocratic conception of kingship that was thus developed was due to the military and political conditions of India which gave unchallenged sway to monarchical ideas, as is well explained in a concluding chapter.

The second part of the book deals with the Vizarat which was essentially a Persian institution transplanted from the Abbassid empire into India. The Tughlak period is held to be the heyday of the Vizarat in Muslim India. The office fell into shade in the next century. In the initial stages of Akbar's reign the Vizarat in the form of a Vikalat was in a state of flux; and under Humayun the old-fashioned Vikalat was metamorphosed into the high Dewanship or Vizarat. The Vizarat department had been fully developed by the 14th century; but its efficiency was perfected only under Akbar, who organised it into six Diwanis. Dr. Tripathi next traces the history of the revenue policy under the Sultans, devoting a chapter to each dynasty. He holds that Sher Shah was a reformer and innovator, and had no definite ideas about the financial organisation. The Tughlaks alone attached importance to canals and artificial irrigation. Religious taxes began to lose ground from the time of Firuz Tughlak and practically disappeared by the time of Akbar. Akbar's provincial organisation was efficient and rational, mainly because the supervising machinery of the central government was made more workable and efficient. While recognising the value and magnitude of Akbar's contribution to the Vizarat department, our author would not credit Sher Shah with all the revenue and administrative reforms that were attributed to him by Abbas Khan and other historians, particularly in the matter of the pargana machinery. In several appendices he discusses the theory of the jizya imposition, the meaning of Kharaj and of Nasaq and Zabt. The book has enabled the student to form a proper perspective of the achievement of Sher Shah and Akbar, in relation to each other, and both in relation to the early Sultans, in the fields of administra-

tive machinery and revenue reform, as well as of the growth in the theory of kingship and its attitude to the Islamic Church.

C. S. S.

HAKLUYT SOCIETY—SERIES II—VOL. LXXVIII

The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia—1608–1667

EDITED BY

SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bt., C.B., C.I.E., AND LAVINIA
MARY ANSTEY

*Vol. V. Travels in South-West England and Western
India, with a Diary of Events in London, 1658–1663,
and in Penryn, 1664–1667.*

London, 1936, printed for the Hakluyt Society—pp. XXVII & 226.

(to be had of the Society's Agent, Bernard Quaritch Ltd., London.)

Price. 18sh. 6d. net.

Sir Richard Temple is said to have been most interested in this work, of all his literary undertakings; but circumstances delayed the completion of the task. This concluding volume of the account of Mundy's wanderings, as well as the finishing of the second volume of the life of Jon Plafsson, the Iclander, had to be left over to Miss Anstey, who had helped him in his work for long. Sir Richard whose death in 1931 has been lamented by the world of oriental scholarship, had indeed provided this volume with a number of marginal notes which have been utilised by the Editor.

The text of this volume contains four distinct parts and comprehends an account of Cornwall in 1650, a collection of brief notes of current events from 1651 to 1654, then a day-to-day diary of his voyage in the *Aleppo Merchant* to India and back in 1655–56; and, lastly, a long chronological account of the occurrences during Mundy's residence in London and in Penryn from 1657 to 1667 when the Ms. breaks off abruptly. In the first part, the Indian Student is not greatly interested, but notes the practical attachment of the author to his native Penryn which is compared in appearance with Constantinople itself. The Alcasar at Seville (which was recently reduced to ruins in the Spanish Civil War), is noted as an elaborate structure as he saw it in 1615. Spain was deemed by Mundy to be noted for the excellence of its religious music, particularly the cathedral music of Seville.

In his third voyage to the East Indies, also his last, he visited Rajapur on the Bombay coast and gave "a careful contemporary description of that town and its surroundings, its coinage, products and religious ceremonies." He also describes the port of Swally as it was in 1656. Of the Hindu ceremonies and festivals which Mundy witnessed at Rajapur, the real meanings of some names are attempted to be given with the help of Dr. S. N. Sen and Dr. B. A. Saletore, but not very convincingly. Mundy saw that some of the Indian Banias began to own ships, "buying them of the English and setting them to sea on their own accompt." He also met some old merchant acquaintances of his, like Tapidas Bania and Nana-bhai, son of Kesu, with whom he had travelled from Ahmadabad to Surat in 1633. Mundy's references to his friends and acquaintances are held by the editor to be brief and unsatisfactory, containing no indications of much affection for them. He contrasts the life of the old servants of the Company in India, marked by gentility and discreet moderation and ensuring steady promotion (as in the case of John Spiller who entered the Company's service in 1630 and became President of Surat in 1656) with the conditions prevailing at the time of his last voyage, "each striving to circumvent another, to outbid and outrun one another, all in a heedless headlong haste, as I can speak by experience." (p. 71).

The last part of the Narrative was due to Mundy's desire to set down some occurrences and passages since his last coming home, and to his having sufficient leisure and spare paper. These include the English capture of Dunkirk, the restoration of Charles II, the dispersion of the Fifth Monarchy men, the desecration of Cromwell's grave and remains, the coronation of Charles which was "the gravest, stateliest and most majestic sight that ever I saw" and his own joy at the coming of his Majesty and the old religion. The account ends with a narration of the terms of the Treaty of Breda concluded about August 1667 which he prayed that "God grant may long continue."

In an appendix, Mrs. Walter Maunder describes Mundy's careful observation of astronomical phenomena, like comets, the stars of the Southern Sky then new to him, the Magellanic clouds and the Milky Way. Mundy constantly relates his longitude to that one in which he lived, viz. ; to Penryn or to Falmouth in Cornwall; and the problem of longitude was constantly exercising him. The editor corrects a mistake—made in the introduction to Volume II that Mundy married and was the father of two sons—and says that the abundant proofs of his aversion to matrimony found in his Mss.

make it practically certain that he lived and died a bachelor. Mundy is so reticent about himself and his friends and relatives that we have "no means of visualising him in any way." There is only one copy in existence of this part of Mundy's narrative; and the illustrations in this volume are exact reproductions of Mundy's own drawings. Marginal notes have been avoided except in the case of paragraphs introducing new themes; capital letters have been omitted in accordance with the system recommended by the Hakluyt Society. The notes are, as usual in this series, abundant and most informing.

C. S. S.

MIR QASIM, NAWAB OF BENGAL, 1760-1763

By

NANDLAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D.,

University of Lucknow.

pp. v and 328.

The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad, 1935.

This biography of Nawab Mir Qasim who played a very important part in the formative stage of British supremacy in Bengal, aims at a dispassionate survey of the available contemporary evidence, comprehending English sources inclusive of Parliamentary tracts and Persian chronicles, regarding the real character of the Nawab and his administration. The Nawab had been an interested spectator of the revolution of 1757, but did not distinguish himself in the military tasks assigned to him by his father-in-law, Nawab Mir Jafar; and his artfulness did not secure the trust of the latter who took cunning advantage of the confused situation at Murshidabad. Our author claims that it was Mir Qasim, and not Holwell or Vansittart, that first conceived the idea of a revolution and put forward its practicability. He says that it was due to the successful intrigue of Mir Qasim that Holwell gave up his original scheme of securing the Subahdari of Bengal for the Company by grant of the Great Mughal; and further that Vansittart had his hands forced by Mir Qasim into applying coercive force against the old Nawab, under the conviction that the elevation of his son-in-law was the only solution of the Company's difficulties. Vansittart had several alternatives before him and adopted the worst.

Mir Qasim's most urgent tasks, as Nawab, were the reorganisation of the finances and the punishment of the rebellious zamindars; he followed the instructions given by Vansittart; but in spite of a good beginning, he early developed an intense suspicion and the English military officers, particularly Carnac, whom he suspected of persuading the refugee Shahzada to secure the subahdari for the Company. He contrived to get from Vansittart a free hand to deal with Ramnarayan, the Naib of Bihar, who was too openly a protege of the English and relied too much on his friendship with Carnac and Coote. The Nawab's achievement at Patna is held rightly to be of great importance in the history of his short rule; as it not only displayed his finesse and diplomacy, but also made him resolve not to depend henceforth upon English forces; and even to seek an understanding with the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, which, according to Ellis, was "with a view to oust the Europeans from the country."

Dr. Chatterji examines at length the causes for the open rupture between the Nawab and Ellis who, the former persuaded Mr. Hastings into believing, had adopted an intractable attitude. At his new headquarters of Monghyr, the Nawab adopted the court etiquette of the Great Mughals and endeavoured to make it a centre of culture as well. Vansittart made himself open to suspicion and criticism by his tactless mission to Mir Qasim at Monghyr, which only hastened the inevitable rupture. The mission of Amyatt and Hay only confirmed his suspicion that the Calcutta Council was intent upon his deposition. He prepared for an open declaration of hostilities, and endeavoured to gain the moral and material support of Shah Alam and the Nawab of Oudh. Ellis's attack on Patna is, therefore, to be justified partially, as "an offensive alone was the best possible means of averting a disaster." Our author has proved that the Nawab did decide upon war immediately after the failure of his negotiations with Vansittart, though he had undeniably hesitated earlier. He was bent upon abolishing the private inland trade of the English as it was a serious menace to his authority. The ensuing war was an attempt to go back to the *status quo* of 1757 and was an inevitable sequel to the revolution of that year.

But the Nawab lost his mental equilibrium after Katwa; and he was entirely vanquished after the shattering of his mercenary army. We read that the battle of Baxar only shattered the ambition of Shuja-ud-daula who had his own designs on Bengal and had a number of objects in view when he welcomed the fugitive

Mir Qasim. It was his alliance with the Nawab Vizier that proved the last step in the downfall of Mir Qasim.

One chapter is devoted to the military reorganisation attempted by the Nawab. His consistent attempt at a close imitation of the English system was the result of his serious endeavour to fight the Europeans in their own way—the first link in the chain of frustrated attempts extending from Udanala to the Mutiny. It is pleasing to read that the arms manufactured at Monghyr were not inferior to those imported from Europe. Mir Qasim might have put an end to the Zamindari system for which he had a strong aversion; and his endeavours only aimed at realising for the exchequer all that the cultivators and ryots actually paid. He had no time for the reform of justice and police. The sketch of his character as lacking real statesmanship, personal courage and genius for war and as being wantonly cruel and vindictive, closes with the observation that he was one of “the most intriguing figures among the contemporary Muslim rulers of India.” The narrative is clear and sustained and the documentation is consistently intensive and continuous. Kalyan Singh and Sayyid Ghulam Husain are the most extensively used among the Persian Chronicles; while the English records form the main basis of the treatment.

C. S. S.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARSENALS AND MANUFACTURERS

By

BRIGADIER-GENERAL H. A. YOUNG, C.I.E., C.B.E.

Oxford, at the Clarendon Press,

1937, pp. 252, 12s. 6d. Demy Octavo.

This work is mainly based on original records in the India Office, comprehending the despatches to and from the Court of Directors, Court Minutes and Consultations of the various Presidency Councils and Boards. It traces the history of the Indian Ordnance Factories down to the end of the Company's epoch as well the storing and distributing agencies, with a short preliminary account of military administration under the Company. In the development of the Presidency Governments, the Directors were always insistent that the authority of the Council was supreme over the Military Board; and thus, in each Presidency, there grew up

a Military Secretariat and Department; while in Bombay the Secretary was also to function in the Naval Department. We read that it was Sir John Clavering who first proposed the establishment of a Board of Ordnance to control all matters connected with military contracts and stores. The earliest ordnance officer of the Company was known as the Gunner who later on became transformed into the Military Storekeeper and Commissary of Stores. During the greater part of the 18th century the post was one of considerable importance and profit, being deemed by Wm. Hickey as “the most lucrative one in the Company's service.” Each Presidency developed its own Ordnance Department whose organisation was made uniform in 1844-45. The Presidency Departments remained distinct till the abolition of the separate Presidency armies when an Indian Ordnance Department came into existence.

The Madras Arsenal was begun in 1770, and soon came to be supplemented by magazines and depots in the mofussil stations, placed under conductors. It had the greatest number of ordnance establishments of any Presidency, a marked contrast with the present day. Gunpowder was certainly made in India early in the 17th century; and powder-workers were among the camp-followers, while women often made powder for their men's matchlocks. There was manufacture of powder at Masulipatam and at Pulicat as early as 1610; Travancore manufactured excellent powder about the middle of the 18th century; and the major Indian states maintained their own powder-factories. Three chapters are devoted by the author to the history of powder manufacture in the three Presidencies. The 7th and last powder-mill at Madras ceased work in 1887. Its predecessor occupied the site of the present Mint Buildings which were completed in 1807. Still another predecessor was the Egmore Redoubt site.

The Company used at first naval guns worked by men drawn from their ships; and as early as 1709 Madras made an attempt at gun-making. Brass cannon were cast well in Indian foundries, but iron guns were rare. Progress in the manufacture and use of artillery was not encouraged; and the Company warned their servants at Bombay in 1770 that “the natives must be kept as ignorant as possible, both of the theory and practice of artillery.” They took no steps to make guns themselves till late in the 18th century, and no adequate steps, till well on in the 19th. The outbreak of the Mutiny caused an inquiry into the possible output of guns in the Company's foundries. The supply of gun-carriages was also very important. Improvements in artillery equipment came

when gun-carriage manufactories were established in each Presidency, and placed under the management of experienced artillery officers. Small ammunition factories and organisations for the making of saddlery and harness, maintained by the Government came in also for treatment, as well as armouries for the storage and repair of small arms. Arms were mainly obtained from England; muskets were imported, in addition to those that were captured and utilised; but swords were partly obtained from local manufacturers.

The subject of the book is for the first time definitely dealt with on a systematic plan, as the production and supply of military equipment has hitherto escaped the attention of the general historian and even of the student of military history.

C. S. S.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICTS OF BIHAR AND PATNA IN 1811-1812.

By

FRANCIS BUCHANAN,

Reprinted from the Buchanan MSS. in the India Office Library, with the permission of the Secretary of State for India in Council—
Edited by J. F. W. James, Patna—published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Volume I.—Introduction and Books I & II.

Volume II.—Books III-V Appendices and maps.

Dr. Buchanan who had been employed previously in the survey of Mysore, was commissioned by the Governor-General in 1807 to undertake a statistical survey of Bengal, first of the districts north of the Ganges stretching from Rangpur westwards, and then of those on the south side and lastly of Dacca and the districts on the eastern frontier. The inquiry was to comprehend a topographical account of each district, the condition of the inhabitants, their religion, commerce, industry and fine arts, as well as agriculture and cattle. Buchanan's report was compiled with great care and at considerable length; but its abridgment by Montgomery Martin in the first volume of his *Eastern India* has not been at all satisfactory. The Report is here given in its original and full form. The Journal (tour-diary) which Buchanan kept while making the survey of

these districts was edited by the late Mr. V. H. Jackson and published in the J.B.O.R.S. for 1922.

The learned Edition of the Report which covers a great part of the present districts of Patna and Gaya says that its scientific parts, particularly the enumeration and classification of fishes, plants and minerals is excellent, while his estimate of the rural population has agreed remarkably well with the results of the later census operations. The map of the district has been reproduced on a somewhat larger scale. The plan of Patna and Bankipore was already published in the J.B.O.R.S. for 1925. The internal details of the maps are generally correct.

Buchanan was not able to know on what authority Wilford called Patna by the name of Padmavati, the residence of Nanda, another name of his was said to be Mahabali. He did not find in the district any traditions concerning Chandragupta and his descendants, the Baliputras. The city was fortified by one Maga-Raja; and there were colossal ruins attributed to him at Bara-ganga, near Bihar. The details of Patna city are very interesting to read; but Buchanan regrets that there should be so little trace of the Hindu city. Major Wilford considered Phulwari to be the same as Kusumapuri and the original seat of Palibothra. We read also that the ancient Persians claimed Gaya as a temple of their foundation. Caste was prevalent even among the Moslems. The condition of the Brahmans is interesting to read, as well as that of the opium industry. The statistical tables are given in full; and the list of drawings, etc., given as Appendix II shows how Martin utilised many of them in his publication. A useful index has been added.

C. S. S.

(1) LETTERS ON IMPERIAL RELATIONS, ETC., FOR 1916-1935.

(2) LETTERS AND ESSAYS ON GOVERNMENT IMPERIAL PROBLEMS 1935-36

By

A. B. KEITH

Oxford University Press.

In these two volumes Prof. Berriedale Keith has collected his contributions to the press from 1916 upto 1936 dealing with India, Imperial and International problems. The letters are re-

markable for their grasp of the fundamental facts of the situation with which they dealt and for the sureness with which they led public opinion. Prof. Keith's views on Imperial problems have been largely adopted in practice while his Indian opinions, however just and well-informed, have not found the same favour. His opinions on international questions, formed by reference to the most approved principles of international law have had to remain largely academic owing to the progressive loss of the authority of international law since the Great War.

Prof. Keith's devotion to the study of British and Imperial problems has won for him a high place among the authorities on Constitutional law. His information, gathered with an industry truly amazing is usefully employed in framing principles and policies which have been accepted by the statesmen of the Empire, time and again. These letters which are running commentaries on the situations as they arose, bring out the excellence of Prof. Keith's judgments.

The growth of the concept of Dominion Status is the most characteristic feature of Imperial history in recent times, and, it is not too much to say, that Prof. Keith is at once the ablest and most competent historian and commentator of this development. His views on the effect of the Balfour declaration, on the implications of the Irish Treaty on the Statute of Westminster and on the problems of secession, neutrality and durability of the Crown, have been almost fully vindicated by subsequent events. While strictly fulfilling the role of an impartial lawyer and historian, Prof. Keith has never disguised his own views which frequently formed the basis of action by several leading statesmen throughout the Empire.

If the same success did not attend his wise counsels on Indian constitutional questions, it is perhaps because of the existence of the self-interest and distrust which have marred the even flow of progress in this country. Pledged to responsible government, the British Parliament nevertheless hedged the Indian scheme with a row of safeguards, which almost nullified responsible government; in fighting these safeguards, Prof. Keith lent his valuable authority to Indian Nationalists. He was equally clear in his criticism of the plan of federalism in which an anomalous and altogether impossible part was given to the Indian Princes. On these two issues of major importance Prof. Keith threw in his weight with Indian publicists, not because he was biassed one way or the other but because he was steadfastly loyal to constitutional

principles. The events have shown the accuracy of his judgments. At the very outset, the system of safeguards have proved such a hindrance to the establishment of the new scheme that a first class constitutional crisis has been precipitated in six of the Indian provinces, Prof. Keith's opposition to safeguards far from being academic, was so well informed that his predictions are coming true one after the other. One despairs of the federation of which his views are no less specific.

In the sphere of international relations, Prof. Keith warmly supported the League of Nations and was aware of the weakness of that body in the matter of Sanctions. His attitude towards the Abyssinian question, the British pro-Jewish Palestine policy and other recent events are refreshing. But the Government of the United Kingdom in pursuing other lines of policy which cause fear in the minds of friends for the fair name of that great country.

We hope that Prof. Keith will continue to contribute articles and letters such as these and collect them in similar volumes in the future; for, they constitute a series which in the years to come would be found to embody the views and ideals of a high authority on problems of great importance.

N. D. V.

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Journal of Indian History

Inscriptional Evidence of Chandragupta Maurya's Achievements

(MEHARAULI IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION)¹

By

DR. H. C. SETH, M.A., PH.D., (LONDON).

Nagpur University.

KING Chandra of the Meharauli iron pillar inscription is identified by different scholars with (a) Chandragupta I, the founder of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, (b) Chandragupta II, grandson of the above, and the son of illustrious Samudragupta, (c) Chandrarman, son of Sinhavarman, king of Pushkarna. Let us briefly discuss the reasons advanced for and against these views.

CHANDRA AND CHANDRAGUPTA I

In some respects the iron pillar may suggest the identity of Chandra and Chandragupta I. Besides, the similarity of names, like the king Chandra, Chandragupta also carved out an empire

1. We give below the text of the inscription as given by J. F. Fleet, p. 141. Co. Ins. Ind. Vol. III.

(1) Yasyōdvarttayataḥ pratīpamurasā śattrūn-samētyāgatān Vaṅgēshv-āhavavarttinō bhilikhitā khaḍgēna kīrtīr bhujē.

(2) Tīrtvā sapta mukhāni yēna samarē Sindhōr-jjitā Vāhlikā yasy-ādyāpyadhivāsyatē jalanidhir-vvīryyānilalirddakshīṇaḥ.

(3) Khinnasyēva visriṇya gām narapatērggām-āsritasyētarām mūrttyā karmmajitāvniṁ gatavataḥ kīrttyā sthitasya kshītau.

(4) Śāntasyēva mahavane hutabhujō yasya pratapō mahānnādyāpyutsri-jati prajāśitaripōr-yyatnasya śēshaḥ kshītim.

(5) Prāptēna svabhujārjjitān-cha suchirañ-ch aikādhirāḥyam kshītau CHANDRA-āhvēna samagrachandra-sadriśīm vaktra-śriyam bibhratā.

(6) Tēnāyam pranidhāya bhūmipatinā dhāvēna Viṣṇō (shṇau) matīm prānsur Vviṣṇupadē girau bhagvatō Viṣṇōr-dhavajāḥ sthāpitah.

for himself by his own efforts. Palaeographically the inscription belongs to early Gupta period. But against the identity of these two kings we have the following difficulties.

(a) The extent of the territory acquired by Chandragupta I was comparatively limited. It is hardly possible to credit him with the conquest of Bengal, north-western or southern India, as the king Chandra of the Iron pillar inscription seems to have done. Vincent Smith was correct in remarking regarding Fleet's attempt to identify Chandra with Chandragupta I that "this identification seems absolutely impossible. The list of Samudragupta's conquests proves that the domains of his predecessor Chandragupta I was of moderate extent, and it is incredible that his arms ever penetrated Bengal or Baluchistan."² The drama Kaumudi-mahōtsava bears out this limited extent of the territory conquered by Chandragupta I.

Prof. S. K. Aiyangar has marshalled fresh material to suggest the above identification.³ He says that the period of the rise of the Guptas synchronised with the decline of the power of the western Kshatrapas, "the main block of whose territory was in Malva with extensions undoubtedly westwards into Gujrat, and south westwards into Konkan." And that their territory was subjected to some foreign invasion. This may be accounted by the rise of the Vākāṭaka kingdom. But the Vākāṭaka power itself received a check either at the end of the reign of Praversena or immediately after it. The learned Professor thinks that Chandragupta I was responsible for this check to the expansion of the Vākāṭaka power, and concludes that "if he succeeded so far, even temporarily, it would be one step further in advance in the progress of Chandragupta to get across the whole of the territory of the Kshatrapas and defeat them and their allies who might be described as Bāhlikās generally by the Hindus." Thus Prof. Aiyangar builds up an argument for Chandragupta I, campaigning against the Bāhlikās in Sindh across the seven mouths of the Indus. These views are not easily acceptable. In the first place unless the iron pillar inscription is itself given as a case, which is really begging the whole question, there is no other evidence of Chandragupta I campaigning and conquering so far westwards as Sindh and even beyond as Chandra of the Meharauli inscription seems to have done, if we place Bāhlikās there. Secondly unless more evidence is

available we find it difficult to agree with the learned Professor "that the rise of the Sassanian power in Persia dislodged some of the tribes from the region of Bactria" and "that a body of them tried to effect a lodgment along with their kinsmen on the frontier of Sindh," and that they were defeated by Chandragupta I. This appears too conjectural. In the third place we have no other independent evidence to show that there was Vāhlikā or people of that name, remote from "their homeland of Bactria", in the region of Sindh. As we shall discuss later on Vāhlikā in the iron pillar inscription refers to old Bactria (or modern Balkh), which lay across the seven sources or tributaries of the Indus.

Moreover even if we agree with Prof. Aiyangar that Chandragupta I did campaign, without permanently acquiring it, in Sindh, we cannot in any case credit him with any conquest of the south, to which the iron pillar so clearly refers. Thus it seems difficult on the grounds of military and political achievements to identify Chandra of the iron pillar inscription with Chandragupta I, unless we say that the inscription is a false and highly exaggerated account of the achievements of the latter. But there is no reason to doubt that the inscription is a correct and honest statement of the achievement of a really very powerful monarch.

(b) According to the iron pillar inscription Chandra enjoyed the vast empire acquired by his own efforts for a long time. But Chandragupta I, as the available evidence seems to suggest, reigned only for ten or at the most fifteen years.

(c) An inscription of Chandragupta I would in all probability have referred to his lineage and also to his brilliant matrimonial alliance with the daughter of the Licchavis which even his coins so much emphasise. The probability of this becomes greater if we assume that the inscription was engraved on the iron pillar after his death by his son Samudragupta. The Guptas as a rule gave in their inscriptions their distinguished lineage, and seems to have taken a great pride and delight in mentioning it. It is even suggested that the iron pillar inscription is posthumous only in the sense that it was engraved on the pillar after the death of the king, but was perhaps written during his lifetime. As Prof. Aiyangar remarks, "As the inscription contains a clear statement in regard to his death, the inscription is regarded as a posthumous one. It is not absolutely necessary however that it should be so. It is possible to imagine that he meant the record to be put upon the pillar

2. p. 8. J. R. A. S. 1897.

3. Journal of Indian History, Vol. VI. Part. II.

when he should have died and not while he was alive."⁴ This interpretation does not appear to be correct in view of the emphasis in the inscription on the remoteness of the events described. Prof. Aiyangar's following explanation of the absence of the genealogy of Chandragupta I in the iron pillar inscription also does not appear very convincing. "In a moment of fervour like that he would naturally describe himself not in all the paraphernalia of empire, but with the mere name, such as the ordinary Brahman nowadays has to describe himself when he performs his prostrations of salutation to an elderly man or other object of holy veneration."⁵ Erection of an iron pillar and putting an inscription on it is a much more deliberate task.

CHANDRA AND CHANDRAGUPTA II

The larger extent of the territory ruled over by Chandragupta II and also the length of his reign may lend support to the view that he may be the king Chandra mentioned in the iron pillar inscription, and not his grandfather Chandragupta I. But there are very strong arguments against this view.

(a) Chandragupta II did not conquer the vast realm over which he ruled, as the king Chandra appears to have done. The former inherited a big empire from his father, Samudragupta. As Prof. Aiyangar remarks "So far, the only positive achievement ascribed to him is the destruction of the power of the Kshatrapas in Gujrat, possibly western Malva."⁶ And unless we beg the whole question and cite the case of the Meharauli iron pillar inscription itself we will have to agree with Vincent Smith that "nothing yet discovered indicates that Chandragupta II repeated his father's incursion into peninsular India. The campaigns in Bengal and west of the Indus are shown only from the Meharauli record."⁷

(b) As shown above, the Gupta inscriptions generally contain the distinguished genealogy of the Gupta emperors. There is no mention of the lineage of Chandra in the iron pillar inscription. And on other grounds too, as Mr. Allan remarks, the phraseology of the iron pillar inscription "is quite unlike that of the Gupta in-

4. p. 19. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VI, pt. II. c.f. also Dr. Bhandarkar's views, p. 512, *Indian Culture*, Jan. 1937.

5. *Journal of Indian History*, p. 19, Vol. VI, part II.

6. p. 22. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VI, pt. II.

7. p. 12. *J. R. A. S.*, 1897.

scriptions." He seems to be right in concluding that "not only is there no real ground for identifying Chandra with Chandragupta II, but it is impossible that the inscription belongs to this dynasty at all."⁸

CHANDRAVARMAN AND CHANDRA

The identification of Chandra of the iron pillar inscription with Chandravarman is based on the fact that the *Susunia Rock Inscription*⁹ and the *Ghugrahati Copper plate inscription* of Samacharadeva¹⁰ mention a certain king Chandravarman. *Susunia inscription* also tells us that Chandravarman was the son of *Sinhavarman* of *Pushkarana*. *Sinhavarman* is identified with *Sinhavarman* of the *Mandsor inscription* of the time of *Narvarman*. *Pushkarana* is identified with modern *Pokharan* in the *Jodhpur State*.¹¹ Thus a theory is put forward that Chandravarman of *Pushkarana* conquered *Bengal* (king Chandra had done the same), and thus king Chandravarman is credited with having ruled over a vast empire, extending at least from *Bengal* to *Rajputana*. Chandravarman of the two above inscriptions is identified by several scholars also with Chandravarman of the *Allahabad pillar inscriptions*, who was overthrown by *Samudragupta*.¹²

Let us first discuss how far Chandra of the iron pillar inscription can be regarded as identical with Chandravarman of the *Allahabad pillar inscription* overthrown by *Samudragupta*. The following reasons make us think that these two cannot be identical.

(a) Chandravarman of the *Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription* was apparently a small local ruler, as he was overthrown by the powerful *Samudragupta* along with so many other rulers in northern India. The title of the sole and supreme ruler in northern India (*एकाधिराज्य*) of the iron pillar inscription can hardly apply to this Chandravarman.

(b) It is quite clear that Chandravarman of the *Allahabad pillar inscription* was dethroned and perhaps killed by *Samudragupta*.

8. p. XXXVIII. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*.

9. p. 133, Ep. Vol. XIII.

10. p. 74, ff. Ep. In. Vol. 18.

11. p. 315, ff. Ep. In. Vol. 12. M. M. Harprashad Shastri is mainly responsible for these suggestions.

12. See for this view of N. N. Vasu and M. M. Harprashad *Indian Antiquary*, 1913. p. 217 ff.

And for Mr. Bhattasali's view see p. 86. Ep. In. Vol. 18.

gupta. On the other hand Chandra of the iron pillar inscription died full of glory and his fame was widespread even in the south after his death.

(c) It can hardly be imagined that the memory of some petty local chief, after he was overthrown and perhaps destroyed along with so many others, was commemorated in such eulogistic terms, and on a pillar so unique in its character, and in the very domains of the mighty conqueror Samudragupta himself.

Thus if Chandravarman of the Śūsūnia inscription and of the Ghugrathi copper plate inscription of Samachar-Deva is identical with Chandravarman of the Allahabad pillar inscription, his identity with Chandra of the Meharauli iron pillar inscription can hardly receive any credence.

It may yet be argued that Chandravarman of Śūsūnia inscription and the Ghugrathi copper plate inscription though not identical with Chandravarman of Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription may yet be identical with Chandra of the Meharauli iron pillar inscription. In this case we shall have to postulate the existence of a powerful monarch Chandravarman, whose empire extended to almost the whole of India, just before the rise of the Imperial Guptas. It has already been shown above that Chandravarman of the above first two inscriptions is regarded to have conquered Bengal from Pushkarana (taken to be modern Pokharan in the Jodhpur State). From this it is concluded that Chandravarman had a big empire like the King Chandra of the iron pillar inscription. The two main points on which this suggestion is made are (a) Sinhavarman, father of Chandravarman of the Śūsūnia inscription is identical with Sinhavarman of the Mandsor inscription of the time of Narvarman referred to above, and (b) the Pushkarana of the Śūsūnia inscription is identified with modern Pokharan in the Jodhpur State and that this "Pushkaraṇā seems to have been the capital of the Kshattriya Varman kings of Mālwa" (i.e. Jayavarman, Sinhavarman, Naravarman, Visvavarman, Bandhuvarman).¹³ The whole of the theory that Chandravarman is the son of Sinhavarman of the above Varman dynasty and that their capital was Pushkaraṇā (modern Pokharan), is based on very insufficient grounds. Inscriptional evidence is the only evidence on the subject, and whatever little inscriptional evidence M. M. Har-

13. M. M. Harprasad Shastri. *Ep. In. Vol. 12.* p. 317.

prasad Shastri and others have marshalled to support this theory,¹⁴ rather goes against it.

(a) In the first place, in the Mandsor inscription of the time of Narvarman¹⁵ as well as the Mandsor inscription of Kumargupta and Bandhuvarman¹⁶ there is no mention of any Chandravarman. Similarly there is no reference to Chandravarman in the Gangdhar stone inscription of Visvavarman.¹⁷ It will be surprising that the most illustrious and perhaps the only supreme monarch of the whole of India (assuming that Chandra and Chandravarman are identical) produced by this dynasty is not even casually referred to in these inscriptions. One thing at least is certain from the omission of the name of Chandravarman in these inscriptions that there was no Chandravarman in this line of kings who ruled in western Malva.

(b) In all the inscriptions so far found where there is reference to the above Varman dynasty, certain amount of genealogy is given. If Chandravarman of this dynasty is the same as Chandra of the iron pillar inscription, it will be difficult to account for the complete absence of any reference to the ancestry of Chandra in case of the iron pillar inscription. Even in the very brief inscription on the Śīsūnia Rock Chandravarman's father Sinhavarman's name is mentioned, as well as the place he belonged to.

(c) The available inscriptional evidence shows that the dynasty to which the Varman kings belonged ruled at Dasapur (modern Mandsor in the Gwalior State), and not at Pushkaraṇā (modern Pokharan in the Jodhpur State). Thus the conclusion that Chandravarman was the son of Sinhavarman of the Mandsor inscription, and that Pushkaraṇā, where he ruled is modern Pokharan, is not warranted by the inscriptional evidence before us.

(d) Even conceding that Chandravarman from Pushkaraṇā (modern Pokharan in Jodhpur State) conquered Bengal, what evidence is there to suggest that he campaigned successfully west of the Indus, or conquered south, or that even Delhi, where the iron pillar was erected, was included in his kingdom. As Prof. Aiyangar remarks "The relative position of Pushkaraṇā, Delhi, Muttra, and of the Śīsūnia rock is in the form of a somewhat large triangle,

14. See. *Ep. Vol. 12.* p. 315, ff. and *In. Ant. 1913.* p. 217, ff.

15. *Ep. In. Vol. 12.* p. 315 ff. and *In. Ant. 1913.* p. 217 ff.

16. p. 79 Cor. *In. Ind. Vol. III.*

17. *Ib.* — p. 72.

with Delhi at its apex, the Śiśunia rock and Pushkarnā forming the two ends of the rather long base. There is no need however for a Pushkarnā ruler if he extended his territory to the frontiers of Bengal, the extension should necessarily include within it Delhi or the region near it." He is correct in concluding that "There seems little positive ground for assuming that Chandravarman of the dynasty of Pushkarnā is at all the individual referred to as Chandra in the Meharauli pillar inscription."¹⁸

(e) There is no evidence traditional, literary, inscriptional, or numismatic whatsoever to suggest that there was a very powerful monarch named Chandravarman who hailed from Pokharan in the Jodhpur State and who held sway over the whole of northern India right from the north-west to Bengal and whose dominion also extended to southern India, which facts will have to be assumed about Chandragupta if he is identical with Chandra.

(f) Rajputana traditions so exhaustively collected by Todd are completely silent about Chandravarman, who, if he is identical with Chandra of the Meharauli iron pillar inscription, would be the greatest of the rulers produced by Rajasthan.

(g) The controversy regarding Chandra being identical with Chandravarman can be regarded as closed in view of Mr. K. N. Dikshit's satisfactory identification of Pushkarnā of Śiśunia inscription with "an ancient village named Pokharna, on the south bank of the river Damodar, at a distance of less than 25 miles to the north-east of Śiśunia. It is still a considerably large village and its antiquity is attested by the fact that the houses in several quarters of the village are built on the top of mounds, formed by the ruined heaps of older habitation."¹⁹ It may be that Chandravarman of the Śiśunia inscription is the contemporary of Samudragupta, but there is no sound reason for identifying him with the sovereign king Chandra of the iron pillar inscription.

CHANDRA AND CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA

The above discussion leaves us with the question who then was king Chandra of the Meharauli iron pillar inscription? We give the following reasons which make us think that Chandra of the iron pillar inscription is identical with Chandragupta Maurya.

18. p. 21. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VI, Pt. II.

19. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, 1927-28, p. 188.

(a) The historical facts known about Chandragupta fit exactly with the brief and apparently true account of the king Chandra given in the iron pillar inscription. It is an undisputed fact that Chandragupta did not inherit a big empire but conquered by his own efforts at least the whole of northern India. There is also no doubt that a considerable part of the country south beyond the Vindhayas was also included in the Maurya empire. It is also certain that Asoka did not conquer it. Who conquered southern India? Chandragupta himself or his son Bindusara is a disputed question. But Vincent Smith seems right in remarking "the ascertained outline of the career of Chandragupta is so wonderful, and implies his possession of such exceptional ability, that it is possible that the conquest of the south must be added to the list of his achievements."²⁰ Dr. Raychaudhuri advances the following very strong arguments to suggest that southern India was conquered by Chandragupta himself. "Plutarch tells us that he overran and subdued the whole of India. Justin also informs us that he was 'in possession of India.' In his 'Beginnings of South Indian History' Prof. S. K. Aiyangar says that Māmulanār, an ancient Tamil author, makes frequent allusions to the Mauryas in the past having penetrated with a great army as far as the Podiyill Hill in the Tinnevely district. The statements of this author are said to be supported by Paraṇar or Param Koṛinār and Kallil Āttiraiyanār. . . . The invaders advanced from the Konkan passing the hills Ellimalai, about sixteen miles north of Cannanore, and entered the Kongu (Coimbatore) district, ultimately going as far as the Podiyil Hill. Unfortunately the name of the Maurya leader is not given. But the expression 'Vamba Moriyar' or Maurya upstarts would seem to suggest that the first Maurya, i.e., Chandragupta and his adherents were meant. Certain Mysore inscriptions refer to Chandragupta's rule in North Mysore. Thus one inscription says that Nāgakhandā in Shikarpur Taluq was protected by the wise Chandragupta, 'an abode of the usages of the eminent Kshatriyas'. This is of the fourteenth century and little reliance can be placed upon it. But when the statements of Plutarch, Justin, Māmulanār, and the Mysore inscriptions referred to by Rice, are read together, they seem to suggest that the first Maurya did conquer a considerable portion of trans-Vindhyan India."²¹ To these above arguments we may also add that the following passage from the Mahāvamsa also indicates that

20. p. 149. *Ea. Hi. of India*.

21. p. 183 ff. *Political History of Ancient India*.

Chandragupta also conquered the south. "Then did the Brāhmaṇa Cānakka anoint a glorious youth, known by the name of Candagutta, as king over all Jambudīpa, born of a noble clan, the Moriyas."²² The following passages from the drama Mudrarakshasa also indicate that the empire of Chandragupta extended upto the southern oceans.

वाणक्यः—

- (a) आशैलेन्द्राच्छिलान्तस्खलितसुरनदीशीकरासारशीताद्
आतीरात्रैकरागस्फुरितमणिरुचो दक्षिणस्यार्णवस्य ।
आगत्यागत्य भीतिप्रणतनृपशतैः शश्वदेव क्रियन्तां
चूडारत्नांशुगर्भास्तव चरणयुगस्याङ्गुलीरन्ध्रभागाः ॥ १९ ॥
Act III.

राजा—आर्यप्रसादादनुभूयत एव सर्वम्

- (b) आम्भोधीनां तमालप्रभवकिसलयदयामवेलावनाना
मापारेभ्यश्चतुर्णां चटुलतिमिकुलक्षोमितान्तर्जलानाम् ।
मालेवाभलानपुष्पा नतनृपतिशतैरुह्यते या शिरोभिः
सा मय्येवस्खलन्ती कथयति विनयालंकृते ते प्रभुत्वम् ॥ २४ ॥
Act III.

In a paper "Central Asiatic Provinces of the Mauryan Empire",²³ we have shown that Chandragupta's empire extended beyond modern Afghanistan and included considerable parts of Eastern Persia as well as considerable parts of Central Asia (i.e. modern Russian and Chinese Turkestans). Thus if Chandragupta is identical with Chandra then the statement in the iron pillar inscription that the latter crossed the seven tributaries of the Indus²⁴ and conquered the Bāhlikās (or Bactrians)²⁵ will be a state-

22. Geiger, Mahāvaṃsa. Translation. p. 27.

23. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIII, No. 3. September 1937.

24. Ptolemy gives the following seven rivers which formed the sources of the Indus: The River Koa (Sanskrit kubha or modern Kabul River); The River Souastos (modern swat); sources of the River Indus itself; The River Bidaspes (Hydaspes of the other Greek historians and the modern Jihlam); The River Sandabal (Sanskrit Chandrabhaga or modern Chenab); The River Adris or Rouadis (modern Ravi); and the River Bidasis (modern Bias). [P. 81 Ptolemy's Ancient India, S. N. Majumdar's Ed. 1927.] सिन्धोःसप्तमुखानि of the Meharauli iron pillar inscription also reminds us of the 'sapta sindhavah' of the early Sanskrit literature.

25. Mr. S. N. Majumdar's identification of Bāhlikas with Barake or Baraca in the Gulf of Cutch 'who were defeated by King Candra after crossing the seven mouths of the Indus' (p. 342. Ptolemy's Ancient India),

ment of the bare truth. His overthrowing of the confederated enemies in Vaṅga according to the iron pillar inscription may refer to his overthrow of Nanda and his campaigns further east. Thus if we assume, as there is every reason to do, that the iron pillar inscription is an honest and unexaggerated statement of the conquest of a really powerful monarch, who obtained sole and supreme sovereignty over practically the whole of India by his own efforts the inscription can apply to none so well and correctly as to the great founder of the illustrious Mauryan dynasty.

(b) Like king Chandra of the iron pillar inscription Chandragupta also ruled over the big empire won by him for a long time and died full of years and glory.

(c) We learn from the iron pillar inscription that the pillar was erected by king Chandra himself and the present inscription was put on it after his death. Construction of an iron pillar of this type and size implies a very advanced stage of the development of the industrial arts.²⁶ The advanced state of art and industry during the Mauryan period is evidenced by the Asokan pillars and the architectural remains of that period. As shown in the Arthashastra of Kautilya, a treatise on statecraft written for the administration of Chandragupta's empire, mining and metallurgy including the smelting of iron were well advanced at that time and were controlled by the state.²⁷ The use of iron seems to have been

seems far fetched. There is no evidence of the Bāhlikas being in that part of the country. And moreover to conquer Barake, unless King Chandra came from the west beyond Sindh, there would be no occasion to cross the mouths of the Indus. As shown above the term in the iron pillar inscription सप्तमुखानि means seven sources of the Indus and also recalls the 'sapt sindhavah' of the early Hindu literature. It may also be suggested that Barake in the Gulf of Cutch would be too insignificant a place to be mentioned in an inscription which refers to the conquest of the whole of India in such general terms. On the other hand beyond the seven tributaries of the Indus lay Bacteria (or Bāhlika, modern Balkh) which alike in the Indian, Persian, and the Central Asian history played such an important part from the earliest times.

For the identification of Bāhlikas with the Bactrians, and of the highlands of Bactrai being included in the empire of Chandragupta see my paper "Central Asiatic Province of the Mauryan Empire". Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIII, No. 3, 1937.

26. As Roscoe and Schorlemmer point out "An analysis of specimens obtained from the actual pillar shows that the material is an excellent type of wrought iron". [P. 1172 'A Treatise on Chemistry' Vol. II.] And it shows "The dexterity exhibited in the manufacture of wrought iron."

27. Chap. XII. Bk. II. Dr. Shamashstry's Trans.

common during the Mauryan period. "Cast iron has been found in Maurya Stratum at Pataliputra."²⁸ It thus seems likely that the centralised administration of the important mineral resources of the country during the time of Chandragupta would have facilitated the construction of the Meharauli iron pillar so unique in its character. The Chinese travellers Tao-Yung and Sung-Gun refer to an equally big iron pillar in the capital of Gandhara constructed 300 years after the death of Buddha (Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, civ. Vol. I). This pillar was supposed to have been constructed by Kanishka, but the date mentioned takes us back approximately to the Mauryan period.

(d) Mr. Fergusson draws attention to the Persian form of the iron pillar.²⁹ The Persian influence on Mauryan pillars and architecture in general is a well established fact.

(e) Not far from Delhi, where the iron pillar stands, two Asokan pillars were discovered³⁰ and were removed to their present position by Firoz Shah. It is no wonder that before Asoka, Chandragupta had put a pillar in the same region. The iron pillar, perhaps, stands where it was originally erected.³¹ The site runs back to great antiquity. It may be that this iron pillar was put by Chandragupta in the centre of the vast realm governed by him.

(f) As the following passage from the drama *Mudrārāksasa* shows, it is not only in the iron pillar inscription that Chandragupta Maurya is referred to by the abbreviation Chandra, but even in literary traditions he is known as such.

चाणक्यः—

त्वयि स्थिते वाक्यातेवत्सुबुद्धौ भुक्तु गामिन्द्र इवैष चन्द्रः ॥ १६ ॥
(Act VII. Hillebrandt's ed.).

(g) One wonders if in the first Vishṇu of the last (6) verse of the iron pillar inscription there is a veiled reference to Vishṇu-

28. p. 209. Hindu Polity, K. P. Jayswal. "Recently Rai Sahib M. Ghosh has found cast iron in the Maurya stratum at Pataliputra." *Ib.* p. 209.

29. p. 508. Indian Architecture, (quoted C. Ins. Ind. Vol. II. p. 140).

30. Delhi-Mirath and the Delhi-Topra pillars

31. In the Indian Culture for Jan. 1937. Dr. Bhandarkar suggests that Vishṇu-pad Hill, the original site of the iron pillar was in Gurdaspur district (Punjab), where once Vipāsā (Beas) joined the Śālmali. It will be interesting if these observations are corroborated by more evidence.

gupta (Cāṇakya) the great preceptor and the chancellor of the great Maurya. The expression "pranidhāya dhāvēna (read as bhāvēna by Fleet and others) Vishṇō(r)matim" may be translated as "following with devotion the counsel of Vishṇu(gupta)." Just as Chandragupta is referred to as Chandra in the inscription, similarly Vishṇugupta is referred to in the short form as Vishṇu.

(h) The simile of fire which had once burned, as well as, "adyāpi" (even now) in the second and the fourth lines suggest the remoteness of the events referred to in the inscription at the time of the engraving of the inscription. The remoteness of these events is also indicated by the use of the word 'āhvēna' with the name of Chandra.

There remains one great difficulty in identifying Chandra with Chandragupta Maurya. On palaeographic grounds Mr. Prinsep allotted this inscription to the third or fourth century A.D.³² Dr. Fleet expressed a similar view. He remarks regarding the iron pillar inscription that "All that we know for certain is, that this inscription belongs, on palaeographical grounds, to a fairly early date."³³ Now the question is, if we identify Chandra of the iron pillar inscription with Chandragupta Maurya, who could have put the inscription on the pillar after the lapse of centuries, and why?

Dr. Fleet suggests that "the characters (of the Meharauli iron pillar inscription) belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, allowing for the stiffness resulting from engraving in so hard a substance as the iron of this column, they approximate in many respects very closely to those of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta."³⁴ The inscription is written in eastern variety of Gupta character. This fact as well as the date of inscription suggested by Mr. Prinsep and Dr. Fleet, make us think that the inscription was put on the pillar during the reign of Samudragupta, may be by his own command.

We have already suggested that the Meharauli iron pillar was erected by Chandragupta Maurya, may be the inscription put by him was blurred out in course of time. The explanation for

32. Co. Ins. Ind. Vol. III. p. 140.

33. *Ibid.* Introduction, p. 12. The early paleographic character of the inscription is emphasised also by Cunningham (p. 171, *Ar. Su. of India*, Vol. I.), also by Hoernle (p. 12, *J. R. A. S.* 1897), and also by Mr. Allan (p. XXXVIII, *Catalogue of the Coins of Gupta Dynasty*).

34. Co. Ins. Ind. Vol. III. p. 140.

Samudragupta's putting the present inscription on the iron pillar may be found in the revival of the glorious tradition regarding Chandragupta Maurya at the rise for a second time of a great imperial power at Pataliputra. As Dr. Jayaswal observes, "There is a revival of the tradition of Chandragupta Maurya in Gupta times. Royal parents name their sons after him. Viśākhadatta compares him with Vishṇu in his play, Chandragupta's laws in the Kautīliya are closely reproduced in the Nārada Smṛti. Chandragupta's Artha-Śāstra is versified and adapted in the Kamandakiya Nitisāra. There is an ambition, partly realized, of founding a large empire from Pāṭaliputra like that of Chandragupta Maurya."³⁵

Samudragupta himself as a conqueror was perhaps deeply impressed by the career of Chandragupta Maurya, and he tried to emulate his achievements. The inscription if it was put by him on the iron pillar was perhaps his appreciation of the greatest of the conqueror and ruler produced by India. Let us note what a modern European scholar has to say about Chandragupta Maurya, basing his views on much less material about him than was available in the early centuries of the Guptas. "The conception of an Indian empire extending from sea to sea, and embracing almost the whole of India and Afghanistan, was formed and carried into effect by Chandragupta and his minister in the brief space of twenty-four years. History can show few greater political achievements. Not only was the empire formed, but it was so thoroughly organised that the sovereign's commands emanating from Pataliputra were obeyed without demur on the banks of the Indus and the shores of the Arabian Sea. The immense heritage thus created by the genius of the first emperor of India was transmitted intact to his son and grandson."³⁶ And as elsewhere the same author remarks, "In the course of some eighteen years Chandragupta had expelled the Macedonian garrisons from the Punjab and Sind, repulsed and humbled Seleucos the Conqueror, and established himself as undisputed supreme lord of at least all northern India and a large part of Ariana. These achievements fairly entitle him to rank among the greatest and most successful kings known to history."³⁷ We shall, perhaps, have to add to the above achievements, on which Vincent Smith based his appraisal of Chandragupta

35. p. 215. Hindu Polity, Pt. 1.

36. p. 104, Asoka, Vincent A. Smith.

37. p. 120, Ea. Hi. of India. Vincent. A. Smith.

Maurya, also the fact that his empire extended far beyond Afghanistan and Baluchistan and included considerable parts of eastern Persia, as well as considerable parts of Central Asia.³⁸ And also, if our view that Chandragupta originally belonged to Gandhar, and was identical with Śaśigupta³⁹ is correct, we have very strong reasons to believe that Chandragupta was also responsible for routing the forces of Alexander from India.⁴⁰ Carefully looked into, Chandragupta Maurya is the greatest figure in the political history of India and he occupies a distinguished place amongst half a dozen most successful conquerors, empire builders, and rulers known to human history. There is no wonder that Samudragupta, another great early Hindu monarch, left a few lines of deep appreciation of the greatest figure in Indian History on the iron pillar which stands in the middle of the ruins of the old Indraprasth.

38. Refer to my paper "Central Asiatic Provinces of the Mauryan Empire" Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIII, No. 3. September 1937.

39. Refer to my paper "Did Chandragupta Maurya belong to North-western India?". Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Inst. Vol. XVIII, Part 2, and my paper "Śaśigupta and Candragupta," Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIII, No. 2.

40. Refer to my article on Alexander's Campaign. Indian Review June, 1937.

A New Epoch for the Gupta Era

By

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ONE of the chief difficulties in the way of accepting the late Dr. Fleet's suggestion (318-319 A.D.) for the epoch of the Gupta Era is the synchronism of Samudragupta and the Ceylonese king Mēghavarman, which latter monarch is known to have reigned from the 835th to the 862nd year after the Nirvāna of Buddha or from 291 (835-544) to 318 (862-544) A.D. The problem can be solved in the following¹ manner:—

No. 18 of Fleet's 'Gupta inscriptions' states that a certain Kumaragupta was ruling in Malava year 493 or 436-437 A.D. Let us assume that this Kumaragupta is the same who is mentioned in the Saranath inscription of G.S. (Gupta Samvat) 154. One of the years between G.S. 149 (the last date for Skandagupta) and G.S. 157 (the earliest date for Budhagupta) must then be 436-437 A.D.

Now No. 19 of Fleet's 'Gupta inscriptions' is dated in G.S. 165, which year would correspond to 436-437 + (165 - 149 to 157) or 444 to 453 A.D. As it was only in 450 A.D. that the 12th lunar day of the bright half of the month of Ashadha fell on a Thursday, as stated in the inscription, we get the equation G.S. 165 = 450 A.D. : whence the epoch of the Gupta Era is easily deduced to be 450-165 = 284-285 A.D. This is exactly the epoch that satisfies, to the greatest extent, the synchronism mentioned in the first paragraph.

1. Mr. Govind Pai, whose method I have adopted, has rejected the epoch I have put forward. But his arguments depend upon an assumption, which (See Ind. Ant., Vol. 47, p. 161 ff.) I am not inclined to accept, that the Narasimhagupta and the second Kumaragupta of the Bhitari seal are respectively identical with Bālāditya (a contemporary of Mihirakula) and the Kumaragupta of the fifth Damodarpur plate.

Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha of Mātai

By

MR. S. SOMASUNDARA DESIKAR,

IN the Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. II, Paṇḍit M. Rāghava Iyengār has contributed an article on Tiruvēṅkaṭanāthar of Mātai (pp. 34-43). It is more or less a translation of an article contributed by him to the pages of Sen-Tamil—the organ of the Madura Tamil Sangam long ago.¹ The author has drawn his materials for the life of Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha from *Paṇaviḍutūdu*, *Nayaks of Madura* and *Prabhōdachandrodāyam* otherwise known as *Meygñānavilakkam*. Mr. Raghava Iyengar has wholly misconstrued *Paṇaviḍutūdu* which eulogises the rule of one Venkaṭēśa, second son of Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha, and has given a wrong interpretation of the whole set of facts in his article on the above.

Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha of Mātai was born in a Brahmin family at Mātūr near Tirukkaḍavūr in the Tanjore District. This fact is borne out by a stanza² in the Tamil version of *Prabhōdachandrodāyam*. It reads as follows when freely translated: 'The patron who lived in the country of the Cholas, where, by the silt-laden floods of the Kaveri, bananas, fragrant screw-pine and areca palm grow in abundance, and paddy and sugar-cane grow in such a way as not to be distinguished.' Again *Paṇaviḍutūdu* says that the patron lived on the banks of the Kaveri.

காவேரியாற்றினான், சோழவளநாட்டினான், தென்மாதைப் பதியான்.

Mr. Rāghava Iyengār's Mātai according to him 'is identified with the hamlet and Śiva shrine of Tiru-Āmāttur near Villupuram in the South Arcot District, since the Tiru-Āmāttur-kalampagam by the

1. Vide Sen-Tamil iv, 629-638.

2. பொன்னி மாநதி புடைபரந் தோங்கலிற் புதுப்பூங்
கன்னி வாழையுந் தாழையுந் காய்க்குலைக் கழுகும்
பின்னி நீன்கதிர்ச் செந்நெலுந் கன்னலும் பிறவும்
மன்னிநீ டியவள வர்சோ ணுட்டொரு வள்ளல்.
குழைக்கு மம்பொனிற் குயிற்றிய பன்மணிக் குன்றுந்
தழைக்கும் வெண்ணிலா வரமியத் தலங்களுந் தாளத்
திழைக்கு மேழநிலை மாடமுந் கூடமு மெங்கும்
மழைக்கு வந்தவழ் நெடுமதின் மாதைக்கு மன்னன்.

twin poets (Irattayar) is also styled *Mātaikkalampagam*.³ It is quite true that *Tiruvāmāttur* is shortened to *Mātai*; but it should be borne in mind that this place is in what is called *Naḍunāḍu* or *Tirumunaippāḍi Nādu* where the *Pennār* and *Gaḍilam* flow. *Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha* lived on the banks of the *Kaveri* and not in *Naḍunāḍu*. Hence we have to search for a *Mātai* in the *Tanjore District* and not in *South Arcot*. This important fact has not been considered by him and I am sure he would not have come to this conclusion if he had seen it. *Mātūr* near *Tirukkaḍavūr* is a big village very near to the main river *Kaveri*, and is even now inhabited by *Brahmins*.

Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha was the only son of *Perumāḷ Aiyar*⁴ who was himself a well-educated man of good habits. *Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha* imbibed all the good qualities of his father and became in course of time the viceroy of the then ruling *Nayaks* of *Madura—Tirumalai* and *Chokkanātha*. He was asked to look after that portion of the *District* around *Kayattāru* in the *Koilpatti Taluk* of the *Tinnevely District*. This is borne out by an inscription⁵ found at *Manditope* village in the same *taluk*. The inscription is dated *Śaka 1555* which is the equivalent of *A.D. 1653*.

சகாத்தம் குருளருயரு-ன்மேற் செல்லாநின்ற பிரமோதாந்நா னைமீ
1வ வது விசுவநாதராயக்கரய்யன் திருவேங்கடராயக்கரய்யன் காரியத்
துக்குக் கர்த்தரான திருவேங்கடநாதர் மந்தித்தோப்பு சங்கரபாரதித் தம்பிரா
னுக்குச் சறுவமானியப் பட்டயங்குடுத்தபடி⁷ [கயத்தாத்து]சீமைக்குள் கிராமம்
மந்தித்தோப்பு முன்னாள் செகவீரராமராசாவின் பண்டாரத்திலே சங்கர பார
தித்தம்பிரானுக்கு சறுவமானியமாகக்கட்டளையிட்ட⁸ கடத்துகி[றதற்கு] கயத்த
[ரறுசீ]மை அ...ந்தந்து கட்டிக்கொண்டு [இருபது] வருசத்துக்கு [இ]ரு
பது [பொன்] தாங்களை கொடுத்து வந்ததை இப்பொழுது சறுவமானியமாக
கட்டளையிடவேணும் என்று.....மக்குச் சொன்னமையினாலே சவாமி திரு
மலைராயகரய்யனுக்குப் புண்ணியமாகவும் தித்தயப்பசெட்டியாரய்யன் குமா
ரனச்சுத்து சீரங்கப்பசெட்டியாரய்யனுக்குப் புண்ணியமாகவும் பொ[ன்டய].

3. J.O.R.S., ii, 35.

4. பெருமாண் மெய்த்தவப் பேரெனத்தேநான்றிய திருவேங்கடநாதன் —
இலக்கணவிநாயகம் பாயிரம்.

5. 289 of 28 from Manditope in Koilpatti Taluk.

6. Read சர்வமானிய

7. Read கொடுத்தபடி.

8. This refers to a previous grant made to the *Thambiran* in *Śaka 1466*.
M.E.R. 288 of 28.

இருபது பொன்னும் வேண்டாமென்று சறுவமானியமாகக் கட்டளையிட்
டோம். இந்தப்படிக்குச் சந்தராதித்தவரை சந்ததிப்பிரவேசமே சறுவமானிய
மாக அனுபவித்துக் கொண்டு இப்ப[டிக்கு] மடத்தையும் சீவித்ததையும் பரி
பாலனம் பண்ணிக்கொண்டு சுகத்தில் இருக்கவும்.....⁹

It is clear from the above inscription that *Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha* was the viceroy of *Kayattāru* division. As viceroy of *Tirumalai* and *Chokkanātha* *Nayaks* he seems to have played a prominent part. We learn, from the *Tamil Prabhodha Chandrōdaya*, that he was just in his rule and a very capable administrator. He was able to know the inner feelings of a man at sight. It is said that he was ruling his subjects like *Rama* of old.

He was blessed with six sons of whom the second son *Venkatēśa* by name was the viceroy of *Rangakrishna Muttuvirappa* at *Tinna-velly*. The poem *Paṇaviḍutūdu* eulogises his viceroyalty. The third son *Maṇivannapperumāl* was the *Pratāni* of *Rangakrishna* at *Madura* and was treated by him as his own brother. *Rajagopala*, the fourth son, was also a viceroy according to *Paṇaviḍutūdu*. *Kanakasabhapati* and *Venkatarama* were the fifth and sixth sons of *Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha* who seem to have lived with their father after finishing their studies.¹⁰ They are not the brothers of *Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha* as stated by some.¹¹

While he was the viceroy of *Tirumalai* *Nayak* he patronised the famous author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam-Vaidyanātha Dēśikar* of *Tiruvārūr*,¹² who was then at *Tinnevely*, and asked him to take up the tuition of his sons. Tradition has it that *Vaidyanātha* wrote the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* while teaching his pupils. *Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha* himself was an erudite scholar. He was the author of a *Sanskṛt* work called *Meygñānaviḷakkam* and also a *Tamil* version of the same, and of a popular song called *Sōpāna-pāṭal*. Tradition is per-sistent in attributing the *Tamil* version of *Meygñānaviḷakkam* to *Vaidyanātha Dēśikar*.¹³

Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha was, as shown above, the viceroy at *Kayat-tāru* in the middle part of the 17th century during the reigns of

9. My thanks are due to the *Madras Epigraphical Department* for kindly allowing me to copy the inscription.

10. *Paṇaviḍutūdu*, ll. 55-62.

11. *Sen-Tamil*, iv.

12. *Ilakkaṇa-Viḷakkam*, *Pāyiram*.

13. *The History of the Tamil Poets*, pp. 32-34.

Tirumalai and Chokkanātha Nāyaks of Madura. This is further supported by a copper plate grant¹⁴ which is now in the Collector's office at Tinnavelly which purports to be a sale-deed by the chief of Vannikūdam to the temple at Tinnavelly to increase the merit of (punṇiyattukkāha) Rangakrishna and Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha Ayyar. We have got a further support in Padikkāsuppulavar who was a disciple of Vaidyanātha Dēśikar and has praised Raghunatha Tirumalai Setupati of Ramnad who reigned between 1647 and 1672. It need not be stated that this date synchronises with that of Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha—the Brahmin viceroy. I shall give an account of Venkatēśa Iyer in another article.

The Kāḍavarāyas

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GENERAL

THE Kāḍavarāyas, who contributed largely to the dismemberment of the Chola Empire during the thirteenth and the early part of the fourteenth centuries, became prominent during the time of Kulōttunga III. They had for their capital Kūḍal (Cuddalore) and later on Śēdamangalam. As feudatories of the Cholas, they were successful in their wars with the neighbouring chiefs, like the Yāḍavarāyas, and later on they asserted their independence when the suzerain power began to decline. Records show their early loyalty to the Chola Kings Kulōttunga III and Rājarāja III. When the Chola Empire grew weak under Rājarāja, the Kāḍavarāyas not only attempted to establish their power successfully, but also transferred their allegiance to the Pāṇḍyas. Their rise to power coincided with the time, when there was the triangular fight between the Pāṇḍyas, the Hoysālas and the Kākatīyas, in which the Cholas made their last vain effort to preserve their past glory; and the Kāḍavarāyas were largely responsible for the downfall of the Cholas.

The Kāḍavas claimed kinship with the Pallavas as their title Aḷagiya Pallavan indicates¹. The term Kāḍava might well refer to their being the inhabitants of the mountainous tracts lying in and out of the Eastern Ghats, comprising the modern South and North Arcot Districts where their inscriptions are found in large numbers. The chief among the Kāḍavas was called Kāḍavarkōn (king of the Kāḍavas) which came to be familiarly used as Kāḍavarāyas. During the time of Kulōttunga III, these were probably appointed as subordinate chiefs in charge of those parts.² Their subordinate

14. Sewell's List of Antiquities, ii, 23.

1. 63 of 1919 Mad. Epi. Report.

2. We have no epigraphical evidence on hand to trace the existence of the Kāḍavarāyas before the time of Kulōttunga III. It may not be improbable that Kulōttunga, who made extensive conquests had to appoint powerful chiefs as governors in charge of small territories. The king honoured

position is best seen in their assumption of the royal Chola *birudas* (titles) as prefixes to their names.³

Kūḍal which means the junction of the rivers, may be identified with the modern Cuddalore around which the two rivers the Gaḍilam and the South Pennar join the sea. That this place was their capital is evident since almost all of them were called Kūḍal-āḷappirandāns (born to rule over Kūḍal).⁴ From Kūḍal, their first capital, they extended their rule until at last the fort at Sēndamangalam in the Tirukkōilūr Taluk of the South Arcot District, was made the base for Kōpperunjinga's martial activities in defeating the Cholas, and withstanding the onslaughts of the Hoysālas from the West.

KULÖTTUNGA III—1178-1216 A.D.

From A.D. 1181, which marks the 3rd year of Kulōttunga's reign, to A.D. 1216, there appear in inscriptions numerous Āḷappirandāns and Araśanārāyaṇans, and the identification of one with another is difficult. The inscriptions do not give us any clue to attempt a satisfactory identification. The first Kāḍavarāya who appears in the lithic records of Kulōttunga is one Kūḍal Mōgan Āḷappirandān Araśanārāyaṇan alias Kāḍavarāyan (477 of 1921). In the ninth year of Kulōttunga, Araśanārāyaṇan Āḷappirandān alias Virasēkhara Kāḍavarāyan is mentioned (381 of 1902). From a comparison of the titles assumed by the Kāḍavarāyas up to the 38th year of Kulōttunga, one can see that Virasēkhara Kāḍavarāya appears more largely in inscriptions. In A.D. 1189, a political compact was made by a Kāḍavarāya with Sēngēṇi Ammaiappan Attimallan alias Kulōttungaśōla Sāmbuvarāyan of the Sēngēṇi family, as a result of which the two agreed not to wage war

them with almost regal titles in recognition of their services. Eg. Maḍhurāntaka, a title of Tribhuvana chakravarti Kulōttunga, was assumed by the Pottappi Cholas and the Gaṇḍagōpālas. Scholars have referred to such appointment of governors in rebellious areas, by Rājendra Chola I and his successors. Cf. South India and her Muhammadan Invaders, Ch. I and K. V. S. Sketches, P. 151.

3. 170 of 1906 Kulōttunga Kāḍavarāyan. 307 of 1910 Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan.

4. Venkayya says that Kūḍal refers to Madura and "it may be concluded that he (Kōpperunjinga) got the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom either by marriage or by conquest." (Xian. College Mag., March 1892). This view has been superseded.

with each other but to support the Cholas. (254 of 1921). Another inscription dated Śaka 1108 refers to Virasēkhara alias Kāḍavarāya who inscribed some verses in praise of the Kāḍavarāyas.⁵ That he was at first a Chola subordinate and then became independent, is supported by 312 of 1902 dated in the 25th year of Kulōttunga, which points to his assumption of the title of Adigaimān of Kūḍalūr.⁶ The Kāḍavarāyas, who by this time had risen to prominence had to make alliances with other chieftains in order to maintain their individuality and power. An Inscription dated in the 35th year of Kulōttunga from Salem, refers to a political compact made between two other chiefs in which Ponparappinān Vāṇakōvarāyar alias Kulōttungaśōla Vāṇakōvarāyar appears as the brother-in-law of Kāḍavarāyan.

Ēḷisaimōgan Kāḍavarāyan referred to in the inscriptions, had also the titles Kulōttungaśōla Kāḍavarādittan and Maṇavāḷaperumāl Vāṇilaikaṇḍanāna Kāḍavarāyan.⁷ Virasēkhara and Ēḷisaimōgan were brothers. This is borne out by an inscription (423 of 1921) which refers to a gift of taxes made for the welfare of the donor and his brother Āḷappirandān Ēḷisaimōgan alias Kāḍavarāyan. The Kāḍavarāyas became powerful only during the time of Kulōttunga, even though some of the epigraphs refer to their ancestors,⁸ and Ēḷisaimōgan is named after his grandfather Maṇavāḷaperumāl of whom nothing is known for certain.

5. 463 of 1921. Also 74 of 1925 "verses under orders of Araśanārāyaṇan Āḷappirandān Virasēkharan alias Kāḍavarāyan, son of Araśanārāyaṇan Kachi-yarāyan alias Kāḍavarāyan, who destroyed Kūḍal belonging to Kārkōḍa Mārāyan and also the country of Adigaimān." This undoubtedly refers to the assumption of the title of Kūḍal Āḷappirandān, only after this event.

6. The title Adigaimān was assumed also by small chiefs in the Tinnevely District during the time of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, and also by some of the Sēngēṇi chiefs as indicative of their power.

7. 313 of 1902 and 123 of 1900 dated 28th of Kulōttunga's reign refer to him as திருமுனைப்பாடி கீழாமர்நாட்டு கூடல் எழிசைமோகன் மணவாளப் பெருமான் வாள்நிலை கண்டன ராஜராஜகாடவராயன் or வாள்நிலை or வாணிலை means: "the theme of sending in advance at an auspicious moment the sword of a king who intends to advance against his enemies." Tamil Lexicon, Mad. University.

8. 463 of 1921. 'In praise of the members of the family' which evidently refers to those who are dead.

The brothers made charitable endowments to temples and other institutions by making gifts of taxes.⁹ Several epigraphs belonging to them are found scattered throughout the South Arcot District, and largely in the Tindivanam Taluk. This indicates the extent of their territory as lying between Kūḍal in the South and Tindivanam in the North, bounded by a line running between Vrddhāchalam and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai on the west, and extending to the sea on the East. Besides these two brothers one other Kūḍal Ālappirandān Alagiyapallavan *alias* Kāḍavarāyan features in one of the records of Kulōttunga (63 of 1919) dated in his 33rd regnal year, and to him we shall refer later. (Section II)

RĀJARĀJA III—1216-1246 A.D.

Kūḍal Ālappirandān Ēlīśaimōgan, who appeared for the first time in the 3rd year of Kulōttunga, appears also in the inscriptions of Rājarāja, the immediate successor of Kulōttunga III; and the latest year for him is the 16th regnal year of Rājarāja.¹⁰ Virasēkhara is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions of Rājarāja. Calculating from the 3rd year of Kulōttunga's reign, we find that Ēlīśaimōgan Kāḍavarāyan ruled for 51 years, i.e., from A.D. 1181, to A.D. 1232. But 170 of 1906 (from Elavanāsūr) dated in the 6th regnal year of Rājarāja, mentions one Kūḍal Ālappirandān Mōgan *alias* Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan with the title Nālutikkumvenrān (one who conquered the four directions). The prefix Rājarāja will certainly point to his subordinate position. But the name Mōgan mentioned in the epigraph would not refer to Ēlīśaimōgan Kāḍavarāyan, since he is distinctly referred to as Kulōttungaśōla Kāḍavarāyan* in the inscriptions of Kulōttunga and Rājarāja.¹¹ A

9. 381 of 1902 gift by Virasēkhara to Nārpattēṇṇāyiram (48,000) paḷli. 391 of 1921 gift of a necklace. 423 of 1921 building of a maṇḍapa. 381 of 1902 refers to a gift of land as Tirunāmattukkāṇi which included பள்ளிச்சுந்தம். நன்செய், புன்செய், தறியிறை (tax on looms), தட்டார்பாட்டம் goldsmith's tax), ஆயம் (tax), ஆனமன்சி (free labour) etc. Also 477 of 37 of 1921.

10. 480 and 481 of 1921 dated in the 16th year of Rājarāja refer to a political compact between Kūḍal Ālappirandān Mōgan (Ēlīśai mōgan) Kāḍavarāyan and Rājarāja Chēdirāyan by which they resolved to be no more at feud. The daughter of the former was married to the latter.

* The title of Rājarāja may have been conferred on him later in the reign of Rājarāja. (EDITOR).

** Was he not released soon after?—ED.

11. 232 of 1916 dated in the 6th year of Rājarāja from Chidambaram refers to a gift of pāḍikkāval and other incomes by Ālappirandān Ēlīśai-

record from Yōgimallāvaram dated in the 6th year of Rājarāja, refers to a battle in which Vira Narasinga Yāḍavarāya¹² and a Kāḍavarāya fought at Ūraṭṭi. This Kāḍava cannot be Ēlīśaimōgan *alias* Kulōttungaśōla Kāḍavarāyan, as his inscriptions point to his subordination in the 6th and in the 16th year of Rājarāja. In the latter year, Rājarāja was imprisoned at Sēndamangalam by Kōpperunjinga. Hence we must look for another Kāḍavarāya who participated in the Ūraṭṭi battle, the result of which is not known.¹³ As we have noted above, a Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan appears in the 6th year of Rājarāja and he must have been a prominent member as the title "Nālutikkumvenrān" would indicate. Probably this Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan was the same Kāḍava who fought at Ūraṭṭi; and it can be said of him, that he was at first a loyal feudatory, but soon grew powerful enough to declare an open war. His rise to power is supported by the fact that there is no other inscription of this chief bearing a later date than the 6th year of Rājarāja. No. 213 of 1915 from Talaichengāḍu refers to the calamities in the land in the 5th, 11th and 16th years of Rājarāja as a result of which, the old documents were lost, and it is possible that Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan rose to power during this period. This would suggest that this Kāḍava who entered into an open conflict even in the 6th year of Rājarāja was the same person who rose in the 16th year of the same king, in revolt and captured him at Sēndamangalam.¹⁴

During Rājarāja's reign the names of some other Kāḍavarāyas occur: Mōgan Ālappirandān *alias* Anapāya Kāḍavarāyan,¹⁵ Sattivananāyakanāna Kāḍavarāyan of Paḷayanūr, and Ātkoli

mōgan *alias* Kulōttunga Kāḍavarāyan. Also 307 of 1910. 157 of 1906 dated in the 5th year of Kulōttunga refers to a gift of taxes of Kūḍalūr. Araśa-nārāyaṇan *alias* Jananātha Kacchiyarāyan. Further evidence is necessary before any connection can be traced between Kacchiyarāyan and Kāḍavarāyan. However 62 of 1919 shows that the Kacchiyarāya family also descended from the Pallavas.

12. 271 of 1904 and 656 of 1904 are dated in the 36th year.

13. None of the Yāḍavarāya records refer to any victory over the Kāḍavas.

14. The problem of this Kāḍava Kōpperunjinga is dealt with in detail in the next section.

15. 181 of 1906 dated in the 3rd year of Rājarāja. 73 of 1891 states that Kulōttunga was called Anapāyaśōlan. The title Anapāya to the above Kāḍavarāya suggests his identity with Ēlīśaimōgan Kulōttungaśōla Kāḍavarāyan.

Kāḍavarāyan. The exact relationship of the one with the other is not clear. From the inscriptions we find a number of Kāḍavarāyas who were of the same family. They had small chiefs under them. Each ruled over a separate fief perhaps independently of the others. Some of them are mentioned in the epigraphs along with the name of the village over which they had control.¹⁶

2. KÖPPERUNJINGA

The reign of Rājārāja III was the occasion for Kōpperunjinga to assert his independence and to increase his power. The inscriptions which form the main source of our study, do not give us any satisfactory information about Kōpperunjinga's parentage and his accession to power. It is difficult to build up a connected account of Kōpperunjinga, from the few facts gathered from the epigraphs. The absence of tradition and the lack of literary evidence make the task more difficult.

Inscriptions refer to Kōpperunjinga as a Pallava and a Kāḍava.¹⁷ He was a subordinate of Rājārāja, 'the ruler of Kūḍal,' 'protector of Mallai' (Mahabalipuram¹⁸). He tried to re-establish the Pallava power. He was also in possession of Kānchi for a time. From Śēdamangalam, he extended his sway over the North Arcot and Chingleput Districts and the Telugu country.¹⁹

The last known date of Kōpperunjinga is his 36th year of rule.²⁰ The Aruḷāḷaperumaḷ and the Tripurāntakam inscriptions point to his accession in A.D. 1243.²¹ From this and from the fact

16. 312 of 1912. Virasēkhara Kāḍavarāyan Adigaimān of Kūḍalūr. 368 of 1921 from South Arcot says that Gangādarāyan Tiruvān alias Kalingarāyar, a sāmanta mudali of Udayar Kāḍavarāyan made a gift in the 10th year of Kulōttunga. The term sāmanta means a small chief having control over a few villages. 511 of 1921 from Tiruveṇṇainallūr dated in the 8th year of Kōpperunjinga refers to the erection of a maṇḍapa by a sister of Aḷappirandār Aḷagiyaśiyan of Perugai.

17. 136 and 38 of 1900 dated in the 14th year of Rājārāja mentions Pallava Kōpperunjinga. 182 of 1919 speaks of Kāḍavan Avaniyāḷappirandān Kōpperunjinga.

18. Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam Epi. Report Vol. I. Pp. 118-20.

19. Kōpperunjinga's inscriptions are found in Drākshārāma (Godavari Dt.) and Tripurāntakam (Kurnool Dt.).

20. 455 of 1902 and 370 of 1908.

21. Ins. 197, 198 and 202 of 1905 from Tripurāntakam are written in Sanskrit and they refer to Mahārājasimha (Kōpperunjinga in Tamil) who bore the surnames Avanyāvanaśambhava, Sarvagñakāḍgamalla, Niśṣaṅka-

that Rājārāja III was imprisoned in A.D. 1232 at Śēdamangalam according to the Trivēndipuram Inscription by one Kōpperunjinga, some historians who is referred to as Aḷagiyaśiyan Kōpperunjinga, father and have concluded that there were two Perunjingas, father and son—the former having Aḷagiyaśiyan for his name. They say that the son succeeded the father in A.D. 1243. An inscription from Tiruvaḍamarudūr²² is interpreted to support the theory of the rule of the father and the son, in succession. A close examination of the inscriptions will clearly suggest, that Kōpperunjinga is referred to as Aḷagiyaśiyanāna Kōpperunjinga and not as Aḷagiyaśiyan Kōpperunjinga as indicative of two names. 449 of 1921 from Tiruveṇṇainallūr has śiya prefixed to Kōpperunjinga. Hence the two names must be taken as *Iraittaipei*²³ (Twin name) a feature common and fully borne out by epigraphical evidence.²⁴

Of the three Kāḍavarāyas who appear during the time of Kulōttunga, we have already referred to Virasēkhara and Ēḷisaimōgan as brothers. The third appears in the 33rd regnal year of the same king. This inscription (63 of 1919) contains the name of Kūḍalā-lappirandān Aḷagiya-pallavan alias Kāḍavarāyan. This name is distinctly different from the other two mentioned above. Besides, an epigraph dated in the 35th year of Kulōttunga refers to a gift of lands made in Śēnji by Mōgāndar alias Śōḷingadēvan and Aḷagiyaśiyan Sāmbuvarāyan to the god set up by the mother of Aḷagiya-pallavan Kōpperunjingadēvar.²⁵ 136 of 1900 calls Kōpperunjinga

mallā. He is 'identical with the Kāḍava Kōpperunjinga.' (Epi. Report 1906, Pp. 45-6). 480 of 1902 from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai belongs to Kōpperunjinga who had the titles Niśṣaṅkamalla and protector of Mallai. His son claims to have driven the Telungar to the North taking advantage of the weakness of the Kākatiyas subsequent to the death of Gaṇapati. The son referred to is perhaps the son of Kāḍava Kōpperunjinga.

22. 135 of 1895. Dr. Kielhorn, who calculated the date of this inscription from the astronomical data contained in it, is himself not sure as to the correctness of the date. But scholars have worked up their theories taking this date as correct.

23. The Kāḍavarāya Problem. by Mr. R. Sathianathier. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar Com. Vol. Page 214.

24. 52 of 1922 refers to one Aḷagiyaśiyan Mūvēnda vēḷan alias Satrumallanāna Sāmbuvarāyan. Another record from Tinnevely refers to a chief as Aḷagiyaśiyan. This will further elucidate the fact that Aḷagiyaśiyanāna Kōpperunjinga will refer to only one person. Śiya means a chief.

25. 487 of 1921 from Tiruveṇṇainallūr; 198 of 1905 from Tripurāntakam belonging to Mahārājasimha refers to him as a son of Jiyamahipati by his wife Śilāvati.

a Pallava. From a comparison of these two names, it is evident that both refer to the same person and therefore it is clear that Kōpperunjinga makes his appearance as early as the 33rd year of Kulōttunga (i.e., 1211 A.D.). Otherwise how can a gift to the god set up by the mother of Aḷagiyapallavan Kōpperunjingadēvar be made in the 35th year of Kulōttunga? The records coming from Drākshārāma and Kānchi with Śaka dates speak of his accession in A.D. 1243. But the Trivēndipuram record speaks of the imprisonment of Rājarāja by Kōpperunjinga in A.D. 1232. This rising in A.D. 1232 must be said to denote the growing power of the Kāḍava.

We have already referred to a battle between a Kāḍava and Vira-Narasinga Yādavarāya at Ūratṭi. We have suggested there that this Kāḍava was perhaps the same chief known as Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan Nālutikkumvēnrān, who was probably called Aḷagiyapallava under Kulōttunga. In A.D. 1222, another battle took place at Tellāru in which the Yādavarāya appears again. Since the battle of Tellāru is also mentioned in the 6th year of Rājarāja, it may not be improbable that Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan Nālutikkumvēnrān was the same foe of the Yādavarāya in the successive battles of Ūratṭi and Tellāru. The Vāyalūr record (418 of 1922) also supports this fact. The epigraph contains an eulogy of Sakalabhuvanachakravartin Kōpperunjinga, and refers to his conquests over the Hoysālas, and the Cholas, after defeating and imprisoning the Chola at Tellāru.²⁶ Unfortunately the record is undated. However, it is clear that Kōpperunjinga remained a feudatory of Rājarāja for sometime, before he became powerful to oppose and imprison Rājarāja at Śēdamangalam.

The years from A.D. 1222 to A.D. 1232 might have afforded Kōpperunjinga ample facilities to prepare for the Śēdamangalam campaign. For aught we know, the Ūratṭi and the Tellāru battles might have been the preludes to his final success.²⁷ During this

26. 271 of 194 dated 6th year of Rājarāja. Vira Narasinga Yādavarāya fought for the cholas. The record claims victory for him.

27. The chola is called Pūm Puhār Śōlan. "Probably this epithet has been prefixed to exaggerate the greatness of Kōpperunjinga in having conquered and imprisoned a scion of the illustrious chola family." Epi. Rep. 1923, P. 96.

28. About ten years had to pass after Śēdamangalam before Kōpperunjinga could call himself a Sakalabhuvana chakravarti. Sewell places his accession between May 9th and July 30th of 1243 A.D.

period Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I invaded from the South, burnt Woriyūr and Tanjore and laid the Cholas under tribute. The Hoysālas had to intervene on behalf of the Cholas to whom they were related.²⁹ An inscription of Vira Narasimha II, the Hoysāla king, speaks of the defeat which he inflicted upon the Pāṇḍyas, the Māgaras and the Kāḍavas; of his planting a pillar of victory at Rāmēsvaram; and of his assumption of the high-sounding titles Pāṇḍya diśāpattāṇa and Chōlarāja prathishṭāpanāchārya.³⁰ The Gadyakarnāmṛta³¹ also refers to the Hoysāla victory. This first intervention of the Hoysāla, resulted in the rendition of the Chola territory to Rājarāja by Sundara Pāṇḍya.³² Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. VI Chikmagalūr 56 refers to Vira Narasimha as marching against the Ranga of the South.³³ And the Harihar record³⁴ dated in A.D. 1224 calls him the uprooter of the Magaras and the establisher of the Cholas. From the Harihar epigraph it is evident that Narasimha's first intervention had taken place before A.D. 1224.

The second intervention of the Hoysālas was made, according to the Trivēndipuram record, to vindicate the title Chōlarāja prathishṭāpanāchārya.³⁵ The record gives details of the Hoysāla advance and refers to his generals who carried on the expedition while the king stayed at Pāchūr. This expedition was mainly directed against the Kāḍavas and the Gadyakarnāmṛta refers to the Pallavas in uncourteous terms as robbers and wanderers. The

29. Epi. Car. V. P. 22. A Chola princess by name Chōla Mahadēvi is known to have been one of the queens of Baḷḷāla II.

30. Epi. Car. V Cn. 197 and Epi. Car. XI, P. 57 dated Śaka 1145.

31. A Kāvya of high poetic imagination by Vidyā Chakravarti who flourished during the time of Vira Narasimha II. The work referring to the battle against the Kāḍavas, says that the Pallava was slain having presented the chola country. Mysore Arch. Report, 1924. p. 12. See also Tirumalai Venkatesvarā, Vol. I.

32. Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya's record (318 of 1919) refers to the presentation of the chola country. (Śōṇādu Vāṅgiyarulīya).

33. Ranga has been identified with Śrirangam.

34. Dr. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Canarese Districts*. Bombay Gazetteer. P. 507.

35. Epi. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 162:—

The first invasion was distinct from and prior to that related in the Trivēndipuram epigraph. In the first invasion Hoysāla Vira Narasimha had to subdue the Māgarās, the Pāṇḍyas and the Kāḍavas. During the second he subdued the Māgaras and the Kāḍavas only; the Pāṇḍyas are omitted in the records.

Besrālu inscription dated A.D. 1234 also refers to Narasimha's reduction of the Kāḍava and the Pāṇḍya.

The capture of Rājarāja was not enough for Kōpperunjinga to throw off the Chola yoke, and to become a Sakalabhuvanachakravarti which he was at the time of his death in A.D. 1278-9.³⁶ His 18th regnal year corresponds to Śaka 1183 and 1184 of the Aruḷāperumāl and the Drākshārāma records.³⁷ The Śaka dates must be meant to refer to him soon after his attaining independence. The Aruḷāperumāl inscription is worthy of our attention as it is the first to call him a *dēva*. A record dated in the 31st year of Rājarāja, (480 of 1904) proves his late assumption of royalty. It refers to a gift made by a queen of a certain Śādum Perumāl to the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. The same queen figures in the records of Kōpperunjinga also. As the earlier gift is recorded in the regnal year of Rājarāja and the latter ones in the regnal years of Kōpperunjinga, it is apparent that Kōpperunjinga must have become powerful in the last days of Rājarāja III who died about A.D. 1246. His records point to A.D. 1243 as the date of his accession.

The results obtained so far are as follows: (1) Kōpperunjinga appears as early as A.D. 1211 the 33rd year of Kulōttunga III. (2) He was a feudatory of Rājarāja in his 6th year under the name Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan Nālutikkumvenṇān. (3) He fought the battles of Ūraṭṭi and Tellāru before he finally rose up against the Chola and captured him at Śēdamangalam in A.D. 1232. (4) From 1232 he began consolidating his power, till in 1243 he felt himself secure as a powerful chief and continued to be so till 1278 when he died.

The records of Kōpperunjinga and Rājarāja refer to the Chola imprisonment twice: first at Tellāru and afterwards at Śēdamangalam. The question is whether there were two imprisonments or one. The Trivēndipuram record and another inscription coming from Mysore³⁸ refer to Rājarāja's captivity. The latter ascribes the event to the year A.D. 1221 as it contains the Śaka date 1143. An

36. Kōpperunjinga's last record 455 of 1902 is dated in his 36th year. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar says that he died in that year (1278 A.D.). See Historical Ins. of the Madras Presidency.

37. We have no epigraphs of Kōpperunjinga dated in the regnal years of Rājendra chola III 1243-1267 A.D.

38. Epi. Car. Vol. VII, Cn. 72.

inscription from Chittoor³⁹ gives the credit for Rājarāja's release from captivity to one Śiyagaṅgan, a nephew of Madhurāntaka Pottappi Chola. The Hoyśala records do not speak of any earlier release of Rājarāja before A.D. 1232, the date of the Trivēndipuram inscription. The Gadyakarnāmṛta also refers to the Jayantaram mangalam (Śēdamangalam) incident. Considering these facts, one can point to only one imprisonment and the Vāyalūr and the Trivēndipuram records, must be taken as complimentary to each other.⁴⁰ For, after the Ūraṭṭi battle we have reference only to the engagement at Tellāru which may be said to be a prelude to the Śēdamangalam campaign.

We have seen from the epigraphs that there was only one Kōpperunjinga and that he ruled from 1211 to 1278 A.D. Prof. K.A.N. Sastri observes "I am still inclined to assume only one Kāḍava who was subordinate till 1243, then assumed independence and afterwards became tributary to the Pāṇḍya". Mr. Sathianathaier says 'after all the period 1229 to 1278 is nothing unbelievable.' From the calculations made by these two scholars it is clear that both have taken A.D. 1229 as marking Kōpperunjinga's coming to power. This date is arrived at on the authority of an inscription (136 of 1900) from Vṛiddhachalam dated in the 14th year of Rājarāja. But we have seen that Kōpperunjinga figures as early as A.D. 1211 the 33rd year of Kulōttunga's reign. This means that Kōpperunjinga was powerful for a period of about 68 years.

The view of the government epigraphist in favour of two Perunjingas is based on 480 of 1902 from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai which

39. 88 of 1889. S.I.I. Vol. IV, P. 88. The record is dated in the 8th year of Rājarāja கிறைமீட்ட பெருமானான சிய (சு) ந்த தேவன் மாமான் மதுராந்தகபொத்தியைச் சோழன். Probably the person appearing in this record might have helped Rājarāja whose period of imprisonment is not known for certain.

40. Venkayya says 'Reading the two records we may safely conclude that Rājarāja was defeated at Tellāru and was imprisoned with his ministers in Śēdamangalam.' Epi. Rep. 1923. P. 96. See also The Kāḍavarāya Problem. The Vāyalur record eulogises Kōpperunjinga's conquests over the Chola, the Karnāṭa and the Pāṇḍya, and he is called Avaniṇārāyana Kāḍava Perunjiṅga Nṛpatunga Śiyan, Tirubhuvanarājakkal Tambīran and Mallai vēndan. The reference to the Karnāṭas may suggest a later date for this record since the conquest of the Karnāṭas might have taken place in the company of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. There is no evidence to prove that there were two imprisonments and the author of the Gadyakarnāmṛta would have certainly referred to them if there was more than one.

tions⁴⁴ which speak of Jaṭavarman Sundara's conquests in the far north, mention the defeat and the restoration of Kāḍava Kōpperunjinga. Finding the Pāṇḍya too strong for him, Kōpperunjinga became a subordinate to Jaṭavarman Sundara.

The conquest of the Karnāṭas by Kōpperunjinga must have been effected only in co-operation with Jaṭavarman Sundara since Vira Narasima's records do not refer to any defeat sustained by them at the hands of the Pallava.⁴⁵ 73 of 1918 from Perambalūr refers to the defeat of the Hoysālas by Kōpperunjinga, and the Śrīrangam praśāsti of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya mentions the Pāṇḍyan victory over the Hoysālas. Mr. Sathianathaier rightly points out that "Perunjinga was the able coadjutor of Jaṭavarman Sundara whose progress in Tonḍaimaṇḍalam and further north would not have been possible without the co-operation of his former enemy."

Kōpperunjinga ruled from 1242 to 1278 A.D.⁴⁶ as an independent ruler. His rise to power on the downfall of the cholas, checked the rapid absorption of the chola territories by the rising Pāṇḍyas. He was able to secure peace and maintain order in the land, at a time when there prevailed confusion and disorder caused by the Pāṇḍyan invasions and the 'diplomatic' interventions of the Hoysālas.

44. 332 of 1913 and Sen Tamil Vol. IV, Pp. 513-15. 24 and 25 of 1914 refer to the confirmation made by Jaṭavarman Sundara of some of the gifts made in the 11th year of Kōpperunjinga.

45. The titles Pāṇḍyarāja sthāpana sūtradārāha and Sahōḍara Sundara suggest his 'subordinate co-operation.'

46. It is better to confine to this year as it looks more probable in spite of references made to him (in 1289) in the records of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (418 of 1909), and Kāyastha Ambadēva (173 of 1905).

The Influence of Islāmic Traditions on the Sultanate of Delhi

By

MR. ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.

I

THE CONTINUITY OF ISLĀMIC TRADITIONS

WHEN the city-state of Rome transformed itself into a world-empire by absorbing within its orbit the entire Mediterranean world, the political institutions and legal ideas of the eternal city spread to all the countries ruled by or allied with it. In the same way, the political system and legal ideas of the Anglo-Saxons spread in varying degrees to all the countries dominated by them. The case of Islām was similar in many respects. The establishment of Muslim Islām was similar in many respects. The establishment of Muslim rule in different countries of Asia, Africa and Europe was followed by the introduction of Islāmic political, legal and military systems in those portions of the globe. This analogy between Islām on the one hand and Rome and England on the other, however, should not be pushed too far. Rome established a centralised system of government; in all parts of her vast empire the will of the Senate, and, later on, of the Emperor, was supreme. England has always allowed varying degrees of local autonomy to the territories conquered or colonised by her adventurous sons, for in local autonomy lies the peculiar value of her institutions; but even until a very recent period she exercised from a single centre a general control over the more important political issues arising within her empire. In the case of Islām, however, this type of centralisation, though often recognised in theory, was seldom, if ever, realised in practice. The theory that the entire Islāmic world was under the direct religious and political authority of the Khalifah persisted up to the last, in spite of the fact that the declining power of the 'Abbāsids and the rise of the so-called 'Minor Dynasties' constituted unmistakable evidence of the steadily growing spirit of disruption. The crumbling political structure of Islām was covering the East and the West with magnificent ruins, and the day was not far off when imposing monuments would be created by new converts out of these apparently decaying materials. But this lack of centralised administrative control did not prevent Islāmic political and legal theories and practices from taking root in the countries

subordinated to or crushed beneath the triumphant banner of the Prophet's religion. All Islāmic states, whether in Asia, in Africa, or in Europe, whether ruled by Arabs, Persians or Turks, were based on the same pattern: everywhere it was the spirit of the Qu'rān that ruled. This generalisation must be interpreted from the broadest point of view, for the doctrines of the believers undoubtedly changed their colour, sometimes quite radically, in the course of their long journeys across the world. Time as well as environment made their influence felt; new problems arose, and led to the discovery of new solutions and the application of new remedies. On the whole, however, we are justified in saying that the political structure of an Islāmic state in any part of the world can be best understood when it is interpreted with reference to the early history and political theories of Islām.

The Islāmic state in India was an autonomous and distinct part of the vast world over which the spirit of the Prophet ruled. The Arab state of Sind and the Turkish state of Delhi were based on the same pattern so far as their ideals and methods of government were concerned, but there was an important difference between the two. When Mu'izz-ud-din Muhammad ibn Sam carried the banner of Islām into the heart of India and finally established it as the dominant political power in the land of the Hindus, a new age was ushered in, in the history of this country. The accession of Qutb-ud-din Aibak as the independent Sultān of Delhi on his master's assassination in 1206 A. C. has been conventionally regarded as the starting point of the so-called Muhammadan period of Indian history. The importance of that year lies in the fact that it witnessed the establishment of an independent Islāmic state in this country. The Arab rulers of Sind were, practically at first and nominally afterwards, merely provincial governors under the Khalifahs who ruled over the entire Islāmic world.¹ Mahmūd

1. Sind became free from the control of the Khalifah in or about 871 A.C., when, during the reign of Mu'tamid, Ya'kub ibn Laith became the governor of the eastern provinces. (See Syed Ameer Ali, *A Short History of the Saracens*, pp. 292-3, and Muir, *The Caliphate*, pp. 544-7. For the historian of India the Arab conquest and occupation of Sind is an episode of minor importance. The Arabs scarcely concerned themselves with anything more than the collection of taxes and the suppression of rebellions. The only other subject which occasionally engaged their attention was the spread of Islām through the sword. The four centuries of Arab rule in that outer fringe of Hindustān did not produce any remarkable artistic or literary monument. Like the Roman occupation of Britain the Arab occupation of Sind is interesting historically, but it is hardly important.

of Ghazni formally recognised the authority of the Khalifah;² moreover, the heart of the dominions of the Yamini Dynasty really lay outside the borders of India. But the first Slave Sultān of Delhi ruled exclusively as an Indian prince, without any allegiance or interest outside India. And when, long afterwards, Bābur and his descendants extended their authority over Afghanistān, they acted as Indian Emperors annexing the natural frontiers of their country.

The Turkish Sultānate of Delhi was, therefore, for all practical purposes, an independent political structure. It would be a mistake, however, to think that it had nothing to do with the world of Islām outside India. If the Sultāns of Delhi paid nothing but ceremonial allegiance to the impotent Khalifahs who held their courts in Bāghdād and in Egypt, they certainly obeyed the principles and traditions of the religion which they professed. The continuity of Islām is one of the governing facts of medieval Indian history. There were rulers like 'Alā-ud-din Khaljī and Muhammad ibn Tughluq whose allegiance to Islāmic laws was elastic enough to allow them to introduce innovations repulsive to orthodox believers. There were rulers like Firūz Shāh and Sikāndar Lodī who tried to govern as closely as possible according to the orthodox laws and principles of statecraft. The difference in their attitude towards Islāmic theology and law was, however, one of degree, not of kind. No Sultān of Delhi was prepared to initiate a politico-religious revolution or to divorce religion from secular affairs. The reasons are not far to seek. Medieval man was a slave of his religion; to him innovations inconsistent with dogmas enunciated by scriptures and preached by holy men were anathema. In this respect the traditions and teachings of Islām were specially antagonistic to heresy. Again, the necessity of consolidating their religionists combined with traditions and personal conviction in urging upon the Muslim rulers of India the desirability of accepting the principles of Islāmic law as the basis of the state which they created by military force. It was not possible for them to do anything else or to take a leap into the dark, for they lived in an age which was fanatically orthodox. Streams of Arabians, Africans, Persians and Turks poured into India after she had been

2. "Mahmūd, the first Muslim ruler to assume the title of Sultan, received a robe of honour from the Caliph with the title of 'Aminul-millat' and 'Yaminud-doulah'. He now stood . . . in direct subordination to the Caliph . . .". Habib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni*, p. 21.

forced to enter into the orbit of the Islāmic world. Learned divines came to expound the law, to guide the rulers along the path laid down for all ages by the Prophet, and to call the faithful to arms against the heretics. Military adventurers came and established themselves as rulers of the country; how could they go against that religion in the name of which they had collected followers and won victories? Poets and historians came and enjoyed royal favour; it was their business to remind the Muslims of their intimate association with and emotional allegiance to the wider Islāmic world that lay outside this land of the heretics. Merchants came to enrich themselves by establishing a close commercial contact between India and Western Asia. Under the circumstances, how could India isolate herself? How could her Muslim rulers forget the past and try to create a new type of polity? India naturally became, and remained for about six centuries, a member of the Islāmic commonwealth of nations. It is necessary, therefore, to refer to the early history and political traditions of Islām in order to explain the fundamental character of the state created by the Turkish Sultans of Delhi.

II

MONARCHICAL IDEAS IN ANCIENT ARABIA

Our information regarding the so-called '*Days of Ignorance*' (so the pre-Islāmic age in Arabia is called) is very meagre indeed.³ The principal sources of our knowledge of ancient Arabian history are the Qu'rān and the traditions recorded by the chroniclers of the eighth and succeeding centuries of the Christian era.⁴ Epigraphic evidence in some cases verifies, but hardly adds to, the inadequate statements made by writers like Ibn Ishāq, Tabāri and Ibn Khaldūn. So far as the external relations of the primitive Arabs are concerned, some details may be gathered from Egyptian, Assyrian and Sassanian sources.

The Arabian Peninsula "was not isolated but rather lay on the edge of the cultural life of the day."⁵ Whether the Arabs had

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come under the direct sway of the great Pharaohs of Egypt is doubtful. Egyptologists have discovered traces of Egyptian trade with Arabia. North Arabia was commonly described as a part of Egypt.⁶ The famous city of Medina is said to have been an Egyptian colony in origin. The road across Sinai, which was continued across the northern portion of the Arabian Peninsula, was probably the bone of contention between Egypt and Assyria.⁷ Some of the Assyrian Emperors led frequent military expeditions into Arab territory,⁸ but we are hardly justified in reaching the conclusion that it constituted an integral portion of their dominions. The rivalry between Persia and Byzantium in Arabia was mainly economic in character,⁹ though it seems to have exerted a more or less effective general influence on the political life of the Arabs.¹⁰

It is very difficult to present a correct picture of the primitive institutions of the pre-Islāmic Arabs. The Bedouins or "the dwellers of the desert" enjoyed liberty and equality in the greatest measure. "Although absolute equality is not to be found even in the desert, it is there more nearly attained than anywhere else."¹¹ The tribal feeling was very strong. The tribe usually chose a chief who acted as its leader, but he was obliged at every turn to consult the tribal council which was composed of the heads of the families.¹² It is clear that the tribal organisations of the Bedouins cannot be regarded as states in the modern sense of the term. On the other hand, the settled inhabitants, who were generally called "the people of the towns," created some monarchical states, although some of them seem to have preferred oligarchical or even tribal organisations. The monarchs were called *Tubbas* and *Mundars*. They were advised, like the tribal chiefs, by councils of elders. There is no doubt that they enjoyed substantial powers and ruled as autocrats. In them the supreme power was vested, and their acts were not subject to any other authority nor could their will be over-ridden.¹³

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

7. S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, pp. 80-81.

8. O. Leary, *ibid.*, pp. 30-52. Sydney Smith (*Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. III, pp. 83-4) observes: "Of course, no strict hold on Arabia was possible; but the Sargonid monarchs were very successful in introducing some sort of order among the most important tribes".

9. O. Leary, *ibid.*, p. 205. C. Diehl in *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II, p. 28.

10. D. G. Hogarth, *Arabia*, pp. 8-9.

11. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, Chapter I.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

13. Wahed Hussain, *Theory of Sovereignty in Islam*, p. 21.

3. The history of pre-Islāmic Arabia, says a distinguished writer, is "a subject still, to a certain extent, full of controversial points, doubts, uncertainties, even apparently insoluble mysteries". J. Hell, *The Arab Civilisation*, translated by S. Khuda Buksh, (Forward, p. viii).

4. Ameer Ali, *A Short History of the Saracens*, p. 5.

5. For an examination of the question of the segregation of Arabia, see De Lacy O'Leary, *Arabia Before Muhammad*, pp. 19-25.

With these traditions behind him the Prophet created the Islāmic state towards the first quarter of the seventh century A.C. Of this state he himself was the sovereign as well as the supreme religious teacher. It was indeed an extremely difficult task to unite the numerous Arabian tribes into a harmonious, partly centralised, efficient and effective political unit. Their inherent love of unrestrained freedom, embodied in their intense individualism and reluctance to submit to any external authority, made them averse to think in terms of large corporate organisations. This psychological factor produced, and was in its turn strengthened by, the confused traditions of century-long anarchy and separatism. Their process of thought, their very method of looking at things, had to be modified and diverted into a widely different channel, and the past, with all its memories and triumphs,—sanctified by all the mysteries of passing ages and the blessings of the elders—had to be obliterated, before a single Arabian national state could be created on the shifting sand of the peninsula.¹⁴ This was the task which an obscure exile took upon himself; and when he left the world, the foundations not only of a national state but of a vast empire embracing the East as well as the West, had been well and truly laid.

It has been pointed out that Muhammad thought of Islām as a *nation* rather than as a *religion*.¹⁵ "Let there be in you a nation summoning unto the good," says the Qu'rān. The Prophet's legislation "followed an end similar to that ascribed to Lycurgus, *viz.*, to create a military state."¹⁶ Lecky observes that the enthusiasm by which Islām conquered the world was mainly a military enthusiasm. "Its history, therefore, exhibits nothing of the processes of gradual absorption, persuasion, compromise, and assimilation, that are exhibited in the dealings of Christianity with the barbarians."¹⁷ It is enough for our present purpose to note that the aim of the Prophet was to create an Arab *national* state. This state was to obliterate all tribal distinctions and to tolerate no division of nationalities. It has been said that "the theory of the Platonic Republic, according to which the members of the community

should share pains and pleasures to the same extent as the members of one body, is attributed to the Prophet."¹⁸ Be that as it may, the equality of all true believers was most probably laid down as a cardinal doctrine;¹⁹ for even the Prophet's own family enjoyed no privileges, and the position of the slaves was vastly improved by the encouragement given to manumission by the Qu'rān.²⁰ On the whole, the state founded by the Prophet was "a communistic-democratic system of politics founded upon the basis of theocracy, one of the most remarkable phenomena of history."²⁴

The national, military state created by the Prophet came, even within his life-time, to include among its subjects many people who differed from the Arabs in race as well as in religion. He tried to conciliate these foreign elements by granting "charters in which religious freedom, liberty of conscience, freedom of speech and association, security of life and property, were fully guaranteed."²² But the difficulty of conciliating and absorbing foreign elements became almost insoluble when, after his death, the Islāmic empire became almost insoluble when, after his death, the Islāmic empire embraced large portions of Asia, Africa and Europe. The simple theories which he had enunciated were no longer sufficient to explain and control the ever-widening structure of a rapidly expanding heterogeneous Empire, nor could the primitive administrative machinery created by him and his immediate successors cope with the difficulties of the situation. Hence arose many schools of political thinkers who tried to explain, interpret and expand the doctrines laid down by him. Those who openly dared to introduce novelties were necessarily few. Most of the theologians and political philosophers tried to bring the Prophet's sayings into line with the political developments of their own ages by offering strained interpretations. They felt that changes were necessary, but orthodoxy led them to believe that nothing could be added to what the Prophet had said or done.

18. Margoliouth, *ibid*, p. 75.

19. "Creeds sever the Semites, and on the smallest points. But they are also the strongest bonds; and when Mohammed cut himself off from his people, he founded a new community in which slaves and freedmen might be united by the new ideas. The link was creed and not blood". S. A. Cook, *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I. p. 211.

20. Margoliouth, *ibid*, pp. 79, 80, 87-89. For the attitude of the Prophet towards slavery, see Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, pp. 262-267. Compare the position of the slaves under the Sultāns of Delhi.

21. Von Kremer, *Culture Under the Caliphs*.

22. W. Hussain, *Theory of Sovereignty in Islam*, p. 95.

14. Compare the remarks of Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, pp. 290-291.

15. D. S. Margoliouth, *Mohammedanism*, p. 75.

16. *Ibid*, p. 76.

17. *History of the Rise and Influence of Rationalism*, Vol. I, p. 223. It is interesting to compare this statement with the history of Muslim conquest of India.

III

MONARCHY IN ISLAMIC POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

THE Arab mind has never distinguished religion from politics; consequently, from the earliest times royal power has been allied with priestly functions. A distinguished writer, speaking on the fundamental characteristics of the Semities, says: "Authority is based upon religious rather than upon political ideas The head of a militant sect will rule a state, and politics will constantly take a religious form The ruler stands in closest relationship to the gods, and to the people he is as the god, or the god's visible representative Such special individuals are intermediaries between gods and men."²³ No student of Islāmic political theories and institutions need be told that these words accurately sum up the fundamental principle lying behind them.

The close connection between Monarchy and Divinity as embodied in the celebrated theory of Divine Right was a natural stage in the evolution of the Arab polity. Speaking on Persian reactions on early Muslim civilisation, a modern writer says: "In their eager fascination, they (i.e., the Muslims) did not stop to pick and choose from Persian ideas, they adopted them wholesale in every sphere of life Of all these ideas the most significant was the theory of divine right of the Persian Kings. From the centre of Bāghdād these ideas spread to Ghaznī, as to other parts of the Muslim world and made their way from there into the Indian plains."²⁴ He goes on to say that "Islām could not easily be reconciled to the divinity of a person on which the whole theory of despotism rested." We can easily see, however, that the natural successors of those "intermediaries between gods and men," who acted as political leaders in pre-Islāmic Arabia, were the Khalifahs, "the shadows of God upon earth." If the Arabs really borrowed the theory of Divine Right from the conquered but more civilised Persians, they merely imported a doctrine which was in itself quite congenial to their own temperament.

The theory of Divine Origin of Monarchy is quite familiar to Muslim political philosophers. To them the Khalifah is the vice-

gerent of God and the sovereign is the shadow of God upon the earth. As a Muslim writer observes, "Though the Caliphate has altogether been abolished after the Great War in 1918, and some of the important Muslim states have set up popular forms of government on the basis of democracy, yet the credulous classes are sticking to the old theory with religious obstinacy."²⁵ During the Middle Ages men were more credulous and considered the theory of Divine Right as a part of religious dogma. The 'Ulamā confirmed them in their fond belief by referring to chapters and verses of the Qu'rān.²⁶ Their teaching was crystalised into a dogma which it was heresy for any Muslim to disown. Every Friday the faithful followers of the Prophet recited: "The Sultān is the Shadow of God: whoever respects him God will respect him, and whoever thinks ill of him, God will degrade him." The same sentiment was echoed by the Muslim subjects (including the Islāmised Hindus) of the Turkish rulers of India. For them the occupant of the throne of Delhi was "the shadow of God upon earth, to whose refuge we are to fly when oppressed by injury from the unforeseen occurrences of life,"²⁷ the God-given leader of the faithful in their Jihad against the 'unclean' infidels. The Sultān was for all practical purposes regarded as occupying the same position as the Khalifah himself,²⁸ although the spiritual supremacy of the direct successor of the Prophet was universally recognised. When Abul Fazl said that "Obedience to Kings is a kind of divine worship," he correctly expressed the point of view of his co-religionists.

A modern writer²⁹ has analysed the theory of Divine Right and resolved it into four component elements: (1) Monarchy is a divinely ordained institution; (2) Hereditary right is indefeasible; (3) Kings are accountable to God alone; (4) Non-resistance and Passive Obedience are enjoined by God. If we analyse the Islāmic theory of Divine Right from this point of view, it will be found

25. W. Hussain, *Theory of Sovereignty in Islam*, pp. 26-27.

26. See, for instance, Sura 6, verse 162, Sura 10, verse 14, and Sura 24, verse 55.

27. *Akhlāq-i-Jalālī*, translated by Thompson, pp. 377-378.

28. Some of the Turkish Sultāns and Mughal Emperors claimed even to be regarded as the 'Khalifah of his age'. For instances, see *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1919-20 and 1927-28, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1873, and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. For the theory underlying this claim, see Sir J. N. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 310-312.

Political Works of James I., Introduction, pp. 34, 37.

29. Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings*, pp. 5-6. Compare MacIlwain,

23. S. A. Cook, *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, pp. 211-212.

24. Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, Vol. I, 1935, No. 2, pp. 127-128.

that the conception of Muslim political thinkers closely approximated the western view on the subject. The Muslims were quite prepared to agree that Monarchy was a divinely ordained institution; we have seen that even Qu'rānic texts can be cited in favour of this doctrine. But the principle of hereditary succession, except in so far as it suited the needs of the moment or could be justified by the superior ability of the person in question, was never an active force in a Muslim state.³⁰ It is needless to refer to instances, for they will be found on almost every page in any work dealing with the history of Islām in and outside India.³¹ Might was right, and the support of the army or of the nobility was far more important than any abstract principle. Indeed, the merits of the hereditary principle were so much disparaged by the Muslims that even political theorists do not attach any importance to it. Every student of Medieval Indian history knows how disastrous a result was produced on the fortunes of the Muslim rulers of India by the non-recognition of this principle.³²

Again, the doctrine that Kings are accountable to God alone was not explicitly recognised by Muslim political thinkers, although to the mass of the faithful it was but an essential corollary of the Divine Origin of Monarchy. There is no doubt that no Muslim ruler was bound by law or custom to consider himself responsible to any other human being or any assembly of human beings.³³ He was irresponsible, except in so far as he seriously took into account his responsibility to the ruler of the universe. Finally, the doctrine of Passive Resistance was recognised by later Muslim writers and respected by the faithful so long as a ruler was strong enough to crush any rebellion. It is vain to refer to the theoretical right of the faithful to depose an unworthy ruler³⁴ or to point out that "History records instances" in which that right was actually exer-

30. "The Arabs had been accustomed to acknowledge no other authority than that of the ephemeral tribal chief whom they elected and deposed at will. Rarely, indeed, did the headship of an Arab tribe remain longer than four generations in one family. Foreign to the Arabs was the idea of an hereditary kingship." Von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, translated by S. Khuda Buksh, *Journal of the Moslem Institute*, January-March, 1907.

31. Of the fourteen rulers of the Ommeyade dynasty, only four had their sons as successors.

32. Compare the wars of succession during the Mughal period.

33. We are not speaking of the first four Khalifahs who owed their throne to the willing suffrage of the faithful.

34. Hussain, *Theory of Sovereignty in Islam*, p. 172.

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cised.³⁵ A modern Muslim writer³⁶ refuses to 'countenance' the theory of Divine Right if its exponents "mean to support the claim of unscrupulous and designing persons to the throne under the garb of religion, and justify their tyranny and wicked acts on the plea of the divine sanctity attached to their persons as god's vice-regent on the earth;" but History records countless instances in which the orthodox guardians of his faith followed the procedure which he abhors.

In this connection it may be worth while making a passing reference to the theory which conferred upon the faithful the right to elect the Khalifah. The very word '*Khalifah*' means a representative. During the time of the first four Khalifahs the Khilāfat was based on the elective principle. Speaking of the first two representatives of the Prophet, a distinguished writer³⁷ says, "Surrounded by no royal luxuries or court pageantry, they lived like other men of the tribe, and laid no special claim to any marks of honour. Every free-born Arab considered himself on a level of perfect equality with them. They ruled an unbounded kingdom and governed a very turbulent people, like the Arabs, who, from time immemorial, had been unaccustomed to discipline and authority. This they did by virtue of the religious consecration with which they were invested as the high-priest of Islam." The principle that the consent of the community was the only source of sovereignty was widely recognised. The right of electing the Khalifah belonged to the entire community. Sometimes, however, the election sank into a mere formality, and the divergence between theory and practice became more and more acute after the assassination of 'Ali, the fourth Khalifah. The elaborate speculations of later Muslim jurists regarding the importance of the principle of election and various details connected with it are no more important to the students of Islāmic history than the lingering

35. 'Ali, the fourth Khalifah, was deposed. (See Ameer Ali, *A Short History of the Saracens*, pp. 51-52.) It should be noticed, however, that even in this instance the deposition was not loyally accepted by the faithful, for we are told that "the parties separated, vowing undying vengeance". Of course Muawiyah's treachery was the immediate cause of this terrible vow; but the instance reveals the total inability of the Arabs to work any subtle constitutional system reconciling the rights of the king with those of the people.

36. Hussain, *Theory of Sovereignty in Islam*, p. 41.

37. Von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, translated by S. Khuda Buksh, *Journal of the Modern Institute*, January-March, 1907.

traces of Republicanism during the age of Augustus are to the students of Roman history.

So far as the case of the Muslim rulers of India is concerned, military force proved to be a more potent source of sovereignty than the doctrines of the 'ulamā. Theoretical speculations had very little influence on the rough Turkish soldiers who made themselves masters of India. They conquered the country by force, they maintained their authority by force, and they lost their position when they failed to command adequate force. All their followers—soldiers, poets and 'ulamā alike—understood the situation thoroughly well, and never cared or dared to investigate into the legal claims of their *de facto* master. When 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī successfully murdered his uncle and occupied the throne to which he had not a shadow of claim: either by divine or by human law, not only "the unthinking rabble," but the best minds of the day—the great poet, 'Amīr Khusrav, for instance³⁸—bowed down before the realities of the situation. And while we shed our tears for the old Sultān who was so basely struck by one whom he loved so much, it is necessary to remember that he himself had assassinated his master to get the throne.

IV

TURKISH RULERS OF INDIA AND THE KHILĀFAT

We have referred above to the continuity of Islām. Nowhere does this continuity appear more clearly—we may almost say, fantastically—as in the half-hearted loyalty of the Turkish rulers of India to the traditions of the Khilāfat.

By the thirteenth century the theory that the entire Islāmic world was united under the religious and political authority of the Khalifah had been transformed into an unreal but convenient legal fiction; and a huge majority of the faithful had transferred their allegiance to, and begun to read the *Khutbah*³⁹ in the name of,

38. *Khazāin-ul-Futūh*, British Museum Ms., Additional 16838, fol. 5b and 6.

39. "According to the best authorities, the name of the reigning Khalifah ought to be recited in the *Khutbah*; and the fact that it is not so recited in independent Muhammadan kingdoms, but the name of the Sultan or Amir is substituted for the Khalifah, has its significance". Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 277. *Khutbah* means the sermon delivered on Fridays at the time of zuhr (or meridian prayer). *Ibid*, p. 274.

Muhammadan princes who occupied an independent position. There were historical and geographical reasons which led to this disintegration of the Islāmic world, but into those details it is unnecessary for our present purpose to enter. The fall of the Ommeyyades in 750 A.C. was the precursor of the fate which was to fall upon the Khilāfat. As Muir remarks, "While the Umeiyad Caliphate, from first to last, was co-ordinate with the limits of Islam, this is no longer true of the Abbasid . . . Islam was . . . broken up into many fragments, not necessarily in any way dependent on the Caliphate, each with its separate history."⁴⁰ Spain became independent.⁴¹ Powerful autonomous kingdoms arose in Africa.⁴² The growth of a number of independent 'Minor Dynasties' in Irāq, Persia and Turkestan in the tenth century destroyed the power of Bāghdād in the East. Finally, Hulagu, a grandson of Jengiz Khān, took Bāghdād, and put the Khalifah to death in 1258 A.C.⁴³ "The Caliphate, long in hopeless decrepitude, had now disappeared, and there remained no possibility of its revival. But a shadow survived in Egypt,—a race of mock-Caliphs, having the name without the substance; a mere spectre as it were."⁴⁴ The uncle of the last Khalifah of Bāghdād went to Egypt, and was recognised by the Memluk Sultāns as a spiritual potentate. The succession of such Egyptian Khalifahs was maintained unbroken in the same line, until the last of them resigned his rights into the hands of Suleiman II, the Ottoman Sultān of Constantinople, towards the close of the first quarter of the sixteenth century.⁴⁵

Tradition, especially if it is intertwined with religion, dies hard. The Khalifahs lost political power, but they did not forfeit their spiritual prestige. No true believer could ever forget that it was to the successor of the Prophet that his allegiance was due. "He was the fountain-head of all political authority; kings and tribal chiefs were in theory subordinate to him, and his sanction alone could provide a legal basis for their power. The maddest of political adventurers would think many times before he directly defied the Caliph's authority".⁴⁶ This is why the Memluk Sultāns of

40. *The Caliphate*, p. 432.

41. Ameer Ali, *A Short History of the Saracens*, pp. 474-5.

42. *Ibid*, pp. 235, 240, 581, 589-593.

43. Muir, *The Caliphate*, pp. 591-2.

44. *Ibid*, p. 593.

45. *Ibid*, p. 596. Cf. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 264, and Arnold, *The Caliphate*, pp. 142-158.

46. Habib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, pp. 3-4.