

ART. IX.—*The Shahees dialect of Arabic.* By LT.-COLONEL A. S. G. JAYAKAR, I.M.S. (*Retired*), M.R.A.S.

(Communicated, April 1902.)

The most northern extremity of the province of 'Oman, which consists of an almost triangular tract of land having for its base an imaginary line drawn from the seaport town of Dabá on the shores of the Gulf of 'Oman to Galeel near Rás-ul-Kheimá on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and for its apex Rás Masandam, may be considered in a dialectical point of view specially apart from the Batineh coast of 'Oman on the one hand and the Pirate coast in the Persian Gulf on the other. This mountainous and rocky tract called the Roos-ul-Jibál is inhabited by several tribes which go under the generic name of ash-Shahóoh, and speak a dialect of Arabic so totally different from that of their close neighbours on either side, as to deserve more than a passing notice.

Some of these tribes, as will be observed from their names, were evidently originally offshoots from the 'Omanee tribes, but by their long-continued residence among the Shahóoh, have now become thoroughly incorporated with the original inhabitants of the place, so that though they still retain their original tribal names, the language they speak is the common dialect of the place, Palgrave speaks of the inhabitants of Roos-ul-Jibál in general as "a strange set," and says in regard to their dialect that his Arab associate and guide Yoosuf called it "Lissan-ot-tyyoor," "bird's speech."¹ This latter remark is more particularly applicable to the language of one small tribe included in the generic name of Shahóoh, which speaks in addition to the dialect common to the place a peculiar and unintelligible dialect of its own. The Kamázareh, which is the name of this tribe, live principally at Khaşab and Kamzár, and are ethnologically and dialectically distinct from the general Shahóoh group; and although the principal features of their dialect will be noticed at the end, the chief object of this paper is to show the main characteristics of the general Shahee dialect.

¹ Central and Eastern Arabia, Vol. II.

The Shaḥooḥ themselves claim to have descended from Málík bin Fahm, the first Azdee immigrant to 'Oman from Al-Yaman through Shaḥ bin Málík, as alleged by them, but history does not seem to favour such a claim, as Málík bin Fahm is not known to have had any son or direct descendant bearing a name which would give a clue to their tribal name. Sheikh 'Alee bin Muhammad, one of their learned men, however, on the strength of the general belief which obtains among them of their having originally come from Sabá (Shebá) in Al-Yaman, and of their being the descendants of a Málík, suggests that they are most probably the descendants of Shajeej (شجيج) bin 'Adeo bin Málík bin Zeid bin Sahl bin 'Amr Seifee bin Sabá the younger bin Ka'b, &c.¹, and that their name Shaḥooḥ (شحوح, *sin.j.* Shaḥee شحي) is most probably derived from Shaḥeeḥ, a corruption of Shajeej. This explanation, interesting as it is in a dialectical point of view, as an instance of the conversion of ج into ح, with the great tendency of the Shaḥee dialect, and for that matter to a certain extent of many of the modern dialects of Arabic, to an interchange of letters and abbreviation of words, appears to be a plausible one also, though it seems difficult to believe that the Shaḥooḥ could have thus abbreviated the name of their original ancestor from Shaḥeeḥ to Shaḥ by eliding the last syllable of it.

Whatever may have been their exact origin, there appears to be a strong presumption for the belief that they have descended from some of the original immigrants from Al-Yaman and that having been isolated in some manner from the 'Omanee and other surrounding tribes, they have retained in some respects the features of the dialect they brought with them, and in other respects developed features which are foreign to Arabic, perhaps through constant intercourse with the inhabitants of the Persian coast. It is, however, certain that the legendary explanation of their origin as given by themselves cannot be maintained in the case of the Kamázareh whose dialectical peculiarities and physical features betray a foreign origin.

As is the case with the 'Omanee tribes which are classed under the two great political factions — the Hináwee and Gáfree — the Shaḥooḥ are also divided into two great political divisions, — the

¹ According to the genealogy as given in Vol. II. of *العقد الفريد* of Shihab-ud-deen Ahmad al-Andalusee under the head of the genealogy of the Arabs.

Beni Shiteir and Beni Hidiyyeh. The following are the tribes at present included in the Shaḥooh group:—

Beni Shiteir.

Al-Kamázareh
 Beni Murreh
 Al-Kiyasheli
 Beni al-Aṣam
 Ahal Leemeh
 Al-Khanábileh
 Ahal Salḥad
 Al-Mahábeeb
 Al-Muḳádiḥeh
 Beni al-'Urwah
 Beni Jum'ah bin Sá'id
 Ahal Sh'am
 Aḍ Ḍahoorieen (in alliance with the Kamázareh)
 Ahal Makám (half)

Beni Hidiyyeh.

Beni Sa'eed
 Beni 'Alee
 Al-Khanázireh
 Beni Hamm* Sálím
 Al-Haboos
 Beni Judeid
 Ash-Shirádineh
 Beni Zubbah
 Beni Kamál
 Beni Hamm* 'Abeid
 Ahal Makám (half)

Of all these tribes, the tribe of Beni Sa'eed, though numerically a small one, consisting as it does now of only about thirty or forty men, is politically by far the most important one, as it is the only tribe believed to represent the original Shaḥooh, and therefore to possess the right of furnishing the general Sheikh for the Shaḥooh group.

* Hamm stands for Muḥammad in this dialect.

The principal places on the coast occupied by these tribes are Dabá, Leemeh, Kamzár, Khaṣab, Kadá, al-Jaree, al-Jádee, Bukhá, Faḍgá, Gamḍá, Teebát, Sha'm, Galeleh and Khore Khuweir.

The dialect of Arabic spoken by these tribes, as might be expected, has a strong affinity to the 'Ománee dialect, but both the alphabetical and etymological variations from it are so many that to enumerate them all would be beyond the scope of a paper of this kind. We shall therefore restrict ourselves to such of the prominent variations as give to the Shaḥee dialect its peculiar character and value.

As in the 'Ománee dialect the initial **ا** is sometimes altogether elided, but whilst in the 'Ománee dialect it is often substituted by either **و** or **هـ**, in this dialect the letter substituted for it is invariably **ف**, a characteristic of the Yamánee dialect; thus **أَيْنَ** (*where*) becomes **فَيْنَ** or **وَيْنَ** in the 'Ománee dialect and **فَيْنَ** in the Shaḥee dialect. The letter *hamzeh* sometimes becomes converted into **هـ** and itself and **ا** often serve as substitutes for **ع**, thus instead of **شُرُوبٌ**, (*a shower of rain*), **وَأَمِي** (*Om. awake*) and **بِعَجَلٍ** (*quickly*), we have **شُهْبُوبٌ** and **بَاجِلٌ**

The letter **ث** is invariably substituted by **ت**, thus **ثَوْبٌ** (*cloth*) **نُقِلَ** (*he pressed in this dialect*), **وَذِقَ** (*he closed in this dialect*) and **بُحَّتْ** (*he dug*) become **تَوْبٌ**, **نُقِلَ**, **وَذِقَ** and **بُحَّتْ**

The letters **ج**, **ح** and **خ** are interchangeable as in some other modern dialects of Arabic.

ذ often takes the place of **ز** and is sometimes substituted for **ز**, thus in **ذُكُولٌ** (*tame in this dialect*) the **ذ** evidently stands for **ز**, and in **أَبْرَقْدَحٌ** (*a rainbow in this dialect*) for **ز**.

The sound of the letter **ر** when medial or final is one of the most remarkable features of this dialect, showing as it does a great tendency to assimilating it to the sound of the letter **ڤ** in the Indian languages, which tendency reaches its acme in the Kamzárée dialect. Thus, the words **طُرْفٌ**, **خُبْرٌ**, **ضُرْبٌ** &c., are pronounced as if they were written as **طُڤْفٌ**, **خُبْڤٌ**, **ضُڤْبٌ** &c. As an initial letter it

takes the place of غ and ل in رِبْطَةٌ (Om. فِيطَةٌ = *mud*) and رُقْطُ (لُقْطُ = *he picked*); and in مُنْجَلٌ (a *cauldron*) the و evidently stands for the ر of the standard Arabic word مَوْجَلٌ.

The Beni Hamm 'Abeid invariably pronounce the letter ش as س, and the latter letter often takes the place of ص in this dialect.

Initial ع generally becomes ا and medial ع becomes ي, ا or hamzah; thus باَجَلٌ (*quickly*), أَمٌ (a *master* as of a slave), نَيْلٌ (a *shoe*) أَرْبَةُ (*four*), أَرْبَعَةٌ, نَعْلٌ, أَعْمٌ, بِبُجَلٌ, سَبْعَةٌ (*seven*), أَشْرَةٌ (*ten*), stand for عَشْرَةٌ and سَبْعَةٌ.

The letter غ is sometimes converted into ر or ل, as in رِبْطَةٌ or لِبْطَةٌ (*mud*), which is a corruption of فِيطَةٌ. It is sometimes altogether elided as in the imperfect tense of the verb بَغِيَ (he *wanted*); thus, هَوَمَاتَبَا (ho-má-tabá = *what do you want?*). It may, however, be here noted that the Shahee women generally pronounce the غ distinctly in expressions like the above one, and that it is mostly elided by the men.

The letter ي is sometimes converted into ج; thus, يَابِسٌ (*dry, arid*) becomes جَابِسٌ. In the 'Ománee dialect, on the contrary, ج sometimes becomes ي.

Beside these important alphabetical variations, the reader will be able to detect others of a minor importance in the vocabulary given at the end.

The etymological peculiarities of this dialect are numerous and often vary among the different tribes, so that it is difficult to deduce from them any rules which would include all of them. The most important variations from the standard and 'Ománee dialects only will therefore be here noticed, so as to give a general idea of the dialectical features.

The most remarkable variation as regards number is, that the dual number is often expressed by the plural form of the noun with

the word **تَيْن** (*two*) added to it, and that when the regular dual form is used the word **تَيْن** is still used with it ; thus, **تَيْنِ مَكْنِيْنِ** (*two knives*). Similarly the plural number is often preceded by the word **هَبْشِي** (*many, much*) or followed by **وَيِيْد** (*many, much*), which is evidently done to give emphasis to the sense ; thus, **هَبْشِي مَكْنِيْن** (*knives*), **قَلَامَة وَيِيْد** (*pens*).

The following are some of the forms of the broken plurals of trilateral nouns, both masculine and feminine, in common use :—

Singular.	Plural.	Plural measure.
طَحْف (a gale)	طَحْفِي	} فُعُول
لَحْم (a shark)	لَحْمِي	
مَعْرَقَة (a throat)	مَعْرَقِي	مَفَاعِل
حَبَة (a kiss)... ..	حَبُون	فَعْلَوْن
قَطْرَة (a cat)... ..	قَطْرِي	} فُعَل
نَدْبَة (a present)	نَدْبِي	
قَمَاطَة (a centipede)	قَمَاطِي	فُعَاعِيْل
مَسْقَب (a club)	مَسْقَبِي	مَفَاعِل
مَسْرَة (a courtyard)	مَسَارِي	فُعَال
صِدْبَة (a fastness)	صِدْبِي	فُعَل
بُنَايَة (a potter)	بُنَايَة	فُعَا لَة
تَوْب (a shirt)	تَوَابِي	} فُعَال
شَخْط (a lucifer-match)	شَخْطِي	
كَنْة (a sleeve)	كَنْانِي	فُعَال
جَفْرَة (a pit)... ..	جَفَارِي	فُعَال

The regular plurals of both the masculine and feminine nouns are formed in the usual way, but in the case of the latter there is a great tendency to treat them as irregular nouns.

The vowel of the Diminutive is invariably *kasrek* as in the 'Ománee dialect; thus, كَلْبٌ (a small dog), جَبَلٌ (a small mountain), &c. It may be here observed that a word indicative of the diminutive nature of the thing expressed is sometimes added, evidently for the sake of conveying a clear meaning as in the case of the dual and plural numbers, thus مَنِيْدُقٌ شِشْوَنٌ (a small box).

The separate personal pronouns are as follow, though their pronunciation differs a little amongst the different tribes:—

Singular.		Plural.	
3rd P.	{ Masc. هُوَ or هَا (hoh). { Fem. هِيَ (hey).	{ Com. gen. هُمْ or هِم	}
2nd P.	{ Masc. أَنْتَ { Fem. أَنْتِ or أَنْتَيْنِ	{ أَنْتُمْ or أَنْتَوْنَ { أَنْتِنَ	}
1st P.	Com. gen. أَنَا, أَوْأَا, or أَوْنُ	Com. gen. حَيْنِ	}

The dual is formed as in the case of nouns by the addition of the word ثَيْنٌ (two) to the plural number, thus أَنْتَوْنَ ثَيْنِ (you two).

The affixed possessive pronouns are the same as in standard Arabic, with a slight variation in their pronunciation, but in addition to them the separate pronouns are also used, as is sometimes the case in the 'Ománee dialect; thus كِتَابِيْ أَنَا (my book), كِتَابِكِ أَنْتَ (thy book) ' كِتَابُهُ هُوَ (his book), كِتَابُهَا هِيَ &c. The first personal plural affix, however, among some of the tribes is نُوْ; thus كِتَابُنُوْ حَيْنِ (our book).

The Demonstrative Pronouns are:—

Singular.		Plural.	
This	{ Masc. هَذَا, هَذُوْ or هَادُوْ { Fem. هَذِيْ	{ Com. gen. هَذَيْنَا or هَذَيْنُوْ	}

	<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
<i>That</i>	Masc. هَدُوْكَ or دُوْكَ	}	Com. gen. هَدِيْنَاك or هَدِيْوِيْك
	Fem. هَدِيْك		

The *Haḍar* generally substitute *ḍ* for *ḏ* in the demonstrative pronouns as in many other words containing the latter letter.

The Relative Pronoun is اَلْدِي, being the same in both the genders and both the numbers.

The Interrogative Pronoun *what* is expressed by هُوْم and *who* by مَن; thus هُوْم دُو (what is this ?)

The Cardinal numerals are :—

<i>One</i>	وَاحِي	<i>Seven</i>	سَبْعَة
<i>Two</i>	تَنِيْن or تَنِي	<i>Eight</i>	تَمَانِيْنَة
<i>Three</i>	ثَلَاث	<i>Nine</i>	تِسْعَة
<i>Four</i>	أَرْبَا or أَرْبَعَة	<i>Ten</i>	أَشْرَة
<i>Five</i>	خُمْس	<i>Eleven</i>	حَدَاشْر
<i>Six</i>	سِت	<i>Twenty</i>	إِشْرِيْن
		<i>Hundred</i>	إِمْدِيَة

The Ordinal numerals are expressed as رَابَا , ثَالْت , ثَانِي , حَادِي , خَامْس &c., &c.

The months of the year, with the exception of the four months Rabe'a al-Awwal, Rabe'a al-Ākhir, Jumáda-al-Awwal and Jumádá al-Ākhir, which together are called اَرْبَاةُ الْمَوَالِيْد, are the same as in standard Arabic. Rabe'a al-Awwal is called مَوْلُوْدُ الْاَوَّل or اَوَّل مَوْلُوْد, Rabe'a al-Ākhir مَوْلُوْدُ الثَّانِي or ثَانِي مَوْلُوْد, Jumádá al-Awwal رَابَا مَوْلُوْد or رَابَا مَوْلُوْدُ الثَّلَاث and Jumádá al-Ākhir رَابَا مَوْلُوْدُ الرَّابَا or مَوْلُوْدُ الرَّابَا. Ramaḍán is called either رَمْبَان or مَرْضَان

Considering the general nature of the dialect which varies even among the different tribes of which the Shaḥōoh group is composed, the variations to which the verb is subject in its inflexion ought not to excite any surprise. Although the model of inflexion is the same throughout the whole dialect, it is evident that two distinct forms known principally by the sound of the final vowel of the verb in the preterite tense can be recognised; for instance, in the third person plural the final *l* is not only omitted, but the consonant preceding the final *w* takes among some tribes a *fatheh*, and among others a *dammeh*; thus كُتِبُوا (they wrote) in the standard Arabic is either كُتِبُوا (katbaw) or كُتِبُو (katbu) in this dialect; so also in the second person plural both the standard form with the final syllable تُمْ and a form with تُونَ as the final syllable are used; thus, you wrote would be expressed either as كُتِبْتُمْ or كُتِبْتُونَ. In the first person plural, too, the final pronominal affix is either نَا or نٌ thus كُتِبْنَا or كُتِبْنَا (we wrote). Similarly in the first person singular the pronominal affix ت is either pronounced sharply or prolonged into تُو; thus كُتِبْتُ or كُتِبْتُو (katalto = I wrote). As the Shaḥōoh are in the habit of expressing the separate pronoun in addition to the pronominal affix, the distinction in sense between the first person singular with the sharp sound of ت and the second person singular is easily made out. The medial letter of a trilateral verb in the preterite generally bears a *fatheh*.

The vowel of the medial radical in the aorist in the case of regular trilateral verbs is mostly a *fatheh*, in which respect and also in regard to the vowel of the pronominal prefix, this dialect differs strongly from the 'Omānee dialect; thus يَضْرِبُ (he strikes), يَكْتُبُ (he writes) of the 'Omānee dialect are يَضْرِبُ and يَكْتُبُ in this dialect. In the 'Omānee dialect the vowel of the pronominal prefix is generally determined by the vowel of the medial radical, but this rule does not seem to hold good in this dialect, in which the pronominal prefix of the second person, sometimes in the singular number only and sometimes in both the numbers, takes a *kasreh*; thus يَكْتُبُ (he writes), تَكْتُبُ (thou writest), تَكْتُبِينَ (you write), يُجْلِسُ (he sits), تُجْلِسُ (thou sittest)

and *نَجِسُون* (*you sit*), would be in the 'Ománee dialect *نُكَب*, *نُكَب*, *نَجِسُو*, *نَجِسِ*, and *نَجِسِ*.

The vowel of the imperative in the case of trilateral verbs is mostly a *kasreh*; thus *اِكْتَب* (*write thou*) and *اِجْلِسِ* (*sit thou*). In the plural the final *l* is generally omitted and the *o*, which is then the final letter, takes the sound of *o* or *oo*; thus *ضَرَبُو* (*darbo* or *darboo* = *strikes ye*).

To illustrate these points, the following paradigms of the principal forms of verbs are here given, so that the reader may at a glance be able to notice the verbal peculiarities of this dialect:—

كُتِبَ (*he wrote*).

Preterite.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. <i>كُتِبَ</i>	<i>كُتِبَتْ</i>	{ <i>كُتِبُوا</i> (<i>katbo</i>) or <i>كُتِبُوا</i> (<i>katbaw</i>).
2nd P. <i>كُتِبْتَ</i>	<i>كُتِبْتِ</i> or <i>كُتِبْتِ</i>	<i>كُتِبْتُمْ</i> or <i>كُتِبْتُمْ</i>
Com. gender.		
1st P. <i>كُتِبْتُ</i> or <i>كُتِبْتُ</i>		<i>كُتِبْنَا</i> or <i>كُتِبْنَا</i>

Aorist.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. <i>يَكْتُبُ</i>	<i>تَكْتُبُ</i> or <i>تَكْتُبُ</i>	<i>يَكْتُبُونَ</i>
2nd P. <i>تَكْتُبُ</i>	<i>تَكْتُبِي</i> or <i>تَكْتُبِي</i>	
Com. gender.		
1st P. <i>اَكْتُبُ</i>		<i>اَكْتُبُ</i>

Imperative.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
2nd P. <i>اِكْتُبْ</i>	<i>اِكْتُبِي</i>	<i>اِكْتُبُوا</i> (<i>kitboo</i>) or <i>اِكْتُبُوا</i> (<i>kitbaw</i>).

رَكِبَ (he mounted).

Preterite.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>	
Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.	
3rd P. رَكِبَ	رَكِبَتْ	رَكِبُوا (rakbo) or رَكِبُوا (raklaw).	
2nd P. رَكِبْتَ	رَكِبْتِ or رَكِبْتِي	رَكِبْتُمْ or رَكِبْتُنَّ	
Com. gender.			
1st P. رَكِبْتُ		رَكِبْنَا or رَكِبْتُمْ	

Aorist.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. يَرَكِبُ	تَرَكِبُ	يَرَكِبُونَ
2nd P. تَرَكِبُ	تَرَكِبِينَ or تَرَكِبِي	تَرَكِبُونَ
Com. gender.		
1st P. أَرَكِبُ		أَرَكِبُ

Imperative.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
2nd P. ارْكَبْ	رَكِبِي	رَكِبُوا (rikboo) or رَكِبُوا (rikbaw).

جَلَسَ (he sat).

Preterite.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>	
Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.	
3rd P. جَلَسَ	جَلَسَتْ or جَلَسَتْ	جَلَسُوا (julso) or جَلَسُوا (jalsaw).	
2nd P. جَلَسْتَ	جَلَسْتِ or جَلَسْتِي	جَلَسْتُمْ or جَلَسْتُنَّ	
Com. gender.			
1st P. جَلَسْتُ		جَلَسْنَا or جَلَسْنَا	

Aorist.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. ^{نَجَسَ}	^{نَجَسَتْ}	^{نَجَسُوا}
2nd P. ^{نَجَسْتَ}	^{نَجَسْتِ} or ^{نَجَسْتِ}	^{نَجَسْتُمْ}
Com. gender.		
1st P. ^{أَجَسْتُ}		^{نَجَسْتُ}

Imperative.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
2nd P. ^{اجس} or ^{اجس}	^{اجسي}	^{اجسو} (<i>jilsoc</i>) or ^{اجسو} (<i>jilsaw</i>).
^{جس}		

^{رد} (*he returned*).

Preterite.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. ^{رد}	^{رَدَتْ}	^{رَدُوا} (<i>raddo</i>) or ^{رَدُوا} (<i>raddaw</i>).
2nd P. ^{رَدَيْتَ}	^{رَدَيْتِ} or ^{رَدَيْتِ}	^{رَدَيْتُمْ}
Com. gender.		
1st P. ^{رَدَيْتُ}		^{رَدِينَا} or ^{رَدِينَا}

Aorist.

Masc.	Fem.	
3rd P. ^{رَدَّ}	^{رَدَّتْ}	^{رَدُّوا}
2nd P. ^{رَدِّ}	^{رَدِّي} or ^{رَدِّي}	^{رَدُّوا}
Com. gender.		
1st P. ^{أَرَدْتُ}		^{رَدُّوا}

Imperative.

Masc.	Fem.	
2nd P. ^{رد}	^{ردِّي} or ^{ردِّي}	^{رَدُّوا} (<i>raddoo</i>) or ^{رَدُّوا} (<i>radduw</i>).

جِي (he came).

Preterite.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>	
Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.	
3rd P. جِي or جِي	جَت	جُو	
2nd P. جِيَت	جِيِنِي or جِيِنِي	جِيِنِيْم or جِيِنُون	
1st P.	جِيَت	جِيِنَا or جِيِن	
Com. gender.			

Aorist.

Masc.	Fem.	
3rd P. نَجِي	نَجِي	نَجُون
2nd P. نَجِي	نَجِيِن	نَجِيِنُون
1st P.	نَجِي	نَجِي
Com. gender.		

There being no imperative from the same root, the word نُؤِي or نُؤِي as a substitute for نُعَال is employed as such.

The following are some of the variations in the Particles, &c., in use :—

When? is expressed by مَتِي instead of مَتِي *Where?* is expressed by فِين instead of اَيْن *Why?* is expressed by لِم instead of لِمَا and also by لَوِيَش instead of لِيَش. *Also* is expressed by اَيْضَا and also by بَاد which evidently stands for بَعْد. كَل (each, every) is changed into كَل, and *here* is expressed by هُنُو, هُنُو, or نَرُو (اونا نرو = I am here) and *there* by هُنُو.

Able (to be)	فَلَانَ مَا يَتَقَبَّرُ. يَتَقَبَّرُ or يُعَبَّرُ. اَبَّرَ—عَبَّرَ
	فَلَانَ مَا يَتَقَبَّرُ = such a one is not able to work)
Afraid (to be)	زُحَّاقٌ — خُفِيفٌ
Allowance (pay)	فُرَيْضَةٌ pl. فُرَايِضُ ('Om. فُرَيْضَةٌ)
Also	بَادٌ (ا stands for ع).
Ankle	جَوَازِي pl. جَوَازَةٌ
Anus	تُقْبَةٌ pl. تَقَابٌ (ث for ت).
Aqueduct (small)	مَنْيَاتٌ pl. مَنِيٍّ
Arbitrate <i>v. i.</i>	يُسَلِّفُ aor. سَلَفٌ
Arbitrator	سَوَالِفٌ pl. سَالِفَةٌ
Arid (as land)	شَارَةٌ
Asleep	عَيْقَلٌ (This word is used only by some of the tribes, but the words most commonly used are نَيْعَاسٌ , غَافِي and نَيْمٌ)
	فَلَانَ عَيْقَلٌ لَا تُؤَكِّدُهُ = such a one is asleep, do not wake him up.
Auction <i>v. t.</i> (to sell by auction).	يُدَّالُّ aor. دَلَلٌ
Awake <i>ad.</i>	وَيْعَانٌ and وَاَعِي also وَاَيُّ
Awaken <i>v. t.</i>	وَيِّعُ also وَيُّ
Axe	طَبْرَةٌ pl. طَبْرٌ (P. تَبْرٌ)
Axe (Battle-)	جُرُوزٌ pl. جُرُزٌ (P. كُرُوزٌ)
Bad	بُوطِلٌ — بَاغِلٌ
Bag (purse)	صَرَّةٌ pl. صَوَارٌ
Baggage	أَوَيْدِيزٌ — حَوَايِجٌ ('Om.).

Ball (cannon) ... ..	... ..	... ..	بُلُولَة pl. بُلُول (ب for ج or rather گ - 'Om. جُولَة).
Barber ... ..	... ..	... ..	مُصَلَّة pl. مُصَلَّات
Bastard ... ..	... ..	... ..	بُغُول pl. بُغُول ('Om.), also بغل pl. بُغُول
Bat ... ..	... ..	... ..	خُرَافِيش pl. خُرَافِيش
Bathe <i>v. i.</i> ... ..	... ..	... ..	يُغَبِّرُ aor. فُبِرَّ
Beautiful ... ..	... ..	... ..	خَلِيقٌ — زِينٌ
Beckon <i>v. i.</i> .. ..	... ..	... ..	لَمَّا لَمَّا عَوْلِدِه — لَمَّا = he beckoned to me.
Bedstead ... ..	... ..	... ..	شِبْرِيَّة ('Om.) — صَرِير pl. صَرِير (س for ص)
Bet <i>v.</i> ... ..	... ..	... ..	بُزَامَط aor. يَأْشِي — زَامَط aor. يَزَامَط
Bet <i>n.</i> ... ..	... ..	... ..	اِمَ اشَات (used both as sing. and pl.) — زَمَطَة pl. زَمَطَات
Big ... ..	... ..	... ..	كَبِير — اُود ('Om. ا for ع).
Blister <i>n.</i> ... ..	... ..	... ..	شِكَاكِي pl. شِكَاكَات
Blotted (stained) ... ..	... ..	... ..	صِي
Body of troops ... ..	... ..	... ..	حُشُود pl. حُشُود
Boil <i>v. t.</i> ... ..	... ..	... ..	يُحَرُّ aor. نُور — ث for ت)
Boon (a gift as from a sultan).	... ..	... ..	شُفَايِي pl. شُفَايَات and شُفَايَة
Boulders ... ..	... ..	... ..	تَلَارِيح (There is no sing. from the same root, the sing. being مَلُوق and حجر)
Brackish (highly) ... ..	... ..	... ..	مَأْأَق — أَق = brackish water.
Brackish (slightly) ... ..	... ..	... ..	زَوِيل
Brain ... ..	... ..	... ..	مِخْ

Brass	شِبِي (ي for ة)
Brazier... ..	مَوَاقِدُ pl. مَوَاقِدُ — هُنَادِيَج pl. هُنَادِيَج
Breakfast.	فُؤَيْلَات pl. فُؤَيْل
Breast	سُدَان pl. سُدَس
Broom	مُجَفَّات pl. مُجَفَّات
Button	فَسَمَات pl. فَسَمَات
Button-hole.	زُرُر pl. زُرُر
Calf (of the leg).	لُبَابِيِن pl. لُبَابَانَه
Call, v. t.	فَلَان — يَزَاقُ aor. — يَصِيحُ aor. صَاح فَلَان = such a one calls me. يَزَاقُنِي فَلَان = such a one is invited or called. مَصْصِيُوحُ لَهُ
Camel (young male).	حُشْوُون pl. حُشْوُون or حُشْوِين
„ („ female).	حُشْوَات pl. حُشْوَات
Cup	قُحْفَانِي pl. قُحْفَانِي
Case (covering for a book).	بُكَائِيِن pl. بُكَائِيِن
Case (covering for a gun)	مَلَابِس pl. لَبِيَة
Cask... ..	بِدْبِيَة pl. بِيْب
Cat	قُطُو pl. قُطُوَة
Cataract (disease)	سُرُقُوْت pl. سُرُقُوْت
Cauldron	مَنَاجِل pl. مَنَاجِل (ن for ر)
Cavern	سُرُوْت pl. سُرُوْت and سُرُوْت
Centipede	قُمَامِيْط pl. قُمَامِيْط

Cheek	...	...	خُر pl. خُرَار (ر for د)
Chicken	...	...	صَفَاصُوف pl. صَفَاصِيف
Choke, <i>v.</i> (with a solid thing.)			أَزْدَنْط
Choke, <i>v.</i> (with a liquid)			إِسْتَرْف
Close, <i>v. t.</i> (shut)	...	...	وَقَّفُ الْبَيْب. (ث for ت) يُوَقِّقُ aor. وَتَّقُ close the door.
Club	...	...	مَقَبْ pl. مَقَابْ ('Om. قَب).
Collide, <i>v. i.</i>	...	...	دُمًّا — دَمَع
Collision	...	...	مُدَا مَعَة pl. مَدَا مَعَة ('Om. مَدَا مَعَة).
Commander	...	...	مَدَارِب pl. مَدَارُوب
Confusion	...	...	غَبَة
Corner	...	...	رُقْدَة pl. رُقُود (ق for ك and د for ن).
Counterfeit	...	...	بَاطِل
Court-yard	...	...	مَوَابِط pl. مَوَابِط and مَسَار pl. مَسَارَة (س for ص).
Coward...	...	...	جُبُونِين pl. جُبُون
Cradle	...	...	مَنَازَة pl. مَنَازَة
„ (made of midribs of palm leaves).			شَيْبَة pl. شَيْبَة
Crowd, <i>v. i.</i>	...	...	الذِّيس مَمْتَرَضِين — تَقْوُض (تَقْوُض crowded.)
Crowd, <i>n.</i>	...	...	قَرُوض pl. قَرُوض
Cultivator (gardener)	...	...	خُدَيْدِيم pl. خُدَيْدِيم — بِيَادِير pl. بِيَادَار
Deep	...	...	غَزِير ('Om. غَزِير)

Descend	...	...	يَسْقُطُ aor. يَقْطُمُ — يَقْطُمُ aor. يَقْطُمُ
Desert, n	...	...	سَبِيح (س for ب) pl. بِيَّوح — مَبِيح ('Om.)
Dig	...	...	بُحْت (ث for ت)
Dirt	...	...	مَيْتَة
Dirty	...	...	قُزْز — مَي
Donkey	...	...	حُمُور pl. حُمَيْر. also مَعْصِرِي ('Om.)
Drive, v. t.	...	...	نَقَد
Drunkard	...	...	دَوَّاح and دَوَّحَان
Effects (furniture, &c.)	...	...	أَوْبِيْز pl. آزَة — حُمَال
Elude, v. t.	...	...	يُغَاوِز aor. فَاوِز
Embrace, v. t.	...	...	يُحَبِّبُ aor. يَحْبُّ — يَصَارِعُ aor. صَارِع
Embrace, n.	...	...	مُحَبَّبَة
Empty	...	...	خَلِي
Expedition (military)	...	...	مَيْرَة
Explode, v. t.	...	...	يَقُور (ث for ت) aor. نَار
Extinguish	...	...	قَتَلَ
Fade	...	...	ضَمِر
Fæces	...	...	حُرَّان (خ for ح)
Fall, v. t.	...	...	يَطُقُ aor. طَقَّ
Famine	...	...	فَلِي
Fastness (stronghold)	...	...	مَيْبَة pl. مَيْبَة
Fear, v. t.	...	...	زَحَق
Fill, v. t.	...	...	يَزُخُ aor. زَخَّ

Fish (small)	بوت (coll.) (This name is applied to all the smaller kinds of fish excepting the sardine, which is called زِينِبُ.) ح for ب
Flay, v. t. (to skin) ...	صَلَح (ص for س and ح for خ).
Flee, v. i. (to run away)	فُض = فلان فيض — such a one has run away.
Flower, n.	برم (col. noun). شَجَرَةٌ بَيْرِيَّةٌ = a tree in flower.
Fold, n. (a pen for goats, &c.)	زُرْب pl. زُرُوب
Fox	تَالِب pl. تَالِيب (ت for ث and ا for ع)
Frog	شَقْرَدِخ (coll.)
Furniture	اَوِيْبِز — سِيْمَان
Gag, v. t.	فَلَع
Gale	عُحْف pl. عُحُوف
Gecko	تَابُوت pl. تَابَات (تَابُوت) (م. تَابُوت) pl. تَابُوت
Girdle	حِزَامَات pl. حِزَامَةٌ
Go, v. t.	يَلْعِي aor. يَلْعِي
Goat	غَلْم (coll. ل for ن) — شَيْه (no pl. from this root)
Gradually	بُصَارَةٌ
Grinder (tooth) ...	لُهَى pl. لُهَةٌ
Gum (of the tooth) ...	أُحُورُ الضَّرُوس pl. أُمُورُ الضَّرُوس
Hastily... ..	نُوهُ بَأْجَل — بَأْجَل
Hide, v. t.	كَمَل (ل for ن)
Hold, v. t.	دَبِش

Hollow	نَفَخَ — (ف for خ) مَجْرُوحٌ
„ (in the head, having no brains).	بَنْبُورٌ
Infant	شَوْشِينِي pl. شَوْشِين — شَتُونِين pl. شَتُون
	(‘Om. تَتُون)
Inquire... ..	دَوَّرَ
Instalment	تُرُوم pl. تُرُوم
Invite	يُصَيِّحُ ل. صَاحُ ل.
Joke, v. i.	فَلَان يَنْكَشِرُ لَكَ — نَكَشِرُ = Such a one jokes with you.)
Jump, v. i.	حَوَّلَ — قَحَصَ (the latter is more a Bada-wee word).
Kernel	لَبْوَةٌ
Kiss, v. t.	حَبَّ
„ (another's hand)	حَابِب (‘Om. خَابِر)
„ (a woman)	قَبَّلَ
Kiss, n.	حَبَّون pl. حَبَّة
Knuckle (of a finger)	كُؤُوب مَال صَوَابِلَه pl. كُؤَب مَال صَبْلَه (hamzeh for ع)
Languid (from fever, &c.).	صَتَكَمَلٌ
Last night	لَيْلَةُ أَمْسٍ
Lizard	حَلَك (pronounced as <i>halack</i>) pl. حَلَكَات
Loan	اِبْرَات pl. اِبْرَات (ا for ع)
Lobster... ..	خَيْلُ الْبَحْرِ
Low (opposite of high)	هَادِي

Lurk	تَكَمَّلَ
Man	رَجَالٌ ('Om.) pl. رِجَالٌ — أَوْدَامٌ pl. أَوْدَامٌ
Many	وَيْدٌ — قَوْضٌ — هُبْشِي
Master (as of a slave) ...	أَمٌ pl. أُمُومِيَّةٌ (ا for ع)
Mat (made of grass) ...	حَصِيرٌ pl. حَصِيرٌ
„ (made of date-palm leaves).	فُرُوشٌ pl. فُرُوشٌ
„ (small)	سَجَادَةٌ pl. سَجَائِدٌ (A small mat, even though not intended for praying upon, is so named).
Match, n. (lucifer) ...	شَخَاطٌ pl. شَخَاطٌ
Milk	صَرِيحٌ — حَائِبٌ
„ (sour)	مُحَضٌّ
„ (freshly curdled)	رُتِي (Prepared by milking fresh milk over sour milk.)
„ (curd)	رُوبٌ
Mortar (iron, for pounding).	رَشِيدٌ — رَشِيدَةٌ pl. رِشَادٌ — مَنَاحِيزٌ pl. مَنَاحِيزٌ
	pl. مَرَاشِيدٌ
„ (wooden „ „)	مَوَاكَا — مَوَاكَا pl. مَوَاكِلَةٌ — مَوَاكِلَةٌ
„ (large, wooden)	جَوَانَةٌ and جَوَانَاتٌ pl. جَوَانٌ
Moss	خُلٌّ
Mouse (rat)	أَضَلٌ pl. أُضَالَةٌ (ا for ع)
Mouth	مُضَاحِكٌ pl. مَضْحَكٌ — حَلُوقٌ pl. حَلُوقٌ
	(the latter is a Badawee word.)

Move, <i>v. i.</i> (aside, out of the way).	...	...	إندحر
Much ... ..	...	...	حَوْبَة — هَبْشِي (the latter is Badawee.)
Mud (clean) ... ..	...	...	غَيْل pl. فَيْلَة
„ (dirty) ... ..	...	...	رَيْط pl. رَيْطَة
Naked ... ..	...	...	أَبْرَد — صَلَّح
Neutral ... ..	...	...	طَائِع بَيْنَ الْخَصْمَيْنِ
Nipple ... ..	...	...	تَوَام pl. تَوَامَة
Noise (low) ... ..	...	...	هُورَة
„ (loud) ... ..	...	...	عَيْبَة
Nonsense ... ..	...	...	خُرُط خُرُط
Nothing ... ..	...	...	شَيْلَو
Opacity (of the eye) ... ..	...	...	طَيْرَة
Open, <i>v. t.</i> ... ..	...	...	هَدَّ — هَدَّ — هَدَّ — هَدَّ = open the door.
Oyster (of the pearl-shell).	...	...	بَابِل
Pass, <i>v. i.</i> ... ..	...	...	طَأَى
Pebbles.. ... ..	...	...	دَحَى — بَطَّح (the latter word is applied to very small pebbles.)
Penis ... ..	...	...	زَبَّ pl. زَبَّوب and زَبَّأ
Pestle (iron) ... ..	...	...	رَشَادَات pl. رَشَاد
„ (stone) ... ..	...	...	سَفَانَا pl. سَفْن
Pick, <i>v. t.</i> ... ..	...	...	رُكَّط (ل for ر)
Picnic ... ..	...	...	نَطْمُوشَة — جُشْت
Plaster, <i>v. t.</i> (as a wall)	...	...	يُرَاغ aor. رَاغ

Plaster, <i>n.</i> (of a wall) ...	رَوَّان — رَوَّان
„ (medicinal) ...	حُرْقَة (ح for ل)
Plough	هَيْسَ pl. هَيْسَات ('Om.)
Pod	قَب pl. قُبُوب
Potter	بَنَّا pl. بَنِي and بَنَايَة
Prawn	رَبَّان (coll.)
Prepare, <i>v. t.</i>	زَهَب
Present, <i>n.</i>	نَدَب pl. نَدَابَة
Pull down, <i>v. t.</i> (to demolish).	هَدَم — نَقَف — دَمُور
Pull off, <i>v. t.</i> (as clothes)	صَلَح — صَلَح
Rainbow	ابوقدح — نقصيح
Ripe	بَالِغ
Room (space)	نُسم
Room, to make	نُسم
Ronnd	كُورِيَاة
Row, <i>n.</i> (disturbance) ...	جُولَة — هِدَجَة
Sand (on the sea-beach)	دَارِج
„ (mixed with pebbles in a valley).	دَحِي
Savage	فَارِي
Shallow	ضَاحِي — غَافِي
Shark	لُخَام and لُخُوم pl. لُخَم
Shave, <i>v. t.</i>	صَلَع — Badawee word صَلَا
Shirt (male)	قَمِيص — ثَوَاب and ثَوِيْب pl. ثَوِب
	قَمِص and قَمِصَان

Shirt (female) ...	...	...	قَنَادِيرُ pl. قَنَادِيرَةٌ
Shoe (male) ...	...	...	نُكْلَةٌ pl. نُكْلٌ
„ (female) ...	...	...	مُدَسَةٌ pl. مَدَسٌ — مَدَسٌ pl. مَدَسَةٌ
Show, <i>v. t.</i> ...	...	...	رَدَى
„ <i>v. t.</i> (to point out)	...	...	خَبَرَ
Shower (light) ...	...	...	شُهَابِيْبٌ pl. شُهَابِيْبٌ
„ (heavy) ...	...	...	خُرَيْفَاتٌ pl. خُرَيْفٌ
Sickle ...	...	...	دَسٌ (pronounced as <i>dose</i>) — داس — pl. of both دِيْسَانٌ
Sleeve ...	...	...	قَنَانٌ pl. قَنَانٌ — Badawee word كَنَانٌ pl. كَنَانٌ
Solid ..	...	...	صَمٌ — صَمَطٌ
Soot ...	...	...	سَمَرٌ — سَمَرٌ
Spacious ...	...	...	سَدِيمٌ
Sparrow ...	...	...	صَفَاصِيْفٌ pl. صَفَاصِيْفٌ (the same word is used for a chicken).
Spoon ...	...	...	كُفَشٌ pl. كُفَشَةٌ — كُفَشَةٌ pl. كُفَشَةٌ
Stare (angrily)	...	...	بَلَّقَ بِالْعَدْنِ
Stick, <i>v. i.</i> (as a thing in the throat).	...	...	شَارٌ
Stick <i>n.</i> (walking, with a curved handle).	...	...	عُكْفٌ pl. عُكْفَةٌ — اُكْفٌ pl. اُكْفَةٌ
Stife, <i>v. t.</i> ...	...	...	يَزْنُطُ aor. زَنْطٌ
Stir, <i>v. t.</i> (as fire) ...	...	...	حَيَّ
Stout ...	...	...	أَقَارٌ pl. أَقِيرٌ or عَقِيرٌ
Strike <i>n. t.</i> ...	...	...	ضَرَبٌ
„ <i>v. t.</i> (with a stick).	...	...	لَفَحٌ

Stumble, <i>v. i.</i> ...	...	اُنْقَرُ and اُعْتَرُ — اِنْكَبْ
„ „ ...	...	اُتْرَةٌ and عُقْرَةٌ — كَيْبَةٌ
Sugar-cane ...	...	قَلَامُ سَكَّرِ pl. قَلَامَةٌ سَكَّرَ (the word is also pronounced as if spelt with ك)
Sugar-candy ...	...	تُبَات (P. ت for ن)
Sweat, <i>n.</i> (from heat) ...	...	حَرٌّ
„ „ (from fever) .	...	ارْقٌ and عَوْقٌ
Sweep, <i>v. t.</i> ...	...	جَتَّ
Sweepings ...	...	خُمَامٌ
Swing ...	...	مَرَّاجِيحِينَ pl. مَرَّجَانَةٌ
Tame ...	...	دَاوُل (د for ذ)
Tassel ...	...	رِيَشٌ pl. رِيَشَةٌ
Tendril ...	...	خَبُوطٌ pl. خَبِيطٌ
Thick ...	...	أَقْبِرٌ — مُقْبِرٌ
Throw, <i>v. t.</i> ...	...	يُقَيِسُ aor. قَيْسٌ
Tighten ...	...	صَمَّتْ
Tool ...	...	عُدَّةٌ pl. عُدَدٌ also عُدِيدٌ — also اُدَّةٌ pl. اُدَدٌ and اُدِيدٌ
Turbid ...	...	مُنْقَلَعٌ — قَلَعٌ
Vagina ...	...	مَكْوَاتٌ pl. مَكْوَةٌ also مَكْوَةٌ — اَمِيَّتٌ pl. اَمَاتٌ
Wait ...	...	سُوقِنِي — اَوْقِنِي) — سُوقِي — وَقَفْ (for me.)
Whisper ...	...	فَجْرَةٌ

Widow	...	..	تُرْكَة pl. تُرْك
Wonder	...	...	إِدِيه — إِيه
Zigzag	...	...	مَلْتَاَح — مَلْتَحِيَس

Children's Language.

Although the Shahee and 'Ománee dialects differ from each other in so many respects, it is remarkable that after making a due allowance for the orthographical charges, a striking similarity is found to exist in the language of children in the two dialects.

Bad	...	..	أَخ	Fire	...	...	طَش
Beat, v. t.	...	...	نَح	Fish	...	...	بِج
Broad	...	...	بَدِي	Fowl	...	..	تَيْتَه
Breast	...	...	دَيْدِي	Goat	...	...	أَمْبَاع
Brother	...	...	دَادَة	Hot	...	...	طَش
Camel	..	...	عَنْ عَن	Leave (off), v. t.	...	...	كَبَح
Cat	...	...	أَوِيَه	Meat	...	...	بِج
Clothes	...	...	بُوْبُو	Mother	..	...	مَامَاة
Come, v. i.	...	...	تُرَة	Old woman	..	...	حَيَوَة
Cow	...	...	أَجُوَح	Pain, v. ...	...	...	وَأَوَة
Dog	...	...	وَج	Pretty	...	...	أَح
Donkey	...	...	أَش	Sleep, v. i.	...	...	هَوَا
Fall, v. i.	...	...	وَة	Water	...	...	أَمْبُوَة
Father	...	...	بَابَاة				

A Note on the Kamázaree Dialect.

Although the Kamázareh as a tribe are included in the Shaḥooh group, the language they make use of among themselves is so distinctly different from the Shaḥee dialect of Arabic, as to require here a special though superficial notice. The men in particular are generally conversant with the latter dialect which many of them make use of for inter-tribal communications, but the language they speak among themselves and in their domestic circles, has distinctive features of its own. This is as might be expected from the fact of the Kamázareh being ethnologically quite distinct from the other tribes constituting the general Shaḥooh group. Whilst the Shaḥee dialect is essentially based on Arabic, and is in some respects allied to the dialect of 'Omán, the preponderating element in the Kamázaree dialect is of a non-semitic nature.

It would of course be beyond the scope of the present paper to deal with it in any but a very superficial manner, for beside being totally different from the Shaḥee dialect, it has hardly any connection with Arabic. A few of its conspicuous points and a small vocabulary would easily enable the reader to judge for himself the nature of the language on which it is based.

There is ample evidence in the general features and vocabulary of the dialect, to show that the Kamázareh or at least the main portion of that tribe must have originally come over from the opposite or Persian coast, and this conclusion can be upheld notwithstanding the fact that there exists among them a sub-tribe that claims to have immigrated from al-Bahreïn, which is quite possible on the assumption that the latter immigrated at a later date and were numerically so weak, as to become in time thoroughly incorporated with the previous immigrants and to lose all traces of their language. The Kamázareh are divided into three sub-tribes,—Beni 'Alee Zeid, the origin of which it is very difficult to trace, Beni 'Alee Hasan who claim to have descended from 'Abdullah bin Awd al-Mannáee and to have immigrated from Manán'eah in al-Bahreïn, and al-Mahádiyeh who admit having originally come from a place called Biyábool near Mináw on the Persian coast. The last one is considered to be the Baloochee branch of the tribe, and appears to be the one which has contributed mainly in forming the dialect.

As regards the origin of the name of the tribe, in the absence of any positive information, it is only fair to suppose that it is derived from the name of the place where the original immigrants settled on their arrival in the Shahsooh country, which assumption is also warranted by the fact, that the subsequent additions to the tribe became incorporated with it under the same name.

Although the majority of the words, as may be seen from the list here given, are evidently of Persian origin, the influence of the Baloochee language, which itself is supposed to be derived from the old Persian, must not be overlooked, particularly as the main portion of the Kamázareh came from a tract which may be looked upon as the border-land between the Persian and Makrán coasts.

One of the great peculiarities of the Shahsee dialect, namely, the tendency to pronounce the medial and final ر as a letter having the pronunciation of ذ is accentuated in the Kamzáree dialect which seems to have adopted it irrespective of the language from which the word is derived; thus اذذب (for A. رطب = *fresh ripe dates*), and حذما (for P. خرما = *preserved dates*). This rule, however, does not seem to apply to all words, for in سارو from Persian (*heal*) and نخوت from Arabic (*nose*), the original sound of ر is retained, whilst in some words the medial د also takes the sound of ذ as in دودی from Persian (*smoke*).

Another great peculiarity of the dialect is that many of the nouns end in a quiescent و with the sound of o as in the English word *go*; thus, بردو (a wall), ليدو (a road), كوشو (a shoe), &c. Some nouns, however, end in a quiescent ي with the sound of ai; thus, دودی (smoke), جملي (a camel), &c., but the quiescent ي is heard oftener at the end of adjectives than nouns; thus: ومني (asleep), شرم بوسي (ashamed). The cardinal numeral adjectives also end in quiescent ي up to fifty after which 3 takes the place of ي, as will be seen from the following table:—

One	اٲٲٲٲ	Twenty	بٲٲٲٲ
Two	دوٲٲٲ	Thirty	سٲٲٲٲ
Three	سٲٲٲٲ	Forty	چٲٲٲٲٲ
Four	چارٲٲٲ	Fifty	پٲٲٲٲٲ
Five	پٲٲٲٲٲ	Sixty	شٲٲٲٲٲ
Six	شٲٲٲٲٲ	Seventy	هٲٲٲٲٲ
Seven	هٲٲٲٲٲ	Eighty	هٲٲٲٲٲٲ
Eight	عٲٲٲٲٲ	Ninety	نٲٲٲٲٲ
Nine	نٲٲٲٲٲ	Hundred	مٲٲٲٲٲ
Ten	دٲٲٲٲٲ	Two hundred	دوٲٲٲٲٲٲ
Eleven	پازدٲٲٲٲٲ	Three hundred	سٲٲٲٲٲٲ
Twelve	دوازدٲٲٲٲٲ	Thousand	هزارٲٲٲٲٲ

The Personal Pronouns are :—

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
First P.	أٲٲٲٲ	أٲٲٲٲ
Second P.	أٲٲٲٲ	أٲٲٲٲ
Third P.	أٲٲٲٲ	أٲٲٲٲ

The days of the week are :—

Saturday	سبٲٲٲ	Wednesday	چار شٲبٲر
Sunday	وحد	Thursday	پانچ شٲبٲر
Monday	دوشٲبٲر	Friday	جٲات
Tuesday	شٲشٲبٲر		

In the following list of words A. stands for Arabic, B. for Baloochee and P. for Persian :—

Abandon... ..	ایا کا گرد — ویلی	Bat	حَنَقِش — A.
	ویل = Leave off this paper.	Beard	رَشْو — ریشی — P.
Able	صالح رایی صیدہ — رایی	Beautiful	جوانی — P.
	= Salih is able to lift it.	Belly	شکم — P.
Ablution... ..	چند خول چول چودم	Big	گدیبی — P. B.
Abuse	دوشین صالح — دشمن	Bite v.	خای — P.
	دشمن = Salih	Branch	رکنی
	abused me yesterday.	Breakfast	ناشنا — P.
Accompany	حمد رفوہ — رفوہ	Breast	پفانی — P.
	حمد = H a m a d accompanied Salih	Bring (imp.)	بیار — P.
Accurate (correct)	سراستی — P.	Butter	زبد — A.
Afraid	ترسیسی — P.	Butter (clarified).	روغن — P.
Always	هر روزی — P.	Camel	جمالی — A.
Ashamed	شرم بوسی — P.	Cap	کلیی — P.
Asleep	وسنی — P.	Cat	گربگو — P. B.
Awake	مائی	Cheek	خشی — A.
Bad	بنچی	Chest	سینو — P.
Bag	کیسی — A.	Child	بچک — B.
Basket (small)	زنبیلو — P. A.	Clean	پاک — P.
„ (large)	عنداوز	Cloud	نم — P.
		Colour	رنگ — P.

Come (<i>imp.</i>) ...	١٠٠ بِدُو—P.	Hand	دَمْت—P.
Date (fresh fruit.)	١٠١ اَدْتَب—A.	Head	سَارُو—P.
„ (preserved fruit)	١٠٢ حَدَمَا—P.	Heel	اَكْرُوْب—A.
Date-palm ..	١٠٣ مَكُو—P.	Hole	خَيْقَة—A.
Dirt	١٠٤ چَدَم—P.	Inside	اِنْدَد—P.
Dog	١٠٥ سَرُكُو—P.	Knife	كَارْدُو—P.
Donkey	١٠٦ خَد—P.	Lip	لُو—P.
Door	١٠٧ دُورُو—P.	Man	مَرْدُكُو—P.
Drink <i>v.</i>	١٠٨ خُور—P.	Many	خَبِيَاي—P.
Dry	١٠٩ اَشْكِي—P.	Month	مَآي—P.
Ear	١١٠ كُوشُو—P.	Moon	مَيْدَاو—P.
Eat <i>v.</i>	١١١ خُور—P.	Mustache	شُرْبِيْن—A.
Egg	١١٢ خَايَك—B. P.	Nail (finger)	نَخْنُو—P.
Empty	١١٣ رِيْزُك—P.	Neck	گُردَن—P.
Eye	١١٤ چَمُو—P.	Nose	نَحْرَت—A.
Eye-brow	١١٥ خُجْب—A.	Nostril	خَيْقَة—A.
Finger	١١٦ لَنْكَت—P.	Pot (earthen)	دُوْگُو—P.
Flower	١١٧ پُوْکُو—P.	„ (Metallic)	کُزَالِي—P.
Fool	١١٨ دَنْبِي—P.	Razor	سَتْرُگُو—P.
Foot	١١٩ پَاو—P.	Red	سَرخُو—سَرخُن—P.
Forehead ..	١٢٠ مَدَدُوَة—P.	Road	نَيْدُو—P.
Fowl	١٢١ مَرُوِي—P.	Sail	وَزَارُو—A.
Fox	١٢٢ رِيْوَاو—P.	Shave (<i>v.</i>)	مَآن—P.
Hair	١٢٣ مُوءَة—P.	Ship	جِهَاز—P.

Shirt ...	خَانِي	Tooth ...	دَانُو pl-دَانَان—P.
Shoe ...	كُوشُو—P.	Tree ...	شَدْرِيَنُو—A.
Shoulder ...	كَامِر—P.	Understand ...	دَانِي—P.
Skin ...	پُوسَمُو—P.	Vessel (sailing, small).	دَادَرُو
Slave (male) ...	زَنُكُو—P.	Waist-wrapper ...	جَامِخ—P.
„ (female) ...	زَنُكُو زَنُكُو—P.	Wall ...	بُرْدُو
Sleep (n.) ...	خُومُو—P.	Water ...	هَآو—P.
Smoke (n.) ...	دُودِي—P.	Wave ...	بُرْمُو
Snake ...	سَارُو—P.	Well ...	چُورُو
Steamer ...	جِهَاز دُودِيَنُو—P.	Went ...	رَفَت—P.
Stone ...	بَدَدُو—P.	White ...	سَبِيذِي—P.
Stout ...	سُتْرِي—P.	Whole (all) ...	سَهْمُو—P.
Strong ...	صَحْبِي—P.	Wind ...	كُولُو
Sun ...	اِنْدَاقُو—P.	Window ...	دَرِخُو—P.
Thigh ...	فَخْت—A.	Wise ...	دَانَا—P.
Thorn ...	خَارُو	Woman ...	زَنُكُو—P.
To-day ...	اِيْذِي رُوزُو—P.	Year ...	سَالُو—P.
To-morrow ...	نُورَا صَابَاح—P. & A.	Yesterday ...	دُودِيَنِي—B.
Tongue ...	زُرُوَان—P.		

ART. X.—*The Coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat.*

By REV. GEO. P. TAYLOR, M.A., D.D.

[Communicated, May 1902.]

- I.—Historical Setting.
 II.—Chronological List of the Sultāns of Gujarāt (with notes).
 III.—Genealogical Table of the Sultāns of Gujarāt (with notes).
 IV.—Literature on the Coinage of the Gujarāt Saltānat.
 V.—Cabinets of the Coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat.
 VI.—Mint-towns.
 VII.—Weights and Standards.
 VIII.—“Cumulative” Coin-legends.
 IX.—Catalogue of the Coins on Plates I—VI.

I.—HISTORICAL SETTING.

Authorities for the History of the Gujarāt Saltānat, A.H. 806-980 ; A.D. 1403-1573.

1. The *Tārīkh i Firishṭa* by Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh, surnamed *Firishṭa*, circa A.D. 1606-1611; translated by Lieut.-Col. John Briggs, 4 vols., A.D. 1829.

2. The *Mir'āt i Sikandarī* by Sikandar bin Muḥammad, A.D. 1611; translated in Sir E. Clive Bayley's *History of Gujarāt*, A.D. 1886.*

3. The *Mir'āt i Aḥmadī* by 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, A.D. 1756-1761;

- (a) translated in James Bird's *History of Gujarāt*, A. D. 1835,
 (b) also translated in Sir E. Clive Bayley's *History of Gujarāt*, A.D. 1886.

4. The *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part I., A.D. 1896, containing the *History of Gujarāt, Musalmān Period*, by Colonel J. W. Watson.

Throughout this article the following abbreviations will be employed:—

Br.-F. = Briggs's *Firishṭa*; Ba.-S = Bayley's *Mir'āt i Sikandarī*;

Bi.-A. = Bird's *Mir'āt i Aḥmadī*; Ba.-A = Bayley's *Mir'āt i Aḥmadī*;

*A copy of the recently published complete translation of the *Mir'āt i Sikandarī* by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi reached me too late to be of service in the preparation of this article.

W.-B.G. = Watson's History of Gujarāt in the Bombay Gazetteer.

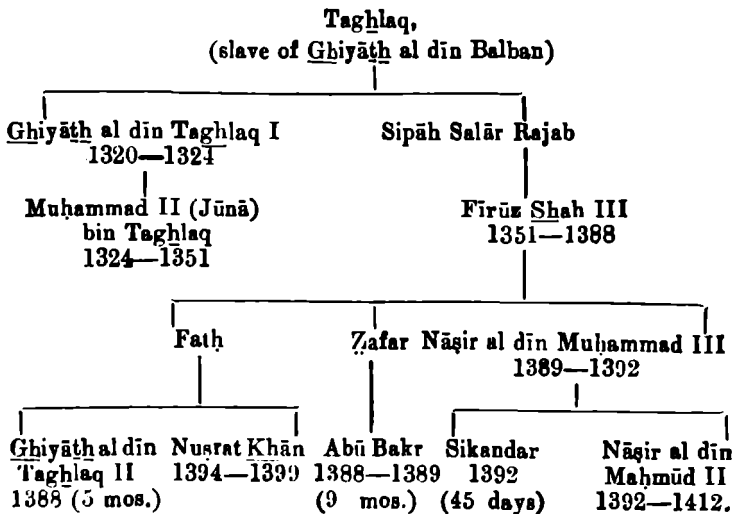
A flavour of romance attaches to the history that has come down to us of the father of the founder of the Gujarāt Salṭanat. In the days of the eccentric Sulṭān of Dehli, Muḥammad bin Taghlaq (A.H. 725-752 ; A.D. 1324-1351), his cousin Firūz, while on a hunting expedition in the Khedā district of Gujarāt, wandered from his attendants and lost his way. Wearied with the chase, he turned his horse at eventide in the direction of the village of Thāsrā,* and on the stranger's arrival there the village headmen, two brothers of the Tānka family of Rājputa, Sādhū and Sadhāran by name, cordially invited him to partake of their hospitality. Soon an ample board was spread, and Sādhū's sister, a maiden "peerless in beauty and loveliness," filling a goblet, presented it to the unknown guest. He received the vessel from her hand with a pleasure he was at no pains to conceal. After he had quaffed three cups, "the rosebud of his disposition unfolded," and now the talk grew confidential. The stranger ere long revealed himself to be the Sulṭān's cousin and his acknowledged heir. Sādhū straightway gave his sister, "more lovely than a hūrī of light," in nikāḥ marriage to the prince, and thereafter the two brothers, linking their fortunes with his, accompanied him to Dehli, the capital of the kingdom. It was not long before both of them, in the phrase of Sikandar bin Muḥammad, "obtained the honour of Islām," and on this change of his faith Sadhāran received the title of Wajī' al Mulk, "the Support of the State." With the proselyte's proverbial zeal, the brothers became disciples of a much revered Muslim saint,† and soon gained a high reputation for piety. Of Zafar Khān, the more famous son of Wajī' al Mulk, it is related that this saint, in return for a timely kindness, promised him prophetically the whole country of Gujarāt, and later, giving him a handful of dates, said, "Zafar Khān, thy seed like unto these in number shall rule over Gujarāt." The historian adds, "Some say there were twelve, some thirteen dates, others say eleven: God knows which story is true."

* Some historians are of opinion that the scene of this incident lay not at Thāsrā in Gujarāt, but at Thānesar in the Sirhind division of the Panjāb.

† This saint was known as Quṭb al aqṭāb Ḥadrat Makhdūm i Jabāniyān, 'the pole-star of pole-stars, His Highness the Lord of Mortals.' As the quṭb al aqṭāb, he was held to have attained that supreme stage of sanctity wherein is reflected the heart of the Prophet himself.

The death of the Sultān Muḥammad bin Taghlaq was in keeping with a life marked by projects magnificent in conception but abortive, at times ludicrously abortive, in achievement. In 1351 he set off from Gujarāt in order to chastise Lower Sindh for harbouring insurgents. Though accompanied by an army "as numerous as a swarm of ants or locusts," he did not live to annihilate the refractory Sūmra Rājput̄s of Thatta, but himself died on the banks of the Indus from fever induced by a surfeit of fish. The Sultān had left no son,* but Firūz, his cousin and legatee, on the third day ascended the throne, and for the next thirty-seven years swayed, and on the whole beneficently, the destinies, of the Empire. Z̄afar Khān and his brother Shams Khān, as nephews of the queen, were now advanced to high honours, and to them were entrusted the responsible duties pertaining to the office of Chief Butler, 'ōhda i sharābdārī. On the death of Firūz Shāh in 1388, a grandson, Ghiyāth al dīn Taghlaq Shāh II, succeeding to the Saltānat, spent his brief reign of five months in an unbroken round of debauchery. Another grandson, Abū Bakr, next held the throne for some nine months, at the end of which time he was deposed by the late

* The following Genealogical Table shows the relationship of the Taghlaqid Sultāns of Dehli :—



Firūz Shāh's son, Nāṣir al dīn Muḥammad Shāh III, who for the three years 1389-1392 managed to retain the sovereign power. It was during the reign of this Sultān, Muḥammad III., that Z̄afar Khān was appointed to the viceroyalty of Gujārāt. Ugly rumours had reached the Court that the then viceroy, Mufarrēh Sultānī, more commonly known by his title of Farḥut al Mulk Rāstī Khān, had been encouraging the Hindū religion, so as to gain the goodwill of the populace, and by their aid establish a kingdom of Gujārāt entirely independent of the paramount power at Dehlī. Accordingly in 1391 the Sultān Muḥammad selected Z̄afar Khān, the son, it will be remembered, of Sadbāran, the zealous apostate from Hindūism, for the viceroyalty, in supersession of Mufarrēh Khān. The governor-designate had a royal send-off. Firīḡhta records that he was given the title of Muẓaffar Khān and honoured with a dress of instalment. He was further presented with the white canopy and scarlet pavilion "such as are exclusively used by kings" — a fitting presage of Z̄afar's future assumption of regal power. Mufarrēh gave battle to Z̄afar at the village of Kāmbhū in the district of Anhilwāḍa Pattan, but the unruly ruler (Nāẓim be-nīẓām) was slain, and Z̄afar, to commemorate his victory, founded on the site of the battle the town of Jītpur. Thereafter the whole of Gujārāt acknowledged his authority, and under his strong administration the country prospered.

But very different ran the course of affairs at the seat of the Empire. On the death of Muḥammad III. in 1392, his son Sikandar succeeded to the throne, but suddenly died after a reign of only five and forty days. In the resultant confusion, his brother Nāṣir al dīn Maḥmūd II. was chosen king by one faction of the nobles, and a cousin Nuḡrat Khān by a rival faction. For many years thereafter the kingdom was sore distracted by internal strife. War between the claimants was still proceeding when Timūr Lang, the lame Timūr (Tamerlane), crossing the Indus, led the hordes of Tartary on that terrible invasion which for a time converted Hindūstān into shambles. It was in 1398 that he marched rapidly upon Dehlī, on his way thither slaughtering in cold blood the hundred thousand captives in his camp; and early in 1399, after defeating Maḥmūd at Firūzābād, he entered the capital. For five days the ill-fated city was given over to pillage, the conqueror feasting, while his brutal soldiery in the general and indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants perpetrated indescribable atrocities.

The Sultān Maḥmūd II., however, had effected an escape, and eventually, after many wanderings in remote parts of his dominions, arrived a fugitive before the gates of Paṭṭan. Zafar Khān at once went out to meet him, and escorted him to the palace with every mark of honour. The Sultān had hoped to secure Zafar Khān's alliance and march immediately upon Dehli, where Nuṣrat Khān was still a source of danger. Zafar, however, did not think this enterprise advisable, so the Sultān, aggrieved, departed for Mālṡā. Here, too, he was doomed to disappointment, but, having in the meantime heard that his wazir Iqbāl Khān had expelled the rival ruler Nuṣrat, Maḥmūd returned to Dehli in 1402—"a very shadow of a king." His authority extended to only a few districts beyond the city walls, and even that only because his wazir amiably bestowed on him countenance and protection.

The utter anarchy that now reigned in Hindūstān naturally issued in the dismemberment of the Empire. Embracing twenty-three provinces, all held in full subjection by Muḥammad bin Taghlaq in the early part of his reign, it became from the very number of its satrapies essentially incoherent. After the catastrophe of Timūr's invasion, several independent kingdoms were carved out of the dominions of Dehli, and the Empire was thus despoiled of its fairest provinces. How large a number became at this time independent under their several governors, all of whom styled themselves 'kings,' is shown in the following list, quoted in Thomas' "Chronicles of the Paṭhān Kings of Dehli" from the Tārīkh i Mubārak Shāhī MS.

Zafar Khān ...	... Gujarāt.
Khizr Khān...	... Multān, Daibalpūr, Sindh.
Maḥmūd Khān	... Mahobah, Kālpī,
Khwājah i Jahān	... Kanauj, Oudh, Karrah, Dalamau, Sundalah, Bahraich, Bahār, Jaunpūr.
Dilāwar Khān	... Dhār (Mālṡā).
Ghālib Khān	... Samānah.
Shams Khān	... Biāna.

Strange to relate, not Zafar Khān himself but his son was the first to assume an independent authority over Gujarāt. This son, by name Tātār Khān, had, on his father's departure as viceroy-designate of Gujarāt, been detained in Dehli, not improbably as a pledge for the father's fidelity. In the disorders that followed upon the death

of Sulṭān Muḥammad III (A. D. 1392), Tātār Khān, as well as others of the more ambitious nobles, aspired to the imperial throne, and thus came into collision with the powerful wazīr Iqbāl Khān. Tātār was, however, worsted in this unequal struggle, and found safety only in flight to Gujarāt, where on his arrival his father accorded him a gracious reception. But Tātār harboured in his heart an ardent desire for revenge on Iqbāl Khān, and frequently sought to win his father over to his own ambitious designs. Z̄afar Khān, however, was not to be moved from the conviction that any attempt on Dehlī would be fraught with disaster. From the various conflicting accounts it is difficult to ascertain what precisely was the subsequent course of events, but the version favoured by several writers is that Tātār, finding his father thus intractable, basely had him seized and placed in confinement in the village of Asāwal, near the site of the future city of Aḥmadābād. He next won over to himself the army and the chief Government officials. Thus secure, he at once assumed royal rank, and, setting up a throne, made himself king with a title variously given as Nāṣir al dunyā wa al din, Muḥammad Shāh or Gh̄iyāth al dunyā wa al din Muḥammad Shāh. This *coup d'état* would seem to have been struck in the year 1403 (A. H. 806). The imprisoned Z̄afar Khān, however, through one of his confidants, and afterwards by a letter secretly conveyed, prevailed upon his brother, Shams Khān, whom Tātār had appointed wazīr, to devise measures for his release. Accordingly one night, when Tātār with his army, in furtherance of his long-cherished design, was already on the march towards Dehlī, Shams Khān administered poison to his nephew, who thus, little more than two months after his accession to the throne, "drank the draught of death, and went to the city of non-existence." Liberated from his prison, Z̄afar Khān, with the cordial concurrence of the nobles, now resumed the governorship. He did not, however, affect a royal style or dignity, but, on the contrary, he seems to have found the cares of office so burdensome that he desired to demit them to his brother and himself retire into private life. Shams Khān, however, refused the proffered honour, and Z̄afar Khān was then content to nominate as his successor his grandson, Aḥmad Khān, son of the late Sulṭān Muḥammad, a youth then but fourteen years of age. Some three uneventful years passed away before Z̄afar was finally constrained to accept the rôle of an independent sovereign. The circumstances

under which this change was effected, a change so fraught with consequence for Gujarāt, are thus recorded in the *Mir'āt i Sikandari*.

“ When the striking of coin and supreme authority were no longer exercised by the House of Dehlī, the nobles and officers represented to Zafar Khān, at an auspicious time and favourable moment, that the government of the country of Gujarāt could not be maintained without the signs and manifestation of kingly authority. No one was capable of wielding regal power but himself : he was, therefore, indicated by public opinion as the person who ought, for the maintenance of Muḥammadan religion and tradition, to unfold the royal umbrella over his head, and to delight the eyes of those who longed for that beautiful display. In compliance with this requisition in the year H. 810 (A. D. 1407), three years and seven months after the death of Sultān Muḥammad, the victorious Zafar Khān raised the umbrella of royalty, and took to himself the title of Muẓaffar Shāh at Birpur ” (Ba.-S. pp. 83, 84). The *laqab*, or surname, adopted on his acceptance of the throne was *Shams al dunyā wa al dīn*, ‘ the Sun of the World and of the Faith.’

The three years of Muẓaffar's reign witnessed no events of general interest, being occupied mainly with a successful expedition against Dhār (Mālwa), and another “ against the infidels of Kambh-Kot.” To aid his former master, the Sultān Maḥmūd, he marched an army towards Dehlī, thus preventing the meditated attack on that city by Sultān Ibrāhīm of Jaunpūr.

“ As commonly reported and believed,” Muẓaffar's death took place under the following tragic circumstances. Some Kolis near Asāwal having risen in rebellion, Aḥmad Khān was placed in command of an army to quell the insurrection. After completing a single march from Pattan, he convened an assembly of divines, learned in the law, to whom he propounded the question, ‘ If one person kills the father of another unjustly, ought the son of the murdered man to exact retribution ?’ All replied in the affirmative, and gave in their answers in writing. Armed with this authoritative decision, Aḥmad suddenly returned with the troops to Pattan, there overpowered his grandfather, and forthwith handed him a cup of poison to drink. The old King in mild remonstrance exclaimed, ‘ Why so hasty my boy ? A little patience, and power would have come to you of itself, for all I

have is intended for you.' After words of advice to punish the evil counsellors who had plotted this nefarious scheme and to abstain from wine, "for such abstinence is proper for kings," the Sultān Muḡaffar Shāh raised to his lips and drained the bitter cup of death. Remorse for this unnatural crime is said to have so embittered Aḡmad's after-life that, like our own King Henry I., he was never known to smile again.

It is true that some historians state that in the fourth year of his reign Sultān Muḡaffar, falling ill, abdicated in favour of his grandson Aḡmad, but that the disease did not terminate fatally till five months and sixteen days later. The circumstantial and detailed narrative of Sikandar can, however, hardly be a fabrication pure and simple, whereas a Muḡammadan historian, writing of a Muḡammadan king eminent for orthodoxy, would be sore tempted to suppress the record of a deed so infamous. The scrupulous observance of religious ritual that marked the after-years of Aḡmad's life finds perhaps its best explanation in the assumption that, profoundly penitent, he was seeking thus to expiate his terrible crime. In the Jāmē' Masjid of Aḡmadābād is still shown in the Royal Gallery—the Mulūk Khāna — a low dais with its marble surface worn away by Aḡmad's feet, attesting his so frequent prayer-prostrations. Tradition also tells that his home-life was severely simple, his personal expenses being restricted to the sum received from the sale of caps made by his own hands. It is further significant that his after-death title is Khudāyagān i Maghfūr, 'The Great Lord forgiven,' thus betokening that "Allah the Pitiful, moved by the prayer of forty believers, had spread his forgiveness over the crime of Aḡmad's youth." (W.-B. G. p. 240.)

On his grandfather's death Aḡmad succeeded to the throne with the title of Nāṣir al duniyā wa al dīn Abu'l Faḡh Aḡmad Shāh. Though thus the third Sultān of the dynasty, his long and brilliant reign of thirty-three years (A. H. 813-846 ; A.D. 1410-1443), his introduction of an admirable system of civil and military administration, his successful expeditions against Jūnāgaḡh, Chāmpānīr, Īdar, and Mālḡā, his building of Aḡmadābād as his capital, all combined in the process of years to invest him with eponymic honours, so that from him the Saltānat is known to-day by the name of Aḡmad Shāhī. He may with justice be held the virtual founder of that dynasty "which was to maintain in Guḡarāt for nearly two hundred years

a sway brilliant in its military enterprises and in the architecture with which it adorned its capital, but precarious, ever disputed at lavish cost in blood and treasure, and never effectually established throughout the province."*

Having now traced in some detail the rise of the Gujārāt Salṭānat, it will suffice for the purpose of this article to indicate little more than the succession of rulers till the close of the dynasty in 1573. Two events, however, in Aḥmad's reign demand special notice by reason of their connexion with the coins of the period, to wit, the founding of the two cities named after the Sultān himself, Aḥmadābād and Aḥmadnagar (Īdar). According to the Mir'āt i Aḥmadī it was in the year H. 813 (A. D. 1411) that Aḥmad Shāh, having received "the assent and leave of that Moon of the Faithful and Sun of the Righteous, Shaikh Aḥmad Ganj Bakhsh," began to build and establish the Shahr i Mu'azzam, 'the Great City,' Aḥmadābād, in the immediate vicinity of Asāwal. The Sultān had always professed himself partial to the air and soil of that town, but tradition assigns two further reasons for the founding of the city on its present site. Asāwal was the hold of the famous robber chieftain Asā Bhīl, whose daughter's charms and beauty had won the heart of Aḥmad Shāh. Then, too, at this spot, while the King was one day hunting, a hare had turned on the hounds and fiercely assailed them. To commemorate a courage so phenomenal, Aḥmad desired a city should be built, and among the local peasantry the saying still is heard, "When a hare attacked a dog, the king founded the city." It is on record that the four boundaries of the city were lined out by four Aḥmads who had never missed the afternoon prayer (zōhr). The first was that Pole-Star of Shaikhs and Holy Men, the Shaikh Aḥmad Khaṭṭu Ganj Bakhsh; the second the king himself; the third another Shaikh Aḥmad; and the fourth a Mullā Aḥmad; these last two being high-born connexions of the Sultān. The city walls, some six miles in circumference, formed a semicircle facing the river Sābarmatī and frowning down on it in imposing ramparts, fifty feet high. Sir Theodore Hope has thus graphically pictured the wonderful development of the work then begun. "In three years the city was sufficiently advanced for habitation, but the great buildings rose only by degrees, and for upwards of a century the work of population and adornment was carried on with unremitting energy, till archi-

* Hope and Fergusson's *Architecture of Aḥmadābād*, p. 26.

itecture could proceed no further, having satisfied the æsthetic and social wants of above two millions of souls. For materials the finest edifices of Anhilwāḍa, Chandrāvati, and other cities were ruthlessly plundered; but their delicate sculptures appear with few exceptions to have been scornfully thrown into walls and foundations, where they are now constantly found, while for their own works the conquerors resorted to the sand-stone quarries of Aḥmadnagar and Dhrāṅgadra, or the marble hills of the Ajmīr district. As to style it was the singular fortune of the Muḥammadans to find themselves among a people their equals in conception, their superiors in execution, and whose tastes had been refined by centuries of cultivation. While moulding them, they were moulded by them, and, though insisting on the bold features of their own minaret and pointed arch, they were fain to borrow the pillared hall, the delicate traceries and rich surface ornaments of their despised and prostrate foe."* In Aḥmad's own reign the chief buildings erected were, in addition to the triple gateway and the walls surrounding the city and the inner citadel (Bhadra), the Jām' Masjid or Cathedral Mosque, the Sulṭān's private chapel, and the mosques of Haibat Khān, Saiyid 'Ālam, Malik 'Ālam, and Sidī Saiyid, the last with glorious windows of pierced stone. With so noble a city as his creation, it is not without reason that historians have delighted to link with Aḥmad's name the proud title of Bānī Aḥmadābād, 'Founder of Aḥmadābād.'

The chief of Īdar long proved a troublesome neighbour to Aḥmad Shāh, who on more than one occasion led an army against that State, only to find that its ruler had retired to the safe covert of its hills. To overawe the Rāv Pūnjā, and permanently check his movements, Aḥmad constructed, eighteen miles south-west of Īdar, on the banks of the Hāthmatī River, a fort, and to the city that sprang up round it he gave the name of Aḥmadnagar. So beautiful is the natural scenery of that district—maiden-hair fern still grows in rich profusion beside the river's limpid waters—that no visitor to the spot to-day will feel surprised that Aḥmad made choice of it for a residence, and thought for a time of transferring thither the headquarters of Government. The date of the founding of Aḥmadnagar is given by Firishṭa as H. 829, but by Sikandar as H. 830. Frequently have I come across coins from the Aḥmadnagar mint

* Hope and Ferguson's Architecture of Aḥmadābād, pp. 27, 28.

bearing as date of issue the later year (compare Plate I, Nos. 4, 5, 6); but it was a special pleasure to receive a few months ago from my friend Mr. Frānījī Jāmaspji Thānāwālā of Bombay the present of a copper coin of Aḥmad's from this mint, dated quite clearly H. 829.

On his death in H. 846, Aḥmad was succeeded on the throne by his son Muḥammad Shāh (II), who, taking the title of Ghiyāth al duniyā wa al dīn, 'Aid of the World and of the Faith,' reigned during the next nine years. Some of the coins struck by this king were, as we shall afterwards see, of an unusual type (Plate I, 8a, 8b), but the events of his reign do not merit special record. The mildness of his disposition, contrasting with his father's forceful character, gained him the appellation of Karīm, 'Merciful'; while his lavish liberality procured him the epithet Zar Bakhsh, 'the Gold-giver.' Sikandar writes, "He gave himself up to pleasure and ease, and had no care for the affairs of Government, or rather the capacity of his understanding did not attain unto the lofty heights of the concerns of State" (Ba.-S. p. 129). When Mahmūd Khaljī advanced with a large army to annex Gujarāt to his own kingdom, of Mālwā, Sultān Muḥammad with a craven timidity took to flight, whereupon the Gujarāt officers, "feeling for their character," compassed his destruction. According to one account, at their instance the Sultān's queen herself administered poison to him (Br.-F. IV. 36); whereas, according to another, it was his son and successor Jalāl Khān who "dropped the medicine of death into the cup of the Sultān's life" (Ba.-S. p. 134).

Jalāl Khān, on his accession to the throne, assumed the title and style of Quṭb al duniyā wa al dīn Aḥmad Shāh II, 'the Pole-star of the world and of the Faith.' Over this reign also, extending from H. 855 to 863, we need not linger. The Mālwā Sultān was defeated near Kapaḍwanj, and later on in the reign tribute was exacted from the Rāpā of Chitor. His personal valour gained this Aḥmad the appellation of Ghāzī, or Champion of the Faith, but he was of a violent and capricious temper, and frequently abandoned himself to disgraceful debauches. When angry, or under the influence of liquor, he was absolutely reckless as to the shedding of blood. A terrible tragedy attended his sudden death. A rumour spread that his wife had poisoned him at the instance of her father, who hoped thus to clear a path for himself to the throne. The Sultān's mother,

giving credence to this story, handed the unsuspecting queen over to the vengeance of her eunuchs, who literally tore her in pieces, and the nobles of the court killed her father. Ere long, however, ample evidence was forthcoming to establish the absolute innocence of the murdered father and daughter.

The next occupant of the throne was Dā'ūd Shāh, uncle of the preceding king, and brother of *his* predecessor, Muḥammad II. He had hardly assumed the sovereign power when he ennobled one of the common sweepers of the household. This and "other acts of imbecility" led to his deposition after a reign of only seven days. He sought refuge in the friendly shelter of a monastery, and there spent the short remainder of his life.

His successor, Maḥmūd Shāh, was by far the most celebrated of all the kings of this dynasty, and the prosperity of the kingdom culminated during his glorious reign of over half a century (A. H. 863-917, A. D. 1458-1511). As in the history of the Saltānat it is his figure that bulks largest, and round him most of glory gathers, so also in the numismatic record of the dynasty, it is his coins that are of all the most abundant and distinctly the most beautiful. In the Aḥmadābād bāzār more silver and copper coins of his reign are met with to-day than those of all the other Gujarāt Sulṭāns together, and of the entire series his are almost the only Maḥmūdīs that can be justly termed effective expressions of the engraver's art. The Muḥammadan historians verge on rhapsody in their high eulogies of Maḥmūd and all his works. "He added glory and lustre to the Kingdom of Gujarāt, and was the best of all the Gujarāt Kings, including all who preceded and all who succeeded him, and whether for abounding justice and generosity, for success in religious war, and for the diffusion of the laws of Islām and of Musalmāns, for soundness of judgment, alike in boyhood, in manhood and in old age, for power, for valour, and victory—he was a pattern of excellence" (Ba.-S. p. 161). To this day the glory of his name lives enshrined in native tradition throughout the whole of India as a pious Musalmān and model sovereign. He was eminently successful not in military operations alone, but also in civil administration, and sought to secure to his subjects the sweets of peace. The Mir'āt i Aḥmadī records that he "built several magnificent caravansarais and lodging-houses for travellers, and founded several colleges and mosques. . . . All the fruit-trees in the open country, as

well as those in the city, towns, and villages, were planted in the reign of this Sultān" (Bi.-A. p. 205). With all his many excellencies, however, Maḥmūd had at least one quality which must have rendered him as a companion disgusting—no milder adjective will do. He was a huge glutton. His daily allowance of food was one Gujarāti *man* in weight, i.e., 41 lbs. On his retiring to rest, a confection of rice would be placed on either side of his bed, so that, awaking at whatever hour, he might stretch forth his hand and eat. His "little breakfast" consisted of a hundred and fifty plantains, with a cup of honey and another of butter. Uneasy in his consciousness of an appetite transgressing all decent bounds, he often used to say, 'If God had not raised Maḥmūd to the throne of Gujarāt, who would have satisfied his hunger?' Nor, according to the stories of early European travellers, was his diet limited to rice and plantains and honey and butter. "Every day he eats poison," so wrote Ludovico di Varthema* in 1510, and then he proceeds to record how this poison had so saturated Maḥmūd's system that his spittle was fatal to any upon whom His Majesty might choose to eject it. Duarte Barbosa, who visited Gujarāt shortly after Maḥmūd's death, states that the Sultān was brought up from a child, and nourished, with poison. "This king began to eat it in such a small quantity that it could not do him any harm, and from that he went on increasing this kind of food in such manner that he could eat a great quantity of it; for which cause he became so poisonous that if a fly settled on his hand, it swelled and immediately fell dead."† From such travellers' tales as these Maḥmūd gained in Europe an unenviable notoriety as the Blue Beard of Indian History, and it is to him that Butler referred in the well-known lines from *Hudibras*,

"The Prince of Cambay's daily food

Is asp and basilisk and toad" (Part II., Canto I).

This "Prince of Cambay" was but thirteen years of age when called to the throne, and even thus early he showed his mettle in the fearless suppression of a conspiracy designed to effect the downfall of the chief minister 'Imād al mulk. Quiver on back and bow in

* The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, Hakluyt Society Reprint, page 109.

† A Description of the Coasts of East India and Malabar, by Duarte Barbosa, Hakluyt Society Reprint, page 57.

hand, the young king, attended by only three hundred horsemen, marched from his palace in the Bhadra to oppose the rebel force, assembled in far superior numbers. Having first secured the various approaches to the palace, he gave orders that his elephants, some five hundred in number, should charge all at once. Panic seized the enemy. Their soldiers cast away their arms, and slunk into hiding in the neighbouring houses, while the amīrs fled precipitately from the city. A detailed account of the reign of Maḥmūd, or of his successes in the Deccan and Kāthiāwād and Sindh would here be out of place. We need for our present purpose only narrate his founding of the two mint-towns of Muṣṭafābād and Muḥammadābād.

In H. 871 (A. D. 1466) Maḥmūd made an expedition against the Maṇḍalik Rājā, or petty king, of Gīrnār, a district in the south-west of Kāthiāwād. On this occasion the Rā'o tendered his submission, whereupon Maḥmūd withdrew his troops to Gujarāt. The next year, however, information was received that the Rā'o Maṇḍalik had visited a "temple of idolatry," taking with him all the insignia of royalty. Maḥmūd, accordingly, determined to humble the pride of this infidel ruler. His capital was forthwith invested, and its inhabitants were reduced to the utmost straits. In H. 874 the fort of Gīrnār, considered one of the strongest in all India, surrendered to this Gujarāt Sultān, and the Rājā accepted the faith of Islām. Firishṭa adds that Maḥmūd, "being desirous that the tenets of Islām should be propagated throughout the country of Gīrnār, caused a city to be built, which he called Muṣṭafābād, for the purpose of establishing an honorable residence for the venerable personages of the Muḥammadan religion deputed to disseminate its principles. Maḥmūd Shāh also took up his residence in that city" (Br.-F. IV. 56).

Fifteen years elapsed before the founding of the second mint-town, Muḥammadābād, in H. 889 (A. D. 1484). During a season of scarcity one of Sultān Maḥmūd's captains, raiding in Chāmpānīr territory, was attacked, defeated, and slain by Rāwāl Jayasingh. Thereupon Maḥmūd, refusing all arbitrament except 'the sword and the dagger,' marched with a large army against Chāmpānīr by way of Baroda. The siege of the hill-fort was protracted for more than a year, but Maḥmūd, in token of his fixed resolution not to leave till the fort should be taken, laid in his military lines the foundations of a beautiful mosque. At length finding resistance unavailing, the Rāwāl consigned to the flames the women of his household and all

his valuables, and then sallied forth in a fierce charge. Wounded, he fell into the hands of the Sulṭān, but, unlike the Maṇḍalik Rājā, he declined to embrace Islām, and bravely paid the forfeit of his life. On the fall of the fort, Maḥmūd changed the name of the city to Muḥammadābād. This name is correctly given in the Mir'āt i Sikandari (Ba.-S. p. 211) and in the Mō'āṣir (Blochmann's translation of the Āin-i Akbari, I. 507, note). Firishṭā, however, states, "During the time the king was detained by the sick and wounded at Chāmpānīr, he laid the foundation of the city of Maḥmūdābād." (Br.-F. IV. 70); but in at least nine subsequent references to this same place Firishṭā himself calls it Muḥammadābād-Chāmpānīr.* Discussion on this point, however, is practically foreclosed by the evidence of the beautiful coin No. 34 on Plate III., the margin of which reads not Maḥmūdābād, but very clearly Muḥammadābād 'urf Chāmpānīr. Maḥmūd did found a city named after himself Maḥmūdābād, but this was situated not in the vicinity of Chāmpānīr, but on the bank of the River Wātrak, eighteen miles south-east of Aḥmadābād. It is the city which in A. D. 1546 the Sulṭān Maḥmūd III., on removing from Aḥmadābād, chose for his residence, and where he "laid out a magnificent palace, which he called the 'Deer Park,' the like of which was never seen upon the earth" (Ba.-S. p. 443). The original name Maḥmūdābād is now corrupted to Meḥmūdābād or Meḥmadābād. This city does not seem to have ever possessed a mint, and should not be confused with the mint town Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr. In the latter "many great buildings were raised and gardens laid out, and, by the skill of a native of Khurāsān, well-fitted with fountains and waterfalls. Its fruits, especially its mangoes, were famous, and its sandal trees grew so freely that their timber was used in house-building. Mechanics and craftsmen thronged its streets, Chāmpānīr sword-blades became noted for their sharpness, and Chāmpānīr silks for their bright colours. Though he by no means deserted Aḥmadābād, Maḥmūd III. continued to the close of his reign to consider Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr his capital" (*Bombay Gazetteer*, III. 305). In 1535, however, this city was pillaged by the Emperor Humāyūn, and soon thereafter the court and capital were transferred back to Aḥmadābād. The almost simultaneous loss of the Gujarāt ascendancy over Mālwa precipitated

* Br. F. IV. 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 80, 82, 87, 128.

the city's decay. Its subsequent decline was indeed so rapid that only some eighty years later it was held to afford a classical illustration of the truth of the verse, 'All on earth fades, and God does as He wills.'

The subjection of the "two forts" (in Gujarātī બે ગઢ, *be gaḍh*) of Gīrnār and Chāmpānīr is held by some historians to supply the key to Maḥmūd's etymologically perplexing title of Begadā (બેગડા.) Another suggested derivation is that the term Bigarha (بيگره), meaning, so it is said, 'a bullock whose horns stretch out right and left like the arms of a person about to embrace,' was applied to Sultān Maḥmūd, inasmuch as the said Sultān "has mustachios under his nose so long that he ties them over his head as a woman would tie her tresses."¹

Maḥmūd Shah died in 1511, just a hundred (solar) years after the founding of Aḥmadābād. It had been a century of large growth and prosperity, thanks mainly to the strong administrations of Aḥmad and Maḥmūd, whose combined reigns covered no less than eighty-five years. But now began that period of national decline which was to issue in the final subjugation of the province by the imperial troops of Akbar (A. D. 1573). Maḥmūd Begadā's son, Khalīl Khān, succeeded to the throne under the name of Muḥaffar II. For piety and learning, liberality and bravery, he was held unequalled in his age, and on account of his many merciful acts he was entitled Muḥaffar the Clement. Notwithstanding his many admirable traits, he was as a king fatally weak, and incapable of controlling his nobles. Their influence, thus unchecked, grew into a power which was eventually to subvert the dynasty. Lacking the sternness and energy that those rough times demanded, Muḥaffar's clemency often interposed to save the guilty from merited punishment, and "such conduct was, on the whole, the cause of disturbances" (Bi.-A. p. 229). Troubles in Mālwā and wars with the Īdar chief occupied much of the fifteen years of his reign (A. H. 917-932, A. D. 1511-1525), but these need not detain us. In connexion with this king's last illness, Sikandar relates several anecdotes illustrating a singularly unselfish and amiable disposition. A sore famine was afflicting the land, so Muḥaffar lifted up his hands in prayer to God, and said, "O Lord, if for any fault of mine my people are afflicted, take me from this world, and

¹ The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, Hakluyt Society Reprint, page 109.

leave my people unharmed, and relieve them from this drought." For the Sultān was tender-hearted, and could not bear the sight of the poor and wretched. Moreover, since the prayers of a Sultān are entitled to acceptance, so the arrow of his prayers reached its mark, and the rain of mercy fell from the heavens. One day he was listening to the commentary of a reader of the Qōr'ān, and observed, "I read more of the Qōr'ān now, in the days of my sovereignty, than I did before I came to the throne. This morning I have heard half of the reader's commentary: I trust to hear the other half in heaven." He died on a Friday, the Muslim Sabbath. Hearing that morning the call to prayer, he said, 'I have not strength to go to the masjid myself,' but he sent one of his attendants. After a short time he performed his ablutions, and said the prayers: then he put up humble and earnest supplications for pardon. After that he stretched himself out on the couch, repeated the Confession of Faith three times, and rendered up his soul to heaven, leaving behind him a good and righteous name (Ba.-S., pp. 279-281).

Muzaffar's eldest son, Sikandar, ascended the throne on his father's death, but, slighting the older ministers of the crown, and showering honours on the companions of his youthful follies, he soon became extremely unpopular. The defeat of his troops by the Rāṇā of Chitor served to intensify the general odium against him. 'Imād al mulk, a great favourite of the late king, being informed that Sikandar had designs upon his life, determined to be beforehand with him, and, forthwith entering into a conspiracy, caused the Sultān to be assassinated in his bedchamber.

After Sikandar's reign of less than seven weeks, his brother, Naṣīr Khān, a child of six, was raised to the throne under the title of Mahmūd Shāh II., this being effected through the influence of 'Imād al mulk. The complete ascendancy now obtained by this minister excited the envy of the rest of the nobles, who sent secret messages to the late Sultān Muzaffar's second son, Bahādur Khān, then at Jaunpur, apprising him of the turn events had taken, and promising him, if he would assert his claim to the throne, their hearty assistance. This prince accepted the invitation to return, and, meeting with but little opposition on the way, advanced to Ahmadābād. Imād al mulk was at once seized, and ignominiously executed at

Chāmpānīr, and a few months later by Bahādur's order his infant brother Maḥmūd II was poisoned.

The eleven years of Sultān Bahādur's reign (A. H. 932-943, A. D. 1526—1536) were years full of stirring incidents, for during them he entered into conflict not only with the rulers of Mālwā, Jhālāwār, and the Deccan, but also with Humāyūn, who at Delhi was already carving out for his descendants the great Mughal Empire, and with the Portuguese, then so formidable as a naval power. Humāyūn, inflicting upon Bahādur defeat after defeat, drove him from Mandāsār to Māndū, thence to Muḥammadābād-Chāmpānīr, and thence to Cambay, all which towns were successively given up to plunder by the conquerors. Thus the Sultān Bahādur, who had but recently compelled obedience from the Kings of the Deccan, Khāndesh, and Birār, who had overthrown the powerful rule of Maḥmūd Khālījī of Mālwā, and had stormed the strong fortress of Chitor, found himself in the short space of six months a fugitive craving protection from the Portuguese at Dīu. His overthrow had been complete and final had only the Emperor Humāyūn been able to follow up his victories and march against Sorāṭh. Fortunately for the Sultān, however, Shīr Shāh, the governor of Bengal, revolted at this juncture, and it thus became imperative for the Emperor to return to his own capital. After his departure from Gujārāt, Bahādur took heart again, and with the aid of allies collected a large army. In the hard-contested battle of Kaniḥ, five miles north-west of Maḥmūdābād, the imperial troops that Humāyūn had left behind were defeated and ultimately expelled the country. Thus both Gujārāt and Mālwā were rid of the Mughals, who for some nine months had occupied these provinces, and the Sultān Bahādur Shāh regained his kingdom. The Portuguese, in return for the help they had given Bahādur, were now granted permission to build a factory at Dīu. Instead of a factory, however, they erected a fort. Bahādur, accordingly, proceeded in person to the island of Dīu, and in the subsequent negotiations with the Portuguese Governor, Nuno da Cunha, there can be little doubt that both sides meditated treachery. In response to an invitation, the Sultān, accompanied only by a small guard, visited the Governor in his vessel, then lying at anchor in the harbour. On his arrival every mark of honour was accorded him. Round the Sultān's head the captain waved as *largesse* "plates upon plates of gold and shield upon shield of jewels, and then

conducted him to a royal seat, using a great show of politeness to cover his designs. The Sultān, also, was weaving a plot, but Fate was not in accord with his plans" (Ba.-S., p. 397). At the moment of departure Bahādur was about to step into a barge to return to the shore when the boat drew off, and the King fell into the water. Faria e Souza's brief record of the final tragedy is as follows:— "Tristan de Payva de Santarem, coming up, reached out to the King an oar to bring him aboard his vessel, when a soldier struck him across the face with a halbert, and so others, till he was killed. He was a little while above water, and then sank, and neither his nor Emanuel de Souza his body could be found, though Nuno da Cunha caused them to be diligently looked after, to give them the due funeral honours".¹

His early death, for he was but thirty-one, under such tragic circumstances, won for Bahādur a sympathy he little merited. In disposition he was rash and impetuous, cruel and vindictive, and his inglorious administration of the country was due not so much to weakness or want of ability as to his sloth and sensuality.

On Bahādur's death, his sister's son, Mirān Muḥammad Farrukhī of Khāndesh, was, in compliance with the express wish of the late king, invited to accept the throne of Gujarāt. He, however, on learning of his uncle's murder, was overwhelmed with grief. Abandoning his wonted pleasures, he spent his days in fasting and his nights in prayer. Now and again with many a sigh he would exclaim, 'I consume! I consume!' and but six weeks after his accession he departed this life.

The next occupant of the throne of Gujarāt was a child of eleven, the Sultān Maḥmūd III, who also was a nephew of the late Sultān Bahādur, a son of his brother Laṭif. The eighteen years of his reign (A. H. 943-961; A. D. 1536-1553) were altogether uneventful, being marked only by the petty intrigues of ministers, each seeking his own selfish ends. For some five years the king, being still a minor, was under the strict surveillance of a noble, named Daryā Khān, who was *de facto* ruler of the province. When Maḥmūd, impatient of further restraint, threw off his yoke, Daryā

¹ Quoted in Br.-F. IV., p. 138, from Faria e Souza's History of the Portuguese in Asia,

Khān brought forward a boy, whom he declared to be a scion of the royal house, and, seating him on the throne under the title of Sultān Muẓaffar III, caused coins to be struck and the public prayers to be read in his name. This rebellion, however, was but short-lived, the popular suffrage being in favour of Maḥmūd. It will be remembered that it was this monarch who beautified with the wonderful 'Deer Park' the city of Maḥmūdābād (Mehmadābād), and who here took up his abode. Here, too, he met his death at the hand of "a certain villainous evil-doer," who bore "the ill-omened name of Burhān." Having invited some holy men for the reading of the Qōr'ān, the Sultān had entertained them as his guests, and distributed amongst them money and clothes, after which, wearied with this service, he retired to his chamber for rest. Thirsty, he called for some sharbat, whereupon Burhān, his cup-bearer, brought him a poisoned narcotic. After taking the draught, Maḥmūd suddenly became unwell, but in the second watch of the night dozed off to sleep. Then that villain, "accursed in this world and in the next," fearing lest the poison had failed to take effect, drew a Dārīnī dagger, and stabbed the Sultān to death.

In the hope of securing for himself the throne of Gujārāt, Burhān had hatched a deep-laid plot. The late Sultān had recruited a force of twelve hundred men, known as the Bāgh-mār, "Tiger-slayers." Burhān now sent for their leaders, with whom he had been at pains to ingratiate himself, and, concealing them in an ante-chamber, told them it was the Sultān's order that they should kill whoever might enter. He then summoned the chief minister and other nobles, on the pretext that the Sultān desired to consult them on State business of urgency. Some thirteen of the highest functionaries responded to the summons, and on their arrival were all assassinated as they passed one by one into the room. Then, rifling the Sultān's jewel-chamber, Burhān distributed lapfuls of precious gems to his vile companions, and, binding on his own neck a richly bejewelled collar, "seated himself, like a dog, on the royal chair." When at dawn rumour of the foul murders spread through the city, some of the surviving nobles on their way to the palace met a procession heralding Burhān as the new Sultān. As it was passing, Burhān himself, noticing that Shirwān Khān had, as a mark of courtesy, alighted from his horse, cried out, 'Let Shirwān Khān come near; he is on my side, and desires to pay his obeisance.'

Hearing these words, Shirwān fired with rage, did draw near, and with his sword dealing the villain a mighty blow across the loins cut him in twain. Of the 'tiger-slayers' accompanying him, some fled, but "some were sent after that evil one to Hell" (Ba.-S., p. 452).

Incredible as it seems, the Hindūs in their passionate hatred of Mahmūd regarded his murderer Burhān in the light of a saviour of the people, and are said to have made after Burhān's death a stone image of him, to which they paid divine honours. This hatred on the part of the Hindūs was not without a cause, for the Sultān had visited them with bitter persecutions. Many of the Rājpiṭis and Kolis he had caused to be branded, and had compelled them to wear, as a token of subjection, a red rag on the right sleeve. They were forbidden to ride within the walls of the city of Aḥmadābād, and the celebration of the Holī and Divālī was proscribed.

In the confusion consequent upon the massacre of Mahmūd and so many of his nobles, the court and people turned, as though instinctively, towards one of the amīrs, by name Ē'timād Khān, who for the next twenty years fulfilled the rôle of "King-maker." Originally a Hindū servant of the Sultān Mahmūd, he had embraced Islām, and his master ultimately reposed in him such absolute confidence as to place the ḥaram under his charge. On his now being questioned whether any of the Sultān's wives were expecting a child, he replied in the negative, but he added that a boy, a blood-relation of the murdered Sultān, was living at Aḥmadābād. The messenger sent thither found the child bringing home some grain for his pet pigeons. Picking up the boy, he drove off at full speed towards Mahmūdābād, and to the expostulating nurse sententiously replied, 'I am going to take him to a place where all the world will to-morrow crowd round his house, and where he will not find one friend.'

Enthroned in the year H. 961 (A. D. 1553) with the title of Ghiyāth al dunyā wa al dīn Aḥmad Shāh (III), he was nominal ruler of Gujarāt till H. 968. Firīhta, indeed, gives H. 969 as the last year of Aḥmad's reign (Br.-F. IV. 155), but the coin No. 71 on Plate VI proves that already in H. 968 Muḡaffar (III) was king.

Early in Aḥmad's reign a party headed by Ikhtiyār al mulk espoused the cause of another aspirant to the throne, "a person

named Shāhū, the Sultān's paternal uncle" (Bi.-A., p. 275); but at a battle fought near Maḥmūdābād this Shāhū and his supporters were defeated. Mutual strife and discord prevailed amongst the nobles and served to hasten on the disintegration of the kingdom. Ē'timād Khān on some slight pretext fled to Mubārak Shāh of Khāndesh, who, championing his cause, gladly led an army against Gujarāt. The invader was, however, content to return on the cession to him of Sultānpūr and Nandarbār, which districts thus became permanently alienated from the Saltānat. On a later occasion one of the nobles, in order to gain possession of the city of Sūrāt, called in the assistance of the Portuguese, to whom, in recognition of the services then rendered, Daman and Sanjān were granted. Thus two more provinces were lost to the kingdom.

After remaining for five years in tutelage, Aḥmad sought to take the reins of power into his own hands, but Ē'timād was too powerful a minister to be superseded, and Aḥmad, who had meanwhile left for Maḥmūdābād to consult with one of his principal courtiers, was brought back to the capital. Outwardly he was reconciled to Ē'timād, but his animosity against the masterful wazīr could not be long concealed. Once in his impatience he cut down a plantain tree, and then exclaimed, 'Would God it had been Ē'timād Khān!' Shortly thereafter the king's dead body was found, lying exposed on the sands of the Sābarmatī River, close by the houses of the Bhadra. One account has it that he met his death in a love-intrigue at night, but the more probable story is that of the Mir'āt i Aḥmadī, which records in detail how the Sultān was assassinated at the instigation of his designing minister.

At this crisis it was to him that the nobles again looked to nominate a successor to the throne, and Ē'timād, again equal to the occasion, produced a child named Nathū (or, according to Firishta, Ḥabīb or Ḥabū, Br.-F. IV. 155), who, he now swore, was a son of Sultān Maḥmūd. The mother, when pregnant, had, so he asserted, been handed over to him for the purpose of procuring an abortion, but, the child being five months old, he had not carried out the order. The nobles accepting, if not believing, this new version of the story, raised the boy of twelve to the throne under the title of Shams al dunyā wa al dīn Muẓaffar Shāh (III).

The *Tārīkh* i Sorāṭh mentions that during this reign—it was probably in the year H. 978 (A. D. 1570)—Satrasūl bin Vibhāji, the Jām of Navānagar in the west of Kāthiāwād, received permission from the Gujarāt Sultān to issue coined money. It was, however, stipulated that Muẓaffar's name should appear on these new coins, and that they should be called Maḥmūdīs after Muẓaffar's father, the late Sultān Maḥmūd. "The permission was obtained in the following way. On "a certain occasion the Jām presented a rupee to the Sultān with a "Korī (the newly-struck silver coin) as nazrānah, and said, 'In the "same way as the dignity of rājās is augmented by giving their "daughters to His Majesty the Sultān, so I wed my Kumvarī (Guj- "arātī, $\frac{3}{4}$ qāḷī a maiden) to this rupee, in the hope that her honour "'will increase.' The Sultān, pleased with the conceit, issued the "permission for coining this money, and ordered it to be called "Kumvarī in the Hindū language. And by the mispronunciation of "the vulgar it is now called Korī" ¹

The latter name, as being in homely vernacular, has at the present day quite superseded the Persian name of Maḥmūdī. The Koris issued by the Navānagar State are known as Jāmshūīs, those of the Jūnāgaḍh State as Diwānshūīs, and those of the Porbandar State as Rānāshūīs. All three kinds have continued to be minted till within the last few years.²

During his minority Muẓaffar was but a puppet-king, the kingdom being definitely partitioned out amongst some half dozen of his nobles. Incessant feuds resulted. At this juncture another disturbing element appeared upon the scene. Certain Mirzās, five in number, sons of Sultān Husain of Kḥurāsān, having escaped from the fort in which by the order of the Emperor Akbar they had been confined, sought an asylum with the powerful amīr Changīz Khān of Broach. On the complicated intrigues that ensued it is unnecessary here to dwell. Suffice it to say, confusion now became worse confounded, and every man's hand was raised against his neighbour. Party

¹ Burgess' translation of the *Tārīkh* i Sorāṭh, pp. 216, 217.

² 100 Jāmshūī Koris equal 28-4-4 Imperial rupees ;
100 Diwānshūī Koris equal 27-2-2 Imperial rupees,
and 100 Rānāshūī Koris equal 31-7-11 Imperial rupees (Kāthiāwād Gazet-
teer, pp. 201, 202).

fought against party, and new parties were ever forming. In the midst of all this anarchy Ē'timād Khān resolved once again to be 'King-maker.' Accordingly through one of his agents he sent a message to the Emperor Akbar, representing the state of affairs, and entreating him to invade Gujarāt and annex it to his dominions. Akbar, glad of any pretext for driving the Mirzās from their place of refuge, readily responded to Ē'timād Khān's proposal. If '*Divide et impera*' be the secret of imperial extension, Akbar's work was practically accomplished for him even before the July of 1572 (A. H. 980) when with his army he set out for Aḥmadābād. The Kingdom of Gujarāt was already broken up into many incoherent fragments, and Akbar had but to step in and assume supreme control. On the invading army's arrival at Disā, intelligence was received that the road to Aḥmadābād was clear, the siege of that city by Shīr Khān Fūlādī, one of the chief insurgents, having been abandoned. Officers sent ahead to secure the person of Sulṭān Muḥaffar found him hiding in a field of grain, and brought him to their camp a prisoner. Thereupon the Gujarātī nobles one after another tendered their submission to the Emperor, and orders were forthwith issued that coins should be struck and the *Khutba* read in the name of Akbar Pādshāh. Not six months had elapsed since his departure from Ajmīr, nor had he in the meantime risked the issue of a single battle, yet now the fair province of Gujarāt — the Garden of India — lay at his feet, acknowledging him as Lord Paramount. True, the country had not yet been definitely conquered, much less finally pacified. Akbar, who had early returned to Agra, was in the following year to make his wonderful march from Fathpūr back to Aḥmadābād — six hundred miles in nine days — and within the following eleven days was to inflict a crushing defeat on the enemy, relieve the beleaguered garrison, settle the future government of the province, and leave again for Agra. Still later on, severe fighting was to take place in different parts of the country, at Nāndod and Īdar and Sirohi and Nandarbār, also in the Sorath district at Navānagar and Mangrol and Kodinār; but at no time did the imperial troops suffer more than temporary checks. From the annexation of the province in 1573 right on till 1758, the year of the final capture of Aḥmadābād by the Marāṭhās, Gujarāt remained under the government of officers appointed by the Mughal Emperors of Dehli. The days of the Gujarāt Salṭānat had ended.

One episode, the last bright flicker of the dying flame, remains to be recorded. The Emperor Akbar, having in H. 980 taken Muḏaffar Shāh with him to Agra, granted him in jāgīr the sarkārs of Sārangpūr and Ujjain in Mālṵā, districts producing a handsome revenue. On Mun'im Khān Khānān's departure for Bengal, he was accompanied by Muḏaffar, who soon thereafter received his daughter in marriage. Ere long, however, Muḏaffar, falling under suspicion, was imprisoned by his father-in-law, but eventually in H. 991 he managed to escape and fled direct to Gujarāt. While in retirement with his mother's relatives at the village of Khīrī in the Sardhār district of Sorath, he received an invitation from certain disaffected officers of the but recently recalled viceroy, Shihāb al dīn, urging that he should strike for the throne. Shihāb al dīn himself repudiated these conspirators, and ultimately with his remaining troops joined the army of Ē'timād Khān, the new viceroy. Meanwhile, however, Muḏaffar marched at the head of some four thousand horse on Aḥmadābād. A friendly faction in that city gave him access, and, as part of the city wall was broken down, he effected an immediate entrance. The united imperial forces now advanced against him, but Muḏaffar, engaging them without delay, inflicted a total defeat and captured all their baggage. Thus once again, after an interval of eleven years, Muḏaffar seated himself on the throne of Gujarāt, and in token of his new-found sovereignty issued from the Aḥmadābād mint coins struck in his own name. But this resumption of regal power was not of long duration. When the news of Muḏaffar's successes reached the Emperor at the end of H. 991 (A. D. 1583), he at once conferred the government of Gujarāt on Mirzā Abd al Raḥīm Khān, who some six years before had held the viceroyalty of that province. Hearing of the advance of this new viceroy, Muḏaffar, who had gone to Broach to take over its surrendered fort, at once returned to Aḥmadābād, and encamped his army close to the suburb of 'Oṭhmānpūr, on the right bank of the Sābarmatī. Mirzā Khān halted his troops near Sarkhej, awaiting hourly expected reinforcements from Mālṵā. Obviously it was to Sultān Muḏaffar's advantage not to allow of delay, and accordingly advancing he engaged Mirzā Khān's army in a pitched battle on the 26th of January, 1584. At first fortune seemed to favour Muḏaffar, but later in the day the imperial elephants threw the enemy's ranks into confusion, and the Sultān, giving up all as lost, fled to Maḥmūd-ābād and thence to Cambay. In honour of this decisive victory, Mirzā

Khān, now ennobled with the title of Khān Khānān, built on the battle-site near Sarkhej a palace and in a garden summer-houses. A few traces of these buildings are still to be seen at the village known to-day as Fath Wādī, or Victory Garden.

For eight more years Muzaffar bravely strove to maintain the unequal contest, wandering from place to place and seeking the aid of friendly nobles. His cause was espoused for a time by the chiefs of Rājpipla, Morvī, and Jūnāgaḍh. In H. 1000 (A. D. 1591) he had taken refuge with the pirate chieftain Sewā Wādhel of Bet, who gallantly gave his life in the defence of his guest Muzaffar. The royal fugitive forthwith crossed over into Cutch, and accordingly the Gujarāt viceroy, Mirzā 'Azīz Kokaltash, struck across country towards Morvī. Here the Jādejā Bhārmal I, the then Rā'o, on coming to pay his respects to the viceroy, was base enough to barter the person of his suppliant sovereign for the district of Morvī, proffered him as a bribe.¹ In fulfilment of his atrocious stipulation, the Rā'o led a small detachment of the imperial troops to the spot where Muzaffar lay in concealment, and the ex-king thus fell into the enemy's hands. That whole night he was marched under strict guard towards the viceroy's camp, but at daybreak, on reaching Dhrol, a town some twenty-five miles east of Jāmnagar, he alighted from his horse, and, withdrawing behind a tree, cut his throat with a razor. Thus miserably perished the unfortunate Muzaffar, last but not least of the Sultāns of Gujarāt.

II.—Chronological List of the Kings of the Gujarāt Salṭanat.

No.	Name.	Year of Birth.	Reign.	Length of Reign.
1	<u>Muḥammad I.</u> ...		A. H. 806 A. D. 1403	2 months.
2	<u>Muzaffar I.</u> ...	A. H. 713 A. D. 1342	A. H. 810—813 A. D. 1407—1410	3 years 8 months.

¹ "To mark his sense of the infamy of the Jādejā and the honour of the pirate Wādhel, the Emperor erected two *pāliqās* at the gates of Dehli, issuing an edict that whoever passed that of the Wādhel should crown it with chaplets of flowers, while on that of the Jādejā the passer should bestow a blow with his slipper." Tod's "Western India," p. 438.

No.	Name.	Year of Birth.	Reign.	Length of Reign.
3	Aḥmad I. ...	A. H. 793 A. D. 1390	A. H. 813—846 A. D. 1410—1442	32 years 6 months.
4	Muḥammad II. ...		A. H. 846—855 A. D. 1442—1451	8 years 9 months.
5	Qutb al din Aḥmad II. ...	cir. A. H. 835 A. D. 1431	A. H. 855—863 A. D. 1451—1458	8 years 6 months.
6	Dā'ūd ...		A. H. 863 A. D. 1458	7 days.
7	Mahmūd I. ...	A. H. 849 A. D. 1445	A. H. 863—917 A. D. 1458—1511	54 years 1 month.
8	Muzaffar II. ...	A. H. 880 A. D. 1475	A. H. 917—932 A. D. 1511—1525	14 years 9 months.
9	Sikandar ...		A. H. 932 A. D. 1525	1 month 16 days.
10	Mahmūd II ...	cir. A. H. 926 A. D. 1519	A. H. 932 A. D. 1525	4 months.
11	Bahādur ...	A. H. 912 A. D. 1506	A. H. 932—943 A. D. 1526—1536	11 years 3 months.
12	Muḥammad III. ...		A. H. 943 A. D. 1536	1 month 12 days.
13	Mahmūd III... ..	A. H. 932 A. D. 1525	A. H. 943—961 A. D. 1536—1553	18 years 3 months.
14	Aḥmad III. ...	cir. A. H. 949 A. D. 1542	A. H. 961—968 A. D. 1553—1560	7 years 5 months.
15	Muzaffar III... ..	cir. A. H. 955 A. D. 1548	A. H. 968—980 A. D. 1560—1573 and A. H. 991—992 A. D. 1583—1584	12 years 2 months. 5 months.

Notes on the Chronological List of the Kings of the Gujarāt Saltānat.

1. The dates entered in the "List" have been determined after weighing the available evidence, but absolute correctness is difficult of attainment, as the authorities themselves are frequently at variance. The following are the chief discrepancies:—

(a) According to the *Tārīkh i Alfī*, Muzaffar I. died not in H. 813 but in H. 814. It states that in the former year Muzaffar

abdicated his throne in favour of his grandson Aḥmad I., but that his death did not take place till five months and sixteen days after his abdication. During this interval the Khutba was read and coins were struck in Aḥmad's name (Ba.-S. page 87 note*).

- (b) According to Firishta, Aḥmad I. was born not in H. 793 but in H. 794 (Br.-F. IV. 3).
- (c) According to the Mir'āt i Sikandarī, Aḥmad I. died not in H. 846 but in H. 845. Copper coins of this Sulṭān are, however, in my possession bearing the date H. 846, which year tallies with the statement in the Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī that Aḥmad's successor, Muḥammad I., ascended the throne on "3rd Rabī' al ākhīr, 846."
- (d) According to the Mir'āt i Aḥmadī, Dā'ud reigned not for seven days only but for one month and seven days (Bi.-A. p. 202).
- (e) According to Firishta, Muḥaffar II. was born not in H. 880 but in H. 875.
- (f) According to the Mir'āt i Aḥmadī, Sikandar reigned for *two* months and sixteen days (Bi.-A. p. 232), and according to Firishta for *three* months and seventeen days (Br.-F. IV. 100).
- (g) According to Firishta and the Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī, Maḥmūd III. ascended the throne not in H. 943 but in H. 944. The correct date is probably the end of H. 943.
- (h) According to Firishta, Aḥmad III. died not in H. 968 but in H. 969. Silver coins, however, of Muḥaffar III., the successor of Aḥmad III., are known, dated H. 968 (see Plate VI., No. 71), agreeing thus with the Mir'āt i Aḥmadī which assigns to that year both the death of Aḥmad III. and the accession of Muḥaffar III. (Bi.-A. pp. 283, 287).
2. Of the fifteen Sulṭāns, the coins of nine are illustrated on the accompanying plates. Nos. 1-6 are of Aḥmad I.'s reign, Nos. 7-10a of Muḥammad II.'s, Nos. 11-14 of Aḥmad II.'s, Nos. 15-43 of Maḥmūd I.'s, Nos. 44-50 of Muḥaffar II.'s, Nos. 51-57 of Bahādur's, Nos. 58-66 of Maḥmūd III.'s, Nos. 67-70a of Aḥmad III.'s, Nos. 71-78 of Muḥaffar III.'s first reign, and Nos. 79 and 80 of his second reign.

I have never come across a single coin of any of the remaining six kings. Of these six Muẓaffar I. reigned for three years and eight months, but the aggregate length of the reigns of the other five (Muḥammad I., Dā'ūd, Sikandar, Maḥmūd II., and Muḥammad III.) was less than one year. The histories are silent as to any coin having been struck by Dā'ūd or Sikandar, or Maḥmūd II.; but distinct evidence is to hand that Muḥammad I., Muẓaffar I., and Muḥammad III. did, all three, issue coins in their own names.

(a) Of Tātār Khān, Firishṭa records: "He dignified his uncle

"Shams Khān with the title of Nuṣrat Khān, and causing himself to be proclaimed king, coined money under the name of Muḥammad Shāh Gujarātī" (Br.-F. IV. 9).

(b) The Mir'āti Aḥmadī states: "Zafar Khān, having assumed the title of Muẓaffar Shāh, struck coins in his own name, and appointed his grandson Aḥmad Shāh to succeed him as his heir" (Bi.-A. pp. 183, 184).

(c) The following is Firishṭa's reference to a currency issued in the name of Muḥammad III.: "The Gujarāt officers, convening a meeting, resolved on inviting Mirān Muḥammad Khān of Khāndesh, nephew of Bahādur Shāh, who was then in Mālṡā, to ascend the throne; and, without any further hesitation, coins were struck and public prayers read in his name" (Br.-F. IV. 142).

3. It is worthy of special note that the Mir'āti Aḥmadī has an express statement to the effect that during a rebellion in the reign of Maḥmūd III., coins were issued in the name of a Sultān Muẓaffar. The passage reads as follows:—"One day had elapsed before Daryā Khān became acquainted with the Sultān's flight, and he was now at a loss how to proceed. As he was in possession of the treasure he elevated to the throne a grandson of Sultān Aḥmad II., and having entitled him Sultān Muẓaffar (III.), caused the currency to be struck, and the oration at the mosque to be pronounced in his name" (Bi.-A. pp. 258, 259).

No specimen of these coins is now known.

4. Was there a Pretender "Muhammad" Sultān who caused coin to be struck in his own name in H. 963 (A. D. 1555—1556) ?

(a) Mr. E. E. Oliver in his article on "the Coins of the Muḥammadan Kings of Gujarāt" in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1889), assigns, though doubtfully No. 28 of his collection to this 'Muḥammad Shāh (?)

Pretender." If, however, that coin be, as seems almost certain, identical with the billon coins Nos. 15*a* and 15*b* given on the accompanying Plate II., its legends read as follow:—

Obverse: Nūṣir al dunyā wa al dīn Abu'l Fath Maḥmūd Shāh ;

Reverse: Akh Quṭb Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh al Sultān ۸۶۳
Maḥmūd Shāh, Helper of the World and of the Faith, Father of Victory, Brother of Quṭb Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, 863.

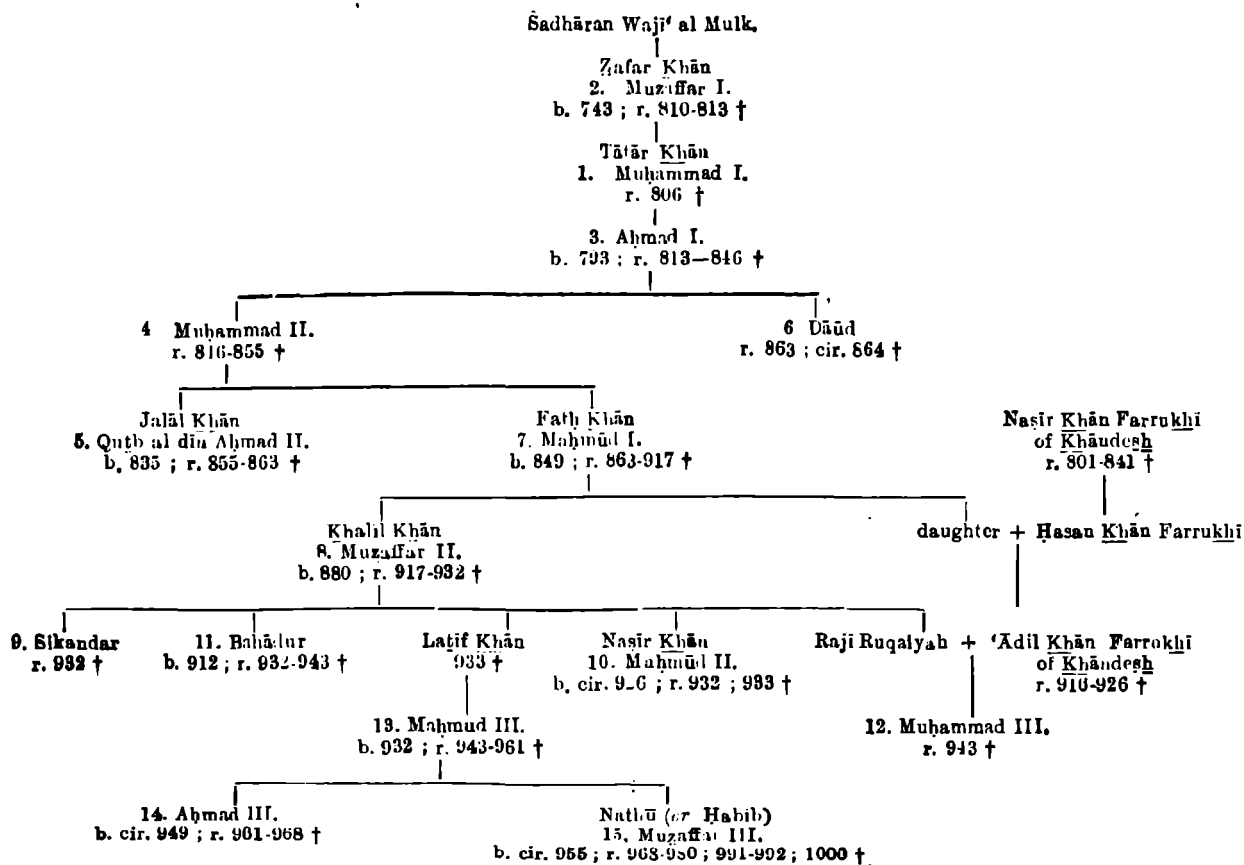
This coin was thus struck by Maḥmūd I (Begaḍā) in the first year of his reign, H. 863 (A. D. 1458-1459), and has no connexion whatsoever with a Pretender, later by exactly a century (H. 963).

(*b*) In the British Museum Catalogue, three copper coins, Nos. 437, 438 and 439, are doubtfully assigned to a "Muḥammad Shāh, Pretender (?)."

1. Of these, No. 439 is a square coin, the *only* square coin of the Gujarāt series in the British Museum Collection. Thomas, on page 353 of his "Chronicles of the Paṭhān Kings," refers to "square coins, A. H. 856 ?" struck by Muḥammad II. But that Sultān died in H. 855, thus in the year preceding the issue of this coin. I have myself never seen a square coin of the Gujarāt Sultānat.
2. The reverse of all the three coins is very unlike that of any of the Gujarāt coins of the Sultānat period. Save these three, I know of none with a double parallel line as diameter, none with "several ornaments," and none with the Hijrī year entered quite in the *upper* portion of the reverse field. The "type" is foreign to Gujarāt.

For these reasons I am of opinion that Nos. 437, 438 and 439 of the British Museum Catalogue are not coins of the Gujarāt Sultānat at all. Further, none of the extant histories makes reference to a Pretender Muḥammad Shāh asserting claim to the throne of Gujarāt in H. 963: and, apart from the above three doubtful coins, there is, so far as I can learn, no evidence whatsoever in proof of the existence of the hypothetical Pretender. It is true that in the early part of the reign of Aḥmad III—thus about H. 963—the "person named Shāhū" did head a rebellion: but no evidence is to hand that he assumed the name of Sultān Muḥammad, or that in this name he caused coins to be struck. Thus to identify him with the Pretender Muḥammad is certainly unsafe.

III.—Genealogical Table of the Kings of the Gujārāt Salṭanat.



Notes on the Genealogical Table of the Kings of the Gujarāt Saltanat.

1. Grave doubt attaches to the pedigree as given in this "Table" of Aḥmad III. and Muẓaffar III.

(a) According to the Mir'āt i Aḥmadī, Aḥmad III. was "son of "Laṭīf Khān, who was grandson of Shukār Khān, the son "of Sulṭān Aḥmad I." (Bi.-A. p. 273).

The Mir'āt i Sikandarī calls this Aḥmad (III) merely "a relative of the Sulṭān Maḥmūd III." (Ba.-S. p. 454); and Colonel Watson in his History styles him vaguely "a descendant of the stock of Aḥmad Shāh" (W.-B. G. p. 259).

(b) The following are the terms of the reference in the Mir'ātī Aḥmadī to the parentage of Muẓaffar III:— "According to the faith of most historians, Ē'timād Khān, who "had all the power of government in his hands, seeing "that there were none of the late Sulṭān's relations fit "for government, produced a young boy named Nathū : "and, having in open assembly taken an oath that such "was the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd III., he explained that "his mother, when pregnant, had been delivered over to "him for the purpose of procuring an abortion; but that "this child had been brought forth, as, five months of her "pregnancy having passed, no abortion could take place. "He said, moreover, that he had brought him up in "secret, and that there was no heir to the Government "excepting him. Every one, assenting to this, and "supporting his claim to the throne, entitled him "Muẓaffar Shāh." (Bi.-A. pp. 287-288).

Abu'l Fazl states that the child Nathū "did not belong to the line of kings," but that the Amīrs "had to believe" Ē'timād's story (Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbarī* I. 385, 386).

Firishṭa gives the birth-name of this Muẓaffar (III) as "Hubboo, a familiar contraction of Hnbeeb," meaning "affectionate" (Br.-F. IV. 155).

2. On many of the coins struck in their several reigns, Maḥmūd (I) is called bin Muḥammad, Muḥaffar (II) bin Maḥmūd, Bahādur bin Muḥaffar, Maḥmūd (III) bin Laṭīf, Aḥmad (III) bin Maḥmūd, and Muḥaffar (III) bin Maḥmūd. On the other hand it would seem that, with the sole exception of a silver piece of H. 828, on none of the coins issued by Aḥmad (I), or Muḥammad (II), or Quṭb al dīn Aḥmad (II) was the name of the father of the reigning Sultān indicated.

3. (a) Of coins bearing inscriptions of a genealogical character, far and away the most remarkable and interesting in my collection is the silver piece presented to me last year (1901) by my kind friend, H. Nelson Wright, Esq., I.C.S., of Allahābād. It is pictured on Plate IV., No. 51. Struck in H. 933 by the Sultān Bahādur, its obverse and reverse, read consecutively, trace his pedigree back to Muḥaffar (I), the founder of the dynasty. Bahādur Shāh is thus termed "bin Muḥaffar Shāh bin Maḥmūd Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh bin Aḥmad Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh, bin Muḥaffar Shāh."

(b) On the silver coin of H. 828 represented on page 352 of Thomas's "Chronicles," Aḥmad (I)'s much shorter pedigree back to Muḥaffar (I) is thus given:—Aḥmad Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh bin Muḥaffar Shāh.

(c) On the billon coin of Maḥmūd (I), struck in H. 863 (Plate II, Nos. 15a, 15b), his relationship to the two preceding Sultāns is indicated as follows:—

Akb Quṭb Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh,
 Brother of Quṭb Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh.

IV. *Literature on the Coinage of the Gujarāt Salṭānat.*

But little has hitherto been published on the coins of the Gujarāt Salṭānat. The chief modern contributions to the literature on this subject are the following five:—

1. "The Chronicles of the Pathān kings of Dehli" by Edward Thomas (1871), in which pages 350-353 are devoted to "the Muḥammadan kings of Gujarāt." A chronological list of the Sultāns is given, in which, strange to say, the name of Muḥammad I. (Tātār Khān) does not appear. In all forty-eight coins are briefly specified. Two of

these are illustrated by beautifully clear woodcuts, namely, a silver coin of Aḥmad Shāh, dated H. 828, and a gold coin of Maḥmud bin Laṭīf of H. 960. One could wish that pictures had also been given of the "square coins, A. H. 856?" and especially of the "Maḥmūd II. Silver," inasmuch as, in the absence of further evidence, the specification of these coins is open to grave doubt.

2. The chapters on the Coins of Gujarāt, pages lvii-lxi and 131-143, in the "Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum," Vol. II., Muḥammadan States, by Stanley Lane-Poole (1885). The introductory portion is helpful for the information given regarding the legends on the Gujarāt coins. Especially noteworthy is Dr. Rieu's decipherment of the distich on the obverse and reverse of the large copper coins struck during the reign of Muḥammad II. See Plate I., Nos. 8a, 8b. Forty-one coins are catalogued, ten of them being also photographed. The two undated coins, numbered 435 and 436, are incorrectly assigned to the Aḥmad Shāh who reigned from H. 961 till H. 968. Their legends are clearly identical with those of coin No. 11 in this article, and the coins themselves were thus doubtless struck during the reign of the earlier Aḥmad (Qutb al dīn), A. H. 855-863. The three coins, Nos. 437, 438, 439, which Lane-Poole assigns with some hesitation to "Muḥammad Shāh Pretender(?)" are probably foreign to Gujarāt.
3. An admirable article entitled "Coins of the Muḥammadan kings of Gujarāt," contributed by E. E. Oliver to the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," Vol. lviii., Part I., No. 1—1889. The four pages of historical introduction are followed by "a genealogical tree of the Gujarāt Kings, and a table showing the contemporary rulers in Mālwa, Jaunpūr, Khāndesh, the Deccan, and Dehli, taken from Lane-Poole's very handy graphic "scheme of the Muḥammadan dynasties of India." Three plates supply rather roughly executed woodcuts of thirty-four coins, each of which is fully described, though not

without occasional mislections. The coins numbered 6 and 7 are not of the Aḥmadābād but of the Muḥammad-ābād 'urf Chāmpānī Mint. Nos. 11, 12, and 13 are Bahmanī coins, and Nos. 16 and 17 are almost certainly not of Gujarāt. No. 27, which is of precisely the same type as No. 13 of Plate I. of the present article, is a coin of Quṭb al dīn Aḥmad Shāh, not of the later Aḥmad (III.). No. 28, whose true date is H. 863, not H. 963, was struck not by "Muḥammad Shāh (?) Pretender," but by Maḥmūd Shāh I. Cf. Nos. 15a and 15b on Plate II of this article. Nos. 29 and 30, being Jāmshāī Koris of Navānagar, are incorrectly assigned to Muḥaffar, the last Sulṭān of Gujarāt.

4. The "Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum," Part I., by Chas. J. Rodgers (1894). This portion of the Calcutta Museum Catalogue contains on pages 130—134 a chronological list of the kings of Gujarāt, and a description of twenty-two coins, three of which are represented by photo-etching. Here again two of Quṭb al dīn Aḥmad Shāh's coins are assigned to the later Aḥmad Shāh. The three undated coins, 7214-7216, I am inclined to attribute to Maḥmūd bin Laṭīf rather than to Maḥmūd II, and No. 8684 to Muḥaffar III. rather than to "Muḥammad Shāh (Interloper)."
5. "The Catalogue of the Coins collected by Chas. J. Rodgers and purchased by the Government of the Punjab," Part II. (1894). Of this catalogue pages 132-134 contain a description of sixteen copper coins of the Gujarāt Salṭānat. No. 15, the same as No. 437 of the British Museum Catalogue, assigned to Muḥammad Shāh Pretender, should probably be relegated to some non-Gujarātī series, perhaps to that of Mālṵā.

V. *Cabinets of the Coins of the Gujarāt Salṭānat.*

In writing the present article, I have depended not only upon my own cabinet of coins, but upon the aggregate resulting from combining all the collections of which catalogues have been published. Of

the different cabinets thus laid under contribution, the following table indicates the contents:—

Cabinet.	Gold.	Silver.	Billon.	Copper.	Total.
Thomas	6	12	1	29	48
British Museum	8	6	0	27	41
Oliver	0	14	0	20	34
Calcutta Museum	2	1	0	19	22
Lāhor Museum	0	0	0	16	16
Taylor	0	113	11	299	423
Resultant Aggregate	9	116	12	303	440

The resultant collection contains no coin of the following years:— H. 860, 866, 871, 875, 876, 877, 878, 953, and 975: thus in all between H. 828 (seemingly the first year when dated coins were issued in Gujarāt) and H. 980, nine years are unrepresented by any coin in any of the metals.

The sixteen gold coins in the above Cabinets are as follow:—

	Muzaffar II.	Mahmūd III.	Muzaffar III.
British Museum	H. 920, 929, 946, 947, 949, 950, 956, 960		
Thomas	929, 946, 947,	960,	960, 977
Calcutta Museum	947,		960
Resultant Aggregate ..	H. 920, 929, 946, 947, 949, 950, 956, 960		977

The twelve billon coins are five of the reign of Qutb al din Ahmad II (85x, 861, 862, and two undated) and seven of the reign of Mahmūd I. (863, 863, 864, 865, 867, 869, and 870).

In the aggregate collection the first dated coin in gold is of the year H. 920, in silver of H. 828 (followed, *longo intervallo*, by one of H. 884), in billon of H. 85x, and in copper of H. 829.

VI. *Mint-towns.*

Of the coins struck in Gujarāt during the reign of Aḥmad I., a large number have in the obverse margins an inscription recording Aḥmadnagar (Īdar) as their place of mintage. Subsequent to Aḥmad's death, comparatively few coins bear any mint-name, and of those in which it is present nearly all are of the reign of Maḥmūd I. There are only four cities in Gujarāt, of which we can confidently affirm that during the period of the Salṭanat mints were established in them, and were for at least a few years in active operation. These four are the two cities founded by Aḥmad—Aḥmadābād and Aḥmadnagar—and the two founded by Maḥmūd—Muṣṭafābād and Muḥammadābād (Chāmpānīr). It is doubtful whether a fifth mint was opened at Khāupūr, a small town on the River Mahi. We proceed to treat of each of these five :—

1. Aḥmadābād: احمد اباد, founded A. H. 813; A. D. 1411.

Epithets: a. شهر معظم Shahr mu'azzam, the great city.

b. دارالضرب Dār al Ḍarb, the seat of the mint.

So far as I am aware, no silver coin of the Gujarāt Salṭanat struck during the period of its independence bears Aḥmadābād as the name of its mint-town. Nos. 4, 6, and 7 in Oliver's article are, indeed, assigned by him to that city, but the representations of those coins given in his Plate I. show that certainly two of the three, and in all probability the third also, issued not from the Aḥmadābād mint, but from that at Muḥammadābād.

The only copper coins that seem to bear the mint-name Shahr mu'azzam Aḥmadābād are a few struck by Muẓaffar III. in the years H. 977, 978. One of these is shown as No. 75 of Plate VI. of the present article. After comparing six, all of the same type, in my collection I incline to accept their marginal legend as reading شهر معظم احمد اباد.

Just possibly also the name Aḥmadābād may occupy the upper margin of the obverse of the copper coin struck in H. 970 and shown on Plate VI., No. 73.

The second epithet of Aḥmadābād, Dār al Ḍarb, is present on several of the coins that Akbar caused to be struck at the Aḥmadābād

mint after his conquest of Gujarāt in H. 980.* Muẓaffar III., during the few months of his second reign in H. 991, evidently followed the example thus set by the Muḡhal Emperor, so that the few surviving coins of H. 991, whether in silver or in copper, bearing the Sulṭān Muẓaffar's name, all specify their place of mintage under its full designation of دارالضرب احمدآباد. See Plate VI., Nos. 79 and 80.

It is extremely improbable that during the entire period of the Gujarāt Saltanat, the activity of the mint at its capital city should have been confined to the years 970, 977, 978, and 991—so improbable, indeed, is this supposition that one may safely hazard the conjecture that the Gujarāt coins bearing no mint name (and these are the large majority) were all struck at the Aḡmadābād mint. This being known as the first mint in Gujarāt, first both in time and in importance, it was not deemed necessary to record the name of the city on the coins that issued from it. On the other hand, the comparatively very few coins struck at any minor mint in Gujarāt would naturally bear, if only for purposes of differentiation, the distinctive name of the mint-town.

2. Aḡmadnagar (Īdar): احمدنگر, founded A.H. 829; A. D. 1425.

Epithet (doubtful): شهر مہانور Shāhr Mahānūr, the city of great light.

What precisely was the honorific epithet assigned to the city of Aḡmadnagar is difficult of determination from its coins. They clearly bear on their obverse margins the words احمدنگر شهر, followed by a term which on some of the specimens to hand resembles مہانور. But the combination شهر مہانور is certainly a strange one to be adopted as the title for a mint-town. I confess I am not satisfied as to the correctness of this reading, more especially as on several of the coins it seems doubtful whether the letters as there given admit of being read as Mahānūr. Compare Plate I., Nos. 4, 5, and 6.

From the founding of Aḡmadnagar in H. 829 right on till Aḡmad Shāh's death in H. 846, each year witnessed an abundant issue of copper coins from the Aḡmadnagar mint. Indeed it would seem that every dated copper coin of Aḡmad I. was struck at that mint, whereas not a single copper coin, dated or otherwise, appears

* On other coins of Akbar, Aḡmadābād is styled دارالخلافة, the Seat of the Caliphate, or دارالسلطنت, the Seat of the Empire, and on a rupec of Rafī' al Darajāt زينت البلاد the Beauty of Towns.

to have issued from it subsequent to Aḥmad's death. Thus the period of activity of the mint at Aḥmadnagar coincides with the last seventeen years of the reign of Aḥmad I.

3. Muṣṭafābād : مصطفي باد, founded A. H. 874 ; A. D. 1469.

Epithet : شهر اعظم *Shahr a'ẓam*, the very great city.

My collection contains only one silver coin certainly bearing the mint-name Muṣṭafābād—an excellent specimen, dated H. 884. Unfortunately it came into my possession too late to admit of its being photographed for Plate II. of this article. It is a small coin, 6 inch in diameter, and weighing only 63 grains. Its obverse closely resembles that of No. 25, and its reverse (save for the date) is identical with that of No. 22.

The pretty little silver piece of the year H. 894, No. 29 on Plate III. I assign, but with some hesitancy, to Muṣṭafābād. Two of the margins contain the words شهر اعظم, but whether the remaining two give the reading مصطفي باد is not equally clear.

No. 36 on Plate III. is also a somewhat puzzling silver coin, but this too I assign provisionally to the Muṣṭafābād mint. Its date, given on the reverse, is H. 905.

The copper coins that issued from this mint during the last quarter of the ninth century (Hijrī) must have been fairly numerous, every year (except 881) from 879 till 892 being represented in my cabinet. The latest of the series is dated seemingly H. 906. Five of these are shown on Plate II., Nos. 21-25, though No. 22 is open to question, the upper margin (obverse) not being decipherable with absolute certainty. The variety of designs in these Muṣṭafābād coins of Maḥmūd I. is noteworthy. In No. 21 the mint with its epithet *Shahr a'ẓam* occupies the margin circumscribing a circular area : in Nos. 22 (?) and 25 the mint-name is still relegated to the margin, but now we have the four margins that bound a square area : while lastly in Nos. 23 and 24, which exhibit no margin at all, the place of mintage is recorded in full as an integral part of the obverse legend. The two coins of H. 971, numbered 147 and 448, in the British Museum Catalogue. Muhammadan States, doubtfully assigned to Muṣṭafābād, are, it seems, of the same type as that shown on Plate VI. as No. 78.

4. Muḥammadābād : محمد اباد, founded A. H. 889 ; A. D. 1481.

Epithet : شهر عظيم *Shahr mukarram*, the illustrious city.

This name, it will be remembered, was given to the city of Chāmpānīr on its capitulation to Maḥmūd I. in 1484 at the close of a protracted siege. Chāmpānīr—Chāmpā's city—is supposed to have derived its name from Chūmpā, the Hindū founder of the town, which dates as far back as the eighth century of the Christian era. And it is by this name of Chāmpānīr alone that the city, now a desolate ruin, "except for a few Bhīl and Nāikda squatters," is known today. The coins struck at its mint record the name generally in its doubled form عمیدآباد عربی چانپانیر Muḥammadābād 'urf Chāmpānīr, but occasionally, it would seem, the "*alias* Chāmpānīr" was dropped and the new name Muḥammadābād alone retained. Compare Plate III., Nos. 34 and 39, and contrast with No. 33. Whether the full, or the shortened, designation was on the die from which the imperfect coins Nos. 31 and 41 were struck is difficult to say, but, from the general resemblance between these and No. 34, it seems probable that the lost margins did contain the words عمیدآباد عربی چانپانیر. The city's remarkable prosperity was reflected on its coins, for these are quite the most florid and the most elaborately designed of all in the series of the Gujarāt Saltānat. In silver the issue must have been considerable—my cabinet contains some thirteen specimens—but I have never found a single copper coin bearing the name of this mint. If the exquisite workmanship of the silver coins is suggestive of the phenomenal prosperity that early attended the new Muḥammadābād, so also its short-lived glory is betokened in the fact that the activity of the mint was restricted to but a few years, all comprised within the reign of Maḥmūd I. The earliest of its coins in my collection is dated H. 895, the latest H. 904, and we shall probably not be far wrong in assuming that the whole period during which the mint was working does not cover more than five and twenty years, say H. 890—915.

In one year subsequent to this period coins were again struck at the Chāmpānīr mint, but these can scarcely be classed among the coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat. In H. 942 the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn swooped down upon the province, and gained possession of this important frontier-city. In commemoration of his victory, he forthwith caused coins to be struck both in silver and in copper. The silver ones bear Humāyūn's name, which is wanting on the copper: also on the silver the mint-town is given as simply Chāmpānīr (with the first vowel short), while in the copper is added the

epithet Shahr mukarram. On neither the silver nor the copper, however, do we find the name Muḥammadābād, which even thus early would seem to have passed into desuetude. A unique copper coin in the Lāhor Museum is of especial interest as briefly recording the conquest of Chāmpānīr. Its obverse reads قمع چنپانیر بتاریخ ۹۴۲ and the reverse simply ضرب شهر مکرّم

In another coin of the same year, H. 942, Chāmpānīr is styled شهر الزمان, the City of the Age. See British Museum Catalogue of coins of the Mughal Emperors of India, No. 1232.

5. Regarding the existence of mints at Aḥmadābād, Aḥmadnagar, Muṣṭafābād and Muḥammadābād-Chāmpānīr, no manner of doubt can be entertained, but whether there was at any time a fifth mint at Khānpūr, خانپور, is a debatable question. On the Coin No. 44, Plate IV., the upper part of the obverse inscription clearly reads Al Sulṭān Muzaḥfar Shāh: but what of the lower part? The date is certainly 921, and on two other coins of the same type now in my possession is also certainly 922. The decipherment of the words immediately above the date has proved very baffling to me: but quite the best of various suggested readings is the one submitted by my friend, Mr. Nelson Wright, I. C. S. He reads the words as ضربت خانپور, Ḍarbat Khānpūr, 'Struck at Khānpūr', and unquestionably the coins of H. 922, even better than the H. 921 coin shown on Plate IV., bear out this reading. Accepting it, we should on the evidence of these three coins add Khānpūr to the list of the mint-towns in Gujarāt, and should assign as the minimum period of the mint's activity the years H. 921 and 922. Khānpūr, or, to give it its full name, Khānpūr Wānkānīr, is a town on the left bank of the River Mahi, and about midway between Baroda to the south and Dākor to the north. Here it was that in H. 855 Mahmūd (I.) Khaljī, Sulṭān of Mālwa, encamped his army of invasion after plundering the city of Baroda. Subsequently, however, he marched northwards to Kapaḍwanj, where Quṭb-al-dīn, the newly-chosen Sulṭān of Gujarāt, inflicted on him a severe defeat. Khānpūr again figures, though not prominently, in the intrigues that attended the accession of Bahādur Shāh in H. 932: and, late in the same reign, the Sulṭān, while at this place, appointed two of his most trusted officers to lead a strong army against the country of Bāgar, East of Īdar. I have failed, however, to discover a single reference to this Khānpūr in the histories of the reign of Muzaffar II.

(A.H. 917-932), and am unable to suggest any reason for his having caused coins to be struck in his name at that mint.

Lane-Poole has assigned, though doubtfully, a Gujarātī copper coin of H. 971 to the mint-town Shādiābād.^{*} This reading must, I feel sure, be abandoned. Shādiābād is not in Gujarāt at all : but the name does occur on several of the coins of the neighbouring kingdom of Mālwā. Firishtā explicitly records as follows the origin of this epithet :—“Two days after the death of Sooltan Hooshung, “Ghizny Khan was crowned at Mando, and, assuming the title of “Sooltan Mahomed Ghoory, ordered that his capital might “henceforth be called Shadiabad Mando, or ‘the City of Joy’; and “public prayers were read and coin struck in his name.”†

The following table gives the years of the *dated* coins in my collection that record their mints :—

Mint.	Silver.	Copper.
Aḥmadnagar	None.	Each year from 829 till 846.
Muṣṭafābād	884, 894?, 905 ?	879, 880, each year from 882 till 892, 906 ?
Muḥammadābād (with or without the 'urī Chām-pānir).	895, 896, 897, 898, 900, 902, 903, 904.	None.
Khānpūr ??	921, 922	None.
Aḥmadābād	991... ..	970 ? 977 ? 978 ? and one coin undated but doubtless struck in 991.

Of the first four mints in this table, not one seems to have been active for more than a very limited period, and I feel sure that all coins that do not themselves record their place of mintage may safely be assigned to the mint at Aḥmadābād. In this connexion it is instructive to note that in Akbar's time at least this city, the erewhile capital of the Gujarāt Saltanat, bore the title of Dār al Darb, ‘the Seat of the Mint’.

* British Museum Catalogue of Indian coins, Muḥammadan States, No. 446. This coin is not improbably the same as No. 78 on Plate VI. of the present article.

† Br.-F. IV., 191.

VII.—Weights and Standards.

As to the existence of any square coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat I am very sceptical. If any such were issued, their number was extremely small. Certainly the typical coins of the period were, with more or less precision, round in shape. The following lists, based upon measurements and weighments of copper coins, all of the reign of Ahmad I, demonstrate the futility of the attempt to classify them according to the length of their diameters. These lists show not only that coins of the same diameter may vary widely in their weights, but also that comparatively light coins may have a large, and comparatively heavy coins a small, diameter.

Diameter of $\cdot 8$ inch: weight in grains 146, 143.

„	$\cdot 75$	„	„	„	146, 142, 140, 138.
„	$\cdot 7$	„	„	„	145, 70, 69, 68, 67, 56.
„	$\cdot 65$	„	„	„	142, 140, 138, 73, 72, 71, 69, 67, 66, 64, 61.
„	$\cdot 6$	„	„	„	70, 61, 57, 55.
„	$\cdot 55$	„	„	„	70, 69, 34, 26.
„	$\cdot 5$	„	„	„	35, 33, 31, 30.
„	$\cdot 45$	„	„	„	34.
„	$\cdot 4$	„	„	„	32.

Diameter of $\cdot 55$ inch: weight in grains 26.

„	$\cdot 5$	„	„	„	30.
„	$\cdot 45$	„	„	„	34.
„	$\cdot 4$	„	„	„	32.

Diameter of $\cdot 7$ inch: weight in grains 56.

„	$\cdot 65$	„	„	„	61.
„	$\cdot 6$	„	„	„	70.
„	$\cdot 55$	„	„	„	70.

Diameter of $\cdot 75$ inch: weight in grains 138.

„	$\cdot 7$	„	„	„	145.
„	$\cdot 65$	„	„	„	142.

The fact is the "make" of these coins is quite too rough, and their thickness too arbitrary, to admit of their classification by size. It is, I am convinced, only by a comparison of the *weights* of the coins that we may hope to arrive at an approximately correct classification.

Regarding the gold coins, indeed, no difficulty presents itself. In all only nine varieties have hitherto been catalogued, and of these seven weigh 185 grains each, one 179, and one 177. Clearly all the nine are thus of one and the same denomination.

But when we pass on to the consideration of the silver and copper coins of Gujarāt, it becomes no easy matter to determine the different denominations current at one period or another, and the standard weight of each. So far as I am aware, no mint-records have survived to the present day, and of the coins themselves that have come down to us many are such poor specimens, so worn and battered through the vicissitudes of four hundred years, that one can at times do no more than hazard a guess as to their original weight. Certainly a large margin must be allowed for loss, but no data are available for determining the percentage of the total weight that may fairly be deducted over against such loss. Some proportion, however, must be postulated, and it has seemed to me that for the lighter copper coins we shall be within the mark if we assume that the loss through wear may equal one-seventh of the original full weight. The proportionate loss in the heavier copper coins and in all the silver, which were certainly in less circulation than the copper, would probably be not quite so large, and I have accordingly assumed that for these coins the loss by wear would not exceed one-tenth. Accepting these assumptions, a copper coin of originally, say, 49 grains in weight may be supposed to weigh now anything between 49 and 42 grains, and a copper, or silver, coin of originally, say, 150 grains may weigh anything between 150 and 135 grains.

Further, it is every way probable that some unit of weight was adopted such that the original weights of the coins of different denominations, when issuing from the mint, should be certain integral multiples of that unit. A careful study of the weights of the different coins in my collection inclines me to the opinion that both for silver and for copper this unit was 7·4 grains, or precisely four *ratīs*, on the basis of Mr. Maskelyne's estimate of the weight of a *ruti*. Of

this unit the following multiples are represented in the silver coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat : —

5, 10, 15, 20; 6, 12, 24; 8, 16, 32;

and in copper the multiples are

4, 8; 5, 10, 20, 30, 45; 6, 12, 24;

thus evidencing ten different denominations both in silver and in copper. It does not seem, however, that coins of all these denominations were current simultaneously. The long reign of Maḥmūd I supplies us seven denominations of silver coins and the same number of copper; but in no other reign were coins struck of so many denominations. In the two following tables the silver and the copper coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat are classified by weight. In these tables any two numbers connected by a hyphen indicate the superior and inferior limits of weight expressed in grains, and a subscribed number in brackets represents the number of coins known to me between these limits. Thus $\frac{111-107}{(13)}$ means 13 coins ranging in weight from 111 to 107 grains. For the rest, the tables are self-explanatory.

Unit = 74 grains ...	5 units.	6 units.	8 units.	10 units.	12 units.	15 units.	18 units.	20 units.	24 units.	32 units.	Multiples of units.	No. of denominations
SILVER ...	37 to 31·7 grains.	44·4 to 38·1 grains.	59·2 to 50·7 grains.	74 to 63·4 grains.	88·8 to 76·1 grains.	111 to 100 grains.	118·4 to 106·6 grains.	148 to 133 grains.	177·6 to 160 grains.	236·8 to 213·2 grains.	8. 16. 32. 5. 10. 15. 20. 6. 12. 24.	10
Aḥmad I ...									175-172 (2)		24.	1
Muḥammad II ...												NIL
Qutb al din Aḥmad II.								146-137 (5)*			20.	1
Maḥmūd I ...	33 (1)	44-43 (3)	57 (1)	66-63 (11)	88-80 (31)			146-138 (8)	176-160 (6)		8. 5. 10. 20. 6. 1 4.	7
Muzaffar II ...					81 (1)	111-104 (16)					15. 12.	2
Bahādur ...	34 (1)					111 (1)					5. 15.	2
Maḥmūd III ..			57-54 (3)	65 (1)		109-101 (3)	117-110 (7)	137 (1)			8. 16. 10. 15. 20.	5
Aḥmad III ...			53 (1)				110-107 (4)		168-164 (2)	222 (1)	8. 16. 32. 24.	4
Muzaffar III ...	33 (1)			74-67 (12)		104 (1)	114-110 (4)		174-170 (2)		16. 5. 10. 15. 24.	5

* These five coins are of billon.

Unit = 7.4 grains ...	4 units.	5 units.	6 units.	8 units.	10 units.	12 units.	20 units.	24 units.	30 units.	45 units.	Multiples of units.	No. of denom- inations.
COPPER ...	29.6 to 25.4 grains.	37 to 31.7 grains.	44.4 to 38.1 grains.	59.2 to 50.7 grains.	74 to 63.4 grains.	88.8 to 76.1 grains.	148 to 133 grains.	177.6 to 160 grains.	222 to 200 grains.	333 to 300 grains.	4. 8. 5. 10. 20. 30. 45. 6. 12. 24.	10
Ahmad I ...	26 (1)	35-31 (7)		57-55 (3)	73-61 (18)		146-135 (15)				4. 8. 5. 10. 20.	5
Muhammad II ...		32 (1)			72-64 (9)		143-136 (3)		215-210 (15)		5. 10. 20. 30.	4
Qutb al din Ahmad II					70-67 (3)		145-137 (11)		210 (1)		10. 20. 30.	3
Mahmūd I ...			41 (1)		70-65 (6)	85-80 (8)	147-135 (16)	176-162 (16)	220-205 (40)	318 (1)	10. 20. 30. 45. 6. 12. 24.	7
Muzaffar II ...					72-67 (4)	83 (1)	139 (1)	176-164 (11)	218-215 (2)		10. 20. 30 12. 24.	5
Bahādur ...				53 (1)		85-77 (3)	146-135 (5)	172-165 (5)	217-205 (14)		8. 20. 30. 12. 24.	5
Mahmūd III ...				52 (1)	73-65 (7)	87 (1)	147-141 (10)		216-200 (4)		8. 10. 20. 30. 12.	5
Ahmad III ...					74-64 (5)	86-81 (8)	145-136 (7)	176-163 (13)	219-214 (6)		10. 20. 30. 12. 24.	5
Muzaffar III ...					67 (1)	86-80 (5)	146-135 (8)	177-162 (19)	214 (2)		10. 20. 30. 12. 24.	5

That there should be so many as ten different denominations of silver coins, and the same number of copper is of itself a sufficiently formidable objection to the classification here tabulated; but what more than all else imparts to me in this connexion a certain sense of defeat is the fact that there still remain over a few coins that cannot be assigned a place in any of the above classes. Some indeed of the much worn copper specimens would find admission if the proportions of one-seventh and one-tenth, which we conjectured might perhaps represent the loss by wear, were slightly increased; but even after subtracting these we have a small irreducible residuum of coins that are, with only one exception, in good condition, yet all of eccentric weight. Three such are of silver. One undated, but of Muẓaffar II's reign, is but slightly worn, and weighs 92 grains: so that its proper place would be in a 13-unit class. The second is the unique, and every way extraordinary coin of Bahādur, dated H. 933, and shown on Plate IV, No. 51. In fairly good condition, it now weighs 130 grains, and is thus suggestive of an 18-unit class. The third, also in good condition, would fall into the same class, as its weight is 131 grains. This coin was struck by Maḥmūd III in H. 960.

The "irreducibles" in copper are the following four:—

- Bahādur, H. 943, much worn, yet weighing 257 grains.
- Maḥmūd III, H. 944, a good specimen, 237 grains in weight (Plate V, No. 58).
- Maḥmūd III, H. 947, weighing in its present fair condition 151 grains.
- Maḥmūd III, H. 948, a coin not of pure copper, but of mixed metal, weighing 132 grains (Plate V, No. 61).

These four coins suggest classes of 40 (or 38), 33, 22 and 18 units respectively.

From the above discussion it would seem safe to draw the following as approximately correct general conclusions—any more precise statement being as yet unwarranted:

- (a) Of silver coins there are at least six different classes, the weights ranging between 60-30, 90-60, 120-100, 150-130, 180-160, and 240-220 grains.
- (b) In copper also the denominations were at least six, represented by the weights 60-25, 90-60, 150-130, 180-160, 220-200 and 330-300 grains.

VIII.—“Cumulative” Legends.

The legends on the different coins issued during the reign of any one Sultān are not all identical. Occasionally, indeed, one lights upon coins bearing distinctly exceptional legends, and each such coin naturally calls for special notice and detailed description. Leaving these, however, for the time being out of consideration, it will be found that on some of the coins of a given king, certain wonted phrases or titles are shown, and others on others. Now it has seemed to me that by merely massing, or combining, all this more or less normal legend-material, we shall obtain what we may call the ‘resultant’ or ‘cumulative’ coin-legend for each Sultān, which, as presenting a fairly complete register of the more usual coin-terms, may prove of service for purposes of reference. Accordingly, working on these lines, I have built up the following “cumulative” legends, distinctive of each of the nine Sultāns of Gujarāt whose coins have survived to the present day.

1. Aḥmad I., A. H. 813—846.

Obverse : احمد شاه السلطان

Reverse : السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح

2. Muḥammad II., 846—855.

Obverse : السلطان محمد شاه ابوالحماد

Reverse : السلطان فيث الدنيا والدين

3. Qutb al din Aḥmad II., A. H. 855—863.

Obverse : احمد شاه السلطان

Reverse : قطب الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر

Also Obverse : قطب الدنيا والدين احمد شاه السلطان

Reverse : الخليفة اميرالمومنين خلدت خلفته

4. Mahmūd I., A. H. 863—917.

Obverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح محمود شاه السلطان

Reverse : الخليفة اميرالمومنين خلدت خلفته

Also Obverse : محمود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان

Reverse : السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح

Compare the reverse of the coins of Aḥmad I.

5. Muzaffar II., A. H. 917—932.
Obverse : مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه
Reverse : * شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالنصر المويّد بتأييد الرحمن
6. Bahādur, A. H. 932—943.
Obverse : بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان
Reverse : قطب الدنيا والدين ابوالفضل
7. Mahmūd III., A. H. 943—961.
Obverse : محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه السلطان
Reverse : † ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح الواثق بالله المنان †
8. Ahmad III., A. H. 961—968
Obverse : احمد شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان عهد [year]
Reverse : قباث الدنيا والدين ابوالحسام المعتمضم
 بالله الرحمن †
9. Muzaffar III., A. H. 968—980.
Obverse : مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان
Reverse : شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالنصر المويّد بتأييد الرحمن *
 Compare the reverse of the coins of Muzaffar II.

IX.—Catalogue of Coins on Plates I—VI.

Ahmad I., A. H. 813—846.

- No. 1. Copper: 142 grains: Mint? Date?
Obverse : احمد شاه السلطان
 with quatrefoil and circle over احمد of ح
Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين
- No. 2. Copper: 34 grains: Mint?: Date?
Obverse : احمد شاه
 (with neither quatrefoil nor circle).
Reverse : السلطان! (on Plate upside down).
- No. 3. Copper: 138 grains: Mint?: Date?
Obverse : احمد شاه السلطان
Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح

* المويّد بتأييد الرحمن = The strengthened by the strengthening of the Merciful

† الواثق بالله المنان = The truster in Allah the Gracious.

‡ المعتمضم بالله الرحمن = The attendant on Allah the Merciful.

- No. 4. Copper : 69 grains : [Ahmadnagar] : H. 830.
Obverse : Square area لحمده شاه السلطان
 upper margin شهر
 left margin مهانور (?)
Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ٨٣٠
- No. 5. Copper : 135 grains : Ahmadnagar : H. 835.
Obverse : As 4, also lower margin احمد
 right margin نگر
Reverse : As 4, but year ٨٣٥
- No. 6. Copper : 142 grains : Ahmadnagar : H. 837.
Obverse : Square area as 4, lower and right margins as 5.
Reverse : السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ٨٣٧
 * * * * *

Muhammad II., A. H. 846—855.

- No. 7. Copper : 143 grains : Mint? : H. [8]46.
Obverse : —٤٦ السلطان محمد شاه ابوالحمامد
Reverse : السلطان غياث الدنيا والدين
- No. 8a. Copper : 210 grains : Mint? : H. 850.
Obverse : سكة سلطان غياث الدين محمد شاه باد ٨٥٠
- No. 8b. Copper : 217 grains : Mint? : Date?
Reverse : تا بدار الضرب گردون قرص مهر و ماه باد

The legend on the obverse and reverse of No. 8 (a and b) forms the complet,

May the coin of Muhammad Shūh the Sultān, the Aid of the Faith, remain,

So long as in the sphere of the Seat of the Mint the orb of the sun and moon remains.

- No. 9. Copper : 69 grains : Mint : H. [8] 52.
Obverse : محمد شاه السلطان ٥٢
Reverse : غياث الدنيا والدين
- No. 10a. Copper : 69 grains : Mint? : H. 853.
Obverse : السلطان محمد شاه ٨٥٣
 * * * * *

Qutb al-din Ahmad Shāh II., A. H. 855—863.

- No. 11. Copper : 140 grains : Mint ? : H. 856.
Obverse : احمد شاه السلطان ٨٥٦
Reverse : قطب الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر
- No. 12. Copper : 140 grains : Mint ? : H. 858.
Obverse : قطب الدنيا والدين احمد شاه السلطان
Reverse : الخليفة امير المومنين خلعت خلافته ٨٥٨
- No. 13. Billon : 144 grains : Mint ? : H. 861.
Obverse : As 12.
Reverse : As 12, but year 861.
- No. 14. Copper : 70 grains : Mint : H. 85 x or 86 x.
Obverse : احمد شاه السلطان—٨٥—or ٨٦—
Reverse : قطب الدنيا والدين
 * *

Mahmūd I., A. H. 863—917.

- No. 15a. Billon : 145 grains : Mint ? : H. 863.
Obverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح محمود شاه
Reverse : اخ قطب شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان ٨٦٣
 Mahmūd Shāh, Defender of the World and of the
 Faith, Father of Victory,
 Brother of Qutb Shāh, son of Muḥammūd Shāh, the
 Sultān.
- No. 15b. Billon : 147 grains : Mint ? : H. [8] 63.
Reverse : As 15a, but with top line clearer, and year—٦٣.
- No. 16. Billon : 139 grains : Mint ? : H. 863.
Obverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح محمود شاه السلطان
Reverse : As 12, but year ٨٦٣
- No. 17. Copper : 145 grains : Mint : H. [8] 64.
Obverse : محمود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان
Reverse : السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ٦٤—
- No. 18. Billon : 140 grains : Mint ? : H. 867.
Obverse : As 17, with addition of year ٨٦٧
Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح
- No. 19. Copper : 140 grains : Mint ? : H. 827 (for 867).
Obverse : As 18, but year ٨٢٧ (sic), doubtless for ٨٦٧
Reverse : As 18.

- No. 20a. Copper : 135 grains : Mint ? : H. 868.
Obverse : السلطان محمود شاه ابوالفتح ۸۶۸
- No. 21. Copper : 175 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 870 or 879.
Obverse : Circular area محمود شاه السلطان
 Margin شهر اعظم مصطفى باد (?)
Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ۸۷۰ or ۸۷۱.
- No. 22. Copper : 215 grains : perhaps Muṣṭafābād : H. 880.
Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان
 left margin شهر
 other margins illegible.
Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ۸۸۰
- No. 23. Copper : 171 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 882.
Obverse : السلطان محمود شاه شهر اعظم مصطفى باد
Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ۸۸۴
- No. 24. Copper : 172 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 883.
Obverse : As 23.
Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ۸۸۳
- No. 25. Copper : 217 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 886.
Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان
 upper margin مصطفى
 other margins illegible.
Reverse : As 17, but year ۸۸۶
- No. 26. Silver : 88 grains : Mint ? : H. 890 or 900.
Obverse : square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
 lower margin ۸۹۰ or ۹۰۰
 other margins illegible.
Reverse : السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح
- No. 27. Silver : 80 grains : Mint ? : H. 891.
Obverse : Circular area محمود شاه السلطان (compare 21)
 margin illegible.
Reverse : As 26, with addition of year ۸۹۱
- No. 28a. Copper : 65 grains : Mint ? : Date ?
Obverse : [محمد] بود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان
- No. 29. Silver : 65 grains : Muṣṭafābād ? : H. 894.
Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان
 upper margin شهر
 left margin اعظم
 lower and left margins (doubtfully) مصطفى باد

Outer linear and dotted circles.

Reverse: As 26, with addition of year ۸۹۴ (*sic*).

Outer linear and dotted circles.

No. 30. Copper: 220 grains: Mint ? : H. 896 or 897.

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
margins illegible.

Reverse: As 18, with addition of year ۸۹۶ (or ۸۹۷).

No. 31. Silver: 88 grains: Muḥammadābād: H. 900.

Obverse: Square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
right margin شهر مکرم
upper margin محمد باد
left margin illegible.
lower margin ۹۰۰

Reverse: As 26.

No. 32. Silver: 86 grains: Mint ? : H. 900.

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
lower margin ۹۰۰
other margins illegible.

Outer linear and dotted circles.

Reverse: As 26, also outer linear and dotted circles.

No. 33. Silver: 87 grains: Muḥammadābād: H. 902.

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
right margin شهر مکرم
upper margin محمد
left margin باد (?)
lower margin سنه ۹۰۲

Reverse: As 26.

No. 34. Silver: 88 grains: Muḥammadābād 'nrf Chāmpānir: H. 903.

Obverse: Square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
margins—lower, right, upper, left, lower—
ضرب شهر مکرم محمد اباد عرف چانپانير ۹۰۳

Reverse: As 26.

No. 35. Silver: 65 grains: Mint ? : H. 904.

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
margins illegible.

Reverse: As 18, with addition of year ۹۰۴

- No. 36. Silver : 89 grains : Muṣṭafābād ? : H. 905.
Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان
 upper margin شهر
 left margin اعظم
 lower and right margins (doubtfully) مصطفى باد
Reverse : As 26, with addition of year ٩٠٥
 and outer linear and dotted circles.
 This coin is evidently closely related to No. 29.
- No. 37. Copper : 318 grains : Mint ? : H. 905.
Obverse : Curved diamond area محمود شاه السلطان
 margin lower and to right ٩٠٥
 other margins illegible.
Reverse : As 26.
- No. 38. Silver : 88 grains : Mint ? : H. 912.
Obverse : Square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
 margins illegible.
Reverse : As 26, with addition of year ٩١٢
- No. 39. Silver : 176 grains : Muhammadābād 'urf Chāmpānūr ;
 Date ?
Obverse : Scalloped circular area السلطان محمود شاه
 upper and left margins محمد اباد عرف چانپا [نير]
 lower and right margins illegible.
Reverse : As 26.
- No. 40. Silver : 160 grains : Mint ? : Date ?
Obverse : Square area محمود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان
 margins illegible.
Reverse : As 26.
- No. 41. Silver : 85 grains : Muhammadābād : Date ?
Obverse : Square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
 right margin شهر مكرم
 upper margin محمد اباد
 other margins illegible.
Reverse : As 26.
- No. 42. Copper : 141 grains : Mint ? : Date
Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان
 margins illegible.
Reverse : As 18.

- No. 43. Copper: 168 grains : Mint ? : Date ?
Obverse : Circular area محمود شاه السلطان
margin illegible.
Reverse : As 18.
- * * * * *
- Muzaffar II, A. H. 917—932.
- No. 44. Silver : 110 grains : Khānpūr ? : H. 921.
[On the Plate the obverse and reverse of this coin
occupy each the other's position.]
Obverse : * In wavy circle السلطان مظفرشاه ضربت خابور
۹۲۱
Reverse : In plain circle المؤيد بقائيد الرحمن شمس الدنيا
والدين ابوالنصر
- No. 45. Copper: 173 grains : Mint ? : H. 925.
Obverse : In square having doubled sides, each peaked :
مظفرشاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ۹۲۵
Reverse : As 44 (doubtful).
- No. 46. Silver : 110 grains : Mint ? : Date 927.
Obverse : In circle مظفرشاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ۹۲۷
Reverse : As 44.
- No. 47. Silver: 104 grains : Mint ? : H. 929.
Obverse : In circle circumscribing a square whose sides are
peaked :
خلدالله (?) مظفرشاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ۹۲۹
Reverse : As 44, with outer linear and dotted circles.
- No. 48. Silver : 106 grains : Mint ? : H. 930.
Obverse : As 45, but year ۹۳۰
Reverse : As 44.
- No. 49. Copper : 159 grains : Mint ? : H. 932.
Obverse : In circle مظفرشاه بن محمود شاه السلطان
Reverse : شمس الدنيا و..... ابوالنصر [۹۳۲]
- No. 50. Silver : 107 grains : Mint ? : Date ?
Obverse : In square having peaked sides :
السلطان مظفرشاه خلد الله ملكه

* The legend in the lower half of the obverse of this coin is doubtful. For the provisional reading here given I am indebted to my friend Mr. H. Nelson Wright.

Reverse : As 44.

This coin may be of Muzaffar III., to whom it is assigned in the Brit. Mus. Catal., Muhammadan States, No. 440.)

Bahādur, A. H. 932—943.

- No. 51.* Silver : 130 grains : Mint ? : H. 933.
Obverse : قطب الدنيا والدين ابرو الفضل بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه
Reverse : بن محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه ٩٣٣
- No. 52. Copper : 172 grains : Mint ? : H. 934.
Obverse : In circle بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان
margin illegible.
Reverse : قطب الدنيا والدين ابرو الفضل [ضل] ٩٣٤
- No. 53. Copper : 217 grains : Mint ? : H. 938.
Obverse : بهادر بن مظفر شاه السلطان (?)
Reverse : As 52, but year ٩٣٨ near the middle.
- No. 54. Copper : 207 grains : Mint ? : H. 938.
Obverse : As 53.
Reverse : As 52, but year ٩٣٨ at bottom.
- No. 55. Silver : 94 grains : Mint ? : H. 941.
Obverse : In double circle, each scalloped, بهادر شاه
Reverse : In double circle, each scalloped, السلطان منه ٩٤١
- No. 56. Copper : 82 grains : Mint ? : H. 943.
Obverse : بهادر شاه بن مظفر السلطان
Reverse : As 52, but year ٩٤٣
- No. 57. Silver : 111 grains : Mint : H. [9]41 ?
Obverse : In circle بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان
Reverse : As 52, but date illegible — perhaps [٩]٤١
- Mahmūd III, A. H. 943—961.
- No. 58. Copper : 237 grains : Mint ? : H. 944.
Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان
lower margin ٩٤٤
other margins illegible.

* This most interesting coin merits especial notice. Both it and No. 55 were presented to me by Mr. H. Nelson Wright of Allahābād.

- Reverse* : Square area ناصر الدنيا والدين
lower margin شهر (؟)
other margins illegible.
- No. 59. Copper : 154 grains : Mint ? : H. 945.
Obverse : محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه السلطان
Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح ٩٣٥
- No. 60. Mixed coppery metal : 147 grains : Mint ? : H. 947.
Obverse : In circular area محمود بن لطيف شاه السلطان
lower margin ٩٣٥
remainder of margin illegible.
Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح
- No. 61. Mixed coppery metal : 132 grains : Mint ? : Date 948.
Obverse : In circular area, as 60.
margin illegible.
Reverse : As 59, but year ٩٣٨
- No. 62. Copper : 144 grains : Mint ? : H. [9]55.
Obverse : Square area محمود شاه
right margin شهر
other margins illegible.
Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ٥٥—
- No. 63. Silver : 113 grains : Mint ٩ : H. 957.
Obverse : In square having peaked sides,
محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه السلطان ٩٥٧
Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح الواثق بالله المذبان
- No. 64. Silver : 54 grains : Mint ? : H. 961.
Obverse : In circle محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه السلطان
margin illegible.
Reverse : الواثق بالله المذبان [ابو] الفتح ناصر الدنيا
والدين [٩٦١]
- No. 65. Silver : 111 grains : Mint ? : H. [95]9?
Obverse : As 64.
Reverse : As 64, but year—9 (doubtful).
- No. 66. Mixed bronze-like metal : 141 grains : Mint ? : Date ?
Obverse : In circle, as 60.
margin blank.
Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح
• • • • •

Ahmad III., A. H. 961--968.

- No. 67. Copper: 168 grains: Mint?: H. 961 or 964.
Obverse: Square area احمد شاه السلطان
 margins illegible.
Reverse: ٩٦٤ or ٩٦١ (٩) غياث الدنيا والدين ابوالحجاج سنة
- No. 68. Silver: 222 grains: Mint?: H. 963.
Obverse: In square having double sides, each peaked,
احمد شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان عهد ٩٦٣
Reverse: عياث الدنيا والدين ابوالحجاج المعظم
بالله الرحمن
- No. 69a. Copper: 71 grains: Mint?: H. 963.
Obverse: احمد شاه ٩٦٣
- No. 70a. Copper: 217 grains: Mint?: Date?
Obverse: Square area احمد شاه
 margins illegible.
 * * * * *
- Muzaffar III., A. H. 968--980, and 991--992.
- No. 71. Silver: 110 grains: Mint?: H. 968.
Obverse: In square مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ٩٦٨
Reverse: شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالنصر المريد بقائيد
[الرحمن]
- No. 72. Silver: 114 grains: Mint?: H. 969.
Obverse: In scalloped circle, as 71, but year ٩٦٩
Reverse: As 71.
- No. 73. Copper: 144 grains: Ahmadābād?: H. 970.
Obverse: Square area مظفر شاه ٩٧٠
 margins illegible—perhaps traces of
شهر معظم احمد اباد
Reverse: شمس الدنيا [والدين] ابوالنصر
- No. 74a. Copper: 214 grains: Mint?: H. 971.
Obverse: In circle مظفر شاه ٩٧١
- No. 75. Copper: 175 grains: Ahmadābād: H. 977.
Obverse: Circular area مظفر شاه ٩٧٧
 margins illegible, but, from comparison with other
 specimens of this type, would seem to read
شهر معظم احمد اباد

- Reverse* : شمس الدنيا والدين
Some unusual symbols are present in both the upper and the lower portions of the reverse.
- No. 76. Silver : 67 grains : Mint ? : H. 978.
Obverse : Square area, peaked sides, مظفر شاه السلطان ۹۷۸
margins illegible.
Reverse : As 71.
- No. 77. Copper : 138 grains : Mint ? : Date ?
Obverse السلطان مظفر شاه
Reverse : شمس الدنيا والدين
- No. 78. Copper : 148 grains : Mint ? : H. 971.
Obverse : In circle مظفر شاه ۹۷۱
Reverse : گردون ضرب باد تا قرص مهر وماه
This reading of the difficult inscription on the reverse has been supplied by Mr. Nelson Wright, I.C.S. If we may take گردون ضرب as a periphrasis for "coin," the legend reads, 'May the coin remain as long as the orb of the sun and moon.' There seems to be some connexion between this inscription and that on 86.
- No. 79.* Silver : 174 grains : Ahmadābād : II, 991.
Obverse : In double linear square with dots between the lines,
السلطان مظفر شاه ابن محمود شاه ۹۹۱
احمدآباد
lower margin
other margins illegible.
Reverse : In double linear square with dots between the lines,
لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
the kalimah
upper margin (probably) بصدق ابي بكر
right margin (probably) بعدل عمر
other margins illegible.
- No. 80.* Copper : 85 grains : Ahmadābād : [H. 991].
Obverse : مظفر شاه بن محمود [شاه]
Reverse : دارالضرب احمدآباد

* Coins Nos. 79 and 80 were struck during Muzaffar III's second reign, A. H. 991-992.

No. 81. Silver: 72 grains : Mint? : Date?

Obverse : श्रीरावधण मङ्गरशाह - ११८ (for ११८)

Reverse : As 72, but the legend is very degenerate.

A Katār, or Rājput dagger, is represented in the lower part of the field of the reverse.

This coin is a Kacch Korī, struck during the reign of Rājadhāṇ—probably Rājadhāṇ I. (A.D. 166—1697). The Rā'os of Kacch retained on their coins, along with their own names written in Devanāgarī, the name of Muḥaffar (III.) of Gujarāt and the year 978 both in Persian characters. This type of coin continued to be struck until recent times, but, as the years passed, the figures of the date and the letters of the Persian legend on the reverse became ever more and more degenerate.

No. 82. Copper: 189 grains : [Navānagar] : Date?

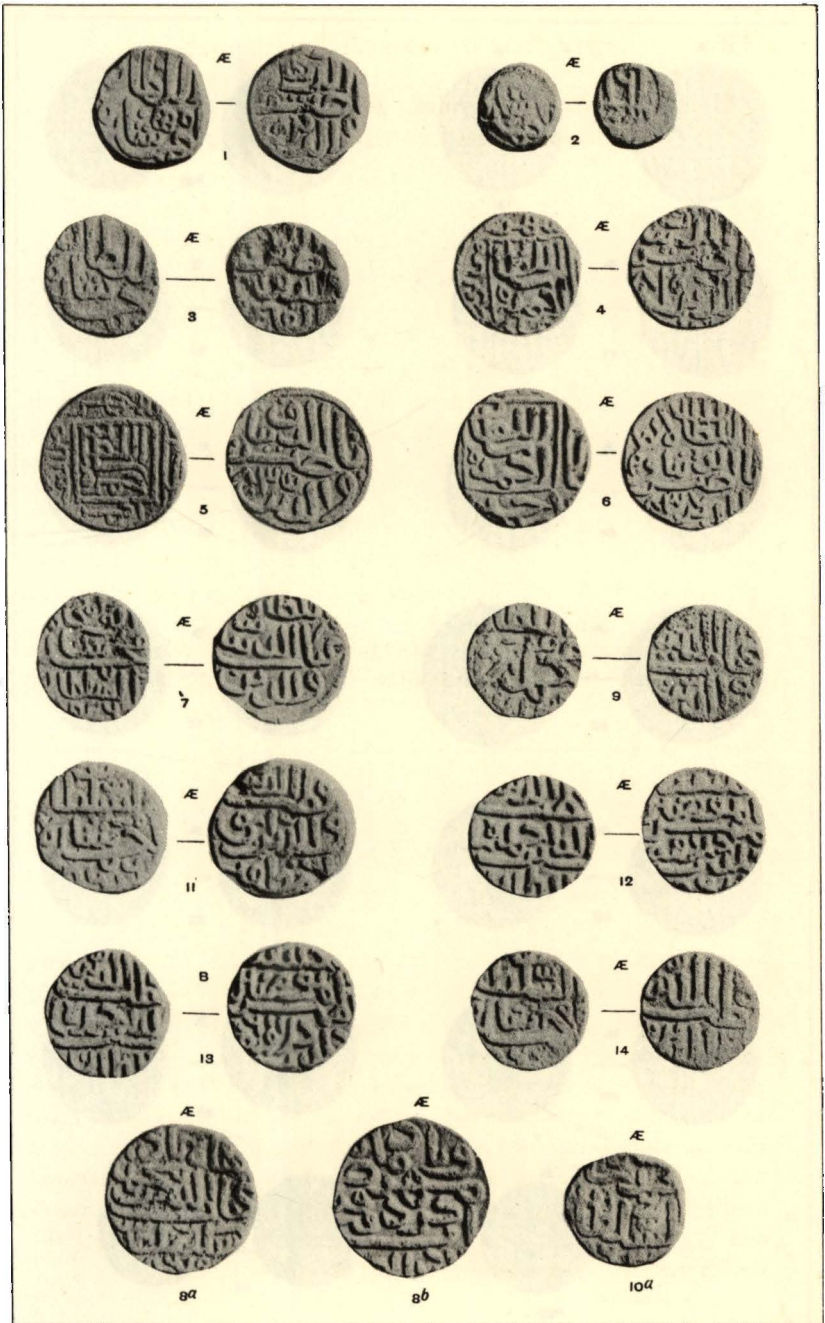
Obverse : श्रीजान السلطان مظفرशाह ११८ (for ११८).

Reverse : A very degenerate form of the legend on the reverse of Coin No. 72.

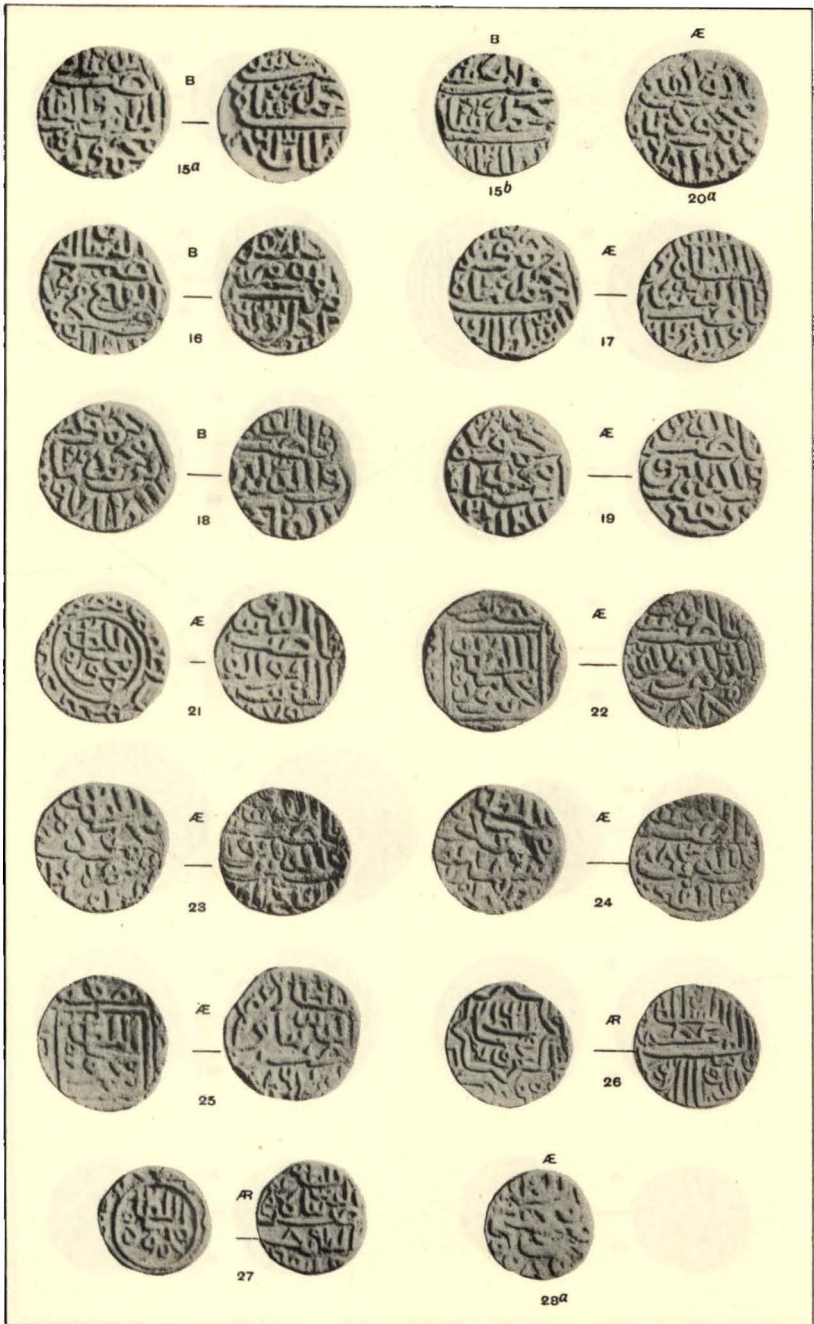
This is copper coin of the Navānagar State, a rough imitation of the coins struck by Muḥaffar III., before Akbar's conquest of Gujarāt.

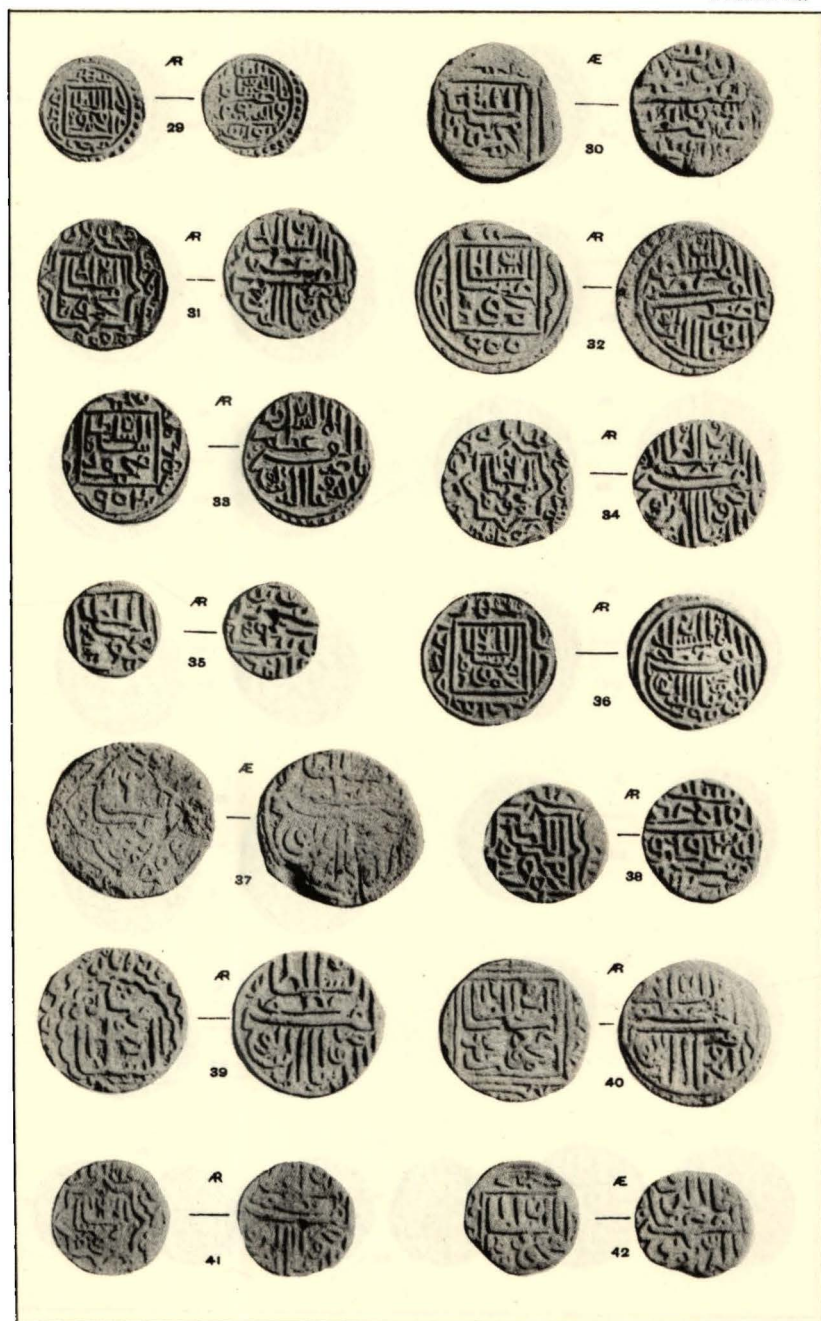
For the admirable plates that accompany this article I am indebted to my esteemed and learned friend Mr. Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S., Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Western India. With his unflinching kindness he offered to take casts in plaster, and from them photographs, of all coins that I might select for the purpose ; and it was this most generous offer of his—an offer entailing much tedious labour on his part—that more than all else encouraged me to undertake the writing of the present article. Never before have photographic plates been prepared representing so complete a set of the coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat, and by this valuable contribution Mr. Cousens has placed the readers of this Journal under a deep debt of obligation.

G. P. T

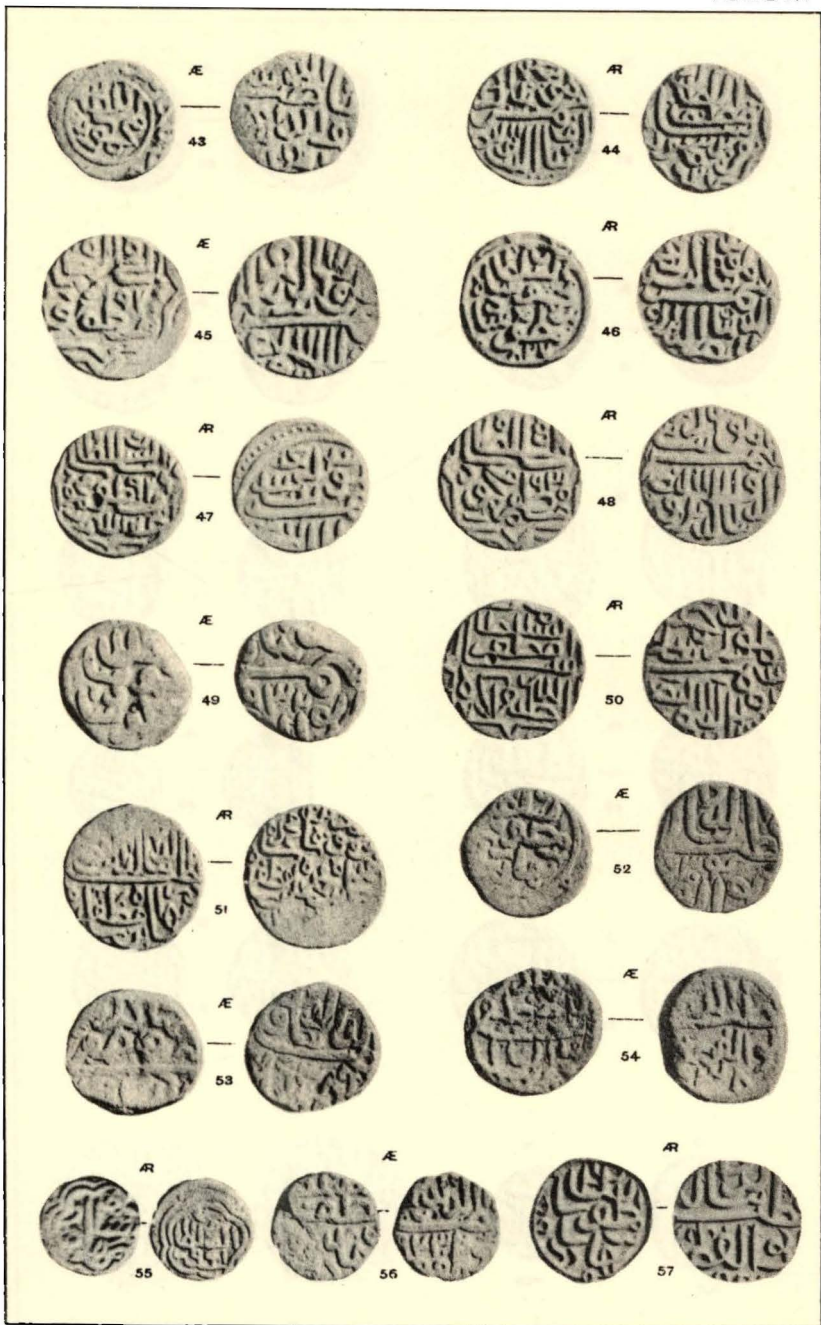


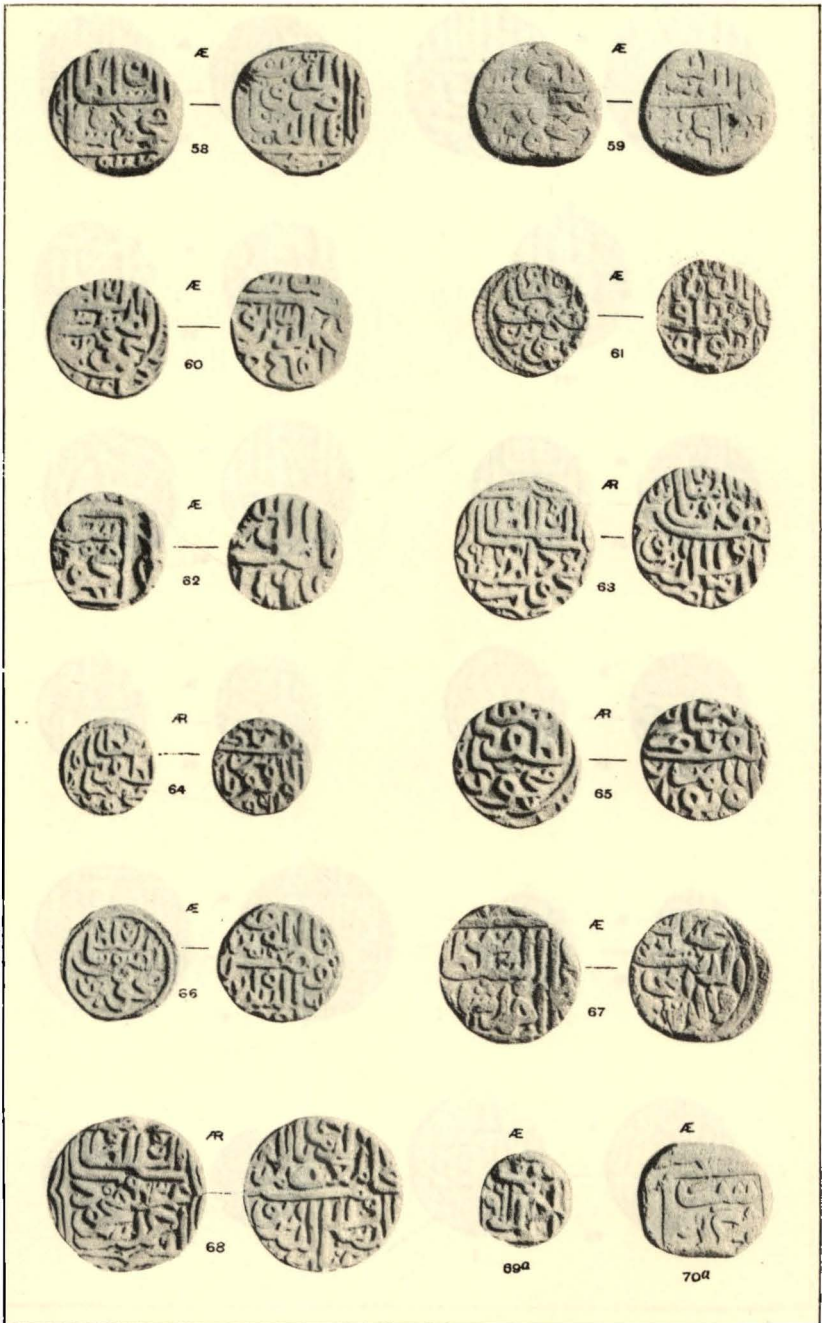
COINS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANAT.



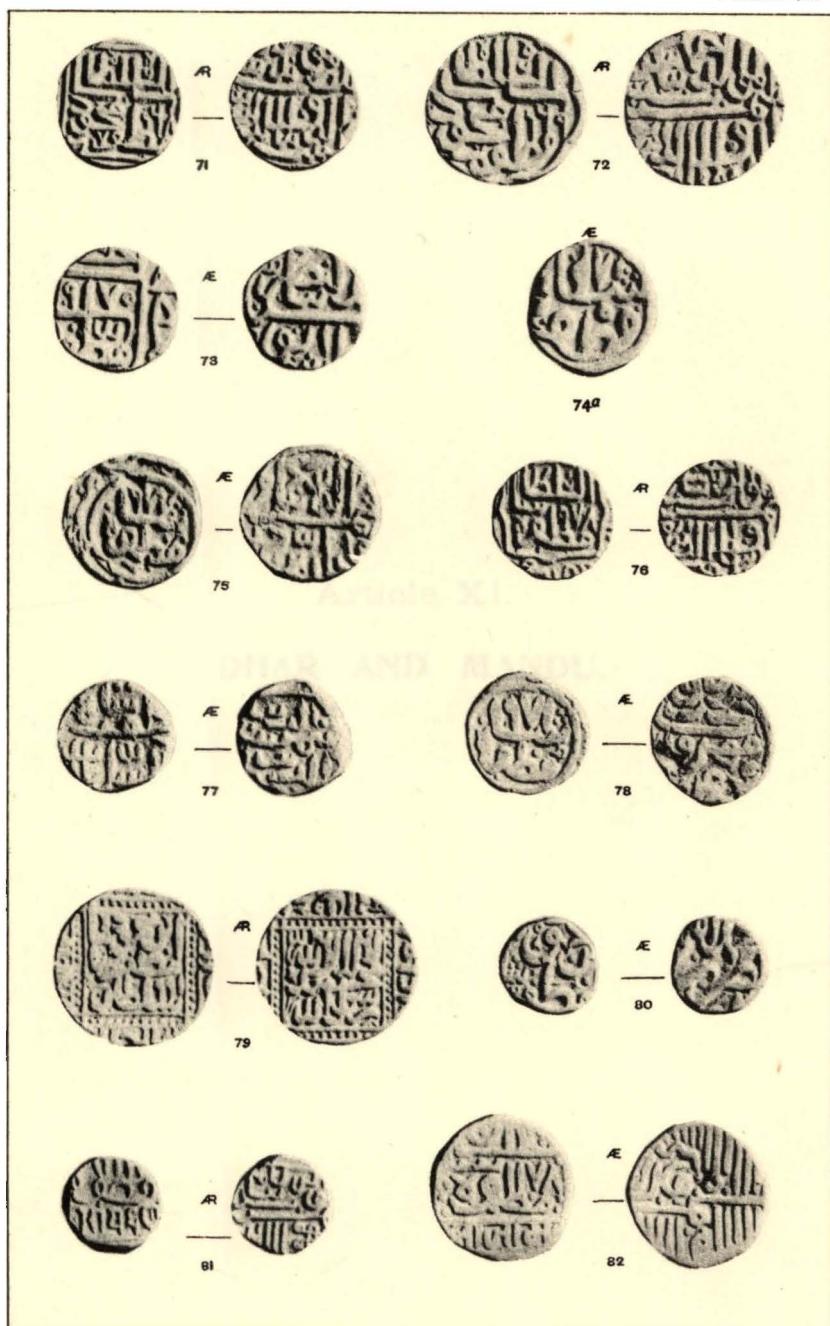


COINS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANAT.





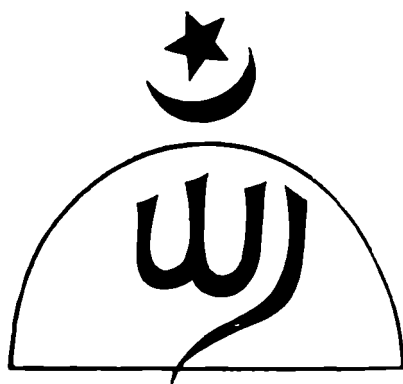
COINS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANAT.

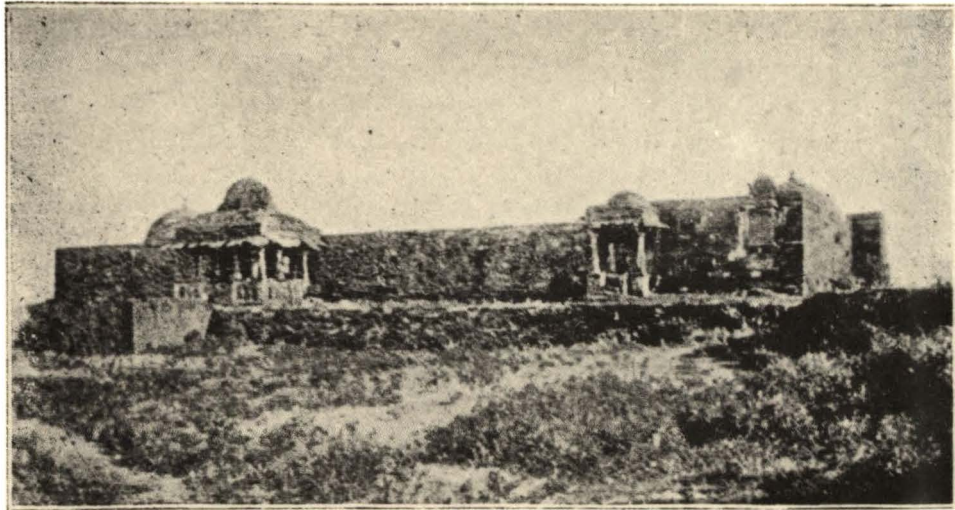


COINS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANAT.

Article XI.

DHAR AND MANDU.





THE LAT MUSJID, DHAN.

ART. XI.—*Dhar and Mandu*. By ERNEST BARNES, Capt., I.S.C.

(Communicated, June 1902.)

Preface.

AN effort has here been made to collect in one paper such information as is obtainable regarding these places.

For the historical portion of the work I have relied principally on Brigg's Translation of Farishta's History, the Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fuzl, and on Sir John Malcolm's History of Central India. A "History of Mandu" published by "a Bombay Subaltern" in 1844, and "Mandu" an article by Mr. (now Sir) J. M. Campbell, published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1896, have been of invaluable assistance to me.

Much of the information regarding the buildings of Dhar has not, to the best of my belief, appeared in print before, and I am much indebted to Mr. Lele, Superintendent of Education in the Dhar State, and to his Assistant Babaji Nalchekar, in the matter of the Sanskrit inscriptions, also to Moulvie Syed Ahmed and Munshi Abdur Rahman who have rendered me similar help in dealing with the Persian inscriptions given in the text. For the photographs of inscriptions my thanks are due to Mr. Bodas of the Dhar High School, while the sketches have been lent by one who wishes to remain *incognito*.

The Sanskrit inscriptions in Dhar which have recently come to light open up a field of research far beyond the scope of this work. The history of Dhar and Mandu prior to the Mahommedan conquest is shrouded in tradition, but there would seem to be some probability that scattered over the country and indeed in Dhar itself, inscriptions do exist from which it might be possible to elucidate facts connected with this period. To decipher and co-ordinate these inscriptions is obviously a work which requires special knowledge and time; but local officials have now been interested in this matter, and it may be hoped that with assistance from the Durbar, some arrangements will be possible under which such work might be carried on, in a systematic way.

Though now fallen from their high estate the countries of the Bhopawar Agency have had a great past, and not only in Dhar and Mandu, but in Nimar along the Narbada Valley to Bagh and

Darwani many striking evidences of former greatness are to be found. Few things would be more agreeable than to have an active share in bringing to light those forgotten times, but if that should not be possible, I would fain content myself with the hope that the present work, however imperfect, will serve to further stimulate inquiry, and that in the future progress may not depend solely on the chance interest displayed by European officials, but that native gentlemen, many of whom are well-fitted to take up the work, will recognise that it is part of their duty to their country to endeavour to preserve from oblivion the records of the past.

ERNEST BARNES.

DHAR, C. I., 6th October 1902.

DHAR.

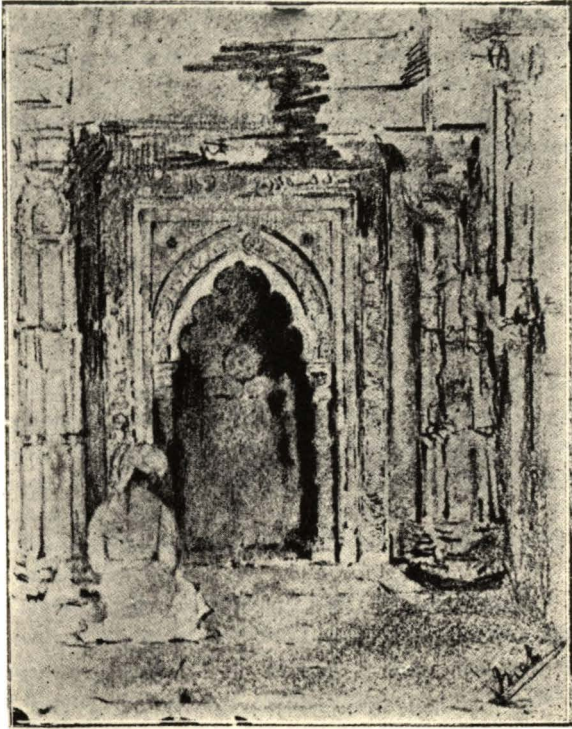
CHAPTER I.

Historical Sketch.

The Emperor Jehangir writes in his diary : " Dhar is one of the
 A. D. 567. oldest cities of India. Raja Bhoj lived in this city one thousand
 years ago. Dhar was also the capital of the Mahommedan rulers
 A. D. 1325. of Malwa. When Sultan Mahammed Tugluk was on his way to the
 A. H. 713. conquest of the Doocan, he built a cutstone fort on a raised site.
 Its outline is very elegant and beautiful, but the space inside is
 empty of buildings."

The ancient name of the city was " Dháru Nagari " (Sanskrit, "the town of blades of swords"), as it appears that this place was originally a school for military training; but it is now known among Mahommedans as "Piran Dhar" owing to the number of tombs of Mahommedan saints that are to be found in its vicinity.

There seems to be little doubt that in the ancient Hindu kingdom of Ujjain, Dhar held the second place. Farishta, in the introductory chapter of his history, says that Vikramajit built the fort of Dhar. By this is evidently meant the earthen ramparts of which traces still remain and which are locally attributed to Raja Bhoj. As to Raja Bhoj, Farishta adds :—" After the death
 A. D. 44. of Vikramajit, Malwa long remained in a state of anarchy, till at length Raja Bhoj setting up pretensions to the throne assumed the reins of Government. Raja Bhoj, also of the tribe of Puar, followed the steps of his predecessor."



THE "MEHRAB" IN "RAJA BHOJ'S SCHOOL"

Considerable confusion exists as to this famous character, owing probably to the fact that there were certainly two Rajas of that name and probably more. Dr. Bühler, in his Introduction to the *Vikramānka devacharita*, puts the probable date of his death at A.D. 1065. In this poem, Bilhana, the author, states that Dhārī was taken by storm during Bhoja's reign by Somesvara I. the Chalukya king (1040—1069), and that Bhoja had to flee. Bhoja is also mentioned by Kalhana in the *Raja tarangini* as a great patron of poets (A.D. 1062). With the assistance of inscriptions available, it is hoped that it will be possible to increase our knowledge on these points, but as things stand at present, concerning the long period of time from Vikramajit and Bhoj, up to the first Mahommedan invasion, we have no historical record. Farishta speaks of this invasion as having occurred in 1304; he says :

“About this time, *Ain-ul-mulk* Multhani was sent with an army to effect the conquest of Malwa. He was opposed by Koka, Raja of Malwa, with 40,000 Rajput horse and 100,000 foot; in the engagement which ensued *Ain-ul-mulk* proved victorious and reduced the cities of Ujjain, Mandu, Dhara Nagari (Dhar), and Chanderi.”
Alla-ud-din Khilji was then King of Delhi.

A. D. 1304.
A. H. 714.

It would appear that from this time Malwa acknowledged allegiance to the Delhi kings, until the reign of Mahommed II, son of Feroz Tughluk, when *Dilawar Khan Ghori*, a descendant on his mother's side of Sultan Shahab-ud-din Ghori of Damascus, was appointed governor. This prince subsequently established his independence, and at the suggestion of his son Alp Khan (afterwards Sultan Hoshang) assumed “the white canopy and scarlet pavilion of royalty.”

A. D. 1397.
A. H. 789.

A. D. 1401.
A. H. 804.

Dhar, not Mandu, was the capital both of the Mahommedan province and of the independent kingdom founded by *Dilawar Khan*, and it was not till after his death and the succession of his son Alp Khan that the pride of place passed to Mandu.

A. D. 1405.
A. H. 808.

From this time, until the Mahratta invasions, the city of Dhar loses its importance except as a theatre of the continued struggles between the kings of Malwa and Gujarat. It was also, as its many tombs attest, a favourite ground for the Mahommedan propaganda.

A. D. 1690. The first Mahratta invasion of Central India occurred in the
 A. H. 1108. year 1690, and for seven years their incursions into this part of
 A. D. 1696. Malwa continued. Malcolm in his history notes that in 1696
 A. H. 1114. the Mahrattas ascended the Nalcha Ghât and took Mandu. They
 also engaged the Mahommedan troops at Dhar, the fort of which
 they are said to have reduced after a siege of three months. These
 incursions only ceased on the advance of the celebrated Jai Singh
 of Jeypur, who according to Mahommedan writers, while acting
 on behalf of the emperor, maintained a secret understanding with
 the enemies of Anranzebe. At the commencement of the 18th
 century the invaders returned, and Udaji Puar¹ planted his
 standards at Mandu. This occupation also was but short lived,
 A. D. 1720. and it was not till the succession of Bajerao, the 2nd Peishwa, that
 A. H. 1138. permanent occupation was thought of.
 A. D. 1731.²
 A. B. 1149.

In that year² Bajerao marched with a large army from Poona and occupied Nimar. Dia Bahadur, who was at this time governor of Malwa, foreseeing the danger which threatened, sent continued appeals to Delhi for assistance, but no notice was taken of his requests, and he was left to make head as best he could against the storm. Expecting that the enemy would move by the Bagh-Tanda route, he blocked the passes in the neighbourhood of Bhopawar and marched thither with his army to await them. Meantime Bajerao's army, led by Malhar Rao Holkar and favoured by the Thakurs and Zemindars, crossed the Nerbada at Akbarpur (close to the present ford of Khalghat) and ascending the ghâts by the Bahru Pass through which the Gujri-Dhar road now passes, marched to Dhar. Dia Bahadur hastened back to meet the invaders and a battle was fought at Tirla (6 miles west of Dhar) in which the Mahommedan troops were completely defeated and Dia Bahadur was slain.

A. D. 1732. From this time the Mahommedan supremacy in Malwa ends.
 A. H. 1150. Two years later, Anand Rao Puar, the younger brother of Udaji
 A. D. 1734. (who had previously been deprived of all power by the Peishwa),
 A. H. 1153. was vested with authority to collect the Mahratta share of the
 revenue of Malwa and Guzerat. He shortly afterwards settled
 at Dhar, which province with some of the adjoining districts were
 assigned to him for the support of himself and his adherents. As

¹ The real founder of the present family.

Malcolm writes :— "It is a strange coincidence that the success of the Mahrattas should by making Dhar the capital of Anand Rao and his descendants, restore the sovereignty to a race which had seven centuries before been expelled from the Government of that city and territory."

Anand Rao Puar died in 1749, and was succeeded by his son Yeswant Rao, who accompanied the Peishwa to Hindoostan, and was one of the many distinguished leaders who fell at the battle of Paniput. He was succeeded by his son Kundi Rao, then only two and a half years old, and the management of the family possessions was carried on by the Diwan Madho Rao Urekar. From this time the power of the State declined, and its total ruin seemed inevitable when Raghuba Dada, being compelled to withdraw from Poona, sent his family to take refuge in Dhar. It was while in the fort that Anandi Bai, his principal wife, gave birth to Baji Rao, the last of the Peishwas. Dhar was immediately attacked by the combined force of Raghuba's enemies, and as Kundi Rao had openly espoused his cause, the Puar territory in Malwa was resumed, and was only restored on the surrender of Anandi Bai and her child. Kundi Rao married a daughter of Govind Rao Gaekwar, by whom he had a son Anand Rao, who was born six months after his father's death. Anand Rao remained at Baroda until he was seventeen years old, when he proceeded to Dhar, and although opposed by the Diwan Rung Rao Urekar, he succeeded in establishing himself in power. For the next twenty years the State was subjected to continued raids by the forces of Holkar and Scindhia. The former, Yeswant Rao Holkar, received the rebellious Diwan and, urged on by him, ravaged the country. Finding, however, he could not obtain all he wanted, the Diwan went on to Daulat Rao Scindhia and succeeded in instigating that chief to attack Dhar. In this year Anand Rao died, leaving his distracted territory to his widow Maina Bai. This courageous lady who was pregnant at the time of her husband's death, took up her residence in Mandu, where she gave birth to a son Ramchander Rao Puar. Her cause being strengthened by this event, she continued her struggle, in spite of all difficulties, to maintain the independence of the State. Her son died when he was three years old, but Maina Bai immediately had recourse to adoption, and with the concurrence of both Scindhia and Holkar nominated her sister's son, who

A. D. 1749.

A. H. 1167.

A. D. 1761.

A. H. 1179.

A. D. 1780.

A. H. 1198.

A. D. 1797.

A. H. 1215.

A. D. 1807.

A. H. 1225.

A. D. 1810.

A. H. 1228.

was about the same age as her own child, and seated him on the *gaddi* under the name of Ramchander Puar. The next seven years were a mere struggle for existence, and when the British forces entered Malwa, Dhar itself was the only possession¹ that remained to Ramchander Puar, while the entire revenue of the State did not exceed Rs.35,000. With the advent of the British, however, a rapid change took place. By opportune policy, Scindhia was induced to return the Badnawar pergana and his aid was invoked to recover Bersia which had been occupied by the Pindari Leader Karim Khan. Finally, on the 10th of July 1819, a treaty was concluded with the British, and Dhar was saved from the annihilation which undoubtedly awaited it. Prosperity rapidly returned, and Maina Bai and her Minister Bapu Raghunath, both of whom outlived Ramchander Rao, continued to carry on the administration.

A. D. 1833.
A. H. 1231.

Ramchander, who had married a granddaughter of Daulat Rao Scindhia, died childless in 1833. His widow adopted as his successor Yeswant Rao Puar of Malthan (Deccan), then about twelve years of age, and the administration was continued by Bapu Raghunath till his death in 1836. Nothing of importance marks the rule of this chief, but he introduced an organised system of government, and left a reputation for great generosity among the people. The fine temple of Kalka Devi to the north-west of the town, which was entirely repaired by him, shows his religious tendencies. He died suddenly in May 1857, having nominated on his death-bed

A. D. 1836.
A. H. 1254.

Anand Rao Puar, his half-brother, as his successor. Anand Rao, then a boy of thirteen, was unable to stem in his territory the torrent of mutiny and disaffection which at that time spread over the whole country. His army, mostly composed of Makranis and Pathans, having looted the Agency at Bhopawar, occupied the fort at Dhar until it was captured by the British. In consequence the State was confiscated, but was subsequently restored to Anand Rao, with the exception of the Bairsia Perganna.²

A. D. 1857.
A. H. 1275.

1st Nov. 1857.

A. D. 1860.

British management was maintained, however, till 1864, when ruling powers were given to the chief. During his long rule, the

¹ The Nimar perganas of Dharampuri and Tikri were still nominally in possession of the family, but no revenue was derived from these perganas.

² This pergana was transferred to Bhopal as a reward for the services during the mutiny rendered by Sekunder Begam.



THE DOORWAY KAMAL MAULA'S SHRINE.

prosperity of Dhar continued to increase, and the revenue rose from about 5 lakhs in 1857 to 9 lakhs in 1896. Anand Rao received several marks of favour at the hands of the Imperial Government. On the occasion of the Delhi assemblage in 1877, he was granted the title of Maharaja as a personal distinction, and was also appointed a Knight Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. In 1883, the decoration of Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire was also conferred upon him. He died childless in July 1898, having previously adopted his nephew Udaji Rao Puar of Malthan. Of Anand Rao the people say : "He was short of stature, but large of heart"; and indeed no truer thing could be said of him ; but with all his unlimited hospitality towards Europeans as well as natives, he left his treasury full, and thus enabled the State to tide over with comparative ease the disastrous years which followed his death. A. D. 1877. A. D. 1898.

Udaji Rao Puar, whose succession was immediately recognised by the Government of India, is now sixteen years of age, and is being educated at the Daly College at Indore, the management of the State being in the hands of a Superintendent under the direct control of the Political Agent. A. D. 1902.

CHAPTER II.

Buildings.

The Fort is a rectangular construction of red sandstone, attributed to Sultan Mahmud Tughluk of Delhi. On the third gate there is an inscription to the effect that "in the reign of Aurangzebe this gate was constructed during the administration of Ashur Beg.¹ a man of great resources and courage." A. D. 1325-15. A. H. 725-762. A. D. 1690. A. H. 1108.

During the Mahratta invasion the fort played an important part, and it was here that Anandi Bai took refuge and gave birth to Baji Rao, the third Peishwa. A toy well and miniature throne with slide are shown as having been his playthings. Later, at the commencement of the nineteenth century, the forts of Dhar and Mandu were practically the only pieces of territory remaining to the present family, and it was from here that Maina Bai, the courageous Rani of the time, directed her eventually successful struggles to preserve the State for her infant son, Ramchander Rao. A. D. 1857. A. H. 1275.

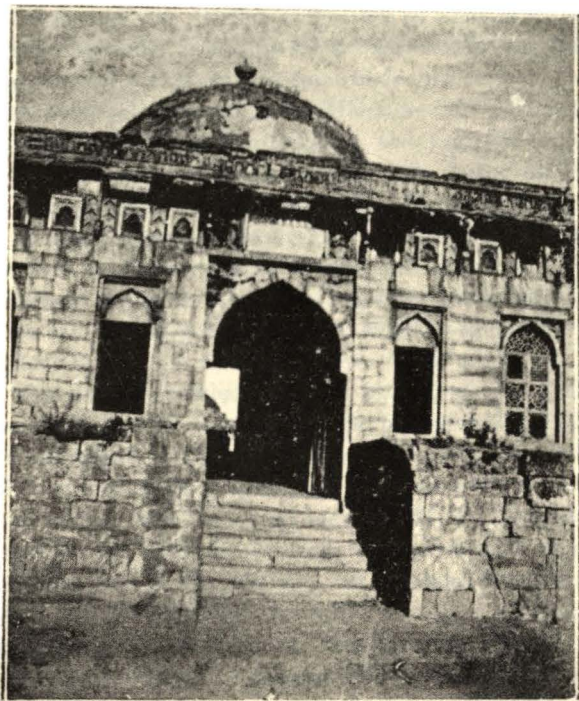
In 1857 the Arabs, Makranis, and Pathans, then in the service of

¹ Foster brother of Shah Jehan.

the State, joined the Amjhera mutineers and looted the Agency at Bhopawar. They then returned to Dhar, and having completely overawed the administration, took possession of the fort, which they held for about three months. An eye-witness describes what happened as follows: "The Diwan, Ramchand Rao (son of Bapuji Rughunath, the able minister of Maina Bai), the Raja being then a minor, informed the British authorities of what had occurred, and although frightened to openly ask for assistance, maintained secret correspondence with them. A force under the command of General Stewart eventually marched from Mhow, and the mutineers, hearing of its advance, took up positions on the high ground to the east covering the approaches to the city. On being attacked, they immediately retired to the fort. The British were without siege guns, and had to wait the arrival of two heavy pieces from Mhow. These guns were placed at the distance of about 300 yards from the south-west corner of the fort, and after battering the wall for thirteen days (using, as rumour goes, 40,000 projectiles), the breach was effected, which is still to be seen. That night the mutineers fled without the knowledge of the British, and the following day the bombardment was renewed. The prisoners who had remained in the fort began to wave their 'dhotis' in sign of surrender, and the British then took possession." It was only at the personal request of the late Maharaja, made to H. E. Lord Northbrook when he visited Dhar as Viceroy, that permission was given to rebuild the gap in the rampart. It has been found necessary to postpone the completion of this work owing to existing financial difficulties. The fort, at present, contains the jail and sepoy lines and a gigantic "baori." The palace known as the Karbuza Mahal, on the north-west bastion now in disrepair, apparently dates from the Mandu period.

A. D 1875.

At the upper entrance gate is a tomb known as that of Data Bandhi Chor. Very briefly the tradition is as follows: — The saint, by name Hazrat Mahbud, said to have been a servant in the fort, at the command of his mother, released all the prisoners. In struggling with the guards his head was severed from his body and fell at the place where this tomb now stands. The headless body continued the fight until it reached a spot about 200 yards to the north, where it fell and was buried. At this spot also a much-frequented shrine exists.



THE LAT MUSJID EASTERN ENTRANCE.

Among the guns stored in the Arsenal, at the entrance of the fort, there are some old pieces of the Mandu period of most primitive character; also a few camel guns. These were brought from Mandu for safe custody at the suggestion of the Political Agent¹ about 1878.

The Lat Masjid.

This mosque owes its erection to Dilawar Khan, first king of Malwa, the material used having evidently been taken from Hindu temples. The northern gateway is of particularly Jain-like style, and is in good preservation. The eastern gate is of a later epoch, and shows much more the influence of Mahomedan architecture. There are two inscriptions; that on the northern doorway is in prose, and to the effect that Ahmed Shah, known as Dilawar Khan, laid the foundation stone in the year A.D. 1405. The second inscription on the eastern entrance is in verse, and may be thus transcribed:—

A.D. 1405.
A.H. 803.

“ Lord of the earth and mighty source of lofty heaven
 “ The support of the people of this world
 “ And sun of the zenith of perfection
 “ In Him all good qualities are entered—
 “ Of descent noble as the heavens
 “ Powerful as the angels, and equal to Jesus
 “ In justice, charity, gravity, war, assembly and magnificence
 “ The eye of heaven hath not seen
 “ A person of such lofty thoughts
 “ The great supporter of Islam
 “ Ahmed Shah Dawad
 “ A hero of such noble qualities
 “ As Ghor may well be proud of.
 “ The helper and supporter of the religion of the Prophet
 “ Dilawar Khan, the chosen one of the Great God
 “ Disciple of Nazir-ud-din Mahommed
 “ This Asylum and place of protection for all great men
 “ In the city of Dhar constructed this assembly mosque
 “ At a happy moment and on an auspicious day
 “ A mosque like the second Kába of the world
 “ The praise of which is beyond description
 “ A mosque which resembles one built by angels
 “ Or the Kába by which the great world has received pleasure and beauty.

¹ Colonel Lester.

“It was the year 808 Hijri that the construction of the mosque was completed with all splendour.”

Eighty feet from the northern gateway lies the square beam of iron by which the mosque is known. Jehangir in his diary speaks of it as follows:—

“Outside this fort (Dhar), there is an assembly mosque which has in front of it fixed in the ground a four-cornered iron pillar about four feet round. When Sultan Bahadur of Gujrat took Malwa, he wished to carry this column to Gujrat. In digging it up, the pillar fell and broke in two, one piece measuring 22 feet and the other 13 feet. As it was lying here uncared for, I (Jehangir) ordered the big piece to be carried to Agra, to be put up in the courtyard of the shrine of Him, whose abode is the heavenly throne (Akbar) to be used as a lamp-post.”

Evidently Jehangir's orders were never carried out. The piece fallen *in situ* actually measuring 24 feet is where Jehangir saw it; the second piece, 12 feet long, was removed to the Agency Garden some years ago. The end of this piece is octagonal and suggestive of its having been made for a lamp-post.

On the piece lying near the mosque is a short inscription in Persian as follows:—

.D. 1591.

“In the reign of the most exalted emperor, the reflection of the Almighty, while on his way to the Deccan in the eighth year of Asfandia, 42 Julusi, corresponding to 1000 of the Hijra, the Emperor Akbar passed here with great pomp, and his order for engraving this inscription was carried into effect by Sharif Mahommed.”

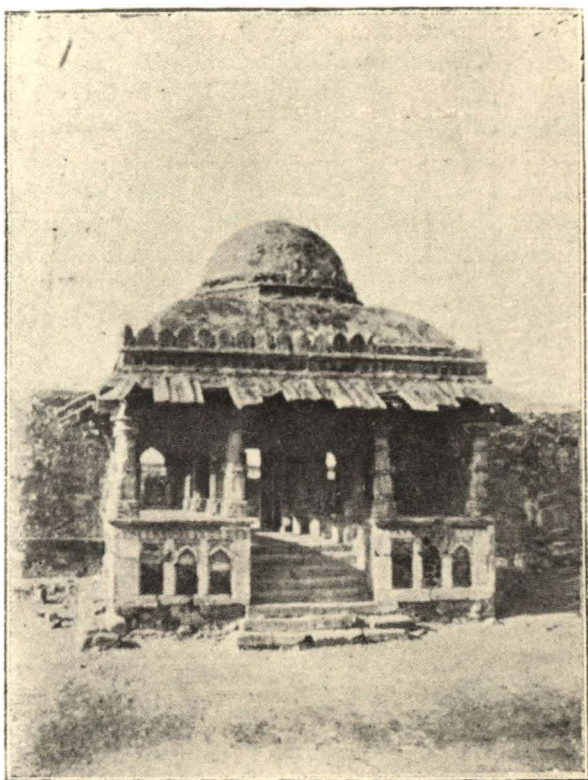
The “Kamal Maula.”

This enclosure comprises the tomb of:—

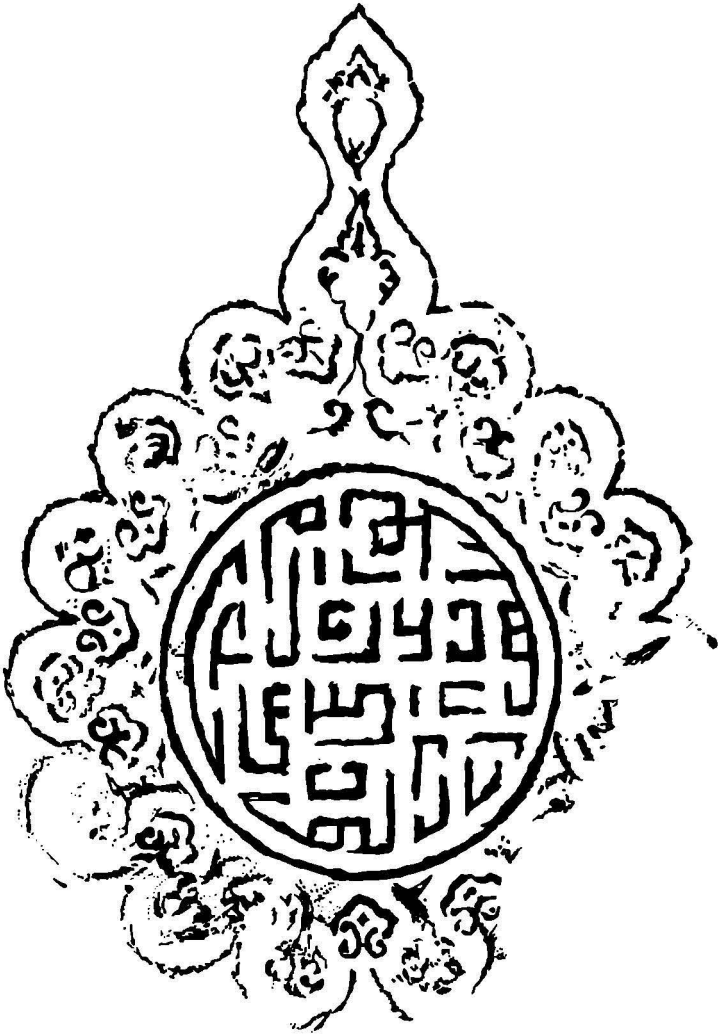
- (a) Shaikh Kamal-ud-din Sahib Malvi;
- (b) The alleged tomb of Mahmūd Khilji, third king of Mandu;
- (c) A mosque; and
- (d) Several other ruined tombs of no historic importance.

As regards the tomb of Kamal-ud-din, the inscription over the doorway reads thus:—

- “This lofty tomb of beauty, this dome which reflects light,
- “This is the shrine of the saint
- “And people coming from distant places
- “Should here prostrate themselves.



THE LAT MUSJID, NORTHERN ENTRANCE.



THE BLUE TILE ON THE WALL, KAMAL MAULA'S TOMB.

“ Though the space was small, still the gateway was constructed
with beauty

“ The small arches over the platform, the threshold and this gateway

“ Resemble the new moon.

“ For the repose of all great persons

“ And for the support of all

“ In the happy reign of the emperor of the world

“ Mahmūd Shah Khilji

“ In the year 861 Hajri this was constructed.

A. D. 1457,

“ May the place of his life be everlasting.

“ On the threshold of the Lord of this world and of Religion

“ Mahmūd lay prostrate.

“ May his kindness continue upon me

“ In the same way as it is extended to all who bow before him.”

The origin of the quaint blue tile, with cufic characters, let into the wall above the Mulvi's tomb is a puzzle. There is nothing similar to it to be found in the neighbourhood, and up to the present it has not been possible to trace whence it came. The only mention of it is to be found in a Persian work called “ Guljar Abrar,” where a translation is given in Persian verse, which we may thus transcribe :

“ On this tomb upon a green stone with golden letters it is written that, in this world nothing remains of good men, except their goodness.”

Kamāl-ud-din, known as “ Malwi,” because of his long residence in Malwa, was one of the many disciples of the famous Nizam-ud-din Auliya, who flourished in Delhi at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Sent by his spiritual guide to Malwa, Kamāl became famous as a preacher and “ attained the heights of sanctity.” The date of his death is unknown, but it must have occurred many years prior to the erection by Mahmūd Khilji of the buildings which adorn his grave. His teacher, Nizam-ud-din, died in A.D. 1325; it is thus hardly possible that Kamāl can have lived beyond A.D. 1400, and he cannot, therefore, have met Mahmud in the flesh. It would seem probable that these buildings were erected as a thanks-offering to the local saint after Mahmūd's return from his successful campaign against the Rana Kumbhu of Chitor.¹

¹ Since this was written an inscription has been exhumed from the small graveyard in this enclosure. It is dated, 795 A.H. (1395 A.D.), i.e., prior to the assumption of sovereignty by Dilawar Khan, 1st king of Malwa, and states that in that year in the reign of Mahmud Shah, son of Sultan Firoz Tughlak, the small and ancient mosques of Dhar which had fallen into ruin through the ravages of time were repaired in a beautiful fashion by Khan Falak Dilawar Khan (then Subah of Malwa).

Opposite that of Kamāl-ud-din stands a tomb which, local tradition insists, is that of Mahmūd Khilji himself. Again to quote tradition, the great warrior is said to have expressed the wish that he "should be buried in the place where people removed their shoes in going to visit the tomb of his patron saint Kamāl-ud-din."

Raja Bhoja's School.

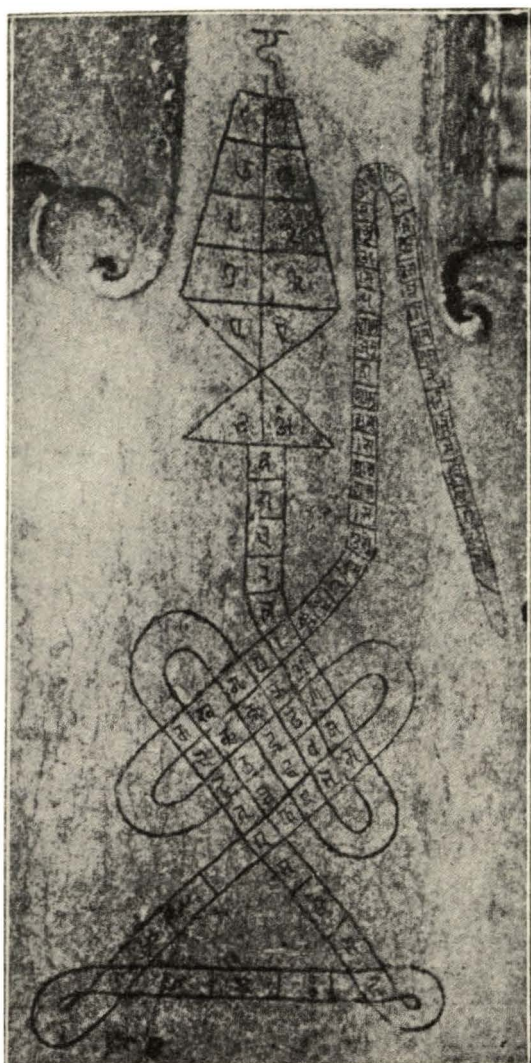
The mosque, contiguous to Kamāl-ud-din's tomb, is known among the Hindoo population as "Raja Bhoja ka Madrassa," i. e., Raja Bhoja's School. In its present form, it is contemporaneous with the buildings round it, but, as in the case of the Lât Musjid, all the materials used seem to have been taken from Hindoo buildings. The decoration of the "Mehrab" and the dome are more elaborate than in the Lât Musjid.

As confirming the local tradition of the existence of Raja Bhoja's school in this neighbourhood, the two *Serpobandhi* pillar inscriptions, photographs of which are given below, are extremely interesting.

The following explanation of them, has kindly been given me by Mr. K. K. Lele, Superintendent of Education in the Dhar State.

"Inscription No. I is made up by the windings of one serpent only. It contains the Sanskrit alphabet in the Nagari characters of the 11th or 12th century A. D., and the chief inflectional terminations of nouns and verbs. The former are given in the body of the serpent, and the latter in the tail. The consonants do not differ very much from those in common use now; but the vowels have quite a different shape. The whole inscription is 2 ft. 3 in. in height and 1 ft. in breadth. There are altogether 53 letters and symbols, and 21 nominal and 18 verbal inflectional terminations. As the alphabet plays the chief part in this inscription, it may be called alphabetical."

"Inscription No. II is bigger in size, 2½ ft. in height and 1½ ft. in breadth, with greater contents. It is made up by the intertwining of two serpents, probably male and female. It contains chiefly the personal terminations of the ten tenses and moods of Sanskrit grammar. There are three numbers in Sanskrit, and two sets of terminations (*Parasmaipada* and *Atmanepada*, transitive and intransitive) for each of the tenses and moods: so for the three persons in each there



SERPOBANDHA PILLAR INSCRIPTION NO. I.



SERPOBANDHA PILLAR INSCRIPTION NO. II.

are altogether 18 terminations, 9 of each set, as shown below:—

Parasmai.			Atmane.			
Sing.	du.	pl.	Sing.	du.	pl.	
3rd person	} 3rd person	...	...
2nd		2nd
1st		1st

Inscription Serpobandha No. II.

Thus there are altogether $18 \times 10 = 180$ verbal terminations, 90 of each set, given in the table and numbered on the right-hand side. They are given in slanting columns from the left to the right in the spaces left between the zigzag turnings of the serpents. On the left-hand side are marked the names of the two sets of terminations, the three persons: the third or prathama, the second or madhyama, and the first or uttama; and the three numbers by the figures 1, 2 and 3. The names of the tenses are marked on the top of each column by the initial letter of each. In Sanskrit, besides primitive verbal bases, there are several (not fewer than a dozen) derivative bases of verbs, which show causation, desire, intensity, etc. These and other details are indicated in the round knots below the principal table. The inscription is based on the *Ka-tantra* grammar of Sanskrit.

Above the table there are two Sanskrit stanzas of the Anustubha metre of 32 letters divided into 4 feet of 8 letters each. In the first verse occur the names of Udayaditya and Naravarman, and in the second that of Udayaditya alone. Now these Udayaditya and Naravarman were the almost immediate successors of the Raja Bhoja who ruled at Dhar during the first half of the eleventh century of the Christian era.

The probable meaning of the stanzas is as follows:—

“The swords of the king Udayaditya and Naravarman were equally ready for the protection of the varnas (*i.e.*, the four castes) and the letters of the alphabet. This pillar inscription has been put here by king Udayaditya for the gratification of poets and princes.”

In addition to these evidences, a considerable portion of the floor of the mosque is paved¹ with black stone slabs, on which can be distinctly seen traces of the inscriptions which once covered them, but which unfortunately have been almost totally defaced by the Mahomedan conquerors. Finally, a recent close inspection has brought to light the fact that the reverse side of two of the great black stone slabs which form the lining of the “Mehrab” are covered with similar inscriptions, which happily by their position have escaped destruction, but of which,

¹ For about 1,200 sq. ft.

owing to that same position, it has only been possible up to the present to take fragmental impressions. These impressions seem to show that the inscriptions are a dramatic composition probably on an historical subject, written in the reign of a successor of Bhoja.¹

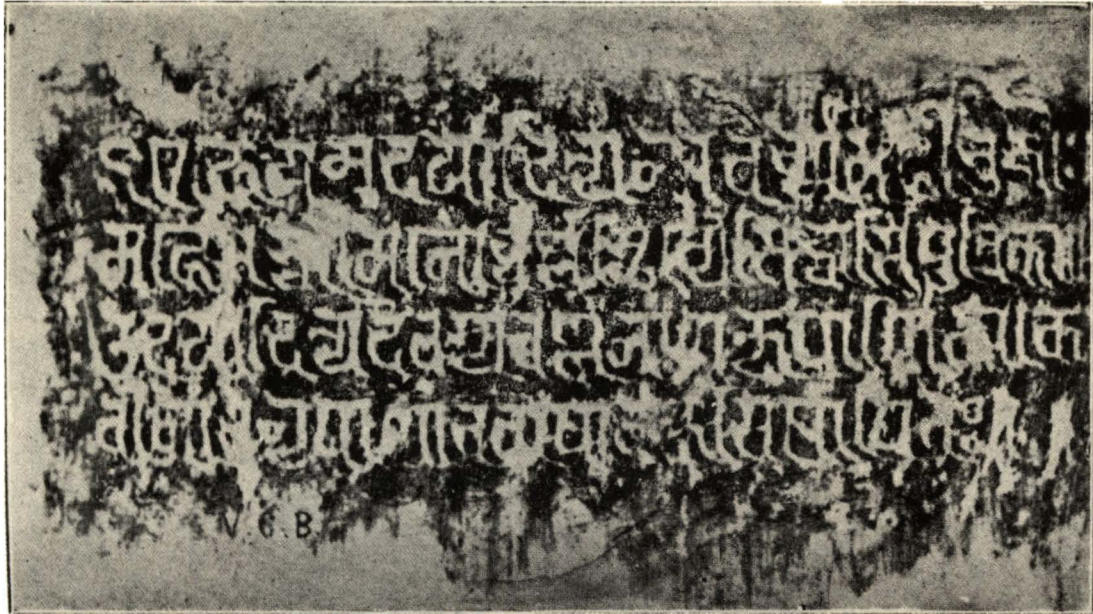
Mausoleum of Abdulla Shah Changal.

This mausoleum lies south-west of the city on the ancient ramparts of the town. The tomb itself is insignificant, but the history connected with it, as detailed in the Persian inscription over the gateway leading up to the tomb, is of interest. It runs as follows :—

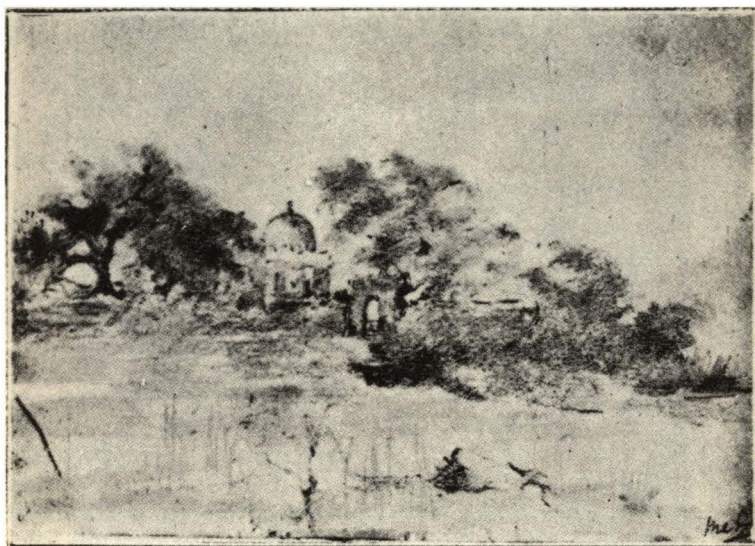
- “ His tomb appears to be wholly a reflection of light
 “ And the Saint who is buried here was the true lover of God.
 “ His voice possessed a power as marvellous as that of David
 “ And by it men and even animals were charmed ;
 “ But what of men, even Angels do homage to his tomb.
 “ It was in the palmy days of the Hindus that he came to this city
 “ And Raja Bhoj,² then king, was so affected by his marvellous power
 “ That he embraced the Faith.
 . D. 1296- “ Mahmud Shah Khilji repaired the dome over his tomb, which
 310. Allah-ud-din Ghōri had constructed before him.
 . D. 1454. “ He is the first and foremost of the saints, and his tomb was
 constructed here in 857 A. H.
 “ He is termed Changal, because all who once visited him remained
 for ever fascinated by his marvellous power.

¹ The dimensions of the stone from which impressions have been taken are 5' 8" x 5', and the whole inscription consists on a rough calculation of about 80 lines of 116 syllables each. Owing to the position and then only with great difficulty 40 half-lines have been copied. The inscription is in classical Sanskrit poetry and was written by the Royal Tutor Madan to be reproduced at Dhar at the spring festival. It is written in honor of Arjuna Varma Deo (A.D. 1209—1217) and mention is made of the wars between the Pramanas and the Chalukyas now happily ended by marriage. A glimpse is given of the high states of civilisation and refinement then prevailing in Dhar, which is described as a city of palaces having beautiful pleasure gardens on the hills surrounding the town. The people prided themselves in the glories of Bhoja who had made Dhar the Queen of Malwa. The excellence of the Dhar musicians as well as of its scholars is also mentioned. It appears that some of the facts mentioned in this inscription are confirmed by a copper-plate grant of Arjuna Varma, dated Samvat 1272 (A. D. 1215) which was written by the same author Madan, and a copy of which has been published in the American Oriental Society's Journal (Part VII.).

² According to Tod, the dates of the three Bhojas were : A.D. 667, A.D. 665, A.D. 1305. The last was the predecessor of Udayaditya.



SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION ABOVE SERPOBANDHA NO. II.



THE TOMB OF SHAH CHAGAL.

“ He has attained the highest degree of piety and virtue known to the Dervishes.”

The Hindus naturally scoff at the idea that a Raja Bhoj should have been converted to Mahomedanism, but the inscription given above shows how ancient is the tradition, while the Mahomedan story, which is fully detailed in the “Annals of Malwa,” goes on to say that Raja Bhoja on his conversion took the name of Abdullah and was buried on the same spot as his teacher. A series of small tombs in the same enclosure are said to be those of forty missionaries who were massacred at the instance of Raja Bhoj himself, evidently prior to the arrival of Shah Changāl! The latter was a native of Medina and, in Malwa, one of the earliest apostles of the new creed.¹

Besides the above there are some twelve other tombs of known “Pirs” scattered in and about the city, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One of the most prominent, and whose tomb is visible at a distance of about a mile south from the Shah Changāl is that of Hazrat Pir Parahan. It is said of him that one of the elements, namely air, was under his control; the seat on which he used to sit floated in the ether, and on it he moved at will from place to place. Hence his name, Pir Parahan—the flying Saint. Another of historical interest is the shrine of Maulana Ghiyas, who is mentioned by Abul Fazl in conjunction with Shaikh Kamal and others as having been one of the saintly followers of Nizamuddin Auliya.² His tomb lies on the Khande Rao hill. He is more specially a patron of learning, and to this day the youth of Dhar frequent his shrine when troubled with the prospect of an examination.

It may here be noted that these Mahomedan shrines of Dhar are equally sacred both to Hindus and Mahomedans.

The only Hindu building of general interest is the temple of Kali, *Kalka Dev*, beautifully situated on a hillock overlooking the lotus-covered tank to the north-west of the city.

The building as it now stands is due to Jaswant Rao Puar, grandfather of the present chief, but the shrine itself is of a far remoter period, and is alleged to date from the early Hindu kings. When the Mahomedans invaded Malwa, the image, to avoid its destruction, was removed and hidden in the city, where it is still to be seen in a miserable hut. It is held by the devotees of Kali that with the exception of the famous Durga of Bengal, this is the only image of the goddess which escaped destruction and survived those iconoclastic times.

¹ I have not succeeded in finding any mention of this saint in the *Āin-i-Akbari*.

² *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. III., p. 365. Jarrett's translation.

The modern city.

But little comment is necessary on the modern city. It dates from the commencement of last century when Maina Bai built the palace and the Utawad gate as well as the fine temple of Mahadeo in the centre of the town. Of public buildings there are practically none, with the exception of the High School and the hospital founded by Anand Rao Puar, the late Maharaja.

CHAPTER III.

Nalcha.

Nalcha, sixteen miles from Dhar, is now a small village, the headquarters of a tahsil of the same name.

A. D. 1617. It has lost much of its importance since 1820 when it was the headquarters of Sir John Malcolm and still more, since the time when Jehangir visited it, and in his diary describes it as follows:— "What can be written worthy of the beauty and pleasantness of Nalcha? The neighbourhood is full of mango trees, the whole of the country is one unbroken and restful evergreen. Owing to its beauty, I remained there three days.

"Nalcha is one of the best places in Malwa. It has an extensive growth of vines, and among its mango groves and vineyards wander streamlets of water. I arrived at a time (February) when, contrary to the Northern clime, the vines were in blossom and fruit, and so great was the vintage that the meanest boor could eat grapes to his fill. The poppy was also in flowers, and its fields delighted the eye with their many coloured beauty."

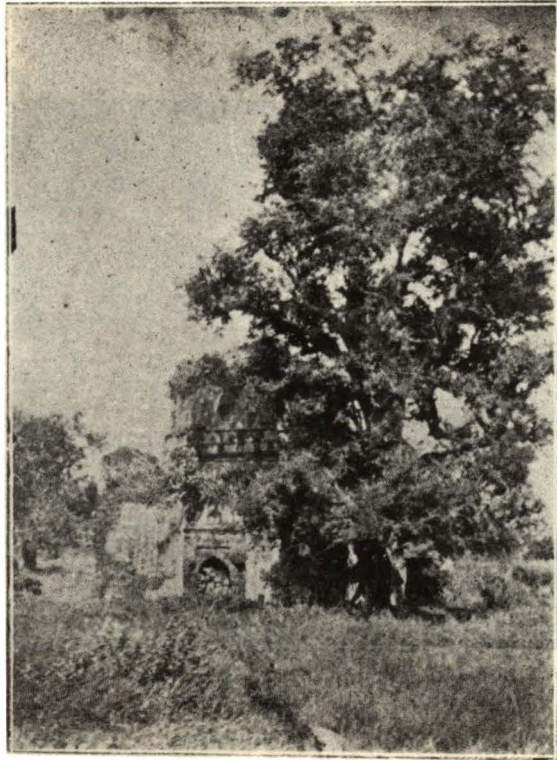
The vines have disappeared, and nothing is sadder than to see the ruin which the recent drought has caused to the mango-groves of which Jehangir speaks. Still much of the natural beauty of the place remains, and one can well understand how Sir John Malcolm chose it as a residence. The house where he lived lies a few hundred yards west of the village, and as he himself records is one of the palaces built by Mahmūd Khilji during the reign of the latter in Mandu.

A. D. 1840. Until about 1840, it was used as a travellers' bungalow, but has since fallen into total disrepair.

A. D. 1411. The picturesque ruins surrounding the tank close to which the road passes, date from the time of Mahmūd Khilji who, it is recorded, built here some beautiful palaces and mosques. From Nalcha to Mandu, the road becomes a sort of *Via Appia*. On the rising ground at a short distance from the village the ruins commence which extend without intermission to the hill of Mandu. On the right is a chain of



THE UTAWAD GATE, DHAB.



NALCHA.

hills, nearly every one of which is topped by crumbling relics of the past. Most of the buildings are quadrangular and surmounted by cupolas below which are ruins of ornamental carving with traces of the original blue enamelled ground. Some of the buildings are large with walled enclosures and porticos. As a "Bombay Subaltern" writing in 1844 says: "They form a dreary picture of the mutability of earthly pomp; a cutting satire on the vanities and nothingness of human endeavour; the hardy pipal tree has clung to the walls with destructive and unrelenting embrace, and the wild denizens of the jungle have usurped the halls of kings, the luxurious retreats of indolent Mahomedans, and of the fair inmates of their harem."

On the left, about half way to Mandu, is the "Kakra Koh," a magnificent ravine of great depth, which extending far into the distance breaks through the Vindhian chain into the Nimar plain. Two marks on the rock near where the two sides meet are pointed out as the veritable footprints of Murtaza Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomed. Just opposite, on the other side of the road, and strongly contrasting in its quiet beauty with the grandeur of the ravine, is a small lake surrounded on three sides by hills, its embankments covered with a rich belt of mangos and jamun trees.

The strange bulky tree, which cannot fail to have attracted notice, is the *Adansonia digitata*, the Baobab tree of Senegal known in Malwa as the Khorasani Imli. It abounds in Nalcha and Mandu, but is not to be found in any other part of Malwa,¹ and is exotic in India. Its trunk attains enormous dimensions, and was supposed by its discoverer, the French botanist Adanson, to exceed any other tree in longevity; he found one 30 feet in diameter, and calculated its age at 5,150 years! The wood is extremely light, its specific gravity being only 262, water being 1,000, and is thus but little heavier than cork. The tree is in full leaf only during the rains, the pods ripening about March; the juice is used by the natives as a febrifuge and a basis for sherbet. It seems probable that this tree was introduced into Malwa from Abyssinia during the reign of Mahmūd Khilji, when Mandu was at its zenith and close trade relations with that country existed.

CHAPTER IV.

Mandu—its History.

Before attempting to describe the ruins, it seems desirable to take up the thread of history which connects this place with

¹ Except an occasional stray specimen.

Dhar, and to note as briefly as a period of five hundred years will allow, the events of which Mandu has been the scene.

From time immemorial Mandu must have been a fortress, but, as is the case with Dhar, of its history prior to the Mahomedan conquest very little is known.

Farishta mentions that one Anand Deo Rajput of the tribe of Bais who rose to power after the death of Pertab Chand, constructed the fort of Mandu in Malwa. This Anand Deo lived in the reign of A. D. 591-621. Khusrn Parvis, King of Persia, and died after a reign of sixteen years.

In connection with the foundation of Mandu, Colonel Tod writes as follows :

“ Maheaswar . . . appears to have been the first seat of Government of the Pramaras.¹ They subsequently founded Dhara Nagar (Dhar) and Maudu on the crest of the Vindhian hills . . . the inscription in the nail-headed character fixes the date of the last prince of the Pramaras of Chitore at A. D. 714.”

A. H. 714.
A. D. 1305.

A. D. 1398.

In A. D. 1304-05 Mandu suffered the same fate as Dhar at the hands of Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, and one century later, on the succession of Alp Khan, known as Sultan Hoshang, became the capital of the independent kingdom of Malwa. It was seven years previous to this date that Alp Khan withdrew to Mandu, annoyed with his father Dilawar Khan for entertaining as his overlord at Dhar, Mahmud Tugluk, the refugee Monarch of Delhi. According to Farishta he stayed there for three years and laid the foundation of the famous fortress, the remains of which still exist. Although Dilawar Khan took up his residence at Dhar, and considered that place as the seat of his government, he frequently visited Mandu and, as available inscriptions show, built the Assembly Mosque near the Jahaz Mahal and the southern gateway of the fort now known as the Tarapur Gate.

2nd King of
the Ghori
dynasty, A. D.
1405-1432.

On the death of Dilawar Khan, Alp Khan assumed the title of King of Malwa under the name of *Sultan Hoshang Ghori*.

A rumour prevalent at the time that he had poisoned his father (although according to Farishta not generally accepted) was evidently believed by Musaffar Shah of Gujerat, the sworn brother-in-

¹ Modern Paar.

arms of the late king, who immediately collected an army and marched against Hoshang.¹ He reached Dhar without resistance and a battle ensued on the plain in front of the town. The Gujerat chief was wounded and Hoshang was unhorsed, but the troops continued to fight desperately until the scale turned in favour of Gujerat. Hoshang threw himself into the fort of Dhar, wherein he was closely besieged, and was finally forced to surrender at discretion. He was taken prisoner to Gujerat, and Nasrat Khan, brother of Muzaffar Shah with a strong detachment, was left in charge of the Government of Malwa. Nasrat, however, failed to gain the goodwill either of the army or of the people and was forced to retire to Gujerat. On his departure, the Malwites appointed Musi Khan, nephew of the late Dilawar Khan, their leader. Hearing this, Hoshang wrote to Muzaffar Shah, pointing out that the unfavourable reports circulated against him were false, and requesting that he might be permitted to recover his usurped dominions. Muzaffar Shah acceded to his request, and deputed his grandson Ahmed to accompany Hoshang to Malwa and reinstate him on his throne. A. D. 1407.

On arrival at Dhar, which place they soon reduced, Ahmed returned to Gujerat, and Hoshang continued his advance on Mandu, but failed to make any impression on it until joined by his cousin, *Malik Moghis*. The desertion of this powerful noble so disconcerted Musi Khan, that he abandoned Mandu and fled without further resistance. Two years later, Hoshang, forgetful of all he owed to Muzaffar Shah, and personally to the prince Ahmed, who had now succeeded to the Gujerat throne, marched on Broach for the purpose of aiding Feroz Khan and Haibat Khan² in opposing Ahmed's succession. Ahmed Shah, however, prevented the junction of the three armies, and Hoshang returned incontinently to Dhar, but so restless was his disposition, and so inveterate his enmity to the rulers of Gujerat, that he soon afterwards involved himself in a new war. Hearing that Ahmed Shah had marched against the Raja of Jalwara, Hoshang again led his army into Gujerat and laid it waste. Ahmed Shah accordingly returned to meet him, on which occasion again Hoshang fled to Malwa. A third time Hoshang A. D. 1408.

¹ This attack marks the commencement of the series of wars between Malwa and Gujerat, which finally culminated, in A. D. 1526, with the overthrow of the Malwa Kingdom.

² Younger sons of Muzaffar Shah.

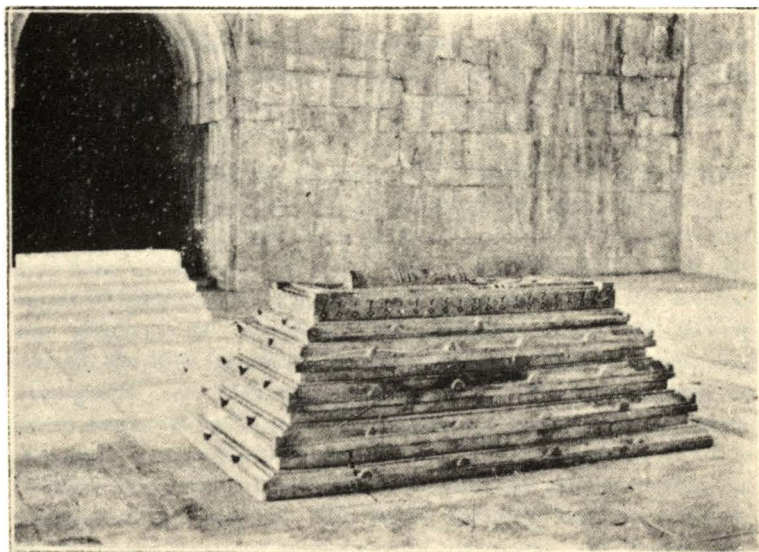
invaded Gujerat during the absence of Ahmed Shah, but retreated on the prince's approach. On this occasion Ahmed Shah followed him up into Malwa and a battle was fought near Ujjain. Hoshang was defeated and fled to Mandu pursued by the Gujerat cavalry, while Ahmed Shah followed as far as Nalcha.

To punish Hoshang, Ahmed twice besieged Mandu, and though he failed each time to take the fort, his retirement had to be purchased, and both as regards success and fair dealing the honours of the campaign remained with the Gujerat chief.

A. D. 1420. In 1420, Hoshang marched on Kherla, a fortress of the Ghondwara kingdom, and having compelled the Raja by treaty to pay a yearly tribute to the king of Malwa, returned laden with booty to Mandu.

A. D. 1421. In 1421, assuming the character of a horse-dealer, and accompanied by a thousand cavalry, he went to Jainagar, now Jajpur in Orissa. He took with him a number of bay, chestnut and grey horses, such as that Raja was known to admire with the object of bartering these animals and other goods for the famous war elephants of Jainagar. The pretended merchants having arrived, the Raja intimated his intention first of all to inspect the linen-goods, and then, either to purchase them with money, or barter elephants for them. The goods were accordingly spread on the ground, but owing to the threatening appearance of the weather Hoshang remonstrated, pointing out that the articles would be damaged if rain came on. The Raja's servants, however, insisted, and the goods remained spread out in the open. At length the Raja arrived, and a thunderstorm coming on, the elephants of his cavalcade trampled over the merchandise, which was much damaged. Hoshang, irritated at his loss, without further ado ordered his followers to mount and attack the Raja's escort, many of whom were slain, the Raja himself being taken prisoner. Hoshang then informed him of his rank, and the Raja purchased his liberty with seventy-five elephants; he was also required to escort the warlike merchant to the confines of his country, whence he was permitted to return but not without having handed over a few more of his famous elephants.

On his way back to Malwa, Hoshang heard that Ahmed Shah had invaded the country and was besieging Mandu. He, therefore, seized the fort of Kherla so as to have a position to fall back on



THE SARCOPHAGUS OF HOSHANG AT MANDU.

in case Mandu fell, and thence continuing his march he succeeded in entering the fort by the Tarapur Gate. On this Ahmed Shah raised the siege and retired to Sarangpur. Hoshang having followed by a shorter route, reached there before him, and sent the following hypocritical message to delay his advance:—"The blood of the faithful depends on us; let us restrain then our hands from the mutual destruction of true Believers. I beseech you to desist from warfare and to return to Gujerat. Meanwhile, let hostilities cease, and receive my ambassador, who has power to conclude an eternal peace between us." Ahmed Shah was deceived by these protestations, and Hoshang availed himself of his credulity by making a night attack on the Gujerat camp. His army penetrated to the Royal Tent, and it was only through the gallantry of the Rajput guard that Ahmed Shah made his escape. The latter hovered about the skirts of the camp until day-break, and having rallied a small but resolute band of his followers, led them against the hitherto victorious Malwites. Hoshang fought bravely, and both chiefs were wounded, but the King of Malwa, "on whom the face of victory never smiled," was defeated, and took refuge in the fort of Sarangpur. Ahmed not only recovered all his property, but in addition captured twenty-seven of Hoshang's elephants; he then retired towards Gujerat only to be followed by Hoshang. An action took place, in which Ahmed was again victorious and Hoshang fled a second time to Sarangpur.

Thence he repaired to Mandu to recruit his defeated army, and shortly afterwards besieged the fort of Gagrone, which fell into his hands. He also invested Gwalior, but was compelled to raise the siege and return to Mandu. In 1428 he again suffered defeat, on this occasion at the hands of the Deccanis under Ahmed Shah Bhamani, when his baggage, followers and the ladies of his family remained in the hands of the enemy. His last expedition was against the fort of Kalpi, which he took. From here he returned to Mandu and thence to Hoshungabad, where he died in the month of September. He was in the first instance buried here, but his body was afterwards removed to Mandu in state and entombed in the splendid mausoleum which still exists. By the help of his minister, Malik Mughis Khilji and of his son Mahmud, Malwa during the last ten years of his reign prospered, and the limits of the Kingdom were much extended.

A. D. 1423

A. D. 1421

A. D. 1431

Death of
Ho-hang,
A. D. 1432

Third King of
the Ghori Dy-
nasty, A. D.
1432-35.

On Hoshang's death, his son Ghazni Khan, with the title of *Sultan Mahommed Ghori*, succeeded to the throne. It was this prince that ordered his capital to be called "Shadiabad,"¹ or the "City of Joy." Malik Mughis, Hoshang's minister, and his son, Mahmûd, were maintained in power. The Sultan, finding that the Nandod Rajputs were raiding a part of Malwa, despatched his chief minister with an army to chastise them, and leaving all public business in the hands of Mahmûd, abandoned himself to drunkenness and dissipation. After a reign of three years, during which the power of Mahmûd continually increased, he was poisoned by one of the private servants at the instance of his minister. The Ghori Dynasty thus came to an end.

A. D. 1435.

4th King of
Malwa and
1st of the
Khilji dyn-
asty, A.D.
1435-69.

With the reins of power entirely in his hands Mahmûd asked his father to accept the succession, but the latter declined saying that he alone was best able to conduct the affairs of the State. Accordingly on the 16th of May 1435, Sultan Mahmûd Khilji ascended the throne in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and was crowned in Mandu with the tiara of Sultan Hoshang. He raised his father to royal dignity, and delivered over exclusively to him the seals of office of prime minister. Shortly after his accession, a revolt among the nobles was quelled, but Ahmed Shah of Gujerat, taking advantage of the discontent, marched to attack Mandu in support of Massaoud Ghori, son of the late King. This attack was repulsed by Mahmûd and his father, and a fatal disease breaking out in Alimûd's camp he was compelled to retreat to Gujerat. Meantime Mahmûd, after a siege of eight months, took Chanderi, and marching into Gwalior ravaged that territory.

A. D. 1439.

A. D. 1440.

On his return to Mandu he commenced the repairs of the palace of the late Hoshang and completed the mosque and tomb which that chief had begun. In the following year Mahmud received petitions from the chiefs of Mewat and Delhi stating that Syed Mahomed, King of Delhi, was totally incapable of carrying on the government of the Empire, and inviting him to march to Delhi and ascend the throne. With this invitation, Mahmûd willingly complied, and at once marched towards the capital. Syed Mahomed,

¹ *Vide* Farishta's History of Malwa. But on the Tarapur Gate, which was completed in A. D. 1406, the name ["Shadiabad" and not Mandu is used. *Vide* infra. Chapter V., Translation of inscription on Tarapur Gate.

in alarm, wished to quit Delhi and fly to the Punjab. He was, however, dissuaded from this purpose, and sent his son to repel the invaders. Mahmûd, hearing the King was not with the Delhi forces, deemed it derogatory to proceed in person; so, keeping an escort of cavalry with him, he ordered the rest of his army under his two sons, Ghias-ud-din and Fidwi Khan, to oppose the enemy. In the engagement which ensued, both armies fought with great valour until sunset, when the retreat was sounded on both sides. On that night Sultan Mahmûd dreamed that he saw an unknown person placed on the throne at Mandu, and being much disturbed on this account was deliberating how to act, when a messenger unexpectedly arrived from Syed Mahomed ordering his son to make peace on any terms. An agreement was immediately come to, and Mahmûd with his army retreated to Mandu.

It is stated as a remarkable fact that on that very night an insurrection took place in the city of Mandu, which was put a stop to only by the resolute and timely exertions of Mahmûd's father. It is also stated, and Farishta says this version appears most probable, that "Mahmûd's return was caused by the rumour of an expected attack from Gujerat." He reached Mandu in 1441, and distributed alms among the poor as a thanks-offering for his safe return. It was in this year that he took up his residence in Nalcha and beautified that place with buildings.

He could not, however, remain long at peace, and during the following two years, devoted himself to the conquest of the Rajput Kingdom of Chitore. In this campaign he was partially successful. It was on the occasion of the capture and destruction of one of the forts¹ in the Chambal District that the defeated Rajputs were compelled to eat the calcined parts of their idols mixed with "pan" in order that Mahmûd might say: "They have eaten their own gods." This fort had frequently and successfully withstood the attacks of the kings of Gujerat, and on its capture, Mahmûd caused public thanksgiving to be made, which every person in the camp was required to attend. In the next year, he completely defeated the Rana of Chitore himself, and compelled that chief to take shelter in his fort. He did not, however, press his advantage, but returned to Mandu, where, in celebration of his successes, he built a beauti-

A. D. 1442-43.

¹ Kumbhalpur.

ful Tower of Victory,¹ seven stories high, in front of the college which he had founded opposite the mosque of Sultan Hoshang.

It was while supporting him in this campaign that his father² died at Mandisaur. On hearing the news, Mahmûd immediately repaired to Mandisaur alone, caused the remains of his departed parent to be embalmed and conveyed to Mandu "and became so distracted with grief that he tore his hair and raved like one bereft of his senses."

- A. D. 1445. In 1445 he occupied himself with an attack on the districts of Kalpi and Jaunpur, and quartered himself in Fatehabad, "where he built a palace seven stories high." He returned to Mandu in the following year and founded a large hospital³ and appointed his own physician, Maulana Fazl Ullah, to superintend it. The establishment provided wards and attendants for all patients and "even apartments for maniacs." In 1446 he reduced the strongholds of Mandelgarh and Anandpur, and compelled the Raja of Kotah and Bundi to pay tribute, and in 1450 marched to the assistance of the Raja of Champaner, who had been attacked by Mahomed Shah, son of Ahmed Shah of Gujerat. On this occasion, Mahomed Shah was compelled to retreat to Ahmedabad with the loss of all his camp equipage and military stores. It was at
- A. D. 1451. this period that Mahmûd determined to conquer Gujerat. Accordingly, with an army 100,000 strong, he marched against Ahmedabad and encamped at Sirkej. The Gujerat army under Kutub Shah⁴ lay at Khampur, six miles distant. In the battle which followed, Mahmûd himself led the centre of his line, while his sons Ghiasud-din and Fidwi Khan commanded the flanks. The King with a small escort made a dash on the royal pavilion, and actually succeeded in carrying off the crown of Gujerat; but the main body of his army was completely defeated, and he was compelled to retreat to Mandu. "It is worthy of remark," says Farishta, "that Sultan Mahmûd never experienced a defeat before or after during his reign."

¹ See Chap. V. Unfortunately this Tower, which must have formed one of Mandu's greatest monuments, is now a total ruin.

² Malik Moghis.

³ The site of this building cannot now be located.

⁴ Successor of Mahomed Shah.

In 1453 he concluded a treaty of peace with Gujrat, and entered into an alliance with that State, against the Rajputs of Mewar. In this campaign which was varied by a raid into the Deccan, he captured the fortress of Ajmere, and in a combat with the Rana Kumbu of Chitore (although Farishta does not admit it) must have suffered severe defeat, as it was in commemoration of this battle that the Column of Victory still standing in Chitore, was built. A. D. 1453

In 1466 peace was concluded between Malwa and the Deccan, and it was agreed that Kherla should be retained by Malwa and considered the southern limit of the kingdom.

Meantime the fame of Mahmûd's successes had spread far and wide. The Kalifa of Egypt sent him an embassy with a letter in which he was styled "Defender of the Faithful." He was also visited by one Sheik Alla-ud-din, said to be one of the most holy men of the time, and other noted religious personages. In 1467 the King of Bokhara, ancestor of the Moghul Emperors, also honoured him with an embassy. Much flattered by this mark of attention, Sultan Mahmûd loaded the ambassador with honours and presents of every description, amongst these, which included elephants, horses, dancing girls, and slaves "a few mynas and parrots which had been taught the Persian language."

In 1469, after a campaign against the Kichiwara zamindars of Malwa, the great Mahmûd died at the age of sixty-eight. Farishta says of him: May 27.
A. D. 1469.

"He was polite, brave, just, and learned. His tent was his home and his resting-place the field of battle. His leisure hours were devoted to hearing recitations from the histories and memoirs of the courts of different kings of the earth. He prided himself, not without reason, on his intimate knowledge of human nature. His justice was prompt and exact; if a theft was committed, a sum equal to the amount stolen was levied from the police and the injured party thus reimbursed. He ordered the destruction of tigers and other wild beasts, and proclaimed that if after a period of two years a human being was killed by a wild beast, unless in attacking it, he would hold the governor of the district responsible. The promptitude he observed in making his actions accord with his words

was so well understood that for many years after his death wild beasts of any description were scarce throughout the kingdom."

5th King of
Malwa and
2nd of the
Khalji dynas-
ty. A. D.
1459.

Sultan *Ghias-ud-din*, the eldest son of Mahmûd, ascended the throne on the death of his father. He compensated his brother, Fidwi Khan, with the gift of the government of Rintumbore in perpetuity, and appointed his own son, Abdal Khader, Prime Minister and heir-apparent with the title of Nasir-ud-din.

It was during the reign of this prince that Mandu justified its name of Shadinbad. Shortly after his accession, the king gave a grand entertainment and addressing his officers stated that as during the last thirty years he had been constantly employed in the field, fighting under the banners of his illustrious father, he now yielded up the sword to his son, that he himself might enjoy ease for the rest of his days. He accordingly established within his seraglio all the separate offices of a court, and it is said had at one time 15,000 women within his palace. Amongst these were school-mistresses, musicians, dancers, embroiderers; women to read prayers, and persons of all trades and professions. Five hundred beautiful young Turki girls in men's clothes, uniformly clad and armed with bows and quivers, stood on his right hand. On his left were five hundred Abyssinian females, also uniformly dressed and armed with fire-arms. Each dweller in the city of women received her daily dole of grain and coppers, and besides them were many pensioners, such as mice, parrots and pigeons, which similarly received their daily allowance.

With all these extraordinary fancies, the lord of the city of pleasure was extremely religious. None of the five daily prayers passed unprayed. If he was asleep, the attendants were authorized to use every exertion to prevent his missing the hour of prayer. And Farishita writes: "It is well known that they have even sprinkled water on his face and pulled him out of bed before he would rise, but that on these occasions he was never known to lose his temper."

The following extract from Mr. J. Campbell's paper on Mandu fittingly describes the time:—

"The king's spirit of peace steeped the land, which like its ruler after thirty years of fighting yearned for rest. For fourteen

years neither inward malcontent nor foreign foe broke the calm. When in 1482 Bahlol Lodi advanced from Delhi against Malwa, the talk of Mandu was of Bahlol's approach; but no whisper of it passed into the charmed city of women. At last the son-minister forced his way to the king's presence. At the news of pressing danger, the soldier spirit awoke, and Ghias-ud-din's orders for meeting the invasion were so prompt and well planned that the King of Delhi payed a ransom and withdrew. A second period of rest followed, and ended with Nasar-ud-din once more forcing his way into the Presence.

The son presented his father, now an aged man of eighty, with a cup of sherbet and bade him drink. The king, whose amulet of bezvar stone had already twice made poison harmless, drew the stone from his arm. He thanked the Almighty for granting him unworthy the happiest life that had ever fallen to the lot of man, and prayed that the sin of his death might not be laid to his son's charge. He then drank the poison and died." ¹ A. D. 1500

With reference to this crime, it is explained that the younger brother, Allah-ud-din, in view of their father's advanced age, resolved either to depose his elder brother (Nasir-ud-din) after his accession, or to cut him off before his father's death. The contention between the two princes rose to such a height that the elder brother was obliged to fly from Mandu. Having collected a force, however, he returned and besieged the fort, and using the influence which as Prime Minister he had gained during the whole of his father's reign won over certain officers within, who opened the Tarapur gate for his admission. On his entrance, Allah-ud-din fled to his father's palace, and Nasir-ud-din following him closely put him to death as well as all his children and the whole of his family. He then assumed the reins of government, and was formally crowned. A few days afterwards his father was found dead in the Seraglio. A. D. 1499.

On his entrance, Allah-ud-din fled to his father's palace, and Nasir-ud-din following him closely put him to death as well as all his children and the whole of his family. He then assumed the reins of government, and was formally crowned. A few days afterwards his father was found dead in the Seraglio. A. D. 1500.

On his succession to the throne, *Nasir-ud-din* had to deal with a series of domestic feuds. Sher Khan of Chanderi, who was joined by the Governor of Mandisaur and other malcontent nobles, raised the standard of rebellion. In this and the following year, ^{6th King of Malwa, and 3rd of Khlji dynasty.} A. D. 1500-12

¹ Journal of Bombay Branch of R. A. Society, † Article XI, "Mandu," by J. M. Campbell, Esq., LL.D., etc. Vol. XIX., No. LII.

however, they were defeated and the rebellion quelled. On his return to Mandu, Nasir-ud-din gave himself up to debauchery, and further devoted himself to discover and put to death all the adherents of his brother. His personal servants even did not escape his cruelty. It is said that one day whilst lying in a state of intoxication on the verge of a reservoir he fell into it, and was pulled out by four of his female slaves. On awaking with a violent headache, the women in order to account for his condition mentioned what had occurred, at which he was so enraged that he drew his sword and killed them all with his own hands.

A. D. 1502. In 1502, the king marched to attack the Rajputs of Kichiwara, and on arriving at Akbarpur,¹ built a splendid palace, which was much admired at that time. Having plundered the Kichiwara country, he returned to Mandu, and in the following year proceeded towards Chitore. Here he succeeded in extracting a large present in money from the Rana, and procured as a wife a daughter of one of the Rajput nobles. He also directed a campaign against Ahmed Nizam Shah of the Deccan, who had attacked the Chief of Khandesh, then subordinate to Malwa. The result of these operations was that the Deccan Chief retired to Ahmednagar, while Nasir-ud-din's forces occupied Burhanpur.

A. D. 1512 In 1512, the nobles, wearied and disgusted with the persecutions and cruelty of Nasir-ud-din, persuaded his son, Shahab-ud-din, to assume the government. For this purpose, the latter left Mandu and collected a large force, but was opposed and defeated by the king and thereupon fled to Delhi. Farishta says that shortly after this Sultan Nasir-ud-din was seized with a fever brought on by excess at the town of Bhurtpur, from which illness he died. But another version, which is confirmed by Jehangir's memoirs, has it, that he repeated his former experiences in the reservoir, whence on this occasion no pitying female pulled him out.

A. D. 1502. Prior to his death, he had nominated his third son Mahmūd as his successor.

¹ It is difficult to locate this place. Campbell identifies it with the village of Akbarpur on the S. bank of the Nerbada about 15 miles from Mandu. It is true there are ruins of what was evidently once a fort, but these ruins have no suggestion of magnificence and bear no resemblance to those of Mandu. Moreover the Kichiwara country lies far to the north of Mandu, the Chiefs of Raghunagar being the present descendants of the old Kichiwara Rajputs, who troubled so much the Kings of Malwa.

He was buried at Mandu and the Emperor Jehangir thus describes his visit to his tomb: "It is related that when during his reign Sher Khan Arghan Sur visited Nasir-ud-din's grave, he ordered his attendants to flagellate the parricide's tomb. When I visited the sepulchre, I kicked his grave and ordered those with me to do the same. Not satisfied with this, I ordered his bones to be dug up and burned, and the ashes to be thrown into the Nerbada." A. D. 1510-5a

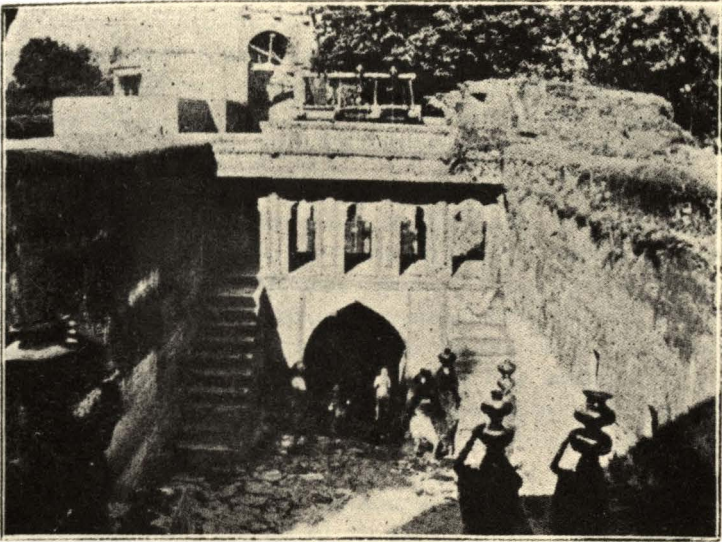
Mahmûd on his succession assumed the title of *Mahmûd the Second*. As showing the wealth and power to which the Mandu Kings had now attained, Farishta relates that at his coronation no fewer than seven hundred elephants with velvet trappings embroidered in gold formed part of the procession. A revolt on the part of Mahafiz Khan, Commandant of Mandu, made with the object of securing the succession of Nasir-ud-din's second son, prince Sahib Khan, forced Mahmûd to leave his capital. The king, however, succeeded in attracting to his standard many of the nobles of the surrounding districts, chief amongst them being Medni Rai, a Rajput. With his army he returned towards Mandu, and a severe engagement took place, the result of which was eventually decided by the gallant conduct of Medni Rai and his Rajput infantry. Sahib Khan was obliged to take refuge in the fort, and Sultan Mahmûd in consideration of their relationship was ready to offer him terms. These, however, were refused, on which Mahmûd commenced a regular siege, and Sahib Khan and Mohafiz Khan, fearing treachery from within, fled to Gujerat. 7th King of Malwa, 4th of Khlji dynasty. A. D. 1512-30.

During the next few years, Medni Rai, who had acquired complete control over the king, succeeded in removing the Mahomedans from all posts of influence, and in becoming practical arbiter of the State. On one occasion, Mahmûd, recognizing that power was going from his hands, endeavoured to improve the situation by dismissing his entire Rajput army. Medni Rai, however, gained him over, and the Rajputs remained. A second time, apparently irritated beyond endurance by the helplessness of his position, he ordered his attendants to waylay Medni Rai and a certain Rajput officer Saliwahan, and to kill them. They were accordingly attacked, and the latter was killed, but Medni Rai escaped to his house. The Rajputs hearing of the death of Saliwahan attacked the palace, but the king, "who though a A. D. 1513.

fool had not his equal in courage in the hour of danger," beat them back. Eventually Medni Rai was again taken into favour, but being ever after suspicious of his master's intentions, he always attended the palace with an escort of five hundred men. "This measure so greatly disturbed the king's mind," says Farishta, "that one night, leaving the fort of Mandu with one horseman and a few foot-attendants, he did not draw rein till he
 A. D. 1517. arrived on the borders of Gujerat." Here he was well received and after collecting an army, Muzaffar, king of Gujerat, accompanied him towards Malwa.

Having arrived at Dhar, which immediately surrendered, the two kings marched to Mandu and laid siege to that fortress. After a close investment, which lasted some months, Mandu was taken by assault, and it is said that 19,000 Rajputs were slain including those who were destroyed in the performance of the *Javar*, i.e., ceremony involving the sacrifice of their women and children on a funeral pile. While Sultan Mahmūd entered Mandu, Muzaffar withdrew to Dhar, where he received an invitation from Mahmūd as follows: "Mandu is a splendid fort, you should come and see it;" to which Muzaffar replied: "May Mandu bring good fortune to Sultan Mahmūd—he is the master of the fort. For the sake of the Lord I came to his help. On Friday I will go to the fortress, and having read the prayers in Mahmūd's name, I will return." Having thus visited Mandu, where he was magnificently entertained, the generous Muzaffar retired to Gujerat, leaving a force of three thousand men to help to guard the hill. Immediately afterwards Mahmūd marched against Medni Rai, and Rana Sanga of Chitore coming to the assistance of the latter, a great battle was fought. Despite the extraordinary bravery which Mahmūd showed on this occasion, the Malwa army was totally defeated, and the king himself, covered with wounds, was taken prisoner. Rana Sanga treated him with every mark of attention, dressed his wounds, and attended him in person, and after his recovery furnished him with an escort of a thousand Rajput horse and sent him to Mandu, where he reassumed the reins of government.

A. D. 1526. In 1526, by giving protection to his outlawed brother Chand Khan, and to Razi-ul-mulk, a refugee Gujerat noble, Mahmūd incurred the wrath of Bahadur Shah, who had succeeded his father Muzaffar on the throne of Gujerat.



A WELL IN THE DHAR CITY.

Bahadur apparently did not wish to press matters to extremity, and it was only when it was evident that Mahmūd did not desire a peaceful settlement that he advanced against Mandu. Mahmūd defended the place with 3,000 men, and the defence was gallantly maintained until the Gujeratis having scaled Songarh rushed down the slope and burst into the fort.

May 20th.
A. D. 1526.

Mahmūd was forced to surrender, and would probably have received kind treatment, but his temper got the better of his judgment, and he abused his conqueror to his face, whereupon he was despatched with his seven sons to the fort of Champaner. On the way the detachment was attacked by 2,000 Bhils and Kolis at Dohad. Asuf Khan, the commander of the escort, imagining that the assault was made with the purpose of effecting Mahmūd's release, ordered him and his sons to be put to death. Thus ended the Khilji dynasty, and until 1534 Mandu remained under Gujerat.

A. D. 1526,
End of Khilji
dynasty.

In that year, Humayun Badshah marched against Gujerat, and having defeated Bahadur Shah at Maudisaur followed him to Mandu. He succeeded in capturing the fort in the same way that Bahadur had surprised Mahmūd's garrison. Sending two hundred men to the back of the fortress, they scaled the south-west heights of Songarh and opened the gate to let in their compatriots. Bahadur apprised by Mallū Khan of what had happened rushed out with four or five attendants, and being joined by some 20 others reached the gate by which Humayun's troops had entered. Cutting their way through these they gained the citadel of Songarh, and while two of Bahadur's chiefs, Suddar Khan and Sultan Alam Lodi, maintained themselves in the citadel, Bahadur himself let his horses down the cliffs by ropes, and after a thousand difficulties made his way to Champaner. On the following day, Suddar Khan and Alam Lodi surrendered to Humayun.

A. D. 1534.
Conquest of
Mandu by
Humayun.

In 1535, owing to the revolt in Bengal, Humayun was forced to retire from Gujerat and withdrew to Mandu. Thence, as fortune was still against him, he returned to Agra.

Shortly afterwards, Mallū Khan, one of the officers of the late Khilji dynasty, retook all the country lying between the Nerbada and the town of Bhilsa, and had himself crowned in Mandu under the title of Khadar Shah of Malwa. It was about this time that he received from Sher Shah, then king of Bengal, a letter written

in the form of an order¹ requiring him to co-operate against the king of Delhi. Khadar Shah was so incensed at receiving a document of this kind that he sent a reply written in similar form. When Sher Shah received the answer, he tore off the seal and putting it on the point of his sword said: "God willing, if I ever meet with Khadar Shah, I will put him in mind of his impertinence in putting his seal on the face of a letter to my address." Consequently when that monarch ascended the throne of Delhi he marched against Malwa.

A. D. 1545.

Khadar Shah went to do homage at Sarangpur, where he was well received, though his kingdom was given to Shujaat Khan. Nervous at what would next happen, Khadar Shah fled to Gujerat. Later, however, he returned with a large force and attacked Mandu, the Governor of which was then Hajee Khan. Hearing of his arrival, Shujaat Khan immediately proceeded to Dhar, and attacking Khadar Shah forthwith completely defeated him. During the reign of Sher Shah's successor, Selim Shah, Shujaat was forced to leave Malwa, but was eventually pardoned by Selim and reinstated in his government. He died in 1554 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Malik Bajazeed, who assumed the title of Baz Bahadur.

A. D. 1545-53.

Farishta says: "Among the public works which do credit to Shujaat's memory is the town of Shujaalpur near the city of Ujjain, independent of which are many other memorials of his reign in different parts of Malwa." So far as is known, none of the ruins of Mandu are connected with this chief.

After defeating and killing his brother Daulut Khan, who had control of the Ujjain and Sarangpur districts, and asserting his authority in other parts of Malwa, Bajazeed was crowned at Mandu under the title above mentioned. He then undertook a campaign against the Gonds, but his army having been drawn into an ambush, he was completely defeated and had to make his way alone to Sarangpur. Baz Bahadur was so much affected by this disgraceful defeat that to drive away the memory of it he abandoned himself to pleasure.

A. D. 1555.

At this period the science of music had attained considerable perfection in Malwa, and it is said that Baz Bahadur devoted himself to its cultivation and encouragement. His attachment to

¹ Parwana as opposed to a Kharita.



THE PALACE OF BAZ BAHADUR.

Rup Mati at that time became notorious, and the "Loves of Baz Bahadur and Rup Mati" have been handed down to posterity in song.

The following is one of the stories: Baz Bahadur, the last king of Malwa, a young and gallant prince, passionately fond of music, was one day hunting in the forest bordering the right bank of the Nerbada. Having outridden all his retinue, he was in eager pursuit, when his ear was attracted by the most exquisite flood of melody from a neighbouring glade. He followed the sound and soon reached the spot, where seated 'neath a *bargat*¹ tree a young Hindu maiden was singing to the woods and to the deer and birds which had thronged thither to listen to her voice. He was dazzled by her beauty and enchanted by her unrivalled song. Her conversation riveted his love. He strove to win her heart and hand.

The first was speedily his, but the splendid lot to which he wooed her could not tempt her to dishonour the sacred race from which she sprang. She replied to all his overtures: "When the Nerbada shall flow through Mandu, I will be thy bride, but not till then."

"Mandu is elevated by precipices at least 1,200 feet above the Nerbada; nevertheless, Baz Bahadur determined that the river should obey the voice of love, and climb the mountain height. He assembled the strength of his kingdom, axe in hand, to try the force of art. The river god, dreading to measure his strength against the majesty of love, rose before the astonished people in the form of a giant, whose forehead was lost in the skies. "Desist," he cried, "from thy rash attempt, but receive the well-merited reward of thy love;—repair to Mandu, to a spot which overlooks our flood; search there for our sacred tamarisk and dig wherever it is found; beneath it, thou shalt come to a pure spring which, being tributary to us, is part of our divinity. Thither bear thy bride, to live as she has often sworn to live, upon the borders of her natal river."

"The king obeyed, he found the tamarisk and the spring, he dug the reservoir, he built near it a palace, and constructed a fine aqueduct to lead the waters of the fountain² to the baths of the palace."

¹ *Ficus parasitica*.

² The Rewa Kund—*vide* map.

“Rup Mati’s father, who was the Thakur of Dharampuri, having heard these things, the maiden was condemned by him, who fondly loved her, but in whose race the pride of caste is a besetting sin, to drain the poisoned bowl of Durga,—her corpse to be consumed on a funeral pile, and her ashes to be scattered over the sacred waters of the Nerbada. She chants the Song of Death, but when about to drink the bowl, the Prince of Mandu rides up, and after a manly combat carries off Rup Mati to Mandu to become his queen.”

The temple on the bank of the Nerbada is still shown at Dharampuri, on which Rup Mati’s Guru nightly lit his lamp to mark for the Hindu maiden the line of the sacred stream.

But to revert to history, Akbar taking advantage of the condition of Malwa under Baz Bahadur, despatched an army with Adham Khan in command to occupy the country. Baz Bahadur heard nothing of the movement until the Moghuls had arrived close to Sarangpur. He immediately collected an army and entering on the field of action “with as little concern as if going into the company of females” he led the attack. Although he personally behaved with the greatest gallantry, his troops deserting him, he was compelled to fly and took refuge with Miran Mobarik of Khandesh in Asirgarh.

Meantime Pir Mahomed, who had succeeded Adham Khan as Governor of Malwa, followed Baz Bahadur into Khandesh, and penetrating as far as Burhanpur, totally devastated the country. On this Miran Mubarik Khan called Fazal Khan of Berar to his aid, and an alliance was formed. The Moghul troops glutted by debauch, refused to fight, and their leader was compelled to retreat towards Malwa. The allied forces immediately followed, and an action was fought on the banks of the Nerbada, in which the Moghuls were totally defeated, and Pir Mahomed himself with many others was drowned in the river. The confederates continued their march to Mandu, where Baz Bahadur again assumed the reins

- A. D. 1561. of government. Scarcely had he done so, however, when Akbar despatched a second army under Abdullah Khan Uzbek to again conquer Malwa. Baz Bahadur on this occasion apparently offered no resistance, but fled to Gondwans, where he remained, except for
- A. D. 1570. occasional sallies against the Moghul power until 1570, when he gave himself up to Akbar, and was appointed a commander of 2,000 cavalry. He died some time prior to 1590, and according to the

Âin-i-Akbari "Baz Bahadur and his Rup Mati are buried together. Their tomb stands in the middle of a tank at Ujjain."

In 1573 Abdallah Khan, having evinced symptoms of revolt, Akbar had made a sudden incursion into Malwa. Abdallah retreated to Gujerat, but opposed such a steady resistance to the king that the latter, who was accompanied by a small body of cavalry only, had to retreat to Mandu. Here Farishta records he spent some time in viewing the buildings erected by the Khilji kings, and it was here he married the daughter of Mubarik, King of Khandesh, who came to do him homage. Abul Fazl refers to Mandu at this period as being one of the 28 towns in the Empire where copper coins were minted.

In 1584 Mirza Aziz Koka, foster-brother of Akbar, was Governor of Malwa, and in 1590 was succeeded by Shah-ud-din Ahmed Khan, who died in the same year, and was followed by the Emperor's own son Prince Murād Mirza. It was at this time (A. D. 1592) that Akbar again visited Mandu, when on his way to the Deccan. Mirza Aziz Koka, who had been transferred to Gujerat, having started on a pilgrimage to Mekka without leave, Prince Murād was ordered thither, and Shahrukh Mirza, to whom Akbar had married one of his daughters two years previously, was appointed Governor of Malwa, and held the appointment until 1605.

Meantime Mirza Khan, the son of Byrār, known as the Khan Khanān, halted for some time at Mandu while on his way to chastise the Chiefs of the Deccan. Later, Akbar sent his son Daniāl with powerful reinforcements for the same purpose, and in the same year he himself followed and again took up his residence in Mandu. Akbar returned to Agra from the conquest of the Deccan in 1602, and died there three years afterwards.

Although during this time Mandu continued to be nominally one of the four capitals of the Empire, it is evident that with the final overthrow of Baz Bahadur it lost its former lustre. We learn from Jehangir, who visited it twelve years after Akbar's death, and thanks to whose magnificence the ancient fortress again could bear its long-forgotten title of Shadiabad that the buildings had fallen into disrepair so complete that an expenditure of three lakhs was necessary to render them habitable. Of the condition of Mandu at this time one cannot do better than let the Imperial diarist speak for himself.

His entry into Mandu he describes as follows : —

“On Monday, the 23rd of Ispandád, the last month of the Persian year, when one quarter of the day had passed, I mounted my elephant, and, in good fortune and under kindly influences, made my happy entry into the fort of Mandu. About an hour (three *ghadis*) later, I entered the quarters which had been prepared to receive me. During my passage across the hill-top, I scattered Rs.15,000. Before my arrival, Abdul Karim, the Engineer, had been sent by me to repair the buildings of the former kings of Mandu. While my fortunate standards were at Ajmere, Abdul Karim repaired such of the old Mandu buildings as were fit to be repaired, and built others anew. On the whole, he had provided quarters for me, the like of which have probably never been built in any other place. Three lakhs of rupces were spent on these repairs and buildings. I wish it had been possible to construct buildings like these in all cities likely to be visited by royalty.”

“This fortress,” he continues, “stands on the top of a hill about thirty-six miles (18 kos) in circumference. They say that before the days of Raja Bikramájit, a king was reigning over these parts, whose name was Jaising Deva. In his time, a man went to the forest to cut grass. When he brought the grass back, he found that the blade of his sickle had turned yellow. The grass-cutter in his surprise went to Mándan, an ironsmith. Mándan knew that the sickle was gold. He had heard that in those parts was to be found the philosopher's stone, whose touch turns iron and copper into gold. He told the grass-cutter to lead him to the place where the sickle had turned yellow, and there he found the philosopher's stone. The smith presented this treasure to his king. The king amassed untold wealth, part of which he spent in building Mandu fortress, which he completed in twelve years. At the request of the smith, on most of the stones in the walls a mark was cut in the form of an anvil. Towards the

close of his life, when king Jaising Deva withdrew his heart from the world, he called many Brahmins together on the bank of the Nerbada close to Mandu. He gave each Brahmin a share of his wealth, and to the Brahmin, in whom he had the greatest faith, he gave the philosopher's stone. Enraged at the gift of a paltry stone, the Brahmin threw it into the Nerbada, and there the philosopher's stone still lies." The Emperor continues: "On the 20th of Farwardán, five weeks after my arrival (11th April 1617), in reward for his services in repairing the buildings of Mandu, I conferred on my Engineer, Abdul Karim, the command of 12,000 horse, with the title of Maámúr Khan."

The sporting instincts of the Emperor were fully gratified, and numerous entries regarding his shooting expeditions occur:—

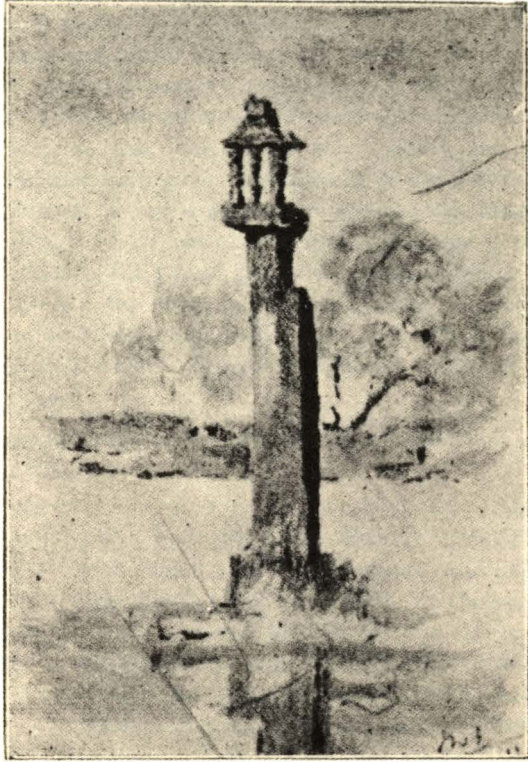
"On the fourth of the first month of Farwardán (16th March), the watchmen of the chase brought word that they had marked down a lion near the Sagur lake, which is a construction of the ancient rulers of Mandu. I mounted and proceeded towards the lake. When the lion broke cover he attacked and wounded ten or twelve of the *Ahádís* (*garde du corps*) and other men of my retinue. In the end, I brought him down with three gunshots and saved God's creatures from his evil. On the 22nd of the same month (3rd April 1617) the watchmen brought news of a tiger. I mounted forthwith and despatched him with three bullets. On the 7th of Adi'Bihisht (18th April 1617) the watchmen brought word that they had marked down four tigers. At one in the afternoon I started for the place with Núr Jehan Begum. Nur Jehan asked my leave to shoot the tigers with her gun. I said: 'Be it so.' In a trice she killed these four tigers with six bullets. I had never seen such shooting. To shoot from the back of an elephant, from within a closed howdah, and bring down with six bullets four wild beasts, without giving them an opportunity of moving or springing, is wonderful. In acknowledgment of this capital marksmanship, I ordered a thousand Ashrafis

(Rs.4,500) to be scattered over Nur Jehan, and granted her a pair of ruby wristlets worth a lakh of rupees."

The rains at that time were evidently more copious than they have been lately. Rain, it is said, fell for forty days continuously, and Jehangir's description of the break which follows is delightful: "What words of mine can describe the beauty of the grass and of the wild flowers! They clothe each hill and dale, each slope and plain. I know of no place so pleasant in climate and so pretty in scenery as Mandu in the rainy season. This month of July, which is one of the months of the hot season, the sun being in Leo, one cannot sleep within the house without a coverlet, and during the day there is no need for a fan. What I have noticed is but a small part of the many beauties of Mandu. Two things I have seen here which I had seen nowhere in India: one of them is the tree of the wild plantain which grows all over the hill-top; the other is the nest of the mamolah or wagtail. Till now no birdcatcher could tell its nest. It so happened that in the building where I lodged we found a wagtail's nest with two young ones."

Another entry refers to a punitive expedition against a local Hindu Chief:—

"On the first of Tir, the fourth month of the Persian year (15th May 1617), the Hindu Chiefs of the neighbourhood came to pay their respects and present a tribute. The Hindu Chief of Jaitpúr, in the neighbourhood of Mandu, through his evil fortune, did not come to kiss the threshold. For this reason I ordered Fidáikhán to pillage the Jaitpúr country at the head of thirteen officers and four or five hundred matchlockmen. On the approach of Fidáikhán the Chief fled. He is now reported to regret his past conduct, and to intend to come to the Court and make his submission. On the 9th of Júr, the sixth month of the Persian Calendar (late July A. D. 1617), I heard that while raiding the lands of the Chief of Jaitpúr, Rúh-ul-Alh, the brother of Fidáikhán, was slain with a lance in the village where the Chief's wives and children were in hiding. The village was burned, and the women and daughters of the rebel Chief were taken captives."



ANCIENT STONE LANTERN. NALCHA TANK.

Of its social delights he writes as follows :—

“ On the evening of Thursday, the 19th of Amárdád, the fifth month of the Persian year (early July, A. D. 1617), I went with the ladies of the palace to see the buildings and palaces on the Ságar Lake which were built by the old kings of Mandu. The 26th of Amárdád (about mid July) was the Shab-i-Barát holiday. I ordered a jubilee or assembly of joy to be held on the occasion in one of the palaces occupied by Núr Jehan Begum in the midst of the big lake. The nobles and others were invited to attend this party which was organized by the Begum, and I ordered the cup and other intoxicants with various fruits and minced meats to be given to all who wished them. It was a wonderful gathering. As evening set in, the lanterns and lamps gleaming along the banks of the lake made an illumination such as never had been seen. The countless lights with which the palaces and buildings were ablaze shining on the lake made the whole surface of the lake appear to be on fire.”

During his stay in Mandu, Jehangir received a visit from his eldest son, afterwards the Emperor Shah Jehan, who had returned from his victorious campaign in the Deccan. His last entry regarding Mandu is :—

“ On the night of Friday, in the month of Abán, in all hap- (Octob. piness and good fortune I marched from Mandu and 1617. halted on the bank of the lake of Nalcha.”

Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador from King James to the Great Moghul, accompanied Jehangir in his march from Ajmere to Mandu, and has left numerous records of that time.¹

Shah Jehan spent the rains of 1622 in Mandu, and in 1627 A. D. 16 appointed Khan Jehan Lodi as Governor of Malwa. There is no A. H. 16 record of Aurangzebe having visited the place, except an inscription on the Alaungir gate to the effect that it was repaired by his order.

The Mahrattas took Mandu for the first time in 1696, but A. D. 16 retired again to the south almost immediately. As already recorded, The Mal tee inva: Udaji Rao Puar² occupied the Fort in 1709, and the Mahomedan

¹ See Roe in Kerr's "Travels" IX.

² Ancestor of the present Chief.

supremacy finally came to an end with the Mahratta victory at Tirla in 1784. From that time onwards, Mandu has remained deserted except for a short period at the commencement of the last century, when it sheltered Maina Bai, the famous Rani of Dhar, against the attacks of Sindhia and Holkar, and where she gave birth to her son, Ramchunder Rao Puar. Fifteen years later, Malcolm in his history describes the hill as a resort of religious mendicants. Colonel Briggs, the translator of *Farishta*, writing in 1827, says:—

“ Perhaps no part of India so abounds with tigers as the once famous city of Mandu. The capital, now deserted by man, is overgrown by forest, and from being the seat of luxury, elegance, and wealth, it has become the abode of wild beasts, and is resorted to by the few Europeans in that quarter for the pleasure of destroying them.”

A. D. 1839. Fergusson, twelve years later, describes the vegetation as tearing the buildings of the city to pieces, and obscuring them so that they could hardly be seen, and in 1844 “A Bombay Subaltern” writes that it was dangerous to venture unarmed among the ruins of the Jahaz Mahal, as it was a favourite retreat for tigers.

A. D. 1844.

The times have changed. No tiger has been seen in Mandu for the last thirty years, and the once famous capital is now the head-quarters of a small Tehsil of the Dhar State.

CHAPTER V.

Mandu — its Buildings.

In the *Âin-i-Akbari*, Abul Fazl describes Mandu as a large city, the circumference of which is 12 “Kos.” He mentions the existence “of Mahmud Khilji’s Tower of Victory, and adds that for some period Mandu was the seat of Government, and stately edifices still recall their ancient Lords.” “Here are the tombs of the Khilji Sultans * * * Here the tamarind (*Adansonia digitata*) grows as large as a cocoanut and its kernel is extremely white.”¹

Twenty years later (circa, A. D. 1612), *Farishta* thus describes the place:—

¹ *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., Jarrett’s translation, p. 196.



THE DELHI GATE.

"This fortification is one of the most extraordinary in the world. It is built on the summit of an isolated mountain, said to be 18 kos (28 miles) in circumference. The place of a regular ditch is supplied by a ravine, formed by nature round the fortification, which is so deep that it seems impossible to take the fort by regular approaches. Within the fort is abundance of water and forage, though there is not sufficient space for the purposes of cultivation. Any army besieging Mandu must confine its operations chiefly to blockading the roads; for it is scarcely possible to invest a place of such extent. Many of the roads from the fort are steep and difficult of access. That leading to the south, known by the name of Tarapur gate, is so rough and steep that cavalry can with difficulty be led up. The road on the north, leading to the Delhi gate, is by far the most easy of access."

It is by this road that we now enter Mandu.

Descending the slope and crossing the neck of land which connects the hill with the main Vindhyan Range, the lower fortifications are entered at the Alamgir gate, which bears the following inscription:—

The Alamgir Gate.

"In the time of Alamgir Aurangzeb, the ruler of the world, this gate resembling the skies in altitude was built anew. In the year A. H. 1079 the work of renewal was begun and completed by the endeavour of the exalted Khan Muhammed Beg Khan from the accession of the Emperor of the world, Aurangzeb, this was the eleventh year by way of writing history."

A. D. 1668.

The old road leads thence by a stone causeway over the ancient ditch to a second gate known as the Banghi Darwaza, where tradition has it that on the completion of the fort and of this gateway a sweeper was immured alive.

The Banghi Gate.

Continuing onwards, the old paved road rises sharply to the edge of the plateau where stands the Delhi gate which, although much ruined, still preserves its elegance and beauty of outline. No inscription is available to show when this gate was built.

The Delhi Gate.

It may be convenient to mention here the other gates on the hill.

- The "Ghari Darwaza." Close to the Delhi gate to the east is that now known as the "Ghari Darwaza," *i.e.*, Carriage Gate. The road leading up to it leaves the old paved roadway close to the Alamgir gate, and is the only entrance into Mandu practicable for wheeled traffic. This gate also bears no inscription, and has no architectural interest.
- The Rampol Gate. Continuing round the edge of the hill eastwards we come to the Rampol gate at a short distance from the modern village of Mandu, and about 50 yards from the edge of the cliff. This gate, which has no inscription and is not mentioned in any history, is somewhat difficult to explain, as no roadway leads from it to the valley. It is obviously of very ancient date and would seem to be a relic of the old Hindu city.
- The Jehangirpur Gate. The Jehangirpur gate gives access from Gujri to the eastern portion of the fort. Its construction is ascribed to the time of Jehangir, when a Pergannah of the same name was created. The revenue division still exists in name, but in fact the village of Jehangirpur is deserted, except for a few Bhil huts, and the head-quarters of the Pergannah are now at Gujri, four miles distant in the valley below. The road down the hill is a mere track. There is no inscription on this gate, but the ancient walls on either side are in good preservation.
- The Bhagwanias Gate. On the southern face of the hill overlooking Nimar and the Nerbada valley are the Bhagwanias and Tarapur gates, named after the two villages at the foot of the hill to which each of them leads. The view from both gates is magnificent, and the Tarapur gate is particularly interesting both on account of its inscriptions and of the historical struggles for the possession of Mandu, of which it has so often been the scene.
- A. D. 1519. The inscription on the Bhagwanias Darwaza is dated A. H. 923, taking us back to the reign of Mahmūd II., the last Khilji king of Mandu. It reads thus:—
- "This gate was built under the orders of Mirza Mahommed, son of Mirza Badu Uz-Zaman of Meshed by Mohamed Husein of Meshed in the month of Jamadi-Jussan, A. H. 923."
- The Tarapur Gate. The Tarapur gate has two inscriptions; that on the upper gate shows it was commenced by Dilawar Khan Ghori, the 1st king of Mandu, and completed in the year following his death.



THE SONGARH GATE.

The second inscription, let into the more modern portion of the structure, shows that repairs to the gateway were carried out by one Sahib Mahomed Hussein during Akbar's time. The difference in construction of the upper and lower gates is very striking, the older portion bearing all the evidences of Hindu art and workmanship, while the lower gates are similar in design to the remaining gates of the fort, and all traces of Hindu influence is absent. The following is the translation of the two inscriptions.

A. D. 1406.
A. H. 809.

On the upper doorway :—

“This gate, of which there is none finer in any other city, was built in the town of Shadiabad by Dilawar Khan, the head of Islam and leader of the community, most great in dignity and kind, ever Victorious and Powerful, Generous and Liberal. This door by the grace of God was completed in A. H. 809.”

A. D. 1406.

On the main gate :—

“In the reign of Jelal-ad-din Mohamed Akbar Badshah this beggar (fakir) Sahib Mohamed Hussain Imad-ud-din, son of Sultan Ali of Sabswar, repaired this road by the grace of God in the year A. H. 1014.”

A. D. 1605.

From here a steep paved road, quite impassable for carts, leads down the hillside to Tarapur village and beyond to Dharampuri and the Nerbada river. The village of Tarapur, now a mere agglomeration of Bhil huts, must have been a large place when Mandu was in its prime. An inscription recently found in an old “baori” states that Nazir-ud-din granted land in this village to a certain Mahājan Baia among his following for the construction of a garden and of a well.

A. D. 1500-
1512.

There are two gates on the N.-W. face of Mandu. That known as the Songarh Gate was rebuilt by Maina Bai, the great Rani of Dhar, at the commencement of the 19th century. There is no access to it from the valley below, and it forms the entrance to the citadel of Mandu, the scene of the famous exploit of Bahadur Shah, when after the capture of the main fort by Humayun he fought his way to the citadel, and thence, while two of his followers defended the gate, let himself down over the edge of the cliff and effected his escape to Gujerat.

The Songarh
Gate.

Finally, overlooking the wild country to the N.-W. of Mandu is the Lowani gate, whence a very rough and steep paved road,

The Lowani
Gate.

similar to that at Tarapur, leads to the Lowani country. This gate is undoubtedly one of the most ancient in Mandu, but it is now in ruins, and there is no inscription to show from what time it dates. On the edge of the cliff is a stone "lat" evidently of Hindu origin, and scattered round close by are numerous fragments of carved pillars and a few defaced images of the Hindu pantheon.

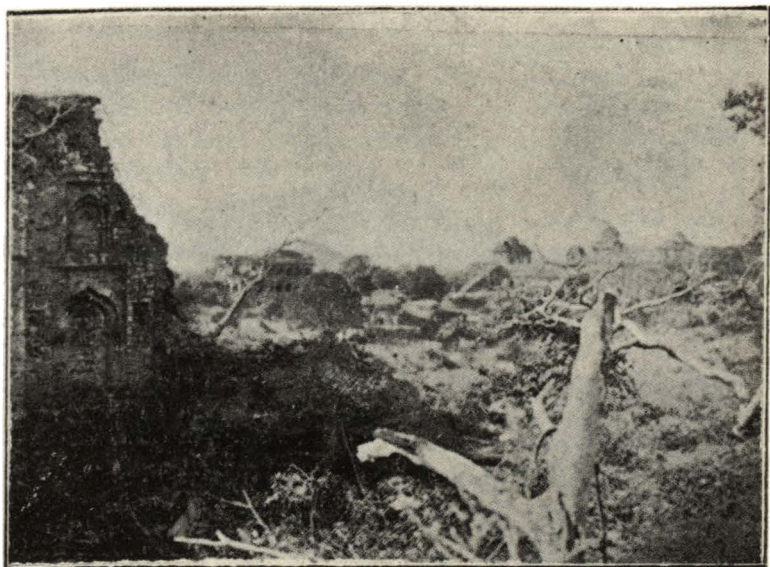
To return now to the Ghari Darwaza by which the traveller will ordinarily enter Mandu. The road leads westwards past the Delhi gate to the beautiful mass of ruined palaces in which the Khilji kings held their court. The wall which enclosed this whole area is in places still standing, and the road enters the enclosure between a much-ruined mosque, a miniature in architectural form of the great Jama Musjid, and the gate now known as the Hatipol, which was probably the main northern entrance to the palace. On each side of this gate is the remains of a life-sized model of an elephant. These figures are built of blocks of red sandstone, and were evidently covered with white marble plaster. They are probably relics of the days of Mahmūd II., when Rajput influence was supreme in Mandu. At present only the legs and lower halves of the bodies remain with a low stone erection in front on which the trunk rested.

The principal buildings within the enclosure are the Hindola Mahal, the Jahaz Mahal, the Toweli Mahal, the Nahar Jhiroka and the Champa Baori, with the so-called Treasury and the ruin now known as Gadhasa's¹ palace, but what is much more probably the *Koshak-jehan-namah*² palace, mentioned in Farishta as having been built by Ghias-ud-din. Close to this are two more fine "Baoris," one known as the *Ujál* (bright) and the other as the *Andher* (dark), from the fact that the former is completely open to the light and air, and the latter altogether roofed in.

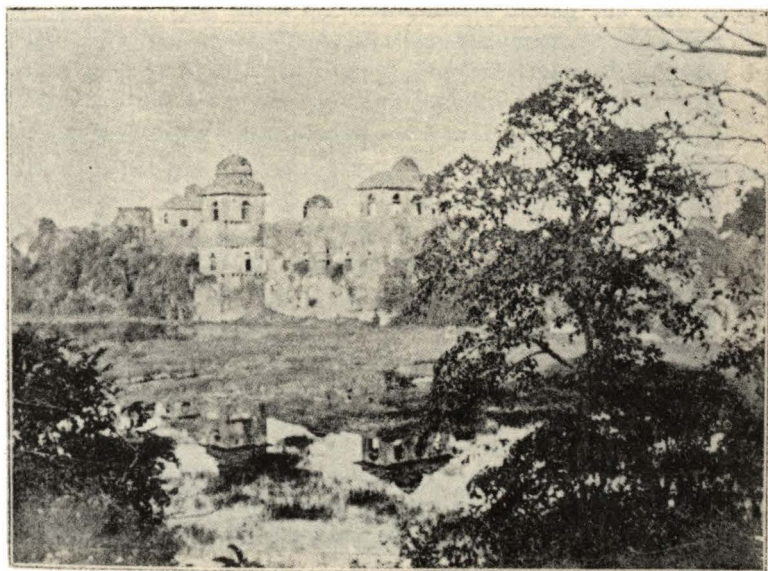
Much damage has been done by time and nature to these magnificent ruins, but the spirit of the place is there, and one can still reconstruct in imagination the splendour of the time when Ghias-ud-din, quitting the scenes of turmoil of his youth, held here his court, and so that no unsightly thing should strike his eye, ruled that within these walls only the fairest of the fairer sex should dwell.

¹ According to tradition, a great Mahajan of the time of the Khiljis.

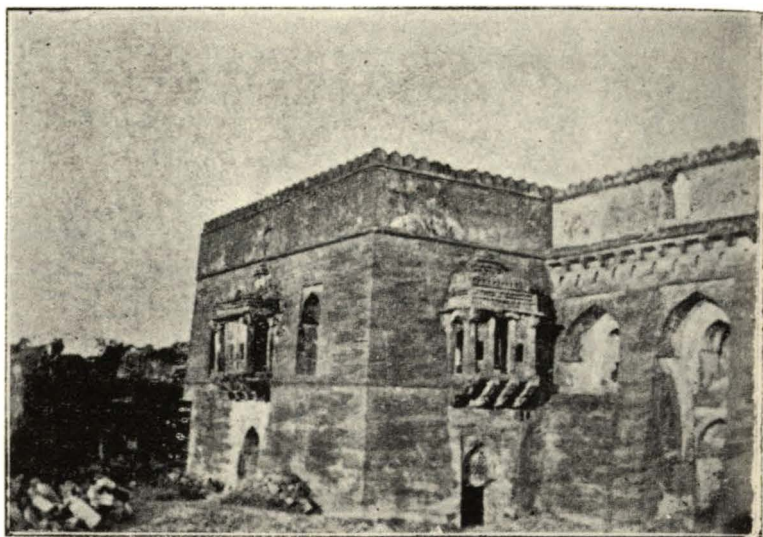
² Palace whence all the world is seen.



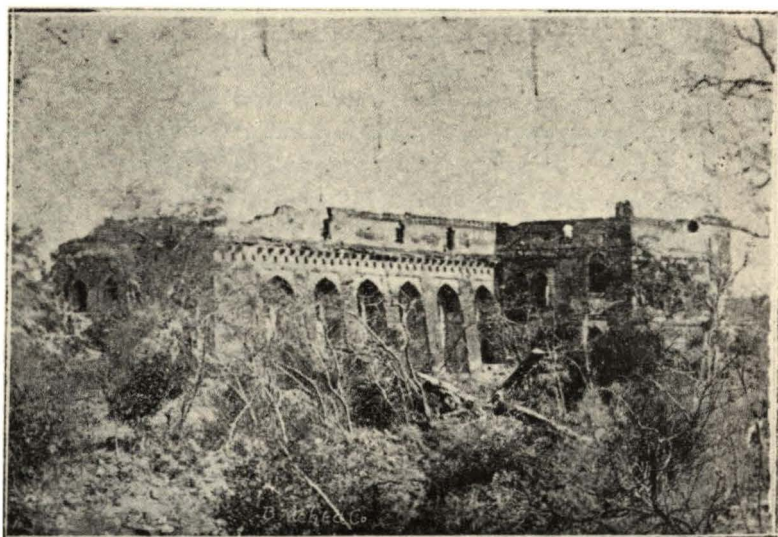
“ THE MASS OF RUINED PALACES.”



THE JAHAZ MAHAL.



THE HINDOLA MAHAL FROM THE WEST.



THE HINDOLA MAHAL FROM THE EAST.

The prognostications of those who visited Mandu in the first half of the nineteenth century have happily not been fulfilled. The "larger vaulted halls, of which Fergusson speaks, are still entire, "and the courts are still surrounded by arcades of great beauty."¹

The massive masonry and design of the Hindola Palace, which has withstood better perhaps than the other buildings the ravages of time, is most striking. The sloping buttressed walls, the deep windows, and the long lofty hall suggest some old Chapter house or Refectory, and have a style and grandeur all their own. *The Hindola Mahal.*

Passing through this building and along the northern bank of the lake, we come to the Champa Baori and the tangled mass of ruins above and below ground which surround it. A portion of one of the bathing houses remains intact and shows the care, thought, and elegance that was bestowed in a Mahomedan palace on this important part of the building. *The Champa Baori.*

The Jahaz Mahal with its long low façade stands as the centre of this group of palaces. Seen from either side but especially from the west where it overhangs the lake, it is very beautiful, while from the terraced roof a magnificent view of the surrounding country is obtained. The main doorway in the centre of the eastern face is exceedingly well built and in very good preservation. This is probably due to renewal at the hands of Karim Khan, Jehangir's engineer, as it would seem that it was in this palace that the great king made his head-quarters during his stay in Mandu. In the centre of the lake stand the ruins of the palace last occupied by Shah Jehan Begum, who accompanied Jehangir to Mandu. The main gateway is worthy of notice, the arch being of entirely different design to that common in Mandu. *The Jahaz Mahal.*

A. D. 1617.
A. H. 1026.

North of the Hindola and forming part of the walled enclosure is the Nahar Jhiroka. The marble-framed window set in the northern wall with its small platform and cupola has given this building its name. It was seated at this window (jhiroka) that the king used to receive daily in the morning (nahar) the salutations of his court. *The Nahar Jhiroka.*

Outside to the north of the whole enclosure lies the most ancient mosque in Mandu, the inscription which is given below showing it to have been built by Dilawar Khan Ghori in A. D. 1405. *Mosque of Dilawar Khan.*

A. H. 808.

¹ Fergusson, Vol. II, p. 666.

Translation of inscription.

A. D. 1405.

“Dilawar Khan, the guardian of religion, who is as an assistant to the Prophet, and supporter of his people. High as the sky in honour and like the angels in aspect. Whose actions are unrivalled, and whose majesty and dignity is great, who is praised by all, who is wealthy, happy, and of good health, over whose actions God watches and is always present to render him aid in his work.

By the grace of the Almighty God and in an auspicious hour. He (Dilawar Khan) laid the foundation of this mosque in the Fort of Mandu in A. H. 808.

It resembles the kaaba whereof a copy stands in the sky.

By the grace of Jesus, Son of the Blessed Virgin Miriam, and of Moses, son of Amran, may he be always blest by God.”

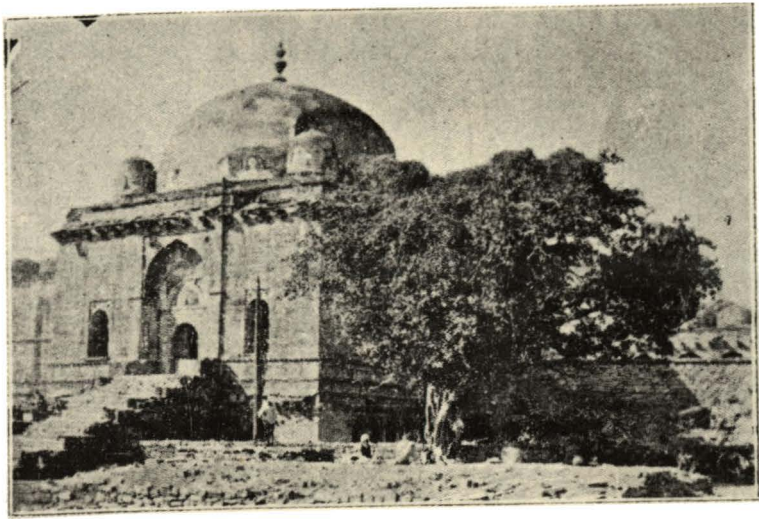
More modest in proportions than the Lat Musjid built by him at Dhar, this building has a rugged simplicity which is decidedly attractive. The low pitch of the whole structure has probably helped to maintain it in fair preservation through more than 500 years. The materials from which it is built are evidently taken from Hindu shrines.

*he Taweli
lahal.*

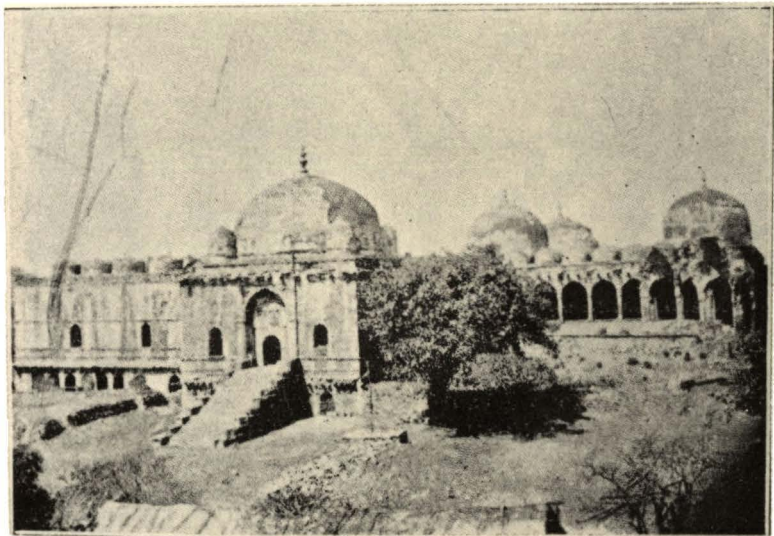
Retracing our way back, passed the Jahaz Mahal and out through the gateway by the Taweli Palace, the quarters of Ghias-ud-din's amazon guard, the road leads winding through the jungle to those buildings which were and indeed still are the glory of Mandu. The tomb of Hoshang and the great mosque commenced by that prince and completed by his more illustrious successor Mahmud.

*Hoshang's
tomb and
mosque.*

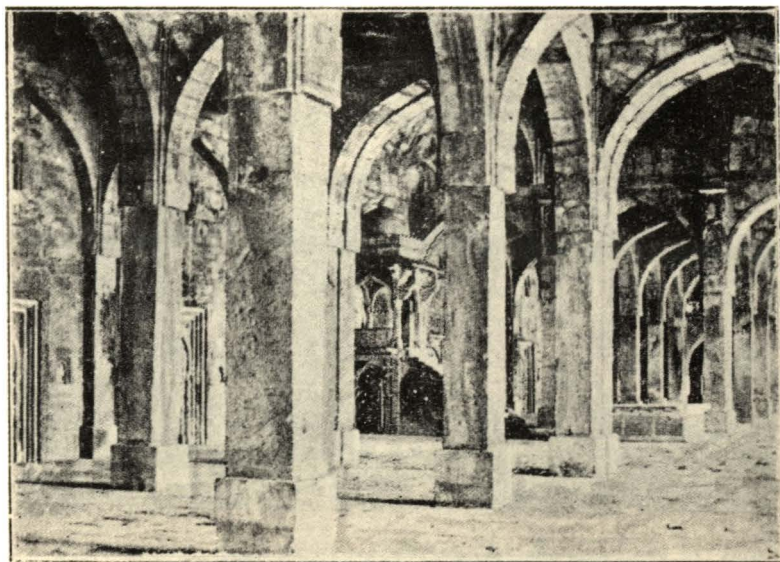
“Though the badly fitting joining of the marble slabs of the tomb walls are a notable contrast to the finish of the later Moghul buildings, Hoshang's tomb in its massive simplicity and dim-lighted roughness is a solemn and suitable resting-place for a great Pathan warrior. On the western side of the enclosure which surrounds the tomb, the pillars which near the base are four-sided, pass through an eight-sided and sixteen-sided belt into a round upper shaft. The round shaft ends in a square under capital, each face of which is filled by a group of leafage in outline, the same as the favourite Hindu *Singh-Mukh* or horned head. Over the entwined



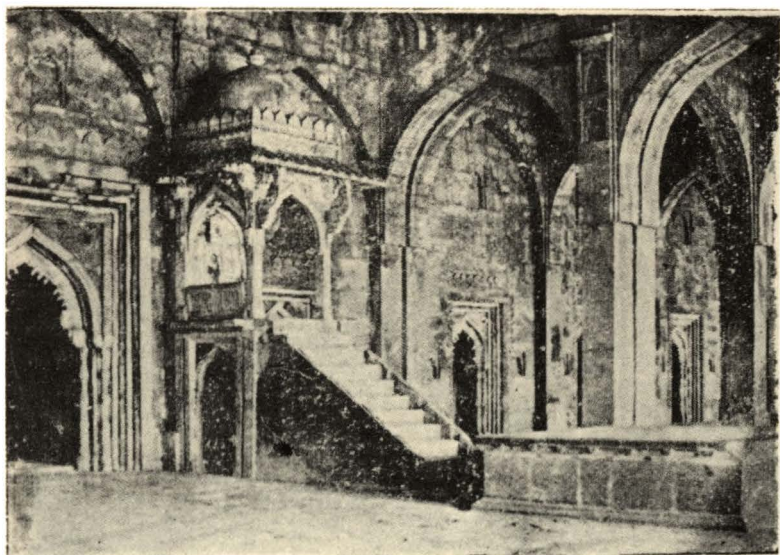
THE ENTRANCE OF THE JUMMA MUSJID.



GENERAL VIEW OF JUMMA MUSJID, MANDU.



INTERIOR JUMMA MUSJID, MANDU.



THE "NIMBAR" IN THE JUMMA MUSJID, MANDU.

leafy horns of this moulding, stone brackets support heavy stone beams, all Hindu in form.”¹

¹ Fergusson considers that these pillars were taken from a Jain building ; and certainly the colonnade has the appearance of having been taken bodily from some Jain temple, of which, according to tradition, there were several on the shores of the Sagar lake.

Hoshang's mosque was completed in A. D. 1454. The entrance porch is a massive domed building projecting from the centre of the east face. Over the marble-lined doorway is the following much damaged Persian inscription :—

The Great Mosque.
A. H. 858.

“ The mosque of exalted construction, the temple of heavenly altitude.

“ Whose every pillar is like to those of the ‘ Kaba ’

“ And (where) angels like the pigeons of the ‘ Kaba ’ make their circles round it, desiring to show it their respect.

“ When he came to a full age and had passed through the merciless revolutions of the skies

“ Aazam Humayun (*i.e.*, Malik Mughis) said—

“ The administration of the country, the construction of buildings and the defeat of our enemies,

“ Are things which I leave to you (my son) as parting advice with great earnestness.

“ The personification of the goodness of Providence, the Sultan Alla-ud-din (Mahmūd I.)

“ The Light of Religion and the satisfier of the wants of the people

“ In the year A. H. 858 (A. D. 1454).

“ In the words of this parting advice, finished the construction of this building.”

The interior of the court in its simple grandeur and expression of power may, according to Fergusson, be taken as one of the very best specimens of Afghan architecture to be found in India. It is almost an exact square enclosed on the east, north and south by

¹ “ Mandu ” by J. M. Campbell, Esq., No. LII., Vol. XIX, Journal of the Bombay Branch, R. A. S.

² History of Architecture. p. 666, Vol. II.

colonnades, portions of which are sadly ruined. The west face with its three lofty domes and great pointed arches is in fair repair.

*Tower of
Victory.*

A. D. 1442-3.
A. H. 846.

Opposite the Jama Masjid are the ruins of Mahmūd's great Tower of Victory, and beneath it the college erected by the same king. Only a fragment of this tower remains to show that it was faced with white marble slabs inlaid with black stone. But history records that it was seven stories high, and the existing basement gives us an idea of its size. The fates have been hard on Mandu in this particular instance. The tower was built by Mahmūd in commemoration of his victory over the Rana Khumbu of Chittore: it is now an utter ruin while the Rana's great Tower of Victory at Chittore built about twelve years later in token of his victory over this same Mahmūd stands practically intact, and is among the most perfect models of the Hindu architecture of those days. Who shall say that this is not an emblem of the permanence so characteristic of all Hindu life and thought?

To the north-east of the square stand the modern public offices and state-endowed temple of Mandu. Southward the road leads to the Sagar lake, and is lined on either side for a short distance by the mean huts which go to form the modern village. A road branching to the eastward leads to the Lal Bungalow and beyond to what is locally known as the Sath Sao Siri (700 steps), where the walls of the fort leaving the crest of the hill dip down to a ravine some 700 feet in depth, and rise again on the opposite side to the crest close to the Jehangirpur gate.

It has up to the present not been possible to fix the date of construction of the Lal Bungalow, but it is hoped that from a broken inscription in the Tugra character, which was found within the enclosure, it will be possible to "locate" this building. The site of this building, fixed as it is on the edge of a masonry enclosed tank buried in the jungle, is extremely romantic. It was here that the final scene in the history of the Khilji Kings was enacted, when Mahmūd II. surrendered to his conqueror, Bahadur Shah of Gujerat.

A. D. 1526.

The environments of the Sagar lake have suffered much from the recent drought, as many of the "spreading mango trees" along its banks are now mere skeletons. To the east of it and

forming the end of the encamping ground is the smaller Jama Masjid built by Málík Mughis in 1432 A. D. The entrance door of which bears the following inscription :—

“ With good omens, at a happy time and in a lucky and well-starred year

“ On the 4th of the month of Alláh (Ramazán) on the great day of Friday,

“ In the year 835 and six months from the Hijrah

“ Counted according to the revolution of the moon in the Arabian manner,

“ This Islámi mosque was founded in this world,

“ The top of whose dome rubs its head against the green canopy of Heaven.

“ The construction of this mosque was due to Mughis-uddin-wadunya (Málík Mughis), the father of Mahmúd I. of Mál-wa (A. D. 1435—1469), the redresser of temporal and spiritual wrongs.

“ Uluh (brave) Aázam (great) Humáyún (august) the Khán of the seven climes and of the nine countries.

“ By the hands of his enterprise this mosque was founded so great,

“ That some call it the house of Peace, others style it the Kaába.

“ This good building was completed on the last of the month of Shawwál.

A. H. 835.
A. D. 1432.

“ May the merit of this good act be inserted in the scroll of the Khán's actions!

“ In this centre may the praises of the sermon read by Mahmúd Shah

“ Be everlasting so long as mountains stand on the earth and stars in the firmament.”

This mosque must have been a jewel, and makes the ruin which has overtaken it all the more distressing. Here there can be no doubt of the Hindu origin of the material used for the building, and the elegance of outline of the entrance porch even in its ruined state is fascinating. Opposite is what was Málík Mughis' palace, and a little beyond that prince's tomb, the black dome of which is “ brightened by a belt of brilliant, pale, and deep-blue enamel.”

Beyond again on the right is the so-called *Dhai-ka-Mahal*,¹ and close by, the "*Dhai-ki-Choti Bhain-ka-Mahal*,"² of which there is nowhere historic mention.

The "Bombay Subaltern," writing in 1843, remarks "on our right, and on the high ground to the south of the Sagar lake "are the walls of the Shikarikot, said to have been built by Baz Bahadur ; in different directions are domed pavilions from which "the great men of those days used to observe the contests of "elephants hawking and any other spectacle that might offer."

To the writer it seems more probable that these buildings were some of the ordinary houses or tombs of the richer classes, more specially as the road which winds below them is lined with the remains of what were evidently houses of a meaner sort used probably by their retainers and servants.³

The road continues southwards to the Rewa Kund, Baz Bahadur's palace, and finally to Rup Mati's pavilion—perhaps the most delightful spot in Mandu.

The Rewa Kund.

The Rewa Kund, the pool or spring where to meet Rup Mati's wishes, the *Nerbada* is said "to have made its appearance on the mountain top" lies to the west of the road immediately opposite to the palace of Baz Bahadur. It is a small masonry-lined tank, and a ruined bathing house is on one side of it.

Baz Bahadur's Palace.

A fine, easy flight of steps leads from its north-east corner up the slope on which the palace of the last independent king of Mandu stands. On the left a portion of the lofty aqueduct by which the holy water of the Kund was introduced into the palace is still standing. On the entrance arch of Baz Bahadur's palace is a Persian inscription which shows that although the latter may have repaired the building it owes its origin to *Nazir-ud-din*. It runs thus :—

A. D. 1500,
1512.

"In the time of the Sultan of Nations, the most just and great, and the most learned and magnificent Sultan *Nazir Shah Khilji*, written by *Yusuph* the year A. H. 914."

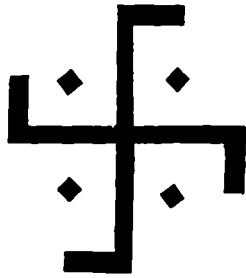
A. D. 1509.

Much of the marble from this building, especially from the balcony overlooking Mandu, has been mercilessly mutilated by a former generation ; but happily some of the sides of the courtyards are intact, as also are the cupolas, which surmount the colonnades.

¹ *i.e.*, the Nurse's Palace.

² *i.e.*, the Palace of the nurse's young sister.

³ The Shikari Kot was probably much nearer Baz Bahadur's Palace. The walls of an enclosure are still visible to the east of this building.

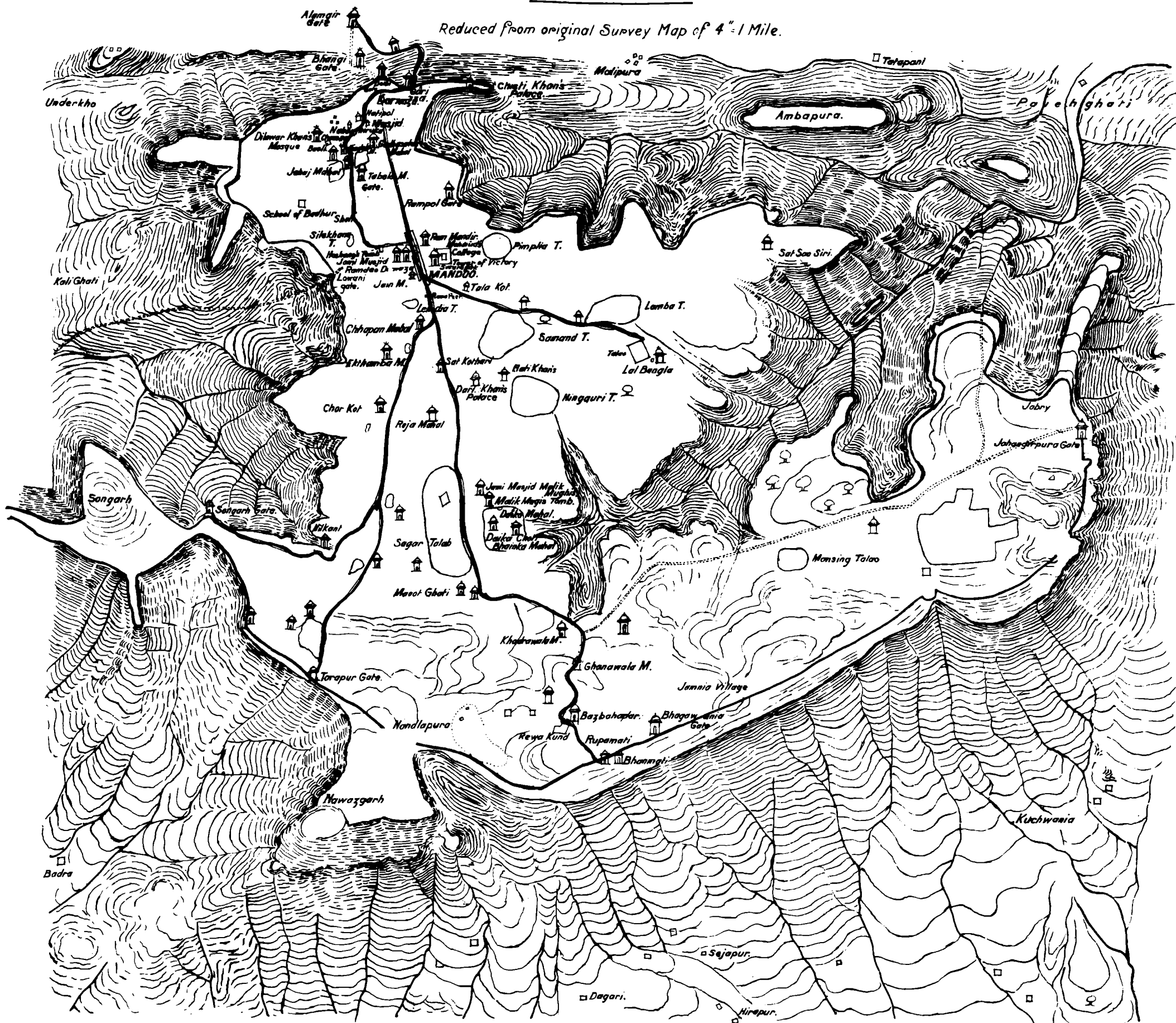


MAP OF MANDU, DHAR STATE.

SHOWING POSITIONS OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS.

Scale 1:8232 Inches = 1 Mile.

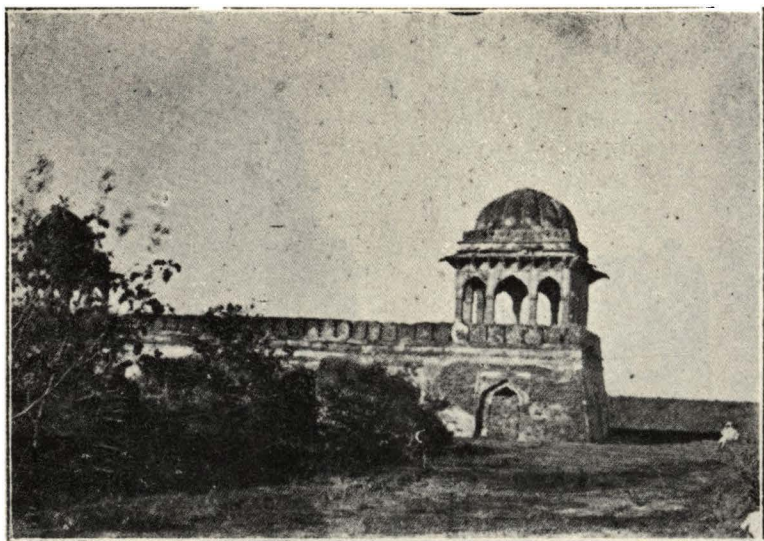
Reduced from original Survey Map of 4" = 1 Mile.



Thick black line round edge of hill shows remains of old fortifications.



THE DHAJ KA MAHAL.



THE PALACE OF RUP MATI.

On the hill immediately overhanging the palace and clear against the sky-line stands "Rup Mati's Chatri." Rup Mati's Pavilion.

"From a ground-floor of heavy masonry and arched gateways, stairs lead to the flat terrace, at the north and south ends of which are massive heavy-eaved pavilions, whose square pillars and pointed arches support lofty deep-grooved domes. The southern pavilion (unhappily now much ruined) on the very edge of the Vindhyan cliff commands a long stretch of the south face of Mandu, with its guardian wall covering the heights and hollows of the hill-top. Twelve hundred feet below spreads the dim hazy Nimar plain, brightened eastwards by the gleaming line of the Nerbada. The north pavilion through the fresh clear air of the hill-top looks over the entire stretch of Mandu from the high shoulder of Songarh in the extreme south-west across rolling tree brightened fields, past the domes, the tangled bush and the broad grey of the Sagar Lake to the five-dome cluster of Hoshang's mosque and tomb, on, across a sea of green tree tops, to the domed roof chambers of the Jahaz and the Toweli palaces, through the Delhi gateway, and beyond the deep cleft of the northern ravine, to the base level and low ranges of the Malwa plateau."¹

Though it seems ruthless to lessen the romance attached to this building so intimately connected with Rup Mati and her princely lover, it should be noted that on an inner archway of the lower floor is an inscription so damaged as to be only partly decipherable, which shows that at some period this building was used as a Dharamsala for poor and needy travellers who might climb up the hill.

We must now retrace our steps back to the Mandu village, and taking the road which leads south-west reach the edge of the cliff above "Nilkanth." A long flight of steps leads down to the deep shady dell, where a "Mahomedan chamber with great open arched front looks out across a fountained courtyard and sloping scalloped water-table, to the wild western slopes of Mandu."²

¹ S. M. Campbell, "Mandu" *Journal of Bombay Branch, R. A. Society*, No. L11., Vol. XIX.

² Campbell's "Mandu."

A. D. 1574. This is the place where Akbar lodged in A. D. 1574, and which Jehangir visited in A. D. 1617. It was built by Shah Budagh Khan during his tenure of office as Commandant of Mandu, and bears the following inscriptions :—

“Call it not waste to spend your life in water and earth (*i.e.*, in building).

“If perchance a man of mind for a moment makes your house his lodging.

“Written by Shah Budagh Khan in the year A. H. 982.”

A second inscription on the great southern arch reads thus :—

“This pleasant building was completed in the reign of the great Sultan, most munificent and just Khakan, the Lord of the countries of Arabia and Persia, the Shadow of God on the two earths, the ruler of the sea and of the land, the exalter of the standards of those who war on the side of God. Abu Fatah Yahal-ud-din Mahomed Akbar, the warrior king, may his dominion and his kingdom be everlasting.

A. D. 1574. “Written by Faridin Husein, son of Hat-ul-ward, in the year A. H. 982.”

The stones of this inscription have been wrongly placed by some illiterate restorer, the latter portion of the inscription coming first, and the first one last. A third inscription on the right wall, which is dated A. D. 1591-92, runs as follows :—

“In the year A. D. 1000, when on his way to the conquest of the Dekhan, the Slaves of the exalted Lord of the Earth, the holder of the sky-like throne, the Shadow of Allah (the Emperor Akbar), passed by this place.”

“That time wastes your home, cease, soul to complain

“Who will not scorn a complainer so vain ;

“From the story of others this wisdom derive

“Ere nought of thyself but stories survive.”

Finally on the left wall is the fourth inscription dated A. D. 1600 :—

“The Shadow of Allah, the Emperor Akbar after the conquest of the Dekhan and Khandesh in the year 1009, set out for Hind.

"May the name of the writer last for ever !

"At dawn and at eve I have watched an owl sitting

"On the lofty wall-tops of Shirwan Shah's tomb,

"And the owl's plaintive hooting conveyed me this warning,

"Here pomp, wealth, and greatness be dumb."

This spot is now the retreat of a Hindu recluse, and has probably, as its Hindu name implies, reverted to its former use. Its gentle occupant, however, has not improved its artistic appearance, and although this building is the only one in Mandu which has been kept in proper repair externally, its internal arrangement has now little in keeping with the memories of Akbar.

A few other buildings call for mention. The tomb of Daria Khan. Daria Khan about half-way between the great mosque and the Sagar Lake on the left of the road, still bears portions of the texts from the Koran in coloured enamel tiles with which it was entirely decorated.

A little beyond in the jungle is a building locally known as the Hathi-Khana. Hathi-Khana, "Hathi-Khana," but evidently a tomb, interesting on account of the four massive pillars which support the dome, and which are unique in their style in Mandu.

The palace known as that of "Chisti Khan," commander of the Chisti Khan's army in the time of Mahmūd Khilji, is a ruin beautifully situated palace. at the extreme north-east point of the hill. Here, too, is a sadly-damaged relic of what was once a most artistic piece of enamelled wall-decoration. Close by are vaults said to have been the magazines of the great Mahmūd. On the road to the Lal Bungalow, one passes two stone pillars evidently the "Dip stambhas" of a Hindu temple, while buried in the jungle to the west of the Jahaz Mahal is a large building said to have been the school of "Shah Baddar," a reputed sage. On the map attached to this paper, the position of numerous other buildings is shown, but the names given have a purely local significance, and are merely noted in order to assist the traveller when wandering with a local guide among these relics of the past.

ART. XII.—*Epigraphic Notes and Questions.*—By DEVADATTA

RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.

[Communicated, June 1902.]

I.—THE FIRST TWO ROCK-EDICTS OF PIYADASI :

1.—*The First Rock Edict.*

Transcript.

1. इय धमलिपी देवानं प्रियेन
2. प्रियवसिना राम्ना लेखापिता [1] इध न किं-
3. च्चि जीवं आरभिस्मा प्रज्जहितव्यं [1]
4. न च समाजो कतव्यो [1] बइकं हि शोसं
5. समाजमिह पसति देवानं प्रियो प्रियस्सि राजा [1]
6. अस्ति पि च्चु एकच्चा समाजा साधुमता देवानं
7. प्रियस प्रियस्सिनो [1] पुरा महानसमिह
8. देवानं प्रियस प्रियस्सिनो राम्ना अनुद्विसं ब-
9. ह्वनि प्राणसतसहस्रानि आरभिसु सुपाथाय [1]
10. से अज यदा अयं धमलिपी लिखिता ती एव प्रा-
11. णा आरभरे सुपाथाय द्वो मोरा एको मगो [1] सो पि
12. मगो न धुवो [1] एते पि त्ती प्राणा पछा न आरभिसरे [1]

Translation.

This edict of righteousness¹ was caused to be written by king Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods.² No animal should here (on earth) be immolated and offered as a sacrifice ; nor should any convivial gathering³ be called ; for, king Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, sees much evil in a convivial gathering. Certain⁴ convivial gatherings were (once) favourably regarded by Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods. Formerly in the kitchen of king Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, many hundreds of thousands of animals were day by day slaughtered for curry.⁵ But now when this edict of righteousness was written, only three animals were killed for curry, *viz.*, two peacocks and one deer ; but even that deer not regularly. Even these three animals will not be afterwards killed.

Notes.

1. The word *dhanmalipī*, which occurs in this as well as in many other edicts, has been translated 'righteousness-edict' by Dr. Kern, simply 'edict' by M. Senart, and 'religious edict' by Dr. Bühler. Strictly speaking, *lipī* means a *lekha*, and consequently *dhanmalipī* is a *dharmalekha*, i.e., a writing of righteousness. But I have rendered the word *lipī* by 'edict,' as all these *dhanmalipīs* were proclamations from king Piyadasi. I agree with Dr. Kern in taking *dhanma* to mean righteousness, for, wherever the word is used in the edicts,¹ it denotes no more than good moral acts. And this evidently is corroborated by the definition, which Piyadasi gives of *dhanma* in Pillar Edict II.

2. *Devānānpriya*:—On Pāṇini's *sūtra* VI. 3. 21. which deals with the genitive *aluk-samāsa*, Kātyāyana has the *Vārtika*: *देवानांमित्र इति च*. From this it is plain that, in the time of the *Vārtikakāra*, *devānānpriya* had come into use, and was looked upon as one word. In his gloss on the *vārtika* *भवद्वादिद्योगः* appended to Pāṇini's *sūtra* V. 3. 14, Patañjali includes *devānām-priya* under this *भवद्वादिद्योगः*.² This indicates that, like *bhavat* and the other words *dirghāyus* and *āyushmat* comprised in that *gaṇa*, *devānām-priya* also was employed as an auspicious mode of address or characterisation. In Rock Edict VIII., for *devānām-priya* of some versions, we have the variant *rājāno* of others. The only legitimate conclusion that can be deduced therefrom is that *devānām-priya* corresponds to *rājāno*. Coupling this fact with the inference we have drawn from what Patañjali has said, we find that *devānām-priya* was an auspicious mode of address or characterisation used in the case of kings. In much later times the word came to have the derogatory sense of 'a dullard' in Sanskrit literature. But even so late as the time of the *Kāśikākāra* and Kaiyaṭa, we do not find this sense attached to the word *devānām-priya*. The earliest instance of it, so far as I have been able to trace it, is to be met with in the *Kāvya-prakāśa*: *नेष्ट्वन्तात्पर्यज्ञास्तात्पर्यवाचोयुक्तदेवानामित्रः*.³ Here *devānām-priya* obviously denotes a dunce. Hēmachandra also gives *devānām-priya* in his

¹ The word *dhanma* occurring in the Bhabra edict only appears to have been used in a sense technical to Buddhism.

² Patañjali's *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya*, by Dr. Kielhorn, (Bo. Sk. Series) Vol. II., p. 405.

³ *Kāvya-prakāśa*, by Vāmanaśhārya Jhalkikar, (Bo. Sk. Series), p. 255.

lexicon as synonymous with *mūḍha* and *joḍa*. Again, the word has been explained by Bhaṭṭōji Dikshita in his *Siddhānta-kaumudī* as equivalent to *mūḍha*.¹ But whatever may have been the sense conveyed by *devānām-priya* in later times, it was not originally a degraded word, but was employed as an auspicious mode of characterisation with reference to kings.

It was Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji², who first drew attention to the fact that *devānām-priya* of some versions of Rock Edict VIII, corresponded to *rājāno* of others. He was also the first to show that *devāṇupriya* (*devāṇuppiya*) of the Jain *sūtras* was a corruption of *devānām-priya*. Dr. Hoernle doubts the correctness of this view inasmuch as *devāṇu* in *devāṇuppiya* is an anomalous form of the genitive *devānām* in *devānām-priya*.³ But it has been stated above that *devānām-priya* is mentioned by Kātyāyana as an instance of *aluk-samūsa*. We have, therefore, to regard it as one word, and for practical purposes ignore the existence of the genitive case termination, when pronouncing it. In other words, when we hear the word pronounced, we are not to look upon it as two separate words, of which *devānām* is the genitive plural of *dēva*, but to take it as one word, like other *sāmāsika* words, without noticing the case termination that there is in the body of the word. If this is true, it very much weakens the objection referred to above. For, when we say that *devāṇuppiya* is a corruption of *devānām-priya*, we mean that the one word *devāṇuppiya* is a corruption of the one word *devānām-priya*. We cannot thus legitimately split up *devāṇuppiya* and *devānām-priya* each into two words, and then ask ourselves whether *devāṇu* of the one can, by means of the rules of the Prākṛit dialects, be justified as a more developed form of the genitive *devānām* of the other. Dr. Hoernle's proposal to consider *devāṇuppiya* as equivalent to *devāṇupriya*, is on the contrary, open to objection. For no authority has been adduced to show that *devāṇupriya* was ever used as a mode of address in the case of kings. And, so long as that authority is not forthcoming, *devāṇuppiya*, which is applied to kings even in the Jain *sūtras* cannot stand for *devāṇupriya*. But it has been shown above that *devānām-priya* was a mode of characterisation, and was often employed in connection with kings. It is, therefore, safer, on the whole, to

¹ Siddhāntakaumudī, No. 979.

² Ind. Ant., X. 108 ; see also J. R. A. S., 1901, pp. 577-8 and 930.

³ Uvāsagadasāo, Appendix III.

understand *devānūppiya* as a corruption of *devānām-priya* than of *devānupriya*, which has no existence in literature.

Although *devānūppiya* of some copies of Rock Edict VIII. corresponds to *rājāno* of others, it is not correct to regard the former as synonymous with, or equivalent to, the latter, as Mr. V. A. Smith appears to me to have done.¹ For, *rājā*, which is conjoined to the name of Piyadasi, together with *devānūppiya*, would, in that case, be superfluous. Again, the rendering 'his sacred majesty,' which he has proposed for *devānūppiya*, does not commend itself to me, as the phrase 'his sacred majesty' can be applied only to the head of a religious establishment, such *e.g.* as the Pope of Europe or the Śāṅkarāchāryas of India, but can never with propriety be used with reference to a secular king.

I have, therefore, adhered to the rendering of *devānūppiya* by 'beloved of the gods.'

3. The word *samāja* seems to have very much exercised the antiquarians. According to most of them, it signifies 'a convivial or festive assembly.' Dr. Pischel,² however, proposes the meaning 'battue' for it. Although the first sense is undoubtedly correct, nobody has yet been able to adduce any authority in support of it. That, I think, is now furnished by the reference to the Harivaṁśū given under समाज + कर् in the St. Petersburg Dictionary. It is as follows:—

द्विजाय ब्रह्मज्ञाय इषी तार्क्ष्यवरध्वजः । सवे समाने च तदा बह्वचक्रगदाधरः
८१८९.

विसर्जयित्वा तत्क्षत्रं पाण्डवांश्च महाबलः । बिल्बोदकेश्वरस्याथ समाजमकरो-
त्प्रभुः ८१९०.

नांससूपघाताकीर्णं बह्वन्नं ह्यञ्जनाकुलं । निशुद्धकुशालान्महान्देवो महप्रियवस्तदा
८१९१.

Here we are told that Kṛiṣṇa held in honour of the god Bilvōdakēśvara a *samāja* (feast), which is said to be "abounding in a hundred (varieties) of meat and curry, full of diverse (kinds) of food, and surcharged with condiments." *Samāja*, therefore, appears to be a public feast, where meat formed one of the principal articles of food served. But this, I think, denotes only one feature of the *samāja*. Another feature of it will be clear from the following verse of the Bhāttikāvya:³

¹ J. R. A. S., 1901, pp. 486 & 577.

² Gött. Gel. Anz., 1981, p. 1321.

³ Cant. V. II. v. 39 (Nirṇayasāgṛ edition).

इन्द्रं चयकसंक्रान्तमुपाकुङ्कु वयावृतम् ।

प्रदुञ्जानः शिवावाचः समाजानुरतो जनः ॥

Here the word *samāja* is explained by the commentator Jaya-maṅgala, as signifying *pāna-gōshthī*. *Samāja* thus, on the whole, seems to mean a sort of public merry-making, where meat and wine were copiously served.

When king Piyadasi says that he sees much evil in the holding of a *samāja*, he had in mind, I think, both these features of the *samāja*, viz., the slaughter of hundreds of animals, and the quaffing of copious wine. But it is the first feature of the *samāja*, that, above all, prompted the king to put a stop to this custom, since this edict is entirely concerned with the protection of animal life.

4. The word *ekachā* is formed by applying the termination *tya* to *eka*, and means 'belonging to a particular place, certain.' *Bkachā samāja* does not, therefore, mean "some kinds of festive assemblies," as Dr. Bühler supposes, but convivial gatherings belonging to a particular place, i.e., the place where Piyadasi was in the habit of holding them. Further, *sālkumatā*, I think, does not refer to his present, but to his past, opinion. What Piyadasi means is, that, although he now sees much evil in the celebration of *samājas*, there was a time when they were considered most excellent by him. The ancient kings of India appear to have been in the habit of holding *samājas*. In the Hāthigumphā inscription at Cuttack, we are told that, Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga, amused his capital-town by celebrating festivals and *samājas* (उसवसमाजकारापनाहि च कीडापवति नगरी).¹ Similarly, Nāsik cave-inscription No. 18 speaks of Gotami-putra Śātakarṇi as having caused festivals and *samājas* to be made (उसवसुसवसमाजकारकस).² Quite in consonance with this practice, Piyadasi must have held several *samājas*, but the slaughter of thousands of animals on these occasions appears to have aroused his conscience and impelled him to abolish the institution, whereby so much animal life was sacrificed.

5. Piyadasi here tells us how to serve meat on the occasions of the *samājas* he formerly gave, thousands of animals were slaughtered in his kitchen, and how he has now imposed restrictions on the animals

¹ See "The Hāthigumphā and three other Inscriptions," &c., by Bhagwanlal Indraji, p. 26.

² Arch. Surv. West. Ind., Vol., IV., p. 103, l. 8.

to be slain for his table. *Audiasanā*, no doubt, literally means 'daily,' but it seems here to denote the collective result of the daily slaughter of animals continued for a long period rather than the daily slaughter itself, for the killing of hundreds of thousands of animals every day is an impossibility. The word *sūpa* here is worthy of note. Even to the present day, where English cookery is not imitated, meat is prepared among Hindus in the form of curry.

It will be seen that, if the rendering we have proposed for ll. 4—9 is accepted, the cogent objections, raised by the learned scholar M. Senart¹ to Dr. Bühler's interpretation, are satisfactorily answered. In the first place, the sense we have given of *samāja* is, as required by him, "more precise and circumscribed" than that suggested by Dr. Bühler, and is supported by authorities. Next, if *samāja* signifies, as we have seen, a public entertainment where meat and wine were served in profuse quantities, it is clear how thereby animal life "was compromised," and how, therefore, *na cha samājo kataṅgo* can stand connected with *na . . . pajūhitavyam* in an edict "entirely devoted to the protection of animal life." Again, if one translates, with Dr. Bühler, *asti pichu, &c., &c.*, by "there are, however, also some kinds of festive assemblies considered most excellent by king Priyadarśin," the rendering becomes liable to M. Senart's objection that, "if Piyadasi had meant to approve of 'certain *samājas*,' he would have specified to what *samājas* he referred." But, as we have understood it, Piyadasi's approval pertains, not to any convivial gatherings he holds at present, but to those he formerly gave; in short, he *once* approved of certain *samājas* which he now disapproves. Thus M. Senart's objection does not apply to our interpretation. Lastly, when for *samāja* was proposed a vague sense, which did not clearly indicate how animal life was thereby "compromised," and when the words *asti pi chu, &c., &c.*, were presumed to refer to certain *samājas* favourably regarded by Piyadasi at the time when the edict was promulgated, the details given of Piyadasi's kitchen, as M. Senart rightly observes, were rendered perfectly irrelevant and unmeaning. But, according to our view of the matter, these details attain full significance. For we have interpreted the words *asti pichu, &c., &c.*, to allude to the *samājas*, *i.e.* public banquets, which Piyadasi gave long before he issued this edict; and it is but natural that Piyadasi should describe the hor-

¹ Ind. Ant. XX. 245, note 46

rible slaughter of animals that was carried on in his kitchen, to serve meat on occasions of those *samājas*.

2.—*The Second Rock Edict.*

With regard to this edict I have only three remarks to offer. The first is with respect to Satiyaputa, mentioned by Piyadasi among the kings, ruling on the frontiers of his kingdom. The close correspondence in sound of Satiyaputa and Sâtputê, a surname current among the present Marâthâs, is so striking that I am inclined to hold that the Sâtputês had formerly settled in the south on the Western Coast, as the mention of Satiyaputa in the edict points to it, and that they afterwards migrated as far northward as Mahârâshâtra, and were merged into the warrior and other classes.

My second remark refers to the word *sâmanîta*, which occurs in connection with Antiochus and the four Greek princes. Dr. Bühler has rendered it by "vassal-kings."¹ And it is this rendering to which I take exception. *Sâmanîta* is the reading of all versions except that of Girnâr, which substitutes *sâmîpanî* for it. This variant is of great importance, inasmuch as it indicates that *sâmanîta* must be interpreted in such a way as to correspond to it. *Sâmanîta* must, therefore, signify neighbouring or bordering. And, as a matter of fact, this is the sense which Childer's Pâli Dictionary gives for the word *sâmanîta*. There can remain, therefore, no doubt that *sâmanîta* in the edict is to be translated as 'neighbouring or bordering' and not "vassal-kings," as Dr. Bühler has done.

My third remark is concerned with the sense of the word *chikîchhâ*. If we carefully attend to the contents of this edict, it cannot fail to strike us that, when Piyadasi says that he has established two kinds of *chikîchhâ*, he makes only a general statement, of which the works of charity he mentions further on are particular instances. If so, the word *chikîchhâ* must be interpreted in such a way as to go naturally with planting trees, raising orchards, digging wells, and such other charitable works which Piyadasi has instituted. But if we hold with Dr. Bühler that the word means "a hospital"² or with M. Senart that it signifies "remedies,"³ then we shall have to suppose that this edict simply sets forth a congeries of facts thoroughly unconnected with one another. I, therefore, propose to take *chikîchhâ* in the sense of 'provision or provident arrangement.'

¹ *Ep. Ind.* II. 466.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ind. Ant.* IX. 297; *Ibid.* XX. 240, note 32.

If this sense is adopted, the word *chiktchhā* goes with all the charitable acts specified by Piyadasi, and a connection is established between it and what follows. For Piyadasi here speaks of having made two provident arrangements, i.e., provident arrangements for two classes of creatures—men and animals. And what are these? They are obviously the planting of medicinal herbs, the growing of orchards, the sinking of wells, and so forth. By this way of interpretation alone the edict attains its full significance.

II.—THE ÂJĪVIKAS.

The epigraphic references to the Âjīvikas occur in the inscriptions of Piyadasi and his grandson Daśaratha. The earliest of these is to be found in the Barâbar cave-inscription,¹ which speaks of them as the donees to whom the cave was dedicated by Piyadasi in the thirteenth year of his reign. The Âjīvikas are also mentioned in Pillar Edict VII., among those, whom, Piyadasi tells us, he has ordered his Dharma-mahāmātras to concern themselves with. They are also referred to in the Nâgârjunî cave-inscriptions, which record the grant of three caves to Âjīvikas by Daśaratha, beloved of the gods.² But the following note is chiefly concerned with the passage of Pillar Edict VII., wherein the Âjīvikas are mentioned. The passage is as follows:—

हेमेव बाभनेसु आजीविकेसु पि मे कटे इमे विद्यापटा हेऽसि ति.

Dr. Kern and Dr. Bühler connect *bābhanesu* with *ājīvikesu*, and translate it thus: "likewise I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Brahmanical Âjīvikas."³ Thus, according to these scholars, the Ajīvikas were a Brahmanical sect. The reasons for holding this view and for proposing the above interpretation have been set forth by Dr. Kern in his *Der Buddhismus*, and have been repeated by Dr. Bühler in his paper on the Barâbar and Nâgârjunî Hill Cave Inscriptions.⁴ But apart from the refutation of these arguments, it is not difficult to see that *bābhanesu* can by no means stand in apposition with *Ājīvikesu*, as has been supposed by Dr. Kern and Dr. Bühler. In the Nâgârjunî cave inscriptions of Daśaratha, the Âjīvikas are styled *bhādanta*. Now,

¹ *Ind. Ant.* XX. 169 and 364.

² *Ibid.*, 364-5.

³ *Ep. Ind.* II. 272; in justice to Dr. Bühler, it must be said that he admitted the possibility of translating the same passage by separating हेमेव बाभनेसु from आजीविकेसु. *Ind. Ant.* XX. 362.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* XX. 381-3.

śhadanta is a title which has never been applied to any members of a Brahmanical school. The Ājīvikas could not, therefore, have been a Brahmanical sect. The same conclusion is pointed to by the following stanzas from the Suttanipāta¹ :—

Ye kec' ime titthiyā vādasīlā
 ājīvikā vā yadi vā nigauṭhā
 paññāya taṃ nātitaranti sabbe
 ṭhito vajantaṃ viya sīghagāmiṃ. 6

Ye kec' ime brāhmaṇū vādasīlā
 vuddhā cāpi brāhmaṇā santi keci
 sabbe tayi atthabaddhā bhavanti
 ye vāpi c' aññe vādino maññamānā. 7

Translation.

"All these disputatious Titthiyas and Ājīvikas and Nigauṭhas do not any of them overcome thee in understanding as a man standing (does not overcome) the one that is walking quickly."

"All these disputatious Brāhmaṇas, and there are even some old Brāhmaṇas, all are bound by thy opinion, and others also that are considered disputants."²

It will be seen from this that here the Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas and Nirgranthas are distinguished from one another. The Ājīvikas cannot, therefore, be regarded as having been a Brahmanical school.

We shall now proceed to the consideration of Dr. Kern's view that the Ājīvikas are Vaishṇavas. This view rests on two passages from Utpala's commentary on Varāhamihira's Bṛīhajjātaka. The first passage is अजीविकग्रहणं च नारायणाश्रितानां, which he renders by "and the use of (the term) Ājīvika refers to those who have taken refuge with Nārāyaṇa." In support of this explanation, Utpala, according to Dr. Kern, cites a Prākṛit verse of Kālakāchārya, which the commentator renders by the Sanskrit केशवमार्गशीलितः केशवभक्तः भागवत इत्यर्थः. This, in Dr. Kern's opinion, unmistakably shows that Kālakāchārya regards Ājīvikas as Bhāgavatas. Now, in the first place, the translation proposed by Dr. Kern for the first passage is not correct. That this is the case will be seen from the following extract from Utpala's commentary bearing upon this point :—

¹ Sutta-Nipāta, edited by V. Fausböll, p. 672. ² Sacred Books of the East, Vol. X., Pt. II., p. 63.

एकस्यैश्चतुरादिभिर्बलद्युतैर्जाता पृथग्वीर्यैः
शाक्याजीविकभिर्भुवृद्धचरका निर्मेथवन्त्याशनाः ।
माहेयत्तगुरुक्षपाकरसितप्रभाकरीनैः क्रमान्

तत्राशवेव चतुरादिभिरेकस्यैर्मेहेर्जातस्य प्रप्रज्यायोगं शाहूलविक्रीडितेनाह ॥
एकस्यैरिति । यत्र तत्र राशौ महाश्चतुरादयश्चत्वारः पञ्च षट् सप्त वा एकस्था यत्र
भवन्ति । सर्वे बलहीनास्तत्र जातस्य प्रप्रज्या न भवति । तेषां चतुरादीनां एकत्र-
गानां मध्याद्यद्येकोऽपि बलवान्भवति तदेव प्रप्रज्याः भवति । यत्र बहवो बलिन-
स्तत्र बहवः प्रप्रज्या भवन्ति । एवमेकस्यैश्चतुरादिभिर्बलद्युतैर्जाताः प्रप्रज्या-
भाजो भवन्ति । यस्मादुक्तं ॥ प्रप्रज्या बलिभिः समा ॥ ताश्च पृथग्वीर्यैः
शाक्यादयो भवन्ति । वीर्यैर्बलिभिर्मेहेः पृथक् समस्ता भवन्ति । शाक्या-
दीनां माहेयादयो महा यथोक्तक्रमेण ॥ तद्यथा ॥ चतुरादीनामेकस्थानां मध्याद्या
बलवान्माहेयो भवति तत्र शाक्यो भवति । शाक्यो रक्तपटः । अथ चतुरादीनां
मध्याद्याश्च ज्ञो बुधो बलवान्भवति तत्र आजीविको भवति । आजीविकश्चैकदण्डी ।
एवं जीवो बलवान्यत्र भवति तत्र भिक्षुर्भवति । संन्यासी ज्ञयः¹ । यत्र चन्द्रो
बलवान् तत्र वृद्धभावको भवति । वृत्तभंगभयात् श्रावकशाब्दो लुप्तो द्रष्टव्यः ।
वृद्धभावकः कपाली । शुक्रे बलवति चरको भवति । चरको चक्रधरः² । सौरे
बलवति निर्मेथः । निर्मेथो नमः क्षपणकः प्रावरणादिरहितः । आदित्ये बलवति
वन्त्याशनां भवति । वने भवं वन्यं तदस्मातीति वन्त्याशनः । तपस्वी मूलफलाशनः ।
एवं क्रमात्प्रप्रज्यायर्थः । एते च कालकमताद्वाख्याताः । तथा च कालकाचार्यः ॥
तावसिओ दिणणहे चंदे कावालिअं तथा भणिअं । रत्तवडो भूमिसुवे सोमसुवे
एअदण्डी अ ॥ देवगुरुशुक्रकोणाकवेण जईचरअखवणाहं ॥ अस्यार्थः । तावसिओ
वापसिकः । दिणणहे दिननाथे । चंदे चन्द्रे । कावालिअं कापालिकः । तथा
भणिअं तथा भणितः । रत्तवडो रक्तपटः । भूमिसुवे भूमिसुते । सोमसुवे सोमसुते ।
एअदण्डी अ एकदण्डी च । देवगुरुर्बृहस्पतिः । शुक्रः शुक्रः । कोणः शनिः । कवेण
क्रमेण । जई यतिः । चरअ चरकः । खवणाहं क्षपणकः । अत्र वृद्धभावकमहणं
महेश्वराश्रितानां प्रप्रज्यानामुपलक्षणं । आजीविकमहणं च नारायणाश्रितानां । तथा
च कालकसंहितायां पठ्यते । जलण-हर-सुगभ-केसव-सुइ-बम्ह-णग्गमग्गेसु
दिक्कणं । पाअव्वा सुराह-गहा कमेण नाहगडं ॥ अस्यार्थः । जलण इवलनः ।
साप्तिक इत्यर्थः । हर ईश्वरभक्तः । भटारकः । सुगभ सुगतः । सौइ इत्यर्थः ।
केसव केशवभक्तः । भागवत इत्यर्थः । सुइ श्रुतिमार्गगतः । मीमांसकः । बम्ह
ब्रह्मभक्तः । वानप्रस्थः । नग्ग नमः । क्षपणकः । नग्गसु मार्गेषु । दिक्कणं
दीक्षानां । पाअव्वा ज्ञातव्याः । सुराहगहा सूर्यादिमहाः । कमेण क्रमेण । नाह
गडं नाथ गतः ।

Now, with regard to the first passage आजीविकमहणं च नारायणा-
श्रितानां, it is plain that the word च indicates that it is connected
with the preceding passage, and that consequently the words प्रप्रज्या-

¹ Another reading: भिक्षुदण्डी यतिः

² Another reading: चक्रकरः

नामुपलक्षणम् from the latter, require to be understood after नारायणाभितानां in the former, passage. Dr. Kern, however, not perceiving the force of च takes आजीविकग्रहणं च नारायणाभितानां as a distinct sentence in itself. Evidently, therefore, he cannot be right in translating it by "and the use of (the term) *Ājīvika* refers to those who have taken refuge with *Nārāyaṇa*." The true rendering of the passage is as follows: "and (the term) *Ājīvika* is used as a mark to denote the monastic orders dependent upon *Nārāyaṇa*." Here the most important word is *upalakṣhaṇa*, which Dr. Kern has entirely lost sight of. *Upalakṣhaṇa* means a mark indicative of something that the word itself does not actually express. Utpala has already, in explaining the original of *Varāhamihira* by comparing it with a *śloka* of *Kālakāchārya*, said that *ājīvika* signifies *ekadaṇḍī*. And now he adds that the term *ājīvika* is to be taken as a mark to denote the recluse-devotees of *Nārāyaṇa*. It is a mark only and not a word expressive of them. Sanskrit commentators often employ the word *upalakṣhaṇa*, when they want a certain word or expression in the original to denote things, not, truly speaking, expressed by that word or expression. And precisely the same practice is followed here by Utpala. The list of ascetic denominations given by *Varāhamihira* is by no means exhaustive, for, among others, it fails to take cognizance of the recluse-devotees of *Nārāyaṇa*. Hence the necessity to understand the latter by means of an *upalakṣhaṇa*. From this it follows that the passage आजीविकग्रहणं च नारायणाभितानां, far from supporting Dr. Kern's view that the *Ājīvikas* are *Vaiṣṇavas*, runs counter to it.

The next passage from Utpala's commentary cited by Dr. Kern in favour of his thesis, is, as stated above, *केशवमार्गशीक्षितः केशवभक्तः भागवत इत्यर्थः*. This passage also has been misconstrued, but the misconception in this case is dependent upon the misinterpretation of the former passage. For Utpala certainly quotes this from *Kālakāchārya*, as believed by Dr. Kern, in support of the assertion आजीविकग्रहणं च नारायणाभितानां. But, as we have just seen, what Utpala wants thereby to convey is, that the term *ājīvika* not means, as supposed by Dr. Kern, but denotes by *upalakṣhaṇa*, the recluse-devotees of *Nārāyaṇa*. It may, however, be asked—what authority justifies this *upalakṣhaṇa*? It is the authority of *Kālakāchārya*, and Utpala quotes a verse from *Kālakāchāmbitā* in support of his position. According to this verse, a man becomes *केशवमार्गशीक्षितः*, if, when born, the planet mercury is predominant. But under the same astrological

condition at the time of his birth, a man becomes, according to another verse of Kālakāchārya cited before, an *ekūdandī*, which has been identified by Utpala with the *Ājīvika* of Varāhamihira. So that the *kesava-mārjā-dīkshitas* of the new verse remain to be accounted for. This justifies Utpala in making *Ājīvika* stand as a mark for *kesava-mārjā-dīkshitas*, i.e. Bhāgavatas. This is how, in my opinion, the second passage, on which Dr. Kern relies for his theory, requires to be understood. It points to the justification of the *upalakṣhaṇa*, according to which *Ājīvika* denotes the recluse-devotees of Nārāyaṇa, and not of the assertion that the Vaiṣṇavas are to be understood by *Ājīvika* in its natural sense. The view propounded by Dr. Kern and countenanced by Dr. Bühler that the *Ājīvikas* are Vaiṣṇavas, has, therefore, little ground to stand upon.

It will not be out of place, I think, if a short account of these *Ājīvikas* is given with a view to point out who they were. My work here will be principally that of bringing some of the scattered rays to a focus. The founders of this monastic order were Nanda-Vachchha, Kisa-Samkicchha, and Makkhali Gosāla, of whom the last is by far the most famous, as he is one of the six well-known Teachers mentioned in Buddhist scriptures. There is a Sanskrit word *maskarin*, which ordinarily signifies an ascetic. But this word, I think, is formed from the name Makkhali, and originally denoted an *Ājīvika* monk. But, after the disappearance of the *Ājīvikas*, the origin and the signification of the word were forgotten, and it came to be used in the ordinary sense of an 'ascetic.' Buddhaghōsha tells us that an *Ājīvika* is *naggu-pabbajito*.¹ *Ājīvikas* are also described as *achela*,² i.e., unclothed. And in confirmation of this, there are at least two stories from the Vinaya-piṭaka. According to the first,³ which is in the Mahāvagga, while the Buddha and the Bhikshus were once staying in the Auṭhapinḍikāśrama in Jetavana at Sāvastī, it began to rain over the whole world. The Buddha informed the Bhikshus that that was the last mighty storm of rain over the whole world, and consequently asked them to let themselves be rained down upon. The Bhikshus accordingly divested themselves of their robes and exposed their bodies to rain. On that very day, Viśākhā, mother of Migāra, was engaged in preparations for a feast to the Buddha and his Bhikshus. When the preparations were over, she sent her maid-

¹ J. R. A. S. 1898, p. 197.

² Jāt. I. 390.

³ VIII. 15, 2—6.

servant to the Buddha to intimate that dinner was ready. When the maid-servant approached the Anâthapiṇḍikâśrama, she saw the naked Bhikshus, but concluded from their being naked that they were Âjivikas. The other story, which is from the Nissaggiya,¹ is, that, while a few Bhikshus left Sâketa for Śrāvastî, they were waylaid by certain robbers, who deprived them of their robes. Being forbidden by the Buddha to ask for another garment, they went naked to Śrāvastî to meet the Bhikshus there. But the latter, instead of recognising them as mendicants of their order, mistook them for Âjivikas as they were unclothed.

The Âjivikas covered their bodies with dust, and their food consisted of fish and cow-dung.² They were noted for ascetic practices of the most rigorous kind. Some of the austerities practised are mentioned in one Jâtaka to have been "painful squatting on heels, swinging in the air like bats, reclining on thorns and scorching themselves with five fires."³ Again, as first pointed out by Dr. Bühler, they branded the hands of their novice with a heated ball.⁴ Their doctrine has been admirably summed up by the Buddha in the words *n'atthi kammanî n'atthi kiriyañ n'atthi viṛiyanti*. They were thus complete fatalists.⁵

The Âjivikas appear to have been intimately connected with the Nirgranthas, i.e., Jains. They are often associated together in the Buddhist literature (see e.g. the stanza quoted above from the Sutta Nipâta). The Jaina work Bhagavatî tells us that Gosâla Maukhaliputta was for some time a pupil of Mahâvîra.⁶ Again, in the Divyâvadâna, the Nirgranthas have actually been once called Âjivikas.⁷ Further, the imposition of a tax on Âjivakas is mentioned in some of the South-Indian Inscriptions⁸ edited by Dr. Hultzsch, who considers them to be Jains.

¹ VI. 2.

² Jât. I. 390.

³ *Ibid.* I. 493; other austerities to which they resorted have been set forth in the Majjhima-Nikâya, p. 238. For the translation of this passage, see Rhys Davids' Dialogues of the Buddha, p. 227 ff.

⁴ Jât. III. 541.

⁵ See also Rhys Davids' Dialogues of the Buddha, pp. 71 ff., and Hoernle's Uvâsagadasâo, Appendix II.

⁶ 'The Life of the Buddha' translated by W. W. Rockhill, pp. 249 ff. Uvâsagadasâo by Hoernle, Appendix I.

⁷ Divyâvadâna, edited by Cowell and Neil, p. 427.

⁸ Vol. I., pp. 88, 89, 92 and 108.

In the Brahmanical works, the earliest reference to the *Ājīvikas* that has been traced, is in Varāhamihira's *Bṛīhajjātaka*, as we have seen above. Then in the *Jānakīharaṇa* of Kumārādāsa (A. D. 725), Rāvaṇa is mentioned to have approached Sītā in the garb of an *Ājīvika* monk.¹ No other reference to the *Ājīvikas* has been found in Brahmanical literature, so far as my knowledge goes.

III.—DIGHWĀ-DUBAULĪ PLATE OF MAHĒNDRAPĀLA

and

BENGAL AS. SOC.'S PLATE OF VINĀYAKAPĀLA.

These copper-plate charters have been edited by various scholars from time to time, but the scholar who edited them last is Dr. Fleet, who has laid students of ancient Indian history under deep obligations, by giving them an excellent summary of the different theories held regarding the royal grantors of these charters and then setting forth his own view of the matter. His view, considered in the light of the researches then made, was, indeed, incontrovertible; but the publication of the Daulatpurā grant of Bhōjadōva, and of the well-known Siyaḍōṇī inscription, the contents of which were but imperfectly known when Dr. Fleet wrote upon the subject, has thrown such a flood of light upon the whole question that, in my humble opinion, a new theory requires to be framed. To this task I set myself in this paper, but this object can be best attained by giving, in short, the chief arguments on which Dr. Fleet's theory is based, and then my own reasons for dissenting from his view.

Dr. Fleet's arguments² may be briefly stated, as follow :—

1. The kings mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions cannot be identical with the homonymous kings named in the Gwalior, Pêhêvâ and Siyaḍōṇī stone-inscriptions, inasmuch as the former bear the subordinate title *mahārāja*, and the latter, the paramount titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja paramésvara*.

2. The locality Mahōdaya, whence the charters were issued, cannot be identified with Kanauj, as it is spoken of therein as a *skandhāvāra*; and it is most unlikely that such a famous capital town as Kanauj should be selected for a camp. Their capital was either Śrāvastī or Vārāṇasī; and Mahōdaya, where their camp was established, must be located near the Ganges or its tributaries, since

¹ Cap. X. c. 76.

² Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. pp. 110-1.

Vināyakapāla, who issued the second charter, is mentioned therein to have bathed in the Ganges before making the grant.

3. The dates of the plates are 155 and 188 respectively, and are to be referred to the Harsha era. Their English equivalents are, therefore, A.D. 761-62, and A.D. 794-95, respectively. They, therefore, flourished in the second half of the eighth century A.D., and cannot be the same as their namesakes, who were posterior by full one century.

Before we proceed to deal with these arguments one by one, the first question that we shall decide is: are these princes identical with the homonymous kings mentioned in the stone-inscriptions? The last four generations of princes in the second copper-plate charter are:—

Rāmabhadra
|
Bhōja
|
Mahēndrapāla
|
Vināyakapāla.¹

The succession of the princes of Kanauj as determined from the Gwalior, Pêhêvâ and Siyadôni inscriptions is as follows:—

Rāmabhadra
|
Bhōja
|
Mahēndrapāla
|
Mahipāla or Kshitipāla.

It will be seen at a glance that there is a perfect agreement of names, so far as the first three princes are concerned. But there appears to be some difference with regard to the name of the fourth prince. This difference, however, is only apparent. Dr. Kielhorn has shown, on the evidence of a Khajurâho inscription,² that Mahipāla also bore the name Hêrampāla. Thus the difference of name with regard to the fourth prince in the two lists ceases to exist, when it is remembered that Mahipāla of the second list was

¹ The copper-plate grant of Vināyakapāla places his half-brother Bhōja II, between him and their father Mahēndrapāla, but I have omitted his name as we are concerned, not with succession, but with generations.

² Ep. Ind. I. 124 and 171.

also called Hêrambapâla, which is synonymous with Vinâyakapâla, both being names of Gaṇapati. We thus see that the names of the last four princes mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions agree with those of the princes referred to in the stone-inscriptions. The agreement of names in the case of one or two princes can be explained away as a mere coincidence. But when the agreement extends to the names of no less than four princes, only one conclusion is possible, *viz.* that they are identical, unless cogent reasons can be adduced to the contrary. The only conceivable objection to this view is that the kings of the copper-plate inscriptions are called simply *mahârâjas*, whereas those of the stone-inscriptions are styled, *paramahattâraka mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêsvara*. This point I shall shortly consider.

We shall now turn to the second of Dr. Fleet's arguments summarised above. He says that Mahôdaya, whence the copper-plate grants were issued, cannot be Kanauj, because Mahôdaya is therein called a *skandhâvâra*, and such a great city as Kanauj could not have been used as a site for a camp. Dr. Fleet would, indeed, have been correct in saying that such a renowned city as Kanauj could not have been selected for a camp, if the word *skandhâvâra* had meant a camp only. But, as pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn, the word *skandhâvâra* is given by lexicographers as another word for *râjadhâni* also,¹ and the reason of it is evident. The place of the king's residence, be it temporary or permanent, cannot be without horses, elephants, foot-soldiers, and other implements of war—exactly the things met with in camps. Precisely for the same reason, Gwalior, the capital of Scindia's dominions, is known by the name of *lashkar*, *i.e.* a camp. And, that *skandhâvâra*, as used in our copper-plate charters, signifies a capital, may be easily seen. Since Dr. Fleet wrote his paper on these charters, a copper-plate grant of Bhôjadêva of the same dynasty has been found, which also was issued from the Mahôdaya *skandhâvâra*.² We thus have three copper-plate charters of this dynasty, all issued from Mahôdaya. Now, it is highly improbable that three distinct princes at three different times chose one and the same place called Mahôdaya, for their camp, if the word *skandhâvâra* is here to be understood in this

¹ Ep. Ind. V. 209; see also Hêmachandra's *Abhidhânuachiutâmani* by Bochtlingk and Rieu, p. 181, v. 373.

² Ep. Ind. V. 211.

sense. Obviously, therefore, the word *skandhāvāra* must be taken to denote *rājadhānī*, i.e. the place of royal residence. This is not the first instance of the word being used in this sense. Other epigraphic instances can be adduced. Thus the Khâlimpur charter of Dharmapâladêva, of the Pâla dynasty, was issued from the *jayaskandhāvāra*, fixed at Pâṭalīputra.¹ The Mungir grant of Dêvapâla and the Bhâgalpur charter of Nârâyaṇapâla, of the same dynasty, were made from the *jayaskandhāvāra*, established at Mudgiri.² As Pâṭalīputra (Patnâ) and Mudgiri (Mungir) were names of renowned cities, they could not possibly have been used as *skandhāvāras* in the sense of camps. The word *skandhāvāra*, therefore, even in these copper-plate charters of the Pâla kings, must be understood in the sense of *rājadhānī*, and Pâṭalīputra and Mudgiri, supposed to have been the seats of the Pâla Government in the time of Dharmapâla, and of Dêvapâla and Nârâyaṇapâla, respectively. Nothing, therefore, precludes us from holding that, the word *skandhāvāra* occurring in our copper-plate inscriptions, must be taken to signify *rājadhānī*, and that Mahôdaya, which is therein spoken of as a *skandhāvāra*, must accordingly denote a great city, worthy of royal residence. Now, according to lexicographers, Mahôdaya is another name for Kânyakubja, i.e. Kânauj. This fits here excellently, for, as we have just seen, Mahôdaya of our plates was a large city, worthy of royal residence, and Kânauj was for long known as the capital of North India. Again, as noticed by Dr. Fleet himself, the second of the two grants was issued by Vinâyakapâla from Mahôdaya after bathing in the Ganges. Mahôdaya was thus on the banks of the Ganges. And Kânauj, with which we have identified the Mahôdaya of our plates, is on the Ganges. No doubt, therefore, can remain as to the Mahôdaya in question being the same as Kânauj. There was doubtless some plausibility in Dr. Fleet's objection to this identification, when only these two copper-plate charters were known, mentioning places about 250 and 150 miles east of Kânauj. But now in addition to these charters, a new grant of Bhôjadêva, mentioned above, has come to light, and it speaks of a locality called Sivâ, which is unquestionably the same as Sêwâ, in the Jôdhpur State, where it was found, which is no less than 300 miles west of Kânauj. If this is so, it is difficult to

¹ Ep. Ind. IV. 249.

² Ind. Ant. XV. 306; XXI, 256.

conceive, as first pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn,¹ a capital town other than Kanauj most favourably situated as the place from which the three charters could be issued.²

We shall now turn to the first of Dr. Fleet's arguments summarised above. He alleges that the kings of the copper-plate inscriptions cannot be the same as their namesakes, referred to in the stone-inscriptions, as the former are called simply *Mahārājas*, and the latter, *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja paramēśvaras*. Now, I think, it is wrong to suppose that *mahārāja* necessarily denotes a subordinate feudatory rank. The word literally means 'the great king,' and can appropriately be applied to even an independent ruler. And, that, as a matter of fact, this is actually the case with regard to the kings of the copper-plate inscriptions is clearly attested by the vast extent of territory over which they ruled. It has been just shown that Mahōdaya or Kanauj was their capital, that two of their copper-plate grants refer to localities about 250 and 150 miles to the east of Kanauj, and that the third, *i.e.* the newly-found grant of Bhōjadēva names a certain place, which is 300 miles to the west of Kanauj. Thus the dominions of these kings extended at least as far as 250 to the east, and 300 miles to the west of Kanauj, their capital. This was undoubtedly a vast range of territory, and was certainly of no less extent than that held by the Chēdi, Chandēlla and Paramāra rulers. Now, if the latter are regarded as independent sovereigns, there is no reason why the former should not be regarded as equally independent, although they do not assume high-sounding titles. Nay, about this period the high-sounding titles borne by kings are often found empty. We have the well-known instance of Vaidyadēva, who was first a minister of Kumārāpāla, of the Pāla dynasty, but was afterwards made by him king of Kāmarūpa. Although Vaidyadēva was thus subordinate to Kumārāpāla, he styles himself *mahārājādhirāja paramabhaṭṭāraka paramēśvara*.³ Another instance is furnished by the Rājōr stone-inscription of Mathanadēva, who, although himself a feudatory of Vijayapāla, king of Kanauj, assumes

¹ Ep. Ind. V. 209.

² In justice to Dr. Fleet it requires to be mentioned that he does admit at Ep. Ind. VI. 198, that the Mahōdaya of these copper-plate inscriptions refers to Kanauj. But, as the objections urged by him against the identification of the Mahōdaya of these plates with Kanauj were in themselves weighty, I thought it necessary to consider them.

³ Ep. Ind. II. 353.

the titles *mahārājādhirāja paramésvara*.¹ Further may be cited an instance of the contrary kind, an instance of a prince, who, although an independent ruler, bears the simple title *paramésvara* like that of *mahārāja*. Bhôjadêva of the Siyadôni stone-inscription has been commonly supposed to be the same as the Bhôjadêva of the Gwalior stone-inscription No. 2. But, while in the first inscription, he is styled *paramabhattâraka mahārājādhirāja paramésvara*, he is styled, in the second, simply *svâmi paramésvara*.² In short, the assumption of the simple or high-sounding titles is not a sure index of the true rank, especially about this period. And we have seen that, the territory, over which the kings of the copper-plate inscriptions ruled, was as vast as, if perhaps not vaster than, that owned by the Chêdi, Chandêlla or Paramâra kings. It is, therefore, incontrovertible that the former were independent rulers; and thus the objection to their identity with the homonymous kings of the stone-inscriptions has little weight.

We now come to the last point, *viz.* the dates of the plates. According to Dr. Fleet, the dates are 155 and 188, and are years of the Harsha era. In editing the newly-found grant of Bhôjadêva, Dr. Kielhorn too following Dr. Fleet interprets the symbol 3 as equivalent to 100, and refers it to the Harsha era. Conceding for the moment that these dates have been correctly read, let us see whether they can be said to belong to the Harsha era. The dates 100 and 155 of Bhôjadêva and Mahêndrapâla of the copper-plate inscriptions, as read by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Kielhorn, if referred to the Harsha era, as held by them, are equivalent to A.D. 706 and 761. So that from A.D. 706 to 761 we have both Bhôjadêva and Mahêndrapâla, reigning consecutively at Mahôdaya or Kanauj. Now, the Râjatarânginî tells us that Lalitâditya of Kâshmir defeated Yasôvarman, who reigned at Kanauj, and was the patron of Bhavabhûti and Vâkpati. The Kâshmir chronicle assigns Lalitâditya to the period 726—760 A.D.³ It is, therefore, plain that Yasôvarman whom he defeated must have been reigning between A.D. 726—760, *i.e.* about that period when, and at that very Mahôdaya or Kanauj where, Bhôjadêva and Mahêndrapâla were reigning, as will be seen from the above. Evidently, therefore, the theory that the dates of these princes are years of the Harsha era must be given up. Nor can we

¹ *Ibid.* III, 266.

² *Ibid.* I, 159.

³ Kalhaṇa's Râjatarânginî translated by M. A. Stein, Vol. I, p. 132.

accept the reading of these dates, as proposed by the same scholars. Dr. Fleet, indeed, says "that the dates of these two inscriptions are perfectly certain."¹ But I am sorry that I have not been able to trace the grounds, on which this certainty is based. Beyond telling us in a footnote that "the remaining symbols for 5, 10 and 100 in their present forms are still to be entered there"² (i.e. in Bhagwanlal Indrajī's table), he does not attempt to adduce any authority in support of his reading. This being the case, one is perfectly justified in regarding the readings as not certain, but only tentative. And, if I may be allowed to put forth a conjecture, I propose that the symbol ३ or ३ which, according to Dr. Fleet and Dr. Kielhorn, is equivalent to 100, should be understood to stand for 900 especially as it closely resembles १ the sign for 9 occurring in the Bengal As. Soc.'s plate of Vināyakapāla, and that the dates so read should be referred to the Vikrama era, like those of the Gwalior, Asnī, Dêḡgaḍh and Siyaḍḍḡi inscriptions. If this conjecture is followed, the dates of the three copper-plate inscriptions are to be read 900, 955 and 988 V.E., which correspond to A. D. 844, 899 and 932 respectively. For the sake of clearness, we shall place the dates of both the copper-plate and the stone inscriptions side by side, thus :—

	<i>Copper-plate inscriptions.</i>	<i>Stone-inscriptions.</i>
Bhōjadēva	844 A. D.	862, 876 and 882 A. D.
Mahēndrapāla	899 A. D.	903 and 907 A. D.
Mahipāla	} 932 A. D.	917 A. D.
or Vināyakapāla		

There is no disagreement whatever, so far as the dates of Mahēndrapāla are concerned. With regard to Bhōjadēva, if we accept the date of the copper-plate inscription, as we have conjectured it, we shall have to suppose that he reigned for at least 38 years; and, I think, there is nothing impossible in this supposition. With respect to Mahipāla or Vināyakapāla, the date which his grant gives him, is, indeed, posterior to that furnished by the stone-inscription,

¹ Ind. Ant. XV, 111.

² *Ibid.*, p. 106, footnote 3.

by at least fifteen years. But this need not trouble us, as it is in no way inconsistent with the earliest date 948 A. D., we have for his successor Dévapâla. On the whole, I think, the conjecture may be provisionally accepted, until further researches throw light on this point and settle it finally.

ART. XIII.—*Gūjjaras*.* By DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA

BHANDARKAR, M.A.

[Read 13th November 1902.]

Gujarāt, the well-known portion of the Bombay Presidency, has been commonly held to be Gūjjararāshṭra or the country of the Gūjjaras. But, howsoever the word may be explained, it remains incontrovertible that the country received its name from the Gūjjaras, who settled in, and wielded sway over, that province. In ancient days, however, Gujarāt was not known by this name, but was called Lāta. Many antiquarians have indeed expressed the view that this Lāta corresponded to South Gujarāt from the Mahī to the Tāpī, but that it did not comprehend North Gujarāt.¹ There can, however, be little doubt that Lāta included North Gujarāt also. The Cambay copper-plate charter of the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince, Gōvinda IV., speaks of Khetaka *mandala* as forming a part of Lāta *dēśa*². As Khetaka is undoubtedly identical with the modern Kaira, the boundaries of Lāta may be supposed to be stretching as far as a little to the north of Kaira. One of the Gwalior inscriptions published by Dr. Hultzsch mentions Alla, keeper of the marches in the service of Rāmadēva, king of Kanauj (C. 835 A. D.) as having emigrated from Ānandapura in Lāta *maṇḍala*³. Ānandapura is doubtless the modern Vadnagar and we may consequently suppose that a portion of territory as far

* Mr. A. M. T. Jackson has written a very able and valuable paper on the Gūjjaras, which forms the history portion of "Bhinmal" in Appendix III. of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. I. It was the perusal of this interesting paper that first set my thoughts going, and what I have said here is a sort of supplement to what he has already done.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 145; *History of Gujarāt*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 7.; *Dynasties of the Kanarese District*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt. II., pp. 309-10.

² *Ep. Ind.* VII. 40.

³ *Ibid.* I. 156; Ānandapura is mentioned in the Alīnā grant of Śīlāditya VII, which has been identified by Dr. Fleet with Ānand, the chief town of the Ānand tāluka, about twenty-one miles south-east of Kaira (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 173). The name also occurs in the Sarsavṇī plates of the Kaṭachchuri prince, Buddharāja, in his paper on which Dr. Kielhorn inclines to Dr. Fleet's view with regard to this identification (*Ep. Ind.* VI. 279). But, in my humble opinion, this identification is far from satisfactory.

north to the Mahi as Vaḍṇagar was comprised in the country of Lāṭa. The question that now arises is: where then was the kingdom of the Gūrjaras, so often alluded to in inscriptions, before the middle of the tenth century, as, till that time, Gujārāt was known as Lāṭa, and hence was not ruled over by Gūrjara princes?

In no less than three inscriptions Gurjaratrā is mentioned as the name of a province. The Ghaṭayāl inscription of a Pratihāra prince, named Kakkuka, speaks of Marumāḍa (Mārwar), Valla, Tamaṇi (Stravaṇi), Pariankā-ajja and Gujjarattā (Gurjaratrā), as the provinces held by that prince.¹ The Daulatpurā plate of Bhōjadēva mentions Gurjaratrā *bhūmi* as comprising Dēṇḍvānaka *viśhaya*, a village of which called Sivāgrāma was granted by that king². Sivāgrāma is identical with the village Siwā, where the plate was originally found, and Dēṇḍvānaka still survives in the name of the city of Didwān, in the north-easternmost part of the Jōdhapur State. Dr. Kielborn, who edited this grant, has given, in a footnote of his paper thereon, the full text of an inscription found at Kālañjara, wherein also Gurjaratrā *maṇḍala* is mentioned together with the town of Maṅgalānaka falling within it.³ Maṅgalānaka the learned doctor has identified with Maglonā, 28 miles N. N. E. of Didwān. Gurjaratrā was thus a province (*maṇḍala*) in Rājputānā not unlike Marumāḍa, Stravaṇi

It is not established by means of the identification of any surrounding villages; nor by the mention of this name in any one of the inscriptions in or about Ānand. It is only the correspondence of sound that is in favour of this view. On the other hand, the identification of Ānandapura with Vaḍṇagar is based, in my humble opinion, on irrefragable evidence. The Vaḍṇagar *praśasti* of the reign of Kumārāpāla distinctly makes mention of the town by the name of Ānandapura and speaks of it as containing a settlement of Brāhmanas called Nāgara (*Ep. Ind.* I. pp. 296, 299 and 303). This is quite in keeping with the tradition current among Nāgar Brāhmanas that their original seat was Vaḍṇagar (*Gujarāt Population in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. IX., Pt. I., p. 13). Again, the Alinā charters of A. D. 649 and 656 were issued to the same grantee who is described in the first as originally of Ānarttapura and in the second as originally of Ānandapura (*Ind. Ant.* VII. 75 and 79). This means that Ānandapura was also known by the name of Ānarttapura. And, as a matter of fact, according to popular stories, Vaḍṇagar was called Ānarttapura in the Trētā-yuga (*History of Gujarāt, in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 6).

¹ *J. R. A. S.* 1895, p. 517.

² *Ep. Ind.* V. 211.

³ *Loc. Cit.* 210, and footnote 3.

and so forth, and further, as the Daulatpurâ plate and the Kâlanjara inscription inform us, this province of Gurjaratrâ extended round about Didwân, Siwâ and Maglonâ. The name Gurjaratrâ is highly significant. It indicates that it was in this province that the Gûrjaras gained a firm footing and established themselves, and that consequently it came to be called after them just as Śakasthâna, Ahirwâr and so forth were called after Śakas and Abhîras. Thus we see that, before the middle of the tenth century, the Gûrjaras were settled in a part of Râjputânâ called Gurjaratrâ after them. It must not, however, be supposed that the Gûrjara power was confined to this province only. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan-Chuang (Hiouen-Thsang) (C. 640 A. D.) places the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo 1,800 li or 300 miles to the north of the country of Valabhi. The proper representative of Kiu-che-lo has been accepted to be Gûrjara, and, as Yuan-Chuang mentions the countries of Surâshtra, Ânandapura, Ujjayani, Sindhu and Mûlasthanapura surrounding Kiu-che-lo, Kiu-che-lo must be regarded as corresponding to Central and Northern Râjputânâ. Besides, as according to the Chinese traveller, the country of Kiu-che-lo was 5,000 li or 834 miles in circuit, it could not have been merely the small province of Gurjaratrâ. The same conclusion is pointed to by the mention, in the Harshacharita, of the conquests of Prabhâkaravardhana. The king is therein described as "a lion to the deer which were the Hûnas, mental affliction to the king of Sindhu, (the cause) of sleeplessness to the Gûrjara prince, the *pâkala* fever to the scentelephants of the ruler of Gaudhâra, the pilferer of the wits of the Lâta king and an axe to the creeper, *viz.* the goddess of wealth of the Mâlava prince."² Now, the Hûnas were settled in the Himâlayas to the north of Prabhâkaravardhana's kingdom of Śrikanṭha. The countries of Mâlava, Sindhu and Lâta correspond respectively to the present Mâlwa, Sindh and Gujarât. The only territory which remains surrounded by Śrikanṭha, Gaudhâra, Sindhu, Lâta and Mâlava is Râjputânâ, which must, therefore, be supposed to answer to the country of the Gûrjaras. The larger portion of Râjputânâ thus appears to have been under the Gûrjara sway. Next, the Panchatantra, in its fourth *tantra* contains the story of a *rathakâra*, who is mentioned as having gone to a Gûrjara village in the Gûrjara

¹ Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. pp. 269-70.

² Gaudâvaho by S. P. Pandit, Introduction, p. cxvii, footnote"; Kâdambarî, by Peterson, 1883, Introduction, p. 56.

country in search for camels.¹ As Rājputānā is still known to be the habitat of camels, our conclusion that the Gūrjaradēśa coincides in the main with Rājputānā is thus supported by the Pañchatantra. Again, a stone-inscription has been published by Dr. Kielhorn of a king named Mathanadēva (A. D. 960), who is described as belonging to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty.² His capital was Rājyapura, the modern Rājōr in the Alwār State, where the stone-inscription was found. Mathanadēva is therein represented to have granted on the occasion of the installation of the god Lachchhukēśvara the village of Vyāghrapāṭaka, together with all neighbouring fields, cultivated, we are distinctly told, by the Gūrjaras. It is thus plain that Mathanadēva, himself a Gūrjara and belonging to the Pratihāra family, held sway over a territory corresponding to the present Alwār State and that this territory was occupied by Gūrjaras, as they appear to have been the agricultural class there. Further, it has been mentioned above that the Ghatayāl inscription of the Pratihāra prince Kakkuka speaks of Marumāḍa (Mārwar), Valla, Tamaṇi (Stravaṇi), Pariankā-ajja and Gujjaratā (Gurjaratrā) as held by that prince. As these Pratihāra princes were Gūrjaras,³ we find that, a large portion of Rājputānā, and not the small province of Gurjaratrā only, owned the Gūrjara sway. Nay, we have also evidence, as will be shown further on, that the Gūrjara supremacy at one period was not restricted to Rājputānā only, but had spread far beyond its limits. But this much is certain that Rājputānā was essentially the country of the Gūrjaras.

The Rāshtrakūṭas are represented in their records as constantly fighting with the Gūrjaras. Thus the Rādhanpur grant states that the Gūrjara, fearing Gōvinda III., fled, nobody knew whither, so that he might not witness a battle even in a dream.⁴ An unpublished copper-plate charter of Amōghavarsha I.⁵ speaks of this Rāshtrakūṭa prince as having defeated the roaring Gūrjara king. The Nausāri grant of Indra III. compares Kṛishṇa II.'s battles with the Gūrjara ruler to a storm of the rainy season.⁶ The Dēōli and Karhād grants

¹ Pañchatantra by Kosegarten, p. 229; *Ibid.* (Bo. Sk. Series) IV. and V. p. 33. In the latter, however, only Gurjara-grāma is mentioned.

² *Ep. Ind.* III. 260.

³ See further in the sequel.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.* VI. 244.

⁵ This copper-plate grant is in the possession of my brother, Prof. S. B. Bhandarkar, who is soon going to edit it.

⁶ *Alone* Vol. XVIII. p. 258.

of Kṛiṣṇa III. assert that, on hearing of the conquests of this Râshtrakûta sovereign, the hope of conquering Kâlânjara and Chittrakûta dropped away from the heart of the Gûrjara prince.¹ To whom then do these Râshtrakûta references to the Gûrjara princes before the middle of the tenth century apply? It is supposed by some antiquarians that they apply to the Châvaḍâ kings of Anahilavâḍa.² But the grant of the Châlukya prince Pulakêsi Janâsraya, dated 738-9 A. D., mentions Châvôtakas and Gûrjaras among the peoples whose countries were invaded by the Tâjika army.³ The kingdoms of the Châvôtakas or Châvaḍâs and the Gûrjaras are thus distinguished from one another. Secondly, the Râshtrakûta grants describe the battles between the Râshtrakûtas and the Gûrjaras in such a way as to show that they both were well-matched foes. The Gûrjaras, who could in this manner measure their strength against the Râshtrakûtas must be supposed to have been a powerful dynasty holding sway over a vast range of territory. But the Châvaḍâs of Anahilavâḍa do not appear to have been of great importance. No inscriptions of that dynasty have yet come to light, and the kingdom which they held was not extensive. We have seen above that, in the times of the Râshtrakûtas, the boundaries of Lâta had stretched as far north as Vaḍnagar, which is directly east of Anahilavâḍa, the capital of the Châvaḍâs. The territory ruled over by the Châvaḍâs could not, therefore, have been extensive, and consequently they must have occupied quite a subordinate position. For these reasons Châvaḍâs cannot be considered to be the Gûrjaras, who so braved the Râshtrakûtas.

A theory has been put forth that the Râshtrakûta references to Gûrjaras apply to the dynasty reigning at Bhillamâl or Bhinmâl.⁴ This view rests on the ground that Yuan-Chuang speaks of the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo or Gûrjaras as having for its capital Pi-lo-mo-lo, which, it is contended, is identical with Bhillamâla. Pi-lo-mo-lo was for long identified with Bâlmêr in the Jêsalme State by the French scholars, followed by Mr. Beal. Colonel Watson was the first to identify it with Bhillamâl, and Dr. Bühler was the first to lend

¹ *Ep. Ind.* V. 194 and IV. 284.

² *Ind. Ant.* XII. 181.

³ *Trans. Inter. Ori. Cong.* 1886, p. 231.

⁴ *History of Gujardt*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 466 ff.

countenance to this identification.¹ But the identification of Pi-lo-mo-lo with Bhillamāla is far from satisfactory. For Yuan-Chuang says that the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo or Gúrjara lay 1,800 li or 300 miles to the north of the country of Valabhi. This means that the kingdoms themselves, and not their capitals, were separated by this distance, and that consequently the distance between their capitals was much more than 300 miles. But, as a matter of fact, the distance even between their capitals, i.e. between Valabhi and Bhillamāl (supposing Bhillamāl to be identical with Pi-lo-mo-lo) scarcely comes to 215 miles, which is much less than even the distance of 300 miles which separates the two kingdoms. Secondly, it is highly doubtful whether the city of Bhillamāl or Bhinmāl was actually known by this name in Yuan-Chuang's time. For, in all the inscriptions that have come to light in and near the town, it is called Śrīmāla, and not Bhillamāl or Bhinmāl.² Again, the Jainas have preserved traditions which show that Śrīmāla was the earlier, and Bhillamāla the later, name of the town. Mērutūṅga e.g. tells us that Śrīmāla was first called Bhillamāla by Bhôja of Dhârâ, because the people of that town allowed the poet Mâgha to die of starvation.³ Dr. Bühler says that the astronomer Brahmagupta, who flourished in A. D. 628, "calls himself Bhillamālakakâchârya."⁴ If Dr. Bühler's statement is true, then it indeed follows that the name Bhillamālaka was known as early as Yuan-Chuang's time. But on examining the authorities which he has adduced in support of his statement, one finds that Brahmagupta does not call himself Bhillamālakakâchârya, but is so called by others.⁵ Next, it is by no means certain that Bhillamāl was the native place of Brahmagupta. For, although there are traditions which make Brahmagupta a

¹ *Ind. Ant.* VI. 63 and XVII. 192.

² *Bombay Gasetteer*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 472 ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.* VI. 63, footnote || ; XVII. 192, footnote 31.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* XVII. 192.

⁵ Thus e.g., on p. 297 of *Die Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, Vol. II., by Weber, the ending portion *iti çrt Bhilamâchârya Bhata Jishnusuta Brahmagupta virachite*, " &c., is immediately preceded by " *namastasmai Çrt Brahmaguptâya*." This obeisance must be supposed to be offered to Brahmagupta, not by himself, but by somebody else, who must consequently be presumed to be speaking of the former as Bhilamâlâchârya.

native of Bhīllamāl, there are other traditions, according to which Rīvānagara was his native place.¹

To whom then, let us ask again, do the references to Gūrjara princes in the Rāshtrakūta records apply? There is every probability, nay, in my humble opinion, certainty that they apply to the dynasty of Mahōdaya, to which Bhōja, Mahēndrapāla and Mahīpāla belonged. A copper-plate charter found at Haḍḍālā speaks of the Chāpa prince Dharaṇivarāha who issued the grant as "ruling by the grace of the feet of *Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara Śrī Mahīpāladēva*."² The inscription is dated 914 A. D. Dr. Bühler, who edited the grant, held that this paramount sovereign Mahīpāla was a Chūdāsamā prince,³ and Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji endorsed this view.⁴ But Mr. A. M. T. Jackson was the first to see that this Mahīpāla was identical with the Gūrjara king Mahīpāla mentioned by the Kanarōse poet Pampa as being vanquished by the Chālukya ruler Narasimha, father of his patron Arikēsarin II.⁵ In the first place, there is here an agreement of names (*viz.* that of Mahīpāla) in the case of the supreme ruler mentioned in the Haḍḍālā grant and of the Gūrjara prince said by Pampa to have been defeated by Narasimha. Secondly, the dates of Narasimha and Mahīpāla of the aforesaid grant agree. For, as Arikēsarin II. was a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūta sovereign, Gōvinda IV,⁶ Narasimha, father of Arikēsarin II. may easily be supposed to be a contemporary of Indra III., father of this Gōvinda IV. For Indra III. we have the dates 915, 916-17 A. D. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to hold that Narasimha lived about 915 A. D., and the date of the Haḍḍālā grant, in which Mahīpāla is mentioned, is 914 A. D. There is thus an agreement not only with regard to names, as just shown, but also with regard to the dates of the princes Narasimha and Mahīpāla of Dharaṇivarāha's grant. Nothing, therefore, precludes us from holding with Mr. A. M. T. Jackson that the Mahīpāla of the [Haḍḍālā inscription is identical with the Gūrjara prince Mahīpāla vanquished

¹ *Ind. Ant.* XVII. 192 and footnote 32; *Gaṇakatarāṅgīnī*, The Paṇḍit, N. S., XIV., 18.

² *Ind. Ant.* XII. 193.

³ *Loc. Cit.* 192.

⁴ *History of Gujārat*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 138.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 466.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.* VII. 33-34.

by Narasiṃha. Now, this Mahīpāla, as we have seen, was a paramount sovereign, and for him the date 914 A. D. is furnished by the Haḍḍālā charter. But the only paramount sovereign of the name of Mahīpāla reigning about this time was the Mahīpāla of the dynasty of Mahōdaya for whom we have the date 917 A. D. of the Asni inscription.¹ Here also there is not only an agreement of names but also an agreement of dates. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the Mahīpāla of the Haḍḍālā grant, the Gūrjara King Mahīpāla defeated by Narasiṃha, and the Mahīpāla of the Mahōdaya dynasty are one and the same prince. Let us now proceed a step further. Narasiṃha who vanquished Mahīpāla was a feudatory chieftain holding the Jōla country, which coincides in the main with the Dhārwar district. Whereas the Mahīpāla of Mahōdaya, whom he defeated was a paramount sovereign wielding sway over a vast range of territory in the north. Besides, Pampa tells us that this Mahīpāla, being conquered, was pursued by Narasiṃha, as far as the confluence of the Ganges where the latter bathed his horse.² Now, what can be more unnatural than that Narasiṃha, who was simply a feudatory and ruled over a small province in the south, should set out for an expedition of conquest as far north as Mahōdaya (Kanauj), defeat Mahīpāla, the paramount sovereign of the north, and pursue him as far as the junction of the Ganges? The whole matter is, however, rendered intelligible by the Cambay grant of Gōvinda IV., in my paper on which I have shown that, Indra III., father of this Rāshṭrakūṭa prince, overran the north, attacked Mahōdaya, and ousted its ruler Mahīpāla.³ Narasiṃha, being a feudatory of Indra III., must have accompanied this Rāshṭrakūṭa sovereign in his expedition of conquest in the north. Next, it must be really Indra III., who pursued Mahīpāla as far as the confluence of the Ganges before the latter fled for refuge to Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty. But Pampa transferred to Narasiṃha the whole credit of defeating Mahīpāla and pursuing him as far as the junction of the Ganges, as, being the protégé of Narasiṃha's son Arikésarin II., he might naturally be expected to magnify his deeds. We thus see that the king Mahīpāla defeated by Indra III. was a Gūrjara prince and that

¹ *Ind. Ant.* XVI. 173 ff.

² *Karṇāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana* by Rice, Intro. 26-7.

³ *Ep. Ind.* VII. 30-32.

consequently the Râshtrakûta references to Gûrjaras must be considered to apply to the members of the Mahôdaya dynasty, to which Mahîpâla belonged. The validity of this conclusion can be tested by the identification of another prince of this dynasty. The Vañt and Râdhanpur plates¹ of the Râshtrakûta sovereign, Gôvinda III., assert that Gôvinda's father Dhruva drove Vatsarâja into the trackless Maru country, and wrested from him the two royal parasols of the Gauḍa king, which he had easily appropriated. The Barôda charter of the Gujarât Râshtrakûta king Karka states that Gôvinda III. caused Karka's "arm to become the door-bar of the country of the lord of the Gûrjaras who had become evilly inflamed by conquering the lord of Gauḍa and the lord of Vaṅga." Comparing, as was first done by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson,² the statement of the Vañt or Râdhanpur, with that of the Barôda grant, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Vatsarâja defeated by Dhruva was a Gûrjara prince. In the colophon of Jinasêna's Harivaṃśa bearing the date 783-4 A. D.,³ Vatsarâja is mentioned as ruling in the west, and Srîvallabha, son of Kṛishṇa, as ruling in the south. Whether we take Srîvallabha to be an epithet of Gôvinda II. with Dr. Bhandarkar and Prof. Pathak,⁵ or of his brother Dhruva with Dr. Fleet,⁶ it can hardly be questioned that the Vatsarâja of the Jain Harivaṃśa is the same as the Gûrjara prince Vatsarâja defeated by Dhruva. We thus obtain a specific date, *viz.* 783-4 A. D., for the Gûrjara king Vatsarâja. In a paper recently contributed by me to this journal, I have given what appear to me to be cogent reasons to show that the kings Râmabhadra, Bhôja, Mahêndrapâla and Mahîpâl, *alias* Hêrampâla of the Siyâdôñî, Pêhêva, Asnî, and Gwalior stone-inscriptions are identical with the homonymous kings of the Daulatpurâ, Dighwâ-

¹ *Ind. Ant.* XI. 10; *Ep. Ind.* VI. 233.

² *Ind. Ant.* XII. 160 and 164.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*. Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 466.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* XV. 111; *Early History of the Dekhan*, 65; *Ep. Ind.* VI, 195-6; the second half of the stanza beginning with *Śâkêshv-abda-sâtêshu*, &c., does not appear to me to have been properly translated. The word *aripa*, in my opinion, shows that *Avanti-bhûbhriti* is to be connected with *pûrvâm*, and *Vatsâdvâjê* with *aparâm*. The translation would then be as follows: "In the east, the illustrious king of Avanti; in the west, king Vatsarâja; (and) in the territory of the Sauryas, the victorious and brave Varâh" (or "the brave Jayavrâha"—Peterson, Fourth Report on Sk. MSS. Index of Authors, p. 43, *uld note*).

⁵ *Early History of Dekhan*, 55; Above, Vol. XX, p. 26.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI., 195-8.

Dubault and Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate inscriptions. The genealogy, therefore, given of Bhôja in the Daulatpurâ plate, *e.g.*, must be supposed to be exactly the same as that of Bhôja of the Gwalior and Siyadônî stone-inscriptions, as they are both one and the same person. In the paper just alluded to, I have also put forth the view that the correct readings of the dates of the plates are 900, 955 and 988, and not 100, 155 and 188 as read by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Kielhorn, and that these dates are to be referred to the Vikrama era. We thus from the Daulatpurâ plate obtain for Bhôja the date 900 V.E., *i.e.* 844 A. D., which is the earliest of the dates we have for him. Now, in the genealogy of this Bhôja, the name of Vatsarâja is mentioned, and as three generations removed from him.¹ Taking the earliest date, 844 A.D. of Bhôja, and allotting twenty-five years to each one of the three generations, we get the period 769-794 A.D., to which Vatsarâja is to be assigned. And we have seen that Vatsarâja lived about 783 A.D., the date of the Jain Harivamâsa in which he is referred to. We thus not only find the name of Vatsarâja occurring in the genealogy of Bhôja who belonged to the Mahôdaya dynasty, but also find that the period calculated for Vatsarâja, allowing an average duration of twenty-five years for each reign, completely agrees with the date we get for him from an independent source. There can, therefore, be little doubt that the dynasty of Mahôdaya, to which Vatsarâja and Mahîpâla belonged, was a Gûrjara dynasty, and that the allusions to the Gûrjara princes in the Râshtrakûta records apply to the members of this dynasty.² As the capital of this dynasty was Mahôdaya (Kanauj), the Gûrjara seat of power lay at Kanauj. And extraneous evidence is forthcoming in support of this

¹ *Ep. Ind.* V. 211.

² The king Vatsarâja defeated by Dhruva becomes the same as the prince Vatsarâja mentioned in the Daulatpurâ plate in the genealogy of Bhôja, only if my theory that Râmbhadra, Bhôja, Mahêndrapâla and Vinâyakapâla of the copper-plate inscriptions are identical with Râmbhadra, Bhôja, Mahêndrapâla and Mahîpâla or Hêrâmbapâla of the stone-inscriptions is accepted. In support of the correctness of this theory, it may be said, in addition to the arguments adduced in the paper alluded to above, that, in an unpublished grant of Amôghavaraha I. in the possession of my brother Prof. S. B. Bhandarkar, Gôvinda III. is represented to have vanquished a prince named Nâgabhatta. This Nâgabhatta is evidently the son of Vatsarâja mentioned in the genealogy of Bhôja and defeated by Dhruva, father of Gôvinda III.

conclusion. About A. D. 916 Abu Zaid, Sulaimân's editor, speaks of Kanauj as a large country forming the empire of Juzr, *i.e.* Gûrjara.¹ This means that the Gûrjara princes ruled over a vast range of territory, the capital of which was Kanauj. And the princes, who were reigning at Kanauj about the beginning of the tenth century, were members of the Mahôdaya dynasty, who were thus, according to Abu Zaid, Gûrjaras,—a conclusion which perfectly agrees with what we have already established from an independent source. Next, the Arab traveller, Al Masûdi² (c. 943 A. D.) says that the country of the Balhâras (Râshtrakûtas) extended from the Kankar (Konkan) in the south or south-west north to the frontiers of the king of Juzr (Gûrjara). "a monarch rich in men, horses and camels."³ At another place, Al Masûdi says that the country of the king of Kanauj extended "about a hundred and twenty square *parasangs* of Sindh, each *parasang* being equal to eight miles of this country."⁴ He further tells us that this king had four armies according to the four quarters of the world, and that the army of the south fought against the Balhûra king of Mânkîr (Mâlkhêt). This means that the kingdom of the Râshtrakûtas lay immediately to the south of the kingdom of Kanauj. But Al Masûdi also says, as we have just seen, that the Konkan held by the Râshtrakûtas lay immediately to the south of the kingdom of Juzr, *i.e.* Gûrjara. The conclusion is, therefore, obvious that, by the kingdom of Juzr and the kingdom of Kanauj, Al Masûdi understands one and the same thing and that consequently the capital of the Juzr, *i.e.* Gûrjara king was Kanauj. This is a further confirmation of our theory. Next, we find that the kingdoms of the Râshtrakûta and Gûrjara kings were conterminous with one another and that they often waged war with one another. The country of Lâta since the time of Gôvinda III. was held by the Râshtrakûtas, and the boundaries of

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., pp. 526-7.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 519.

³ Compare with this the expression : *Śri-Mahôdaya-samdvâsit-ânêka-gô-hasty-aśva-ratha-patti-sampanna-skandhâvârat*, with which the Daulatpurâ, Dighwâ-Dabaul and Bengal As. Soc.'s grants begin. The Gûrjara kings were rich in camels as they were in possession of Râjputânâ, which, even to this day, is the habitat of those remnant quadrupeds. Further, a horse-fair is mentioned in a Pêhêvâ inscription referring itself to the reign of Bhôja (*Ep. Ind.* I. 187).

⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 518.

Lâta in their times had extended, as shown above, as far as Vadnagar in the north. We have also shown that Râjputânâ was essentially the country of the Gûrjaras, and in the time of Mahîpâla at any rate, Kâthiâwâḷ also owned the Gûrjara sway, inasmuch as the Haḍḍâlû grant of the Châpa prince Dharaṇivarâha, who ruled at Vardhamâna (Vadhvân) speaks of Mahîpâla as his overlord. There thus remains little doubt that the boundaries of the Râshtrakûta and Gûrjara kingdoms were extremely close to one another; and as they were close neighbours, it is no wonder that they were constantly engaged in acts of mutual hostility, as Al Masûdi informs us. We have already seen that Gôvinda III., Amôghavarsha I., Kṛishṇa II. and Kṛishṇa III. are represented in the Râshtrakûta records to have inflicted defeats upon the Gûrjara kings. And now we have seen that Vatsarâja and Mahîpâla, whom Dhruva and Indra III. respectively vanquished, were also Gûrjara sovereigns. In short, all evidence points to the conclusion that the Râshtrakûta references to Gûrjaras apply to the dynasty to which Vatsarâja and Mahîpâla belonged. There can be no doubt whatever that, since the time of Bhôja, the capital of the dynasty was Mahôdaya or Kanauj. But whether it was so in the time of Vatsarâja is not certain. But, in the Vanî and Râdhanpur plates, Vatsarâja is spoken of as "intoxicated in consequence of the fortune of royalty of the Gauḍa king which he had easily appropriated."¹ If it is supposed that Vatsarâja's power was restricted to Râjputânâ only, then it is somewhat difficult to understand how he could have subjugated such a distant territory as the Gauḍa country. But, if it is held that he wielded supremacy over the country, ruled over by Bhôja, Mahêndrapâla and others, i.e. as far east as Śrâvasti and Vârânasî,² then it becomes intelligible that he should attack and reduce the Gauḍa territory. Again, on the assumption that the capital of this Gûrjara dynasty before the time of Bhôja (A. D. 844-82) was Kanauj, the gap of no less than one hundred years between this king and Yaśôvarman, patron of Bhavabhûti and Vâkpati, who, we know, was reigning at Kanauj as late as

¹ *Ind. Ant.* XI. 157; *Ep. Ind.* VI. 243; that Gauḍa here denotes a part of Bengal is shown by the fact that it is associated with Vaṅga in the Barôda grant, which is spoken of as having been conquered by the Gûrjara, who, as mentioned above, was doubtless Vatsarâja.

² *Ind. Ant.* XV. 112 and 141

A. D. 744,¹ completely disappears, because Dēvasākti (c. 750 A. D.), the first ruler of this dynasty and father of Vatsarāja (A. D. 769-794) comes quite close to the date 744 A. D. when Yasōvarman was living. Strong probabilities, therefore, lead us to conclude that the seat of power of this Gūrjara dynasty was at Kanauj from the very beginning.

But even before this Gūrjara dynasty of Mahōdaya came to power there were Gūrjara princes and Gūrjara kingdoms. We have already seen that the Chinese traveller Yuan-Chuang (c. 640 A. D.) speaks of the central and northern portions of Rājputānā as the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo or Gūrjaras with its capital at Pi-lo-mo-lo. The Aihole inscription of A. D. 634 mentions the Chalukya prince Pulakōśin II. as having defeated the Gūrjaras. Next, the Harshacharita, as shown above, represents Prabhākara-vardhana (c. 585 A. D.) as being (the cause of) "sleeplessness to the Gūrjara king." That these Gūrjaras are to be located in, and held sway over, the greater portion of Rājputānā has been shown above. It is also equally incontrovertible that their capital was, as mentioned by Yuan-Chuang, Pi-lo-mo-lo; but, in my opinion, as said above, no satisfactory identification of this Pi-lo-mo-lo has as yet been established. This is the only knowledge we possess about this Gūrjara dynasty. No epigraphic records have as yet come to light which give us information regarding what the name of this dynasty was and who were the members thereof.

When then did the modern province of Gujarāt come to be called after Gūrjaras? We have seen that, up to the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV., it was known as Lāṭa. Not long after the reign of Gōvinda IV., the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereignty over Lāṭa was overthrown, and that of the Chaulukya established. And it was evidently in the time of the Chaulukya sovereigns that Gujarāt came to be called after Gūrjaras. The Dōhad inscription of A. D. 1140 speaks of the Chaulukya king Jayasimha as a ruler of Gūrjaramaṇḍala.² In the Somanāth Pāṭaṇ *prasasti* of G. E. 850, i. e. A. D. 1168, the Chaulukya prince Kumārapāla is called king of the Gūrjaramaṇḍala.³ In many other records of the Chaulukya period and later, Gujarāt has been differently called after Gūrjaras. Thus in the Gīrnār

¹ Kalhana's *Chronicle of the Kings of Kāśmīr*, by Dr. Stein, Vol. I., p. 132, footnote 134.

² *Ind. Ant.* X. 159.

³ *Vienna Ori. Jour.* III. 9.

inscriptions of Vastupāla and Tējapāla, Gūrjaramaṇḍala is referred to and is spoken of as including Dhavalakkaka (Dhōlkā) and other towns.¹ In a Jain work named Paṭṭāvalivāchanā, the province is called Gurjaradēśa, in which the city of Kappaḍavanija (Kapaḍvanj) is mentioned as included.² In an inscription, dated V. E. 1556, the town of Ahimmaḍavāda is spoken of as situated in Gūrjaradharitri.³ In the oolophon of the work entitled *Pravāksakrūya*, the author Gaṅgādharma says that he completed it in V. E. 1163 at Stambhatirtha (Cambay) in Gurjaramaṇḍala.⁴ We find Gujarāt mentioned also by the name of Gūrjaratrā. Thus in Jinadattasūri's *Gaṇadharaśāstradhāsataka*, Gujarattā (Gūrjaratrā) is referred to with its capital Anahillavāḍa (Anahillapāṭaka) and with king Durlabharāja reigning there.⁵ Again, Gūrjaratrā is mentioned in Dharmasāgaragaṇi's *Gurovālisūtra*, wherein Śrī Dēvēndrasūri is represented to have gone to Gūrjaratrā from Ujjayinī in Mālavaka.⁶ It will thus be seen that it was after the establishment of the Chaulukya power that Gujarāt came to be variously called after Gūrjaras. It will be further seen that Gūrjaratrā was one of the names by which the province was called after Gūrjaras. This is highly important, because it supplies us with the original name from which the modern name Gujarāt is to be derived. Attempts have been made to trace Gujarāt to Gūrjarāśhra and Gūrjara-rātra.⁷ With regard to the first of these names, its modern equivalent would be Gujarāṭh and not Gujarāt. The change of *śhra* into *ta*, instead of into *ṭha*, which this proposal involves, is philologically improbable. With regard to the second name, though Gūrjara-rātra might pass into Gujarāt, the name itself is unknown to Sanskrit and Prākṛit literature as well as inscriptions. But the corruption of Gūrjaratrā into Gujarāt is perfectly regular and natural. Besides, we have seen above that Gūrjaratrā was the name of a province in Rājputānā called after Gūrjaras. It is, therefore, quite intelligible that, a portion of Lāṭa, when occupied by Gūrjaras, should similarly be called Gūrjaratrā after them. I say

¹ *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* II, 170.

² Weber, *Die Sk. und Pr. Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, II, 1040.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 299.

⁴ *Notices of Sk. MSS.* by Mitra, Vol. II., pp. 113-4.

⁵ Weber, *Die Sk. und Pr. Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, II, 990.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1008.

⁷ *History of Gujarat*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., pt. I., pp. 2 and 85.

a portion of Lāṭa, because from the above it will be easily perceived that, as the province held by the Gūrjaras included Dholkā, Kapadvanj, Ahmedābād, Pāṭaṇ and Cambay, it did not extend to the south of the Mahi. And quite in consonance with this view, we find Lāṭa mentioned in inscriptions during the Chaulukya period side by side with such expressions as Gūrjaradēśa, Gūrjaramaṇḍala and so forth.¹ And even to this day both Hindus and Muhammadans of Surat visiting Pāṭaṇ and Ahmedābād speak of going to Gujarāt, whereas the Ahmedābād division of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas call their caste-people of Surat Kunkaṇās.²

It is thus clear that a portion of Lāṭa first came to be called after Gūrjara, when it came under the sway of the Chaulukyas. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the Chaulukyas were Gūrjaras. The first independent king of the Chaulukya dynasty was Mūlarāja. In one of his copper-plate charters, dated V. E. 1043, he is called *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Mūlarāja*, son of *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Rāji*.³ In another of his grants, dated V. E. 1051, he is styled *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara Mūlarājādēva*.⁴ It is thus plain that in and before V. E. 1043, the date of the first grant Mūlarāja was not a paramount sovereign. Besides, in the first grant, he is spoken of as having conquered by the strength of his arms the Sārasvatamaṇḍala, the country surrounding Anahilavāḍa the capital of the Chaulukyas. This means that Mūlarāja was not originally a king, but made himself so by his conquests. And the traditions are unanimous in saying that his father Rāja (properly Rāji) came from Kalyāṇakataka in Kānyakubja.⁵ Where this Kalyāṇakataka is to be located has puzzled many antiquarians. But I think that, in all likelihood, Kalyāṇakataka denotes Kanauj itself. We have seen that Kanauj was known by the name Mahōdaya. And Mahōdaya and Kalyāṇa are identical in meaning. Secondly, it is to be noted that, in the copper-plate charters of Bhōja, Mahēndrapāla and Vināyakapāla, Mahōdaya is called a *skandhāvāra*.⁶ *Skandhāvāra*

¹ See e. g. *Ep. Ind.* V. 31.

² *History of Gujarat*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 5, footnote 1.

³ *Ind. Ant.* VI. 191 ff. * *Vienna Ori. Jour.* V. 300.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* VI. 181; *History of Gujarat in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., pt. I., pp. 150 and 156-7.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.* V. 211; *Ind. Ant.* XV. 112 and 140.

and *Kataka*, again, are synonymous terms. Hence *Kalyānakataka* is equivalent to *Mahādayaskandhāvāra*, so far as their meaning goes. And, as Hindu authors are in the habit of speaking about the same kings and cities in terms different but equivalent in meaning, it is highly probable that by *Kalyānakataka* in the *Kānyakubja* country *Kanauj* is meant. *Mūlarāja* thus becomes connected with *Kanauj* in the north, which, as shown above, was up to the middle of the tenth century a seat of the *Gūrjara* power. *Mūlarāja* thus appears to be of *Gūrjara* nationality, and this is in keeping with the conclusion that *Chaulukyas* were *Gūrjaras* arrived at from the fact that it was since their settlement that *Gujarāt* came to be called after *Gūrjaras*.

With the *Chaulukyas* are closely associated *Paramāras*, *Chāhamānas* and *Pratihāras*, all of them being styled *Agnikulas*. Colonel *Tod* mentions a tradition with regard to the origin of these *Agnikulas*.¹ On Mount *Abu* the *Brāhmanas* were disturbed by the demons in the performance of their sacrifice. So assembling round the *agni-kunḍa* under the presidency of *Vasishtha*, they prayed to *Mahādēva*, and from the pit of the sacrificial fire arose a figure whom the *Brāhmanas* placed as guardian of the gate, and hence his name "Prithihadwara" contracted to *Parihār* (*Pratihāra*). A second arose, and, being formed in the palm of the hand (*chuluka*), was called "Chalook" (*Chaulukya*). A third issued forth and was named *Pramāra* (*Paramāra*), and a fourth figure appeared quadriform (*chaturāṅga*), and hence his name *Chohān* (*Chāhamāna*). As the ancestors of *Pratihāras*, *Chaulukyas*, *Paramāras* and *Chāhamānas* all issued forth from the *agni-kunḍa*, it is plain that they have a common origin, and that hence they belong to one and the same race. And as we have seen that the *Chaulukyas* were *Gūrjaras*, it is not unreasonable to argue that the other three families also are of the *Gūrjara* stock. In the case of *Pratihāras* at any rate, there can be no doubt, since, as was seen above, in the *Rājōr* stone-inscription *Mathanadēva* is called a *Gūrjara-Pratihāra*, which must, I think, be interpreted to mean that he was of the *Pratihāra* family and of the *Gūrjara* race. Three considerations indirectly make the *Paramāras* *Gūrjaras*. The first is that the *Firozpur Gūjars* of the *Punjab* have a tradition that they came there from *Dār nagar* in the south.² As *Dhārā* was from the beginning the seat of the *Paramāra* power, this may be

¹ *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (Calcutta edition), Vol. I., pp. 68-9.

² *Ibbetson: Census of the Panjab*, p. 263, para. 480.

considered as a not unlikely indication of the Paramâras being Gûjars. The second consideration is that the Gûrjara Châvadâs were a branch of Paramâras ; and the third is that the Gûrjara Osvâls are Paramâras.¹

We thus see that Gujarât is the modern form of the Sanskrit Gûrjaratrâ and that Gujarât came to be so called when it was occupied by the Chaulukyas. But it has been shown above that, even before as now, not the whole, but the northern part only, of the present Gujarât was known as Gûrjaradêsa or Gûrjaratrâ, and that, during the Chaulukya period, the southern part continued for some time to be called Lâta. It must not, however, be supposed that, when the northern part of Gujarât came to be called after Gûrjaras during the period of the Chaulukya supremacy, Râjputânâ, which was known as Gûrjaradêsa before the Chaulukya period ceased to be so known. Thus, in the Abu inscription of V. E. 1342, Samarasimha, to whose reign it refers itself, is described as "lifting the deeply sunk Gûrjara-mahî out of the Turushka sea."² Here Gûrjara-mahî doubtless denotes Mêdapâta (Mêvâd) held by Samarasimha and the country surrounding it. Similarly, Al Bîruni (A. D. 970-1031) tells us that to the south-east of Kanauj lay "Guzarat," the capital of which was Bazân *alias* Nârâyan, which was not far from Jaipûr.³ This means that, even from the time of Al Bîruni to the time of Samarasimha, a portion of Râjputânâ continued to be called after Gûrjaras.

A few words regarding the origin of the Gûrjaras will not, I think, be out of place. General Cunningham identifies them with the Tochari, *alias* Yuechi, *alias* Kushana. The reason alleged by him in support of his thesis is that, besides the Jats whom he identifies with the Zanthii of Strabo, and the Iatti of Pliny and Ptolemy, Gûjars "are the only numerous race of foreign origin in the Panjab and North-Western Provinces of India who are known to have been powerful during the early centuries of the Christian era."⁴ Though the reason put forth by Cunningham is not convincing, the fact that, the Śrîmâli Brâhmanas and most of the present chiefs of Râjputânâ, which was essentially the country of the Gûrjaras, trace

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX., pt. II., p. 465.

² *Ind. Ant.* XVI. 350.

³ Sachau, Al Bîruni, I. 202 ; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 520.

⁴ *Arch. Surv. Reports* by Cunningham, Vol. II. p. 70.

their origin to Kanak or Kanaksen, who is commonly supposed to be Kanishka, seems to support his view.¹ But we must not attach too much importance to the legends about Kanaksen, for the Turks of Kâbul, who are certainly not older than the latter part of the sixth century in that reign also claimed Kanishka as an ancestor.² Mr. J. S. Nesfield, however, propounds the theory that the pastoral castes, such as Ahirs, Gûjars and Jats are the necessary intermediate link between the hunting and the agricultural, that the word Gûjar, in particular, comes from the Sanskrit *gôchara* or cattle-grazer, and that consequently they are not of an alien stock.³ In the first place, the Sanskrit word *gôchara* does not mean a cattle-grazer, as Mr. Nesfield supposes. Secondly, the custom of many foreign Hinduized royal families of identifying their dynastic, with epic, names, and tracing their descent from some epic hero is too well-known to require any proof. Next, the genuine Aryan *gôpas* or herdsmen, so far as we can judge from the Pâli Jâtakas and Mahâbhârata, were of settled habits. But the pastoral castes, such as Ahirs, Gûjars and Jats, have even to this day preserved their nomadic and predatory instincts to a more or less extent. This would point to their scythic, rather than Aryan, origin.

Many ethnologists are of opinion that Ahirs, Gûjars and Jats are all of one ethnic stock, and that the differences that are visible between them are to be explained by the fact that they entered India at different times or settled in different parts.⁴ Of these hordes, Ahirs appear to be the earliest, who poured into India. Abhîras, *i.e.*, Ahirs, are mentioned as a tribe in the Allûhâbâd pillar inscription of Samudragupta.⁵ An Abhira prince is also referred to in a Nâsik cave-inscription of the third century.⁶ A third inscription found at Gûnda and dated A. D. 181 in the reign of the Kshatrapa Rudrasimha speaks of his general Rudrabhûti who is therein called an Abhîra.⁷ The Abhîras were thus settled in India as early as the latter half of the second century after Christ. Next in chronolo-

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pt. 1., p. 462, footnote 3.

² A note from Mr. A. M. T. Jackson.

³ *Brief View of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*,
etc., p. 12, para. 26.

⁴ Ibbetson, *Census of the Panjab*, p. 265.

⁵ *Cor. Ins. Ind.* III. p. 8.

⁶ *Arch. Sur. West. Ind.* IV. 103.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* X. 157.

gical order come the Gúrjaras. It has been shown above that the country of Gúrjaras is alluded to by Yuan-Chuang (c. 640 A. D.), that they are mentioned in the Aihole inscription of A. D. 634 as being defeated by the Chaulukya prince Pulakêsi II., and that they are spoken of by Bâna in his Harshacharita as being vanquished by Prabhâkaravardhana (c. 585 A. D.) An earlier reference to Gúrjaras than that of A. D. 585 cannot be traced. They may, therefore, be supposed to have penetrated India about the beginning of the sixth century. The Jats, in my opinion, were the last to enter India, inasmuch as they do not appear to have been anywhere mentioned in ancient inscriptions or to have wielded sway over any province like Abhîras or Gúrjaras before the Muhammadan conquest. Now, the principal feature of these foreign tribes that strikes us is, that, when they entered the Panjâb from the north-west, they advanced further both to the east and the south, conquering and settling in various provinces called after them. The Ahirs are thus found in large numbers to the east as far as Bengal; and, in the Mirzâpur district of the North-Western Provinces, there is a tract of land called Ahraura doubtlessly named after them. The Ahirs are spread to the south as far as the Dekkan; and, as an Abhîra prince is mentioned in a Nâsik cave-inscription, as we have just seen, it is clear that the Abhîras once held sway over Mahârâshtra. Besides, the province called Ahîrwâr to the south of Jhansi shows that the Ahirs had gained a footing even in Central India. It is true that, in the Panjâb proper to the exclusion of the Dehli and Gurgaon Districts, no Ahirs are at present found. But in the Musala Parva of the Mahâbhârata, Arjuna is represented to have been waylaid by Abhîras in the Pañchanadadêsa, i.e. the Panjâb, as he was going from Dvârakâ to Mathurâ with the widowed females and treasures of the Yâdavas after burning the dead bodies of Krishṇa and Balarâma.¹ These Abhîras are therein called Dasyus and Mlechchhas. This shows that, in the early centuries of the Christian era when the Musala Parva was probably composed, the Abhîras did exist in the Panjâb, and that, as they are spoken of as banditti and foreigners, they are undoubtedly to be considered as a foreign nomadic tribe. With regard to the present distribution of the Gûjars, in the hilly country of Jammu, Chibhâl and Hazâl in the Panjâb and away in the Independent Territory lying to the north of Peshûwar as far as the Swat river

¹ *Adhyâya*, 7; also *Vishṇu Purâṇa* by Wilson, *Cap.* 38.

Gújar herdsmen are found in large numbers. "Here they are a purely pastoral and almost nomad race, taking their herds up into the higher ranges in summer and descending with them into the valleys during the cold weather."¹ This, in my opinion, unmistakably points to their Scythian, rather than Áryan, origin. In the Southern Panjáb they are not so numerous as they are towards the north, "where they have given their name to several important places, such as Gujránwála, in the Rechna Duáb, Gujárât in the Chaj Duáb, and Gújar Khân in the Sindh Sâgar Duáb."² To the east they have spread in great numbers down the Upper Jumna; and, in the Sabâranpur district, which during the eighteenth century was actually called Gujárât. Still further to the east "they occupy the petty State of Samptar in Bundelkhand." To the south they have spread as far as the Gujárât province of the Bombay Presidency. One of the northern districts of Gwalior is still called Gújargûr after the Gújars. That the larger portion of Râjputânâ was known as Gúrjara-dêśa and that the peninsula of Gujárât owes its name to these Gújars has already been shown in detail. That up to the middle of the tenth century almost the whole of North India, excepting Bengal, owned their supremacy, with their seat of power at Kanauj and that their might afterwards overshadowed Central India and the peninsula of Gujárât with their capital at Anahillapâtaka has also been shown above.

Another noteworthy feature about these Âbhîras and Gújaras is the way in which they are gradually being merged into the Hindu population. Thus in Khândesh, many craftsmen classes are split up into two divisions, simple and Ahir. Thus besides Âbhîra Brâhmaṇas and Ahirs proper, there are Ahir Sonârs or goldsmiths, Ahir Sutârâ or carpenters, Ahir Sâlis or weavers, Ahir Guravs or temple-servants and Ahir Kolis or fishers.³ Similarly in Gujárât many artisan and other classes are of two divisions, simple and Gújar. Thus there are Gâjar Kanbis or husbandmen, Gújar Vâniâs or traders, Gújar Suthârs or carpenters, Gújar Sonis or goldsmiths, Gújar Kumbhârs or potters and Gújar Salâts or masons.⁴ As a new foreign tribe

¹ *Ibbetson, Census of the Panjab*, p. 263.

² *Arch. Surv. Reports*, by Cunningham, Vol. II. pp. 71-2.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XII., p. 39 and footnote 10.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 4.

settles, many of its members gradually give up their original profession, follow the occupations of different castes, and are thus broken up into many divisions, each division being known by the name of its calling. In process of time, by a fiction too wide-spread to require any proof, that community of occupation presupposes community of origin, each division of the new tribe traces descent from the same source as that of the other people of the caste pursuing the same calling. The original tribal name soon sinks to the name of a division or to a mere surname, and the whole tribe is thus absorbed into the general class.