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ART. XI—*Śaṅkarācārya and Kant: A Comparison.*

Introductory Essay.

BY

REV. R. ZIMMERMANN, S. J.

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The master-minds of Śaṅkarācārya and Kant have exercised a decisive influence on the history of human thought. They changed the course of philosophical evolution, the one as the overtopping figure of a great school, the other as the bold, more or less isolated revolutionist in philosophy. It is hard and at the same time idle to say who was the more powerful of the two; suffice it to remark that even now over thousand years after Śaṅkara's death the overwhelming majority of philosophers, theoretical and practical, in India profess Śaṅkara's tenets. This fact must not be underrated. At such a distance from the founder's time Buddhism had long been exiled from Bharata-varṣa; Vedānta, Śaṅkara's philosophy, on the other hand, if we read correctly the tendencies of the modern Indian mind, not only has a firm hold on the educated classes, but is, if anything, in the ascendancy. And yet the claim and the chance of Buddhism to last were at least as great as those of Śaṅkara's philosophy. Kant on the other hand marks the beginning of an epoch in philosophy which stands to its predecessors in about the same contrast as the astronomy of Coppernicus to that before him. The breaking away from Aristotelian philosophy became complete, and it would sometimes seem final, with Kant. A great number of modern philosophers in the West are satisfied with interpreting Kant, and even where after him originality appeared it was short-lived and its influence was in no proportion to that of Kant. But however widely the teaching of modern philosophers may differ from that of Kant and from one another's: in that they are all alike that they make a definite stand against the traditional philosophy of the centuries before them.

It would, however, be utterly wrong to call Śaṅkara and Kant merely negative minds and to think their work to be only destructive. Both were rather more indirectly pulling down by constructing systems which ousted their predecessors. At the end of the first millennium of our era Śaṅkara's Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya, at any rate as far as the intellectual classes are concerned, sealed the doom of Vedic Brahmanism taught in Saṁhitās

and Brāhmaṇas and blocked alike the paths against a returning Buddhism; at the end of the second millennium Kant tried to induce the West to abjure the allegiance to the philosophical past and was not at all angry when asked by many to occupy the place on the pedestal from which he had thrown Aristotle.

To fix the position of the two philosophers we have to consider the point from which they started, the way they took and finally the goal they reached. The starting point may be considered historically and philosophically. It will be advisable to consider the historical position first as it explains to a great extent the philosophical one. Kant, to begin with, is a modern philosopher. Modern philosophy is characterised by its emancipation from the *status pupillaris*, or the state of the *ancilla theologiae*, of the handmaid of theology. This philosophy was born from the spirit of the Renaissance, lived on the inheritance of the Midlde Ages and was long beyond its infancy schooled by the geniuses and their works of the past. Turning away from ancient and medieval speculation it applied itself to research and the acquisition of positive knowledge. Nature and the laws of nature outside and the mind inside became alike its subject matter. It helped to fashion public and political views that were developed logically though often involuntarily out of the premises the Reformation had laid down. The ethical theses had to undergo a change often not less radical than the psychological and cosmological doctrines.

Modern philosophy may be sub-divided into:—(1) the time of resuscitated Platonism in the Renaissance and the more or less pronounced independence of thought. The Renaissance taught philosophy to find out and study above all the physical side of man and nature; (2) the time of Empirism, Rationalism, the so-called Enlightenment in the period of the Encyclopædists, and Scepticism from Bacon and Descartes down to Hume. Extremes met during that period: alongside with a radical Rationalism there appeared Dogmatism which would stand no appeal, and Dogmatism had to live long enough to see a Scepticism that doubted everything. It would appear as if the breaking away from the inherited thought and method had divided the minds almost as much as the attempt at building a city and a tower the top whereof should reach heaven had divided the tongues. The Renaissance had offered the cup with the wine of liberty, the modern mind partook freely of it with a result not unlike a Russian democracy.

Aristotelianism and its most docile and loyal disciple, Scholasticism, had been based on a limited number of broad facts; guided by the unbending laws of logic and goaded on by the

desire *sciendi per causas*, to know "in" the causes, both rose from the material, the seen, to the immaterial, the unseen. After the Renaissance men broke one seal of nature after the other that had hidden its truth and beauty from mortal eyes; dazzled and bewildered by the light and wealth of this new thought some stuck in the matter and did not rise above it; others not being able or unwilling to draw the last conclusions, that philosophy demands, from the new world of thought, dogmatically laid down their view with the mien and the emphasis of the ancient αὐτὸς ἔφα. Others again despaired of the instrument wherewith to find the truth and answered to all questions of a metaphysical nature: "We don't know and never shall know." Such were the times which preceded Kant and which he himself partly witnessed. With the originality and radicalism of an unbridled genius he dissociated himself in the main from the preceding systems to strike out a path which he thought to be the golden mean between Dogmatism and Scepticism. The human mind will and must philosophise, therefore it must be able to do so, therefore Scepticism is wrong; many a thesis had been put forward based on mere tradition or even prejudice, hence either disputable or even false. Whole systems had gone astray, therefore the instrument of knowledge, human reason and intellect, must be examined and criticised. Thus is Kant's system, which is essentially criticism, historically to be explained.

What is Śaṅkara's historical position? Śaṅkarācārya wrote the Commentary on the Brahmasūtras with a literary past of India before him which in all fairness cannot be said to be very much less than 3,000 years. To understand accurately to what extent Śaṅkara's philosophy may be called original and to what degree it is a product of the time we have to take a cursory glance at the evolution of the philosophic thought from the very beginning of Indian literary history. And as theology was in India too the mother and mistress of philosophy we must consider that kind of Indian literature which contains the theology, *viz.*, the Veda. What then is the road on which the Indian mind travelled in the millenniums between the Vedic Ṛṣis who composed hymns in honour of the Dawn and the Sun and, to say the least, one of the acutest, most consistent pantheistic philosophers the world has seen? A certain stock of religious ideas are proved to be common to the whole Indo-Aryan group of nations. The easternmost peoples took those ideas with them when they debouched from the north-western passes into the fertile plains of the Panjab. There they lived, worked and worshipped as a pastoral nation, their peaceful existence being only disturbed by a steady tendency to push on to the South,

East and West, by frequent raids on their neighbours and consequent sanguinary encounters with those whom they had conquered or were to conquer. The elemental phenomena of nature and household were the objects of their worship. The Ṛgveda shows exactly that form of natural religion one would expect from a people with a few dim recollections of a universal divine revelation, from clans whose occupation is to tend and to breed cattle, from a nation that has to defend the soil encroached upon with the sword and is at the same time determined to find and get a place in the sun with sufficient elbow-room for large and ever-increasing numbers of the populace and ample pasture for their cattle. The nation and its higher thoughts were equally unsophisticated and straightforward. The term and title "Ārya" which this people claimed for itself was certainly not altogether undeserved. The nation's poets of this time handed down to posterity their inspirations in the Vedic Hymns, the Sūktāni or Good Sayings. For our purpose the Vedic hymns must be considered in their original shape and order or rather disorder; the present arrangement, often made on arithmetical and other artificial principles, is of a later date. In those hymns, especially in the older portions of the Ṛgveda, there is the naïve invocation of the Vedic deity, preferentially of Indra, to protect and further some raid, or to be helpful in bringing in a rich booty of cattle and horses, and at the end there is the often not at all bashful reminder of the dakṣiṇā,—the fee for the singer.

The description of the Vedic God is as a rule not very concrete, nor sharply defined. The lines of the picture are often dimmed or blurred; consequently one individual of the Vedic pantheon may get mixed up with another and many deities show common traits. The supremacy is not the monopoly of one, but is attributed to a limited number of them in turns. The gods are born, but whether they are to die, the poets do not state in very clear or consistent terms. The ethical world is well-nigh left to take care of itself; Varuṇa is the chief if not the only guardian of it. But it is only fair to admit that he performs the functions of his part with unbending justice. The moral notions were naturally primitive enough, and these notions, few though not impotent as they were, received scanty attention at the hands of those indefatigable systematisers who afterwards minutely determined the material of the ladle used for the sacrificial libation and the number of bricks to be built into the altar.

The Vedic mythology is based on the belief that all the objects, phenomena and agencies of the macrocosm are in the

first place representing the deity and then are divine themselves. This may be one of the reasons why the Vedic gods do not bear such clear human traits as the Hellenic celestials. But even as far as it went, the anthropomorphism of the Vedic pantheon remained rather crude if compared with the artistic touch and finish of the inhabitants of the Greek Olympus. Besides the phenomena of nature everything that could be helpful or baneful to mortals was drawn into the circle of worship. Thus the sacrificial post, for instance, became not less an object of worship than the plough and the war-car.

As early as the time when the later parts of the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā were composed the evolution of the philosophic thought began to bifurcate. Indians would not have been Indians if the innate tendency towards philosophical speculation had not asserted itself at that stage of civilisation which the Ṛgveda represents. Nor could a philosophical mind be satisfied with the answer the Ṛgveda gave to paramount questions about the microcosm as well as the macrocosm. The crust laid by the poets on philosophic notions and truths began to be suspected; nay, the authority of a divine revelation claimed by the Veda was gradually doubted by many. It was natural, though at the time it must have seemed the worst of blasphemies, that just the existence and position of Indra, the general overlord of the Indian Olympus, was assailed by Scepticism. The Ṛṣi Gṛtsamada extols Indra's mighty deeds in heaven, on the earth and under the earth. The poet credits the god with the cosmic arrangement and order as well as with the patronage of the Aryan race. And yet the devout Ṛṣi had to record the doubt of many.

यं स्मा पृच्छंति कुह सेति घोरमुतेमाहुर्नैषो अस्तीत्येनं ।
सो अर्यः पुष्टीर्विज इवामिनाति श्रदस्मै धत्त स जनास इंद्रः ॥

Ṛgveda II. 12. 5.

Fourteen times does the refrain स जनास इंद्रः occur, showing that the singer was fully aware of the danger Indra was threatened with, and that he had the burden of his sermon very much at heart. In Ṛgveda VIII. 100. 3 an order to sing a hymn in honour of Indra is given, if he actually exists.

प्र सु स्तोमं भरत वाजयंत इंद्राय सत्यं यदि सत्यमस्ति ।
नेंद्रो अस्तीति नेम उ त्व आहु क ईं ददर्श कमभि ष्टवाम ॥

To dispel the doubt Indra is introduced in person by the poet :—

अयमस्मि जरितः पश्य मेह विश्वा जातान्यभ्यस्मि मह्ना ।
ऋतस्य मा प्रदिशो वर्धयन्त्यादर्दिरो भुवना दर्दरीमि ॥

From the doubt about Indra's existence and position the doubt about the many gods, or in other words, the question about the truth of polytheism was the logical sequel. The doubt about the usefulness of the Vedic sacrifice and worship followed now as a matter of course. This frame of mind among the intellectuals of the time found expression in Ṛgveda X. 121, which makes the creator and father of beings, Prajāpati, whoever he may be, the supreme lord of everything, the whole pantheon included. The refrain :—

कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥

to which god shall we offer up oblations ?—occurring there nine times is implicitly answered in favour of Prajāpati. Though Sāyaṇa, the great medieval commentator of the Vedas, does apparently not realise the touch of Scepticism in the refrain as he boldly identifies Kaḥ with Prajāpati, yet even in his view it is clear that Indra's position was more than shaken. Perhaps the deepest philosophical hymn of the whole Ṛgveda Saṁhitā opens thus :—

नासदासीन्नो सदासीत्तदानीं नासीद्रजो नो व्योमा परो यत् ।
किमावरीवः कुह कस्य शर्मन्नंभः किमासीद्गहनं गभीरं ॥ १ ॥
न मृत्युरासीदमृतं न तर्हि न रात्र्या अह्न आसीत्प्रकेतः ।
आनीदवातं स्वधया तदेकं तस्माद्धान्यन्न परः किं चनास ॥ २॥

X. 129. 1—2.

This is a description of the state of things before the creation. The transition from the not-being to the being is but obscurely described in terms of cosmological mysticism. Whether the singer had not the courage of his conviction or was lacking in original thought, he winds up the hymn in a sceptical strain :—

को अद्धा वेद क इह प्र वोचत्कुत आजाता कुत इयं विसृष्टिः ।
अर्वाग्देवा अस्य विसर्जनेनाथा को वेद यत आबभूव ॥

इयं विसृष्टिर्यत आबभूव यदि वा दधे यदि वा न ।
यो अस्याध्यक्षः परमे व्योमन्त्सो अंगं वेद यदि वा न वेद ॥

6, 7.

True, the creator appears still as a personal being, as Brahmaṇaspati, Bṛhaspati, Viśvakarman, but the pantheistic seed had been sown as well; besides Ṛgveda X. 129 we have 1. 164. 46 :—

इंद्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहुरथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।
एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदंत्यग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ।

This is after the classical तत्त्वमसि, that art thou, Cāndogya Upaniṣad 6. 8-16, the clearest and most decided profession of Pantheism in ancient India. It seemed but a step from here to the full development of the pantheistic philosophy in a school and its propagation among the progressive intellectuals of the country. Yet many a weary mile had to be travelled partly in altogether uncongenial and apathetic if not hostile company before Pantheism could hope to find that following which was accorded to Śaṅkarācārya.

One should expect that the evolution of philosophical thought foreshadowed if not actually started in the Ṛgveda should have gone on in a regular, steady course and gained in momentum as time went on. But the second great class of Śruti writings, the Brāhmaṇas, prove rather the contrary and seem to confirm the general observation made in the history of philosophy that the line of development of philosophical ideas is, though generally rising, indented by descending, or at least broken by horizontal, sections. In fact one of the bifurcation lines, the one described above and boldly struck out in the Vedic times seems to have been almost abandoned for the other, the more conservative one. The sacrificial ritual based upon the old Vedic Polytheism at any rate is seen to have developed to such an extent in the Brāhmaṇas that not only is there hardly any clear trace of philosophical development, worth the name, visible, but philosophical property has been confiscated and utilised in the exegesis of sacrifices and rites. From the scantiness of literary documents we are not yet entitled to the conclusion that no philosophical head was living and thinking during the whole Brāhmaṇa period which lasted for several centuries; nor can we safely affirm that no progress was made and no evolution took place: it only proves that the predominating Brahmanical class did not record this philosophical

development. For the Brāhmaṇas rank very low indeed as philosophical sources. Granted even that we are not able to realise the full meaning of these texts as rituals and exegetical treatises, which after all form the key to the symbolism of the Vedic sacrifice; their philosophical value is lowered by their containing too much symbolism which even engrosses on, and spoils, such terms as ātman, and by too little clear, sharp reasoning. The Brāhmaṇas however, as they stand, contain phrases enough which isolated from their ritualistic surroundings let us guess that the current of philosophic thought was moving though perhaps rather comparable to a subterranean river than the broad open stream of the officially sacred Gaṅgā. Expressions of this kind are for instance प्रजापतिर्वा ऽइदमग्र ऽआसीत् Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, 11.5.8.1; ब्रह्म वा ऽइदमग्र ऽआसीत् l.c. 11.2.3.1; आत्मैवेदमग्र ऽआसीत् l.c. 14.4.2.1. Roughly speaking they represent the great main road which leads from the Saṁhitā period over to the Upaniṣads.

The philosophical speculation appearing like Uṣas, the dawn of a new day of thought, shortly after the beginning of the Vedic literature, might be reduced to a fire glowing under the embers, but it never died out entirely. Proof of this is the fact that very important Upaniṣads, the philosophical texts par excellence, were considered as integral parts of Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas. Thus the Īśā Upaniṣad is contained in the 40th adhyāya of the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad forms the conclusion of the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa. Now it needs no special proof beyond a critical reading that most of the Upaniṣads are made up of matter of different ages; and as just the most philosophical portions of them can claim a high, in some cases even a higher antiquity than the rest, it is without doubt that philosophical thought was not altogether smothered under the wild growth of ritualistic literature during that period. And though the writers and redactors of the Brāhmaṇas either for practical purposes or, and chiefly, because of the difference of tendency, assigned a subordinate position to the philosophical productions of the age; yet they did not dare to discard them altogether or refuse them the admission into the Śruti. For these productions often enough appeared labelled with weighty names and seemed to contain ideas which it was well to treasure if not to preach.

The third great class of the Śruti writings are the Āraṇyakas, Forest Books, which are texts to be studied by the Indian hermit, the Vānaprastha, in the woods. Though some of these texts

are but sections in the middle of the Brāhmaṇas and others form appendices of varying length to them, yet the contents of the Āraṇyakas evince practically the same preponderance of theological philosophy over sacrificial ritualism which was given to the latter over the former in the Brāhmaṇas. The important point is that philosophy is gradually working its way to the foreground. The sacrifice remained indeed a central idea; the sacred word and prayer was considered the highest principle as Brahman, and it was held to be the source of all being. But the writers accepted as well the theory of the ātman, the interior self, and amalgamated the new with the old teaching. The philosophy of the ātman which had, it seems, been first taught outside Brahmanical circles, bid once fair to become a formidable rival to the rigid and costly ritual. The same latitudinarianism which stood Brahmanism in such good stead against Buddhism did not hesitate to accept a new tendency that somehow or other could be made to look like a progress on the old lines. It was in the eyes of the authors and compilers of the later parts of the Śruti decidedly a lesser evil to twist the old tendency than to have that philosophy as a foe which in the end promised Mokṣa, Redemption, without sacrifice. It was easier to turn round than to be annihilated. A concession was made to the new doctrine by admitting it into the precincts of the Vedic sacred literature, the "canon"; and another concession was granted to the old tendency by reserving the new-comer, the philosophy, to the Saṁnyāsa, the highest and last stage of the Vedic life-periods or Āśramas. In this way perhaps the great majority of Hindus were precluded from the new doctrine. Thus Brahmanism was able to save the appearance of traditional orthodoxy and at the same time to adopt progressive views.

The progressive views were clearest laid down in the Upaniṣads, the fourth principal class of Śruti literature. They mark a distinct stage of development which to a certain extent remained even final. Upaniṣad, originally signifying the secret session, gradually came to mean the secret teaching, whence रहस्यम्, the (doctrinal) secret, and Upaniṣad are used synonymously. How thorough the amalgamation between the traditional and the new views was made is clear from the fact that again not less than about half a dozen of the most important Upaniṣads were either embodied in, or appended to, the Āraṇyakas. Thus the external relation of the Upaniṣads to the Āraṇyakas is in fair keeping with the relation of the contents. The Cāndogya Upaniṣad in its turn contains in the first two prapāṭhakas symbolical explanations of the Sāman and its

principal part, the Udgītha, matter usually referred to Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas. Even the external form of the older and most important Upaniṣads betrays the care to bridge over the gap between the traditional doctrine and the new teaching. It is not the last time in literary, religious and philosophical history that an old outside helped to cover up innovations in the contents. These older Upaniṣads are written in a simple, sometimes awkward prose. The prose Upaniṣads together with eight others written in verse must be considered as the source and repository of the Upaniṣad teaching; they are distinctly marked off from the rest.

It would be entirely in vain to look in the Upaniṣads for accurate definitions, logical divisions and proofs. The style of these works is as far distant from that of Kant's *Critique* as it is from that of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* or Plato's Dialogues. Let it be admitted that perhaps the shortest and most accurate formula of Pantheism ever put forward is found in the तत्त्वमसि CU. 6.8.7.; but the same Upaniṣad was as little able as others to shake off resolutely the inherited encumbrance of uncontrollable mysticism and dreaming symbolism. From this it follows that it would be out of place to speak of "the Philosophy of the Upaniṣads" or worse still of "a System of the Upaniṣads," in the same sense as we speak of the Philosophy or the System of Aristotle. We might just as well patch a manual of the rites of Welsh Druids together with Berkeley's "Treatise on the Principles of Human Knowledge," and style it Berkeley's Philosophy or System. The Indian philosophical literature is in its development not unlike that of the epic poetry. A comparatively simple subject that according to all rules of art could have been worked out in a poem of the size of the Odyssey grew into the gigantic dimensions of the Mahābhārata. It was only gradually that the creative genius was satisfied with a smaller number of miles of ślokas and finally settled down to the classical works of the Kirātārjunīya and the Raghuvaṁśa. Thus the broad stream of developing philosophical thought poured into the literature, but its clear water was disturbed by all sorts of alluvial drift and silt, carried down from the times of Saṁhitā mythology, Brāhmaṇa hair-splitting, Āraṇyaka "theology".

The Upaniṣads which fairly well represent the philosophical views of their times are called Vedānta, End of the Veda. This name is justified in more than one way. First, the Upaniṣads are chronologically the end of the Śruti, thus they are fitly put at the end of the Vedic "canon". The sacred flame of the

revelation, it was held, descended in the hoary past on Viśvāmitra, Gṛtsamada, Vasiṣṭha and their congeners in the plains of the Panjab, once more and for the last time it flared up in the teaching of Sanatkumāra, the highest representative of the Kṣatriyas who instructs Nārada, the very embodiment of Brahmanism. A spark of this flame, it was believed, is to be found in the conversation of Yājñavalkya with his philosophical wife Maitreyī; and the beggar Raikva, who sitting under his cart scraped off the scab of leprosy, had likewise become the mouthpiece of the supernatural. The teaching of the Upaniṣads then, being revealed, was as sacred as the most ancient hymns of the Ṛgvedasaṁhitā. As a matter of fact the quotations adduced by later philosophers in support of their views are overwhelmingly taken from the Upaniṣads. This sacredness coupled with the necessity of imparting the new knowledge warily and the greater difficulties of grasping the contents put the Upaniṣad lectures at the end of the ancient Indian curriculum. In the séances of the advanced Guru and the eager Śiṣya, these mysteries, first only whispered into the ears of ripe and trustworthy hearers, were made the concluding part of the syllabus. The historical position of the Upaniṣads was even reflected in religious recitations where they always came last, and it was recognised by the Upaniṣads themselves which actually call themselves Vedānta, claiming thus equal rank with the former strata of the Śruti and at the same time giving precedence to them from the chronological point of view. That the Upaniṣads rose in the estimation of later systematic writers was quite natural, as they could freely draw on these texts for proofs, the other classes of Śruti, the Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas, being not rarely opposed to them. Thus the Upaniṣads came in course of time to be considered as the aim of the Veda, the *causa finalis*. All the revelation of olden times and the interpretation of the preceding centuries had been only the preparation for—the new thought. By far the greater part of the sacred literature was made the avenue leading up to the sanctuary of the philosophic truth. Philosophy, once the humble handmaid of theology, had ascended the throne in the temple shrine. Theology left outside was deemed just good enough to carry the bricks for the temple building and show the way to the sanctuary.

It was pointed out above that there is no philosophy or system of the Upaniṣads in the sense of, say, Hume's philosophy. And if Śaṁkara's philosophy and the Upaniṣads with their doctrines go by the same name and both are called Vedānta, then this must be explained more on historical than philosophical

grounds. Beyond a considerable number of fundamental doctrines and the name, Śaṅkara and the Upaniṣads have rather little in common. It seems in fact on the face of it impossible that a collection of several dozens of texts, originating at different times and places, written by different authors on different suppositions and with different aims should be able to represent a philosophical system that could vie with any pantheistic philosophy in history. Or is it possible that some architect in Bombay, another in Calcutta, a third in Madras, one in the 12th, the other in the 15th, the third in the 20th century, one an expert in the Moghul, the other in the Gothic, the third in the Romanesque style, should independently work out their plans, send without agreement their masons to the same spot in Delhi and contrive to erect a structure of the unity and beauty of the Divan-i-Am or the Divan-i-Khas ? No serious man would assert that. As great in fact as, if not greater than, the external discrepancies in the Upaniṣads are the differences of teaching. They depict God with all the imagery of an Indian poet as some concrete, palpable, personal being ; on the other hand he cannot, according to them, be found out even by the mind's eye. If it is asserted that the world's existence is due to creation by the supreme principle, and therefore real, it is affirmed just as clearly that the whole universe is nothing but Māyā, Illusion. Saṁsāra, metempsychosis, is put forward with an undeniable emphasis, implying the personality of the human soul, the jīva, and yet this same migration of the soul is said to belong to the universal māyā and the only true existence of the jīva is taught to consist in the identity with God.

The heterogeneous nature of the Upaniṣads may have been one reason why these texts were brought together in one collection only very late. This collection had never that binding force which the Ṛgvedasaṁhitā had for all times after it was introduced. It remained an external frame large enough to shove in new pieces if they looked somewhat like the older ones. Thus the whole enjoyed an unquestioned authority, but every philosopher who utilised the Upaniṣads for his special purposes could follow an eclectic method, giving preponderance to those passages and texts that were in his favour. This accounts for the fact that the " canon " of the Upaniṣads never was definitely settled and as a matter of fact cannot be said to be closed even to this day. But in spite of the elasticity of the Upaniṣad " canon " and the heterogeneous nature of its contents, it cannot reasonably be doubted that pantheism stood the best chance to find a basis in this " Vedānta," and thus with great semblance of right to lay claim to that ortho-

doxy the reputation of which few of the boldest thinkers ever cared to lose in India. The first known attempt at systematising the disconnected tenets of the Upaniṣads was made by Bādarāyaṇa in his Brahmasūtras. They are like other sūtras short enough to keep the full meaning hidden from the uninitiated, profane eye, and long enough to fix and preserve the teaching to be handed down by oral tradition from one generation of gurus to the next. About Bādarāyaṇa's time, place and person we know very little.

At this point Śaṅkara's work begins. A pantheistic system, developed in the course of more than a millennium out of polytheism, more than holding its own in the keen competition with rival systems, taught and propagated in the traditional school fashion of ancient India, but still wanting a great, overtowering personality as interpreter and exponent: this Śaṅkarācārya found. The interpretation, exposition, thesystematising not without refashioning, and above all the popularisation of the inherited system: this was to become his work. He was born towards the end of the eighth century of our era. To judge from the fact that of all the commentaries on Bādarāyaṇa's Brahmasūtras that were possibly written before Śaṅkara none attained to the authority of his, he was fully up to his task. Among his own numerous writings, mostly commentaries on the Upaniṣads, partly actually his, partly only attributed to him, the Commentary on the Brahmasūtras easily takes the first place. Śaṅkara puts clearly his thesis, with a consistency and subtlety that recall the times of Aristotle and Scholasticism he follows up the consequences to the last lost corner. There is nothing in heaven and hell and between them to which he is not able to apply his doctrine. As far as the nature of his work, the arrangement of which was given by the sūtras, allows, he is methodical in dividing the matter; without great difficulty we can gather from the Śārīrakabhāṣya, as the commentary is called, the philosopher's view on God, Man and the Universe. The great leading thoughts run now open, now hidden but always perceptible through his theology, psychology and cosmology. Nothing is suffered to stand in his way; Śruti texts he handles with a dexterity that makes his success sure. Śaṅkara is a terrible dialectician, the adversary is so cornered, caught, collared and jostled about that all his Prāṇas get mixed up, if they do not prefer for very shame to leave such a worsted opponent altogether. And as Śaṅkara was as true an Indian philosopher as ever lived, and since Mokṣa, Redemption, is the one great goal of all the philosophies in Bharatavarṣa, his eschatology is as perfect as may be expected

from him and his system. Śaṅkara brought the Vedānta as it was fashioned by him from the school into the nation and its life; and his Vedānta was able to stand the wear and the tear of the centuries. Whatever may be said against it, this must be said for it, it preserved thousands of truth-seeking men from falling into worse errors. Undoubtedly Mādhava voices the common consent when at the end of his Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha he says: इतः (योगात्) परं सर्वदर्शनशिरोमणिभूतशाङ्करदर्शनमन्यत्र लिखित मित्यत्रोपेक्षितम्

This, then, may be said to be the historical position of Śaṅkarācārya and Kant: Śankara stands at the end of an organic evolution, his doctrine is the height of Indian Pantheism; Kant in his specific teaching has broken with the past, he stands for Criticism. How this historical position influenced their respective philosophies of that anon.

The Rock-cut Elephant from Gharapuri: A letter from Sir George Birdwood.

The following letter from the late Sir George Birdwood to Mr. C. D. Mahaluxmivala is of much historical importance, throwing light as it does on the history of the rock-cut Elephant from Gharapuri which gave the name "Elephanta" to that Island and which now stands in the Victoria Gardens. The credit of first bringing the letter to the notice of the public is due to Mr. Rustumji Nasarwanji Munshi, a member of the Society interested in antiquarian and research work. He did this in a communication to the Times of India of 14th July 1917. Being anxious that the history of the Elephant's removal to Bombay should not lie buried in the correspondence files of the Victoria Gardens Office, Mr. Munshi requested me to print Sir George Birdwood's letter in the Society's Journal and I have much pleasure with the sanction of the Committee of Management in doing so.

I have to thank Mr. Jamshed M. Doctor the present Superintendent of the Gardens for providing me with a copy of the letter and for allowing me to publish it in the Journal.

THE EDITOR.

5, WINDSOR ROAD,
EALING, NEAR LONDON, W.
Friday, 11th September, 1914.

To

C. D. MAHALUXMIVALA, ESQR.,
SUPERINTENDENT,
MUNICIPAL GARDENS.

MY DEAR SIR,

In reply to your welcome letter of 20th July last, I have the pleasure of being able to tell you the whole story of broken up "Elephant" the fragments of which are heaped up near the entrance to the Victoria Gardens, on the Parel Road, in front of the Victoria Museum.

It originally stood in front of the Elephanta rock-cut temples; and gave among Europeans the name of Elephanta to the same island known to the Hindus by the name of the village of Ghara-

puri,—"the place of purification," built there for the accommodation of the priests in the service of the temples, and the pilgrims visiting them; in earlier times Buddhists, and in later —from about A. D. 900-1000—Hindus. From my earliest visits to the island, 1854-5, and from 1857 onward, the "Elephant" was a heap of huddled blocks of stone with very little of it in any way intact, except the fallen head, and the semblance of a tiger, on a fragment of what seemed the back of the "Elephant." It had probably been damaged by the first Portuguese visitors to Bombay Harbour; who, it is known, bombarded the rock-temples of Elephanta rather severely. Sometime about 1864 the Government of Bombay entrusted the conservation of the caves to an official of the Public Works Department, an Engineer with whom, as with engineers universally "Nothing is sacred," who forthwith proposed to clear out this profoundly interesting heap of stones, and break them up into road metal. Fortunately hearing of this in time, and still more fortunately having in Mr. William Edward Frere B.C.S. and Member of Council, Bombay, a strong friend I had, in spite of the Engineer referred to, the fragments of the Elephant all removed, under my own eye to Bombay and set up as well as I was able to manage it, in the Victoria Gardens.

I am surprised—and a little pained—that the story of this rescuing has been forgotten in Bombay; for I had to pay bitterly for it in unpopularity in certain influential quarters.

As soon as you get this go to the Royal Asiatic Society's Rooms and in the book case containing the volumes of "The Bombay Literary Society" you will find the whole story of the caves of Elephanta and this "Elephant." In MacLean's Guide to Bombay you should also find something said of my salvation of its "broken bones"; and you must see to it that henceforth they rest in place exactly where I placed them. I would not in any way restore the figure of the "Elephant"; but I put earth in between the more broken and corroded stones; in which I planted the most notable flowering plants sacred to Shiva,—forming thus a very brilliant "rockery."

So far as it goes, you may rely on the correctness of all this. I only wish I could give you more, and further details; but I have no access to books here; and I cannot go up to the British Museum, or Royal Asiatic Society, or India Office, owing to the great weakness of my legs; and I can't venture on minute detail owing to the great loss of memory from which I now suffer.

Never hesitate to write to me; I am always interested in such enquiries; and still more in hearing from any Indian gentleman who takes a lively pride in the ancient glories that contribute so worthily to the renown of India throughout the civilized world; and which make India for Europeans a truly enchanted land.

With every consideration, I remain dear Mr. Mahaluxmivala,

Yours most truly,

(Sd.) GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

P.S.—I could have answered you a week or two weeks before but my bodily exhaustion has been extreme through all the now passing summer.

Sd. GEO. B.

ART. XII.—*Mithraism.*

BY

FREDUN D. MULLA, M.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

I

HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES.

Before the advent of Zoroaster, before even the vast Persian empire was welded into a whole, Mithra was the national deity of the Persians. The rigidly plain character of his cult in the Avesta, as contrasted with later foreign elaborations, is at once a proof of the antiquity of his worship, and of the scriptures in which it was re-embodied. And this antiquity of his cult is corroborated by the entire absence of images in the land of his birth, in an age when man had not yet learnt to represent divinity and its attributes by idols. The subsequent turning of Mithraism into a solar cultus in the land of its adoption, Chaldæa, must itself have been a very ancient process; for the chief temple of the sun-god there, the Sephairvaim of the Old Testament, (2 K. 8), is now shewn to have been hoary with age in 3800 B. C. [1]

When part of the Avesta was recomposed under the Arsacidæ, and the large satrapies referred to in Darius' inscriptions became independent, the one universal lord (*Danhupaiti*) of all these provinces (*Dahyus*) was still Mithra. [2] He dated from an age when the Indo-Aryan stock was still undivided, and before a Vedic theology took conception across the Himalayas; later, his counter-type in the Hindoo system was Mitra. The essentially Persian character of the god was preserved during his wide migrations over the West in the first three centuries of the Christian era; for the frame-work of a theological system based on science remained perceptible through a unity of sacerdotal formulæ in widely separated regions.

The importance of Mithraism may be judged from the fact of its having been, even long after the advent of Christianity, the prevailing religion of the vast Roman empire; and of its having been the parent source, as will appear from the following pages, of the leading tenets of Christianity itself. Nor is it difficult to see how such a philosophic cult, with its impressive mysteries and teachings of an eternal life, should have displaced the already tottering religion of Rome.

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1 Cf. Modern explorations on site marked by mounds of Abu Hubba.

2 Cf. Yasna, I, 2; "I announce to Mithra, the lofty, and the everlasting[and] the holy."

Mithraism is said to have been introduced into Rome by Pompey after the conquest of Cilicia and Pontus (c. 66 B. C.): where it appealed at once so much to the popular mind, as to displace the old gods of Greece and Italy. So firm was its hold on the Roman empire that the Cæsar had more than once become a Chosroes, and especially was this easternisation remarked of Diocletian. The wide area over which the system spread in the Latin countries may be seen by a glance at the map accompanying M. Cumont's learned book, where an area, especially between Long. 0 and 25, and Lat. 40 and 50, teems with

(*a*) "Places where Mithraeums exist," and

(*b*) "Places where monuments of undoubted Mithraic origin have been discovered."

In Britain itself, held by the Romans for over three centuries, there is not a trace of a monument purporting to relate to Christianity, which was supposed to be the religion of the empire at that date. On the contrary, Mithraic monuments abound.[1] The "established Christian Church" which we find in Britain in A.D. 386 was, says Sir Walter Besant, in touch with Rome, and was presumably largely permeated with remains of Mithraism.[2] And "Mithraic bas-reliefs, cut upon the smoothed faces of rocks, or upon tablets of stone, still abound throughout the former western provinces of the Roman empire; many exist in Germany; still more in France;"[3] while "the famous 'Arthur's Oon', (destroyed in the last century), upon the Carron, a hemispherical vaulted building of immense blocks of stone, was unmistakably a *Specus Mithroëum*, the same in design as Chosroes' magnificent fire temple at Gazaca."[4]

Mithraism, in the form it assumed in the Roman era, may be clearly traced to its ancient Persian origin. On it was superadded the Babylonian conception of the Zodiac and the stars: the whole receiving further local accretions in its migrations, and finally, in the west, a Latin superstructure. But even the painful stages through which the later Mithraic initiate had to pass may, in a measure, be referred back to the Mithra of the Avesta.[5]

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1 See Wright, "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," 4th ed., pp. 327, 353.

2 "Survey of London" ("Early London," p. 75).

3 C.W. King, "The Gnostics and their Remains," 2nd ed., p. 136.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Cf. Mihir Yast, 122: "Let them (the faithful) undergo thirty strokes for the sacrifice and prayer unto Mithra."

Mithra was later identified with the sun-god, and was called the Persian Apollo, but as such he was only the creation of non-Persian genius. In the Avesta, he is distinct from the sun. He "reaches over" the mountains "before the undying swift-horsed sun."[1] When Zoroaster blessed king Vistaspa, he did so in these words:

> "Mayest thou be swift-horsed, like the Sun!
> Mayest thou have piercing rays, like Mithra!"[2]

And evenin the latest liturgy of the *Nyayis*, two different supplications are offered to Mithra (*Mihir*) and the sun (*Khorshed*) respectively.

As early as the Gathas, the sun was recognised only as the supreme object in physical creation, to blaspheme which was the greatest of blasphemies. Thus, during the international struggle, the prophet exclaimed of the enemy, "He blasphemes the highest of creations that .... are made. He declares that the sacred .... sun is the worst of things which eye can see."[3]

Mithra, the lord of light in his Iranian home, was, however, transmuted into the sun-god in the land of his adoption. But even the germs of this transition may have been suggested by the Avesta itself. For "Mithra, as the first heavenly *Yazata*, rises over Hara before the sun;" (*Mihir Yast*, 4, 13);[4] *i.e.*, Mithra, who was originally separate from the sun, and rode in front of him, was later identified with the first rays of the sun lighting up the mountain tops.

And this transformation came through Chaldæa, where, of old, the solar cult was predominant. For to the Chaldæans, as to the other great nations of antiquity, the sun was the one visible source of life on earth; hence, before an abstract conception of a single deity became possible, "one cult was only reasonable and scientific, and that was the cult of the sun."[5] And indeed, unto the ancients generally, the sun was the one visible type of life and immortality in material and spiritual nature; whatever was, is, and shall be; so that the formula in Rev. 22,[6] etc. was anticipated by the pagans, or, shall I rather say,[6] its original may be found among the pagans: "I am

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1 Mihir Yast, 13. 2 Afrin, Pz. 6. 3 Yasna, 32, 10.

4 Hence also Mithra's chief power is exercised at dawn, for he is the especial ruler of the time, *Hawani* (Ib. 24, 95). Thus it is that he vanquishes *Bushyancta*, the demon of sleep (Ib. 24, 97).

5 Renan, *Lettre a Berthelot* (*Dialogues et fragments philosophiques*), p. 168.

6 Seq., Part II.

the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty."[1]

And the transition of Mithra into the sun-god was all the more natural; for to the Chaldæans the sun was, like Mithra, the martial god who fought evil; the god who daily rose and, armed with sword, mace, and bow, made war from the sacred tree of the gods, and vanquished the dragon of the night. And so, too, to the Assyrians was Shamas,(the sun-god), the mediator, ("the judge of heaven and earth"), "the warrior of the world," "the lord of fire," "the light of the gods."

This later identity with the sun was a chief feature of Roman Mithraism, in which thrice a day the presiding priest addressed a prayer to the sun: in the morning, towards the east, at noon towards the south, in the evening towards the west.[2] The sacred fire was also kept perpetually lighted on the altar. This was in imitation of the Persian temple fires: for fire, along with the sun, had from the first been recognised as a visible emblem[3] of abstract divinity. It is to the sacred fire that Zoroaster appeals, while seeking a decision in the struggle with the national enemy.[4] And it is the fire, again, which God "set" as his "guard," when the "wicked one held him for his hatè."[5]

When Mithra was identified with the sun-god, the mountains from behind which he symbolically rose, became the generative rock giving birth to him. Note that in the Avesta, the two are still distinct when the rise over the mountain tops is spoken of:

> "When Mithra . . . .reaches the all-happy mountains, *and* the sun is rising,"[6]

or when the raven, as a symbol of Mithra, is described as "grazing the tops of mountains."[7]

In the later mysteries, Mithra is the god that heralds light in the world, after the Avestic raven "who flies up joyfully at the first break of dawn, wishing the night to be no more; wishing the dawn, that has not yet come, to come."[8] In the diversity of figures representing Mithra in the later ritual, the solar

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1 Cf. Pausanias, X, 12; Plato, *Laws*, iv, 7.

2 In imitation of the later Avestic system, under which Mithra was so adored. Cf. Rawlinson, "Seventh Oriental Monarchy," p. 628, citing Spiegel, *Tradit Schrift d Pers.* p. 135.

3 "Without which the masses would have no help to fix the eye, or draw prostrations." L.H. Mills, in *Sacred Books of the East*. Vol. 31 (1887), p. 132.

4 Yasna, 31 3. 5 Yasna, 46, 7. 6 Vendidad, 19, 28 (90).

7 Bahram Yast, 7, 21. 8 Bahram Yast, 7, 20.

emblems were preserved: thus in the Mithraic Kronos of Florence, reproduced by M. Cumont, although the primary idea is that of the *Zarvane Akarne* ("Time Limitless") of the Avesta, the tortuous course of the orb on the ecliptic is shown by the reptile enfolding Mithra's body, while the zodiacal groups and the seasons are also typified.

In the western monuments, while the sun was thus typified as the preserver of life, the moon was also adored as the goddess of reproduction and agriculture, and was depicted as voyaging in the heavens in a car drawn by bulls.

Mithraism having, in its migrations, imbibed Babylonian conceptions, the solar character of the god was preserved in all his western monuments. He was generally represented between two youths (*dadophori*), one with an uplifted, the other with an inverted torch. Physically, this was symbolic of two things; firstly, the daily rising of the sun in a halo of light, and sinking in darkness; secondly, of the annual course of the sun,—his passage through Taurus marking the resurrection of nature, that through Scorpio her decay in winter. Spiritually, it was symbolic of life and death, and of the state hereafter. The Mithraic monuments of the west likewise exhibited analogous emblems. These were the planets, which the ancients conceived to influence the course of life on earth; the zodiacal constellations, the sun's passage through which determined the course of the year; the elements, on which depended the existence of material nature, etc. And not seldom was Kronos associated with him as the First Cause. The equinoxes were celebrated with festivals, and so was the *Natalis Invicti* at the end of the winter solstice; while the initiation mostly took place in spring, when the sun shone with a new strength on a nature born over again.

By a natural transition, Mithra became the great spirit who fought evil. The club with which he fights is the *Vazra* of the Avesta, (which became the *Vajra* of the Vedas). [1] He wages battle against the demons, who undo God's good work,—the spirits which in the occidental transition became analogous to the Greek Giants. [2] But while in Iran, the birth-land of the cult, these demons were execrated, they were, in the Latin land of its adoption, (as in Vedic regions), propitiated with sacrifices. The worst of these evil foes was the cloud dragon

[1] It is this emblematic club which, called in the Sassanian period *Guz*, is represented in the modern portraits of Zoroaster as being wielded by the prophet.

[2] Cf. The bas relief at Virunum, in Noricum, now in the Museum Rudolfinum, at Klagenfurt.

Verethra, (the Vedic *Vritra*), victory over whom achieved Mithra the name of *Verethraghna*.[1]

His protection of man, the favoured creature of God, was collateral with his battles against the Spirit of Evil. For Ahriman successively sent a drought, a deluge and a fire for the destruction of man, from all of which Mithra saved him. [2] Hence Mithra was the "saviour and helper of lands and men," [3] whom the righteous supplicated to "protect them in both the worlds, corporeal and incorporeal, from the evil death, the evil hosts,—the attacks of *Vidhatu*, the demon-created." Hence, also, Mithra watches from heaven over the destinies of his devotees.

It is to be noted that the native ideal of Mithra was that of a deity who actively swept his enemies before him. For

> "If one lies to him, be it the lord of the house,—then Mithra, the wrathful, offended, destroys the dwelling ....." (Mihir Yast, 5, 18).

An especial pest was the old mountain thieves, stealing the cattle of the peaceful agriculturists; so that

> "In a horrible manner goes the cow, walking on hoofs on the wrong way, who was created into the narrow passes of the Mithra-lying men." (*ib*, 9, 38).

And it was such as these that Mithra, "harnessing his swift chariot ...smote in the battle lines, or by (his own) strength." (*ib*. 12, 52).

This picture of an actively wrathful deity, however, gives place in later Zoroastrianism to that of one who was content to withdraw his protection from the evil-doers, leaving them at the mercy of the evil spirits, who soon destroyed them.

Nor was the function of Mithra confined to battling against evil on earth. The struggle raged in heaven the same, where the aspect of the evil stars darkened the path of man on earth, and had to be overcome by the efforts of this good spirit.

This dualism begot human ethics, a system of active struggle against evil, instead of passive mysticism; and although the

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[1] To whom the Beheram Yast in the Avesta is dedicated.

[2] Cf. the legend of Zoroaster's birth. When his mother was still a maiden, Ahriman attempted to destroy her native land by three successive plagues,—extreme cold, pestilence, and remorseless foes: (Sacred Books of the East, v-18 seq), and set up the Karpans (witch-doctors) and Kavis (lay officials) against her. (Ibid, iv-19).,

[3] Cf. a form of blessing in the later Persian liturgy, "Be victorious over thy enemies like the *Izad* Mihir (Mithra")—*Afrin Buzorgan*.

Ahura Mazda of the Avesta has not as yet been able to completely overthrow the Evil One, yet we are consoled with the belief that the latter will be finally vanquished, and nature will once more emerge pure and glorious.

From the idea of Mithra fighting evil, arose that of his being the Mediator, *sc.* between God in heaven and man on earth. And since Mithra is *Mihir* in the later Avesta, the "friend" of man, (light being such),[1] he is now looked upon as a deity occupying a position between Ahura Mazda and Ahriman, befriending man with the one, protecting him against the other; being now actually known as the Mediator,[2] a being nearer to man than God,—in soothe, a pre-Christian Saviour.

Occupying, as Mithra thus did, such a high place in the national estimation, it is not surprising that his image gradually came to be placed in juxta-position with that of Ahura Mazda. Thus, both are equally conspicuous in the sculptured tablet over the tombs of Darius Hystaspes, (B.C. 485) and his successors; also in the inscriptions of Mnemon. (*d.* B. C. 358). And, what is more, Ahura Mazda and Mithra are invoked in the same breath both by the latter and by Artaxerxes Ochus, (*d.* B.C. 337), as well as in contemporary portions of the Avesta. But it is not correct to infer from this, that the worship of the one was identified with that of the other.[3] The one always remained the Supreme God, while the other the chief of the deities under Him; the growing importance of the latter's worship being only indicative of the intensity of the desire of the human mind to approach the Creator through the Mediator. According to Cumont, Mithra was, "to speak in the philosophic language of the times, the Logos that emanated from God;—who, having fashioned the world as demiurge, continued to watch faithfully over it." (Cumont,—Mc.Cormack). While, according to Plutarch, "This Zoroastres..named the good god Oromazes and the other Arimanius..he gave out..also that there is one in the middle between them, named Mithres: and hereupon it is, that the Persians call an intercessor or Mediator Mithres."—(Holland, Plutarch. (1603), 1306).

In the Zoroastrian theology, *Zarwane Akarne*, "Time Limitless," according to one school, is the origin of the universe. The first emanation from this Eternal One was Ahura Mazda,

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[1] Cf. Darmesteter, Intr. to Zend-Avesta.

[2] Cf. Plutarch, "On Isis and Osiris," p. 46.

[3] Contrast Rawlinson, "The Religions of the Ancient World," p. 105; citing the Author's "Ancient Monarchies," iv, 334.

who created the "pure world." To guard this, He (Ahura Mazda) created the six Ameshaspends and the twenty-eight *Izeds*, the greatest and most important of the latter being Mithra. In Persia itself, Mithra always occupied a subordinate position to Ahura Mazda. That he supplanted the worship of the latter in the west may be explained by the national temperament, and may be paralleled by such instances as Vishnu and Siva usurping the place of Brahma in India, Serapis that of the older Egyptian deities, and Jupiter that of the more ancient Italic.

The moral doctrine of Mithra being the Mediator later begot its physical counterpart, *viz.*, that he was the lord of the middle sphere, the one between heaven and hell, (so that middle day of each month was consecrated to him), while in the Chaldæan theology the sun, (with which he was identified), held a central position in the planetary system.

The transition from the moral to the physical sense of Mediator, and *vice versa*, is thus obvious. It is as such Mediator, that Mithra helps the ascent of the righteous soul to heaven, and presents it before Ahura Mazda. In the Avestic system he, with Sroasha and Rashn, forms the triumvirate which sits in judgment over the souls of the departed.[1] He it is, with the others, who "at the fourth dawn, . . meets the soul of the blessed one."[2]

It has been pointed above that the struggle against evil begot dualism. Now, of this origin of dualism in ancient Persia, the Gathas furnish an historic basis. It arose in the scourge of the invasion of a peaceful, God-fearing, agricultural people by heretic, marauding neighbour tribes, whose inspiration came from the symbolic *Aka Manah*, *Aeshma*, the *Drug*, etc.[3] And its purpose was to vanquish the foe and regain peace, not to retaliate even when the weapons were ready.[4] The conflict raged in the Gathic period, and the thankful tone of some of the later hymns would perhaps point to a victory over the enemy.[5] This struggle between the forces of good and evil was made to typify the eternal battle in nature between the two spirits. It was the most rational explanation of a universe governed by an otherwise cruel or impotent Deity: and its philosophic aspect appealed to Hegel, whose "sublated dualism is a descendant from the Zarathustrian through the Gnostics and Jacob Boehme."[6]

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1 Sacred Books of the East, xxiii, 168. 2 Aogemaide. Ibid, iv, 373.
3 Ibid, xxxi, 19. 4 Ibid, xxxi, Intr. 21. 5 Ibid, xxxi, Intr. 22.
6 L.H. Mills, in "The Sacred Books of the East," xxxi, Intr. 20.

In his aspect as *Verethraghna*, Mithra is Victory personified: and the ten forms in which he appears to Zoroaster in the Behram Yast[1] are significant of victorious strength. To him (Zoroaster) "Verethraghna came in the form of a

(1) "Strong wind."

(2) "Beautiful bull."[2]

(3) "Shining horse."

(4) "Large biting and fierce camel."

(5) "Boar with strong tusks."

(6) "Youth."

(7) "Man carrying a sword."

(8) "Swiftest of birds, the raven."

(9) "Ram."

(10) "Fighting goat."

The reference to the raven may be noticed. It symbolises the speed of an onslaught: for "he alone of all living things—he or none,—overtakes the flight of an arrow, however well it has been shot."[3] It was symbolic of strength: for "if a man holds a bone of that strong bird, or a feather of that strong bird, no one can smite or turn to flight that fortunate man."[4] Lastly, the raven was sacred to the sun,[5] (as it was to Apollo in Greece): "He flies up joyfully at the first break of dawn, wishing the night to be no more, wishing the dawn, that has not yet come, to come."[6]

By a logical sequence, Mithra then became the leader of armies. The party which invokes his aid first, is the victor. "To him the chiefs . . . . offer . . . . as they go to the field, against havocking hosts.[7] . . . . On whichever side he has been worshipped first, ... turns

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[1] Behram Yast, 1, 28.

[2] "A beautiful bull, with yellow ears and golden horns; upon whose horns floated the well-shapen Strength, and Victory, beautiful of form" (7).

[3] *Ibid*, 20.

[4] *Ibid*, 36. So did the Simurgh's feather cure the mother's wound at Rustam's birth, and his own fatal wound at Isfendyar's hand (Shah Nameh).

[5] It is even said that the Persian priests of the sun were surnamed "ravens" (Porphyrius), and Darmesteter instances Georgica, I, 45. (Sacred Books of the East, xxiii, 236, n.)

[6] Behram Yast, 20

[7] Mihir Yast, 8.

Mithra.[1] And, again, "whichever of the two will first worship the well-shapen Verethraghna, ... on his side victory will stand."[2] And it may even be, that if he is consistently worshipped "as he ought to be," then "never will a hostile horde enter the Aryan countries."[3]

This character of Mithra, as a leader of armies, became more prominent in his western migrations, when Mithraism became pre-eminently the soldier's faith in Rome. It was the only cult which could impart a moral tone to the armies of Rome in its declining days, and it was these armies, again, which were responsible for its spread over a wide empire, whose watchword became *Deo Soli Invictæ Mithræ*.

Thus was Mithra the guiding deity of the Aryans in their conquests over their barbarian neighbours: and, conversely, in the region of morals, he aided them in vanquishing evil. Thus was he *Nabarze*, (an epithet preserved in the western inscriptions),[4] which the Latins rendered as *invictus*, or *insuperabilis*.

Let us now consider the elaborate occidental legend, evolved from its original simple Persian elements. M. Cumont, in attempting a reconstruction, says: "The light bursting from the heavens, which were conceived as a solid vault, became, in the mythology of the Magi, Mithra born from the rock." The fact is the other way. To the Persians, Mithra's birth from the mountains, was, later, an allegoric description of sunrise from the mountain tops which bounded the horizon; and to this passages in the Avesta, cited before, testify. This evolved the "generative rock" of the west, whence Mithra issued with a knife and a torch. His first combat was with the bull, which may well be a reference to the pastoral era: as compare, also, the reference in the western legend to neighbouring shepherds witnessing the god's birth. As, however, the history of Mithra has always its physical and moral counterparts running together, the bull must also be taken as indicative of the passage of the sun through Taurus, and as such significant of the painful course of humanity on earth.

The knife (*acinaces*, the national dagger of the Persians,) in hand, with which he is born, is for slaying the bull.[5] The knife is the substitute of the Avestic *Vezra*, (cf. the Vedic *Vejra*),

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[1] *Mihir Yast*, 9. [2] Beheram Yast, 44. [3] *Ibid*, 48.

[4] *Cf.* the one found at Sarmizegetusa, and reproduced by M. Cumont.

[5] *Cf.* a bas-relief found in the crypt of St. Clement at Rome, and reproduced by M. Cumont at p. 130.

with which he vanquishes his enemies: "a club with a hundred knots, a hundred edges, that rushes forwards and fells men down." [1]

The western legend of the Generative Rock appears to have been suggested by the Persian one of the cave which was the scene of the god's nativity; from which circumstance is supposed to have arisen the practice of the devotees meeting in caves, natural or artificial, to celebrate the mysteries.[2] For, as Porphyry say: "the Persians, mystically signifying the descent of the soul into the sublunary regions, and its regression thence, initiate the mystic in a place which they call a cavern." And Eubulus says: "Zoroaster was the first who consecrated, in the neighbouring mountains of Persia, an orbicular cave, in which there were flowers and fountains, in honour of Mithra, the maker and the father of all things . . . . a cave, according to Zoroaster, bearing a resemblance to the world, which was fabricated by Mithra. But the things contained in the cavern . . . . were symbols of the mundane elements and climates." [3] "Wherever Mithra was known, they propitiated the god in a cavern."

This association of the cave with the deity is a product of one of the earliest efforts of the human mind to solve the riddle of the universe, of which the sun was the one visible centre, the god of light and fire, who died in a cave every night, and was born from it again every morning. Hence caves preceded temples; as compare those dedicated to Jupiter in Crete, to the moon and to Lycean Pan in Arcadia, and to Bacchus in Naxos.

The torch was a wholly western innovation. It was symbolic of the heavenly orb of light. Physically, it indicated three things. Firstly, (by the uplifted torch), the daily rise of the sun; secondly, the passing of the sun through Taurus, (heralding spring), and through Scorpio, (presaging winter) respectively; thirdly, human life (dependant on natural heat) and death on earth. Morally, it represented good and evil, the light and dark in the heart of man. Thus, uniformly in his career and symbols, did the moral in Mithra have a counterpart to the physical.

The Mithraic ritual was an important feature of the system as well in the East, the land of its birth, as in the West, the land of its adoption. To Mithra were offered "libations, according

[1] Mihir Yast, 96.

[2] See Orelli, 2340, 2341.

[3] "On the Cave of the Nymphs," II.

to the primitive ordinances of Ahura; with the haoma and meat, ... the holy spells."[1] "Beasts, bright and gold-coloured," were offered to him in the holy Aryan lands.[2] And "the faithful drank of the libations cleanly prepared," after offering them to Mithra.[3] Then follows a question (by Zoroaster), in the answer to which (by Ahura Mazda) may perhaps be traced the source of the painful austerity imposed on the novice by later Latin Mithraism :—

> "How shall the faithful drink the libations . . . . ?"
>
> "Let them wash their bodies three days and three nights, (and) . . . . undergo thirty strokes. . . .
>
> "Let them wash their bodies two days and two nights, (and) . . . . undergo twenty strokes . . . ."[4]

These Avestic injunctions were the origin of the rigid trials and macerations of the neophyte in the later Roman system which, however exaggerated by some writers, were undoubtedly of extreme rigour. According to Ps. Augustine, he was blind-folded, and his hands were tied with chickens' entrails; in which condition he had to jump across a ditch filled with water; after which came his liberation, a sword cutting down the knots. Another account gives his trials a still more fearful aspect, he having to take part in a violent death. At one time, he was supposed to cause this himself, (though, as to this calumny, seq, Part II); at any rate, the officiants left a bloody sword in his hand, representing the murder he had committed. Such an abnormally painful course was intended to create in the neophyte a stoical indifference to physical death, and to train his soul to rise above the body.

This becomes a proper place to examine the much debated question, were or were not females admitted in the Mithraic order? The answer, so far as Persia itself is concerned, is in the negative, in spite of the well-known passage of Herodotus, which says that the later Persians had "learnt from the Arabians and Assyrians to sacrifice to Venus Urania, whom the Assyrians call Venus Mylitta, the Arabians Alitta, and the Persians Mithra;"[5] and of the opinion of Lenormant, who tries to explain the error with the conjecture that "the divine couple

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1 Beheram Yast, 5.

2 Quoted by Dunker, "History of Civilization." v. 115.

3 Mihir Yast, 120. 4 *Ibid*, 121, 122. 5 I, 131.

may have sometimes been designated as a double Mithra." [1] The question, however, whether females were admitted on the transition of the cult to the West is not so easy of answer. The grade of "lionesses," referred to by the early writers, would seem to refer to some such practice. The wail of Tertullian, [2] that "even he (Mithra) had his virgins," would point to the same. According to Eunapius, [3] the officiating hierophant at the mysteries of Eleusis was also the priest who presided at the initiation of Mithra; while, according to Apuleius, there was "the priest of Mithras" in the mysteries of Isis.

As against this, however, there is the negative monumental evidence. The statement of Firmicus, a Christian writer of the fourth century, that Mithra was represented as two-sexed by the Persians, probably only refers to the joint representation of the sun and the moon (as the male and the female energies in the Chaldæan mythology) in the Western Mithraic monuments; while the attempt to describe the British Museum example as a two-sexed figure having a face "feminine in its delicate loveliness of feature, masculine in its associations with the male form," is only a flight of poetic imagination. On the whole, therefore, we may accept the judgment of M. Cumont, whose laborious researches through hundreds of monuments all over the ancient world negative the existence of any reference to females taking an active part in Mithraic celebrations.

II

MITHRAIC ELEMENT IN CHRISTIANITY.

In considering the claim of Mithraism as the parent of Christianity, the first thing to do is to see whether the greater antiquity of the one system over the other can be established beyond doubt. Mithraism was the creed of the "Mediator," as intertwined with the faith founded by Zoroaster in ancient Persia. His presence can be read between the lines as the Lord of the Hosts in the Gathas, which are the *ipsissima*

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[1] Chaldæan Magic, p. 236.

King, (Gnostics, p. 59) says that "Mitra, the feminine of Mithras, and Anahid are one and the same goddess; or the Morning Star, a female genius, presiding over love, giving light, and directing the harmonious movement of the other planets by the sound of her lyre, the strings whereof are the solar rays." This is hardly correct. Anahid, or Anahiti, the Persian Venus, is quite a distinct goddess, associated with the waters o the Ardvisura.

[2] Præscr, c. 40.

[3] Cited in ed. note on Hammer-Purgstall, Mithriaca p. 22.

verba of Zoroaster. Now, although modern criticism may be sceptical as to the great antiquity once assigned to Zoroaster, [1] (whom, however, all classical writers have accepted as an historic personage,) the cautious verdict of modern scholars may be accepted, which places him at c. 1400 B.C. This, then, is the latest date at which Mithraism was known to Persia [2] as the cult of the ancient Aryan deity.

In the victorious career of the Persians through Assyria and Babylonia, the cult was adopted by the conquered nations; but non-Aryan elements were, in their turn, engrafted upon it, the transition reaching its climax in the 4th century B.C.

Mithradates ("the gift of the god Mithras") was a favourite name in Persia, and was assumed by the Pontic kings (who claimed descent from the Achæmenidæ) in the third and second centuries B.C.

Mithraism was first introduced in Rome about 70—66 B.C. through the Cilician pirates whom Pompey took prisoners.[3] It flourished especially under Domitian, Trajan (d. A.D. 117) and Commodus (d. A.D. 192). It became the favourite cult of the Roman legionaries, who carried it to the farthest corners of the empire. It was at this stage in its history, when occidental Mithraism was in full swing, that its underlying principles were borrowed bodily by the makers of Christianity.

If, then, it is an historic fact that Mithraism preceded Christianity; and if, as is also incontrovertible, the central mysteries of the two cults are the same, then one of two conclusions is inevitable. Either that the similarity of the two rituals is a mere coincidence, or that the one is a conscious borrowal from the other. When, however, there is such a minute resemblance,—not only in the ritual, but in the very life of the "Saviour",—as will be pointed out immediately below, the inference cannot be resisted that Mithraism evolved Christianity to a large extent. The only answer to this conclusion that has been attempted is the puerile argument of Justin

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[1] Hermippus of Smyrna places it 5000 years before the Trojan war; Xanthus 6000 years before Xerxes. Aristotle fixes a like antiquity.

[2] Its origin, however, as the cult of the leading god of Aryanism is far older. From the latter as a parent stock arose Hinduism (which, with Persicism, formed the Indo-Iranian group): The tenets of Hinduism are to be found in the Vedas, whose commencement is fixed by Haug at between B.C. 2000 and 2400 (Intr. to "Aitareya Brahmana," p. 47). It is in these Vedas that *Mithra*, (the heaven of day,) becomes a counterpart to *Varuna*, (the heaven of night).

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 2.

Martyr and other early Christian fathers, that the devil (in the shape of Mithra,) anticipated the mysteries of Christ.

And, conversely, Mithra, the first emanation of Ahura Mazda, was a non-Christian Christ, born long before Christ; it was this which induced the remark of Augustin's,[1] to wit, "that the priests of him in the cap (*istius pileati*) used at one time to say, 'Our capped one is himself a Christian'." And prior to the rise of Christianity, it was the Mithraic cult, again, that enriched the Jewish religion with its spiritual counterpart —the hierarchy of angels and demons, heaven and hell, Resurrection and Immortality, and the last Judgment.[2]

And now let me begin with the life of Christ, and point out the extraordinary identity of its incidents to those in the life of Mithra, whether of the Avesta, or of the later Western monuments. In the footnotes, I propose to shew the collateral debt of Christianity to ancient cults other than Mithraic.

(1) *The Virgin.*

Already in the later legends, Mithra was credited to have been born of a virgin. This supernatural event has been recorded by Elisæus, the Armenian historian, by (d. 480), as cited Windischmann.[3]

(2) *The Site of Nativity.*

(*a*) *Cave*:—Early Christian writers, like Justin Martyr [4] and Origen,[5] place the birth of Jesus in a cave. It is well known that this incident in Mithra's life led to his worship in caves,[6] and to the celebration of his mysteries in underground chapels.

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1 *In Johan, I. Dis.* 7.

2 King, Gnostics, p. 52.

3 S. 61, 62. Here the debt of Christianity to other cults of antiquity, mainly the solar ones, is even more marked and direct. Perseus was begotten of a virgin. Alitta, of the Syrians, was represented as carrying a babe in her arms; (See figure of the Assyrian Venus in Layard, "Discourse on the Ruins of Ninevah and Babylon," 1853, p. 477). So was Isis. In the case of the last, the borrowal is said to have gone to the extent of carrying away the very statues of the goddess in black basalt from her temple, and setting them up in Christian sanctuaries under the new name of Maria. (King, Gnostics, p. 173)

4 "Dialogue with Trypho," c. 78.

5 "Against Celsus," I, 51.

6 *Cases in Paganism:* Jupiter was born in a cave, Hermes at a cave mouth; Dionysos was nurtured in a cave; while Jupiter, Dionysos, Apollo, Hermes, Hercules, Demeter and Poseidon were all worshipped in caves.

(*b*) *Rock* :—This borrowed legend of birth in a cave generated the designation of Jesus being a "living stone", [1] and of the address of the Lord, "Thou are Peter, and upon this Rock will build My Church,"—a legend in its turn inscribed on the great temple of the supplanting faith at Rome, a legend which is nothing but the legend of Mithra born of the Living Rock.

(*c*) *Stable* :—According to the Gospels, Jesus was born in an inn stable. Cf. here Darmesteter's theory [2] of "the legends of gods born or reared in stables, —even that of Mithra as πετρογενής in virtue of the synonymy of stone, mountain, stable," originating in bull myths.

(3) *The presence of shepherds at the birth.*

"And she brought forth her first-born son ... and laid him in manger ... And there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field ...and, lo, the glory of the Lord shone round about them ...and the shepherds returned, glorifying and praising God ..."

Need I point out that the striking similarity of this legend according to St. Luke (II) to the episode in the Mithraic legend as reconstructed by M. Cumont, (*supra*), can lead only to one inference, an irresistible inference ?

(4) *The Three Magi.*

The traditional names of these were nothing more or less than epithets of the sun, with whom Mithra was identified in the later occidental legend. Thus *Caspar* means the White One ; *Melchior*, King of Light ; *Baltazar*, Lord of Treasures ; and King,[3] referring to the bas-relief over the gate of the Baptistery, Parma, (12th century), says it is difficult to explain it on purely Christian grounds.

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1 First Epistle of Peter, II, 4, 5.

2 "Ormazd et Ahriman," p. 152,n. 3 P. 50.

(5) *Christmas and Easter.*

It is now no longer denied by the more thoughtful critics of Christianity that these two were the season festivals of the great solar cults of antiquity ;[1] *a fortiori*, of Mithraism,[2] (solarised, as pointed out above, since its migration from native Persia,) the prevailing faith of the Roman empire at the date of the rise of Christianity. Christmas, the festival of the sun-god at the winter solstice, had for ages been celebrated by the Mithraists as the birthday of the deity of light ; and although it was adopted, as a matter of polity and without the least idea of the actual date of Christ's birth, by the founders of Christianity,[3] so deep was Mithra rooted in the hearts of the people, that not even the interdicts of the Popes or the sermons of the fathers [4] succeeded in retarding the early Christians from celebrating that festival as the birth, not of Christ, but of Mithra. And the epithets of Christ as the eternal light, sun of glory and the lord of the skies were to them but a description of Mithra, the Lord of Light, who spoke to them in the Roman litany.

So also with Easter, the world-wide festival of the vernal equinox, the date of the sun-god's final triumph over the demon of the universe ; when a nature, laid bare by winter, was rejuvenated by a smiling spring. This rejuvenation of nature, celebrated in Persia (of old, as now,) on 21st March, was transformed into the resurrection of Christ, the celebration

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[1] *E.g.* in Osirisism and Adonisism. *Cf.* Microbius, "Saturnalia," I, 18.

[2] *Cf.* Julian, "Upon the Sovereign Sun," Bohn Trans., pp. 249-51.

[3] Thus Chrysostom (Hom. 31) says, "On this day, (the 'Birthday of the Invincible Mithra'), also the Birthday of Christ was lately fixed at Rome, in order that whilst the heathen were busied with their profane ceremonies, the Christians might perform their holy rites undisturbed."

It was not till over five centuries after the alleged birth-date of Christ, that it was fixed by Dionysius Exiguus (died. c. 540) on the 25th of December in the year of Rome 754, which year he reckoned as 1. A.D

[4] *Cf.* Sermons of St. Leo, xxii, 6, cited by Dupuis and Havet, and by Gieseler, "Compendium of Ecclesiastical History," I, English trans., 1846, II, 43. In Sermon ii (on the Birth of the Lord), Leo refers to the irreverent practice of those who celebrate the day, not as the birthday of Christ, but as that of the "Rising of the New Sun."

of which event was fixed by a decree of the Council of Nice on the first Sunday after the full moon that falls on or next after 21st March.

(6) *The Sacrament.*[1]

The sacrament of bread and water formed part of the Mithraic mysteries, along with that of putting a mystic sign on the neophyte's forehead.

On this head, the plaintive Tertullian remarks, "The devil, whose business it is to prevent the truth, mimics the exact circumstances of the Divine Sacraments in the mysteries of idols. He himself baptises some, that is to say, his believers and followers: he promises forgiveness of sins from the *sacred fount*, and thus initiates them into the religion of Mithras; he thus marks on the forehead his own soldiers; he there celebrates his *oblation of bread*; he brings in the symbol of the Resurrection, and wins the crown with the sword."

(7) *Crucifixion.*[2]

Evidence, (though, it must be admitted, by no means clear), of this would seem to appear in the occidental legend of Mithra. The reference of Firmicus[3] to one particular mystery in which the celebrants consecrated a tree, and slew a ram at its foot at midnight, most probably points to a Mithraic ceremony. This view would seem to be borne out by Prophyry's statement,[4] that "a place near the equinoctial circle was assigned to Mithra as an appropriate seat. And on this account he bears a sword of the Ram, which is a sign of Mars." Now it is easily intelligible how the

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1 Bread and water, or bread and wine, figured in the pagan mysteries generally, *e.g.* in the Osirisian and the Bacchanalian. Note that in the latter, the same deity was the god, both of the sun and of wine; and that the Christian miracle of turning water into wine is simply the Bacchanalian legend of the fountain in the island of Andros, whose water turned into wine at the annual festival of the god at the nones of January: Pliny, Nat. Hist., II, 106, (103) xxxi, 13); a date at which the miracle of Cana is still celebrated by the Catholic church. To the same point is the legend mentioned by Lausanius (vi, 26), of empty jars placed at night in a locked room of the temple being found filled with wine the next morning.

And in truth these old legends from which Christianity borrowed without understanding their allegorical meaning, are nothing more or less than nature myths; the water being the sap which the action of the solar heat circulates through root and branch, and finally perfects into the juice which is the wine of human life.

2 This incident in the Christian story was "anticipated," (as the early fathers would say), for the damnation of souls, by various pagan cults. The Phrygians are thus said to have consummated their worship of the Mother of the Gods by transfixing a young man against a tree.

3 *De Errore*, xxviii.

4 "On the Cave of the Nymphs," c. 11.

sword should have been represented by a cross,[1] (and in this way every sword is a cross); while in this connection reference may also be made to the "crossing" of lines at the "first point of Aries."

The "crown of thorns" was suggested by Mithra's nimbus.[2]

As to general evidence of crucifixion, the Mithraic monuments of the west would appear to countain hints.[3]

(8) *Resurrection.*[4]

This was an important stage in the ritual[5]. The stone god in his coffin was lowered in the grave, mourned, and taken out again some time after, amidst mutual rejoicings and congratulations. This was his resurrection.[6]

The doctrine of resurrection was thus as integral a part of the Mithraic cult, as it was of the Mazdaian system out of which it arose.

Another symbol of the resurrection was that part of the initiatory ceremony, in which the neophyte was all of a sudden placed in front of simulated death. A mounted warrior of Mithra, naked to the skin, was now trampling over his prostrate body. This was to familiarise him with physical death. The rite of baptism, however, led to his being born again. This was his resurrection.[7]

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1 *Cf.* the old figure in Brown's ed. of Aratos.

2 Mithra had a nimbus. *Cf.* Windischmann, p. 60.

3 Mr. J. M. Robertson refers, *e.g.*, to the development from the winged figure in Lajard's "Atlas", and to the plate in Bryant, I, 294. The figure referred to, ("Temple of Mithras Petræus", in the Mountains of Persia, from Le Bruyn), is really that of Ahura Mazda, with the circle (eternity) and outstretched wings (omnipresence); the whole humanised, however, having a cross-like appearance in a crude reproduction.

4 Resurrection was the central trait of the pagan mysteries. The search for the body of the lost Cora, and the finding of it, in the mysteries of Eleusis, are well known; while the search for the mangled remains of Osiris, (whose image the priests concealed in the innermost recesses of the temple), the mourning over him for a period,—probably the forty days of Lent, (the period at Eleusis, *cf.* again, *De Errore*, c. xxviii) and then the sudden finding of the body amidst shouts of "We have found him; now rejoice we," forms the subject of another tirade in Firmicus. (*De Errore*, II).

5 *Seq*, Part IV. 6 Firmicus, *De Errore*, xxiii.

7 See King, p. 202, Plate ii, Fig. 1.

(9) *Immortality.*

This follows in logical sequence. Mithra in the Avesta rides "with his hands uplifted towards immortality."[1] The *dadophori* between whom Mithra appeared in the western monuments were, among other things, emblematic of physical death, and of life eternal thereafter.

(10) *The Ram.*

The presence of the Ram in the Christian system is significant. To shew that it is, like the cardinal tenents of that faith, suggested by Mithraism, we must inquire how and at what stage it appeared in the latter.

It has been shewn above that the Mithraic Bull was of great Persian antiquity. The Bull has been variously explained as the Bull of the earth, or the Bull of the moon, or the cosmogonic Bull, or, lastly, the Bull of the Zodiac.[2] Considering the elasticity of ancient symbols in representing various forces of nature, it may well have been all these; as compare the transmutations in the corresponding Egyptian legend.[3]

Now the theory of the Bull being the Bull of the earth may be explained as follows: that Mithra slaying the Bull is the rays of the sun penetrating the earth, and fructifying it afresh after a desolate winter; while Mithra's dog,[4] satiating himself with the blood of the sacrificed Bull, is the creatures of the earth finding a fresh source of life in the growth of new vital products and vegetation. The slaying of the Bull thus came to be looked upon as a ceremony of symbolic sacrifice. Eventually, this came to signify purification; as, when the Lamb was substituted for the Bull, (*seq*), witness the phrase, "washed in the blood of a Lamb." And the practice of sprinkling with the blood of the sacrificial animal begot ideas of resurrection and immortality.

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1 Mihir Yast, 31 (Darmesteter, II, 152).

2 Hammer Purgstall. "Mithriaca," Caen and Paris, 1833, p. 31.

3 Plutarch, "On Isis and Osiris."

4 *Cf.* Plutarch, "On Isis and Osiris," 44.

Whatever may have been the subsequent symbolic development of the Bull idea, however, there is no doubt that its origin must be found in the Zodiac, which was intimately wound up, especially during its Chaldæc migrations, with Mithraism. And even before Chadlæa came on the scene, Mithraism in the land of its birth was tied up with the system of the heavenly orbs, among which the soul, after leaving its earthly body, careered through the ages.[1] When the Mithraic wave passed over Chaldæa, it derived a distinct substratum of astronomical ideas, and the Zodiac at once began to play a prominent part. Still earlier was the Zodiacal influence over the prevailing national cult recognized in Assyria. One aspiration only seems to have dominated the mind of man at this early stage, *viz.*, to commemorate the entry of the sun into the corresponding Zodiacal sign at the vernal equinox, when all nature beamed with a new life generated from the vital heat of the heavenly orb. Hence it is that the lion, bull, ram, and fish have, through the history of ages successively figured at this sacrificial season. Let us consider these *seriatim*:

(A) *THE LION*:—When the Zodiacal system was first built up by the observant eyes of the Easterns, the sun entered the sign of Leo at the vernal equinox. (Note that the Lion is astrologically the Sun's House).[2] Hence it is that we have, in Assyria, monumental evidence of the sacrifice of the Lion. The giant figure of a kingly or divine personage slaying that animal is familiar tos tudents of the British Museum and the Louvre, and a whole series on the subject may be seen in Lajard's Atlas.[3]

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[1] Origen, "Against Celsus," vi, 22. *Cf.* also Herodotus, I, 131: "They (the Persians) are accustomed to ascend the highest parts of the mountains, and offer sacrifice to Jupiter, and they call the whole circle of the heavens by the name of Jupiter."

[2] Thus we have, as one of the oldest Mithraic monuments, the Lion, surrounded with stars, holding in its jaw a Bull's head. (King, p. 47.)

[3] *Cf.* also the colossal lion, inscribed with the name and titles of Ashur-nasir-pal, king of Assyria, 885-860 B.C., from the Temple of Ninîb at Calah. (Nimrud). (Br. Mus.—Nimroud Central Saloon, No. 96). Also, the colossal winged human-headed lion from the palace of the same monarch. (Br. Mus., Assyrian Transept, No. 841.)

(B) *THE BULL*:—The next entry was in Taurus. This was celebrated by the sacrifice of the Bull, as is evidenced by numerous existing monuments commemorative of the *Mithras Tauroctonus*. If the Bull sacrifice arose with the entry of the sun into that constellation, it must have long survived the date when that sign ceased to correspond with the actual constellation. For, by the precession of the equinoxes, (which occurs at the rate of about 50" annually), that event had already happened 2100 years before the reign of Augustus, the constellation of Aries taking the place of that of Taurus. Incidentally, this astronomical event shows the immense antiquity of the worship of the Mithraic Bull by placing it anterior to 3000 B.C. [1].

(C) *THE RAM*:—It will have been noticed that though the early star-gazers, who invented the season festivals, observed a precision of dates in their celebrations, yet the Zodiac soon became crystallised; that is to say, the sacrifice of the animal was kept up long after the sign had ceased to answer the constellation of that particular season. Thus in the Mithraic cult, the Bull remained long after it had given way to the constellation of the Ram in the Zodiacal system. It was only at a considerably later stage in the period of the sun being in Aries, that the sacrificial animal changed place with the Ram, so that in the Mithraic mysteries at the commencement of the Christian era, the sacred animal is the Ram,[2] or Lamb.[3] This, therefore, was the point of time when Christianity imbibed the sacrificial idea of a Ram or Lamb from Mithraism.

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1 *Cf.* Porter, "The true faith from a dateless era in Persian annals, until the conquest of the Arabs, was the Mithraitic mystery." "Travels in Georgia, &c." 1822, I, 673.

2 The sacred ram was offered about the same time in the worship of Dionysos or Bacchus. *Cf.* also the legend of Dionysos being changed by Zeus into a ram for protection against Hera.

3 The ram and the lamb appear to have been synonymous. A one-day old male lamb was known to the Hebrews as a ram. *Ayil*, (Jastrow's Talmudic Dictionary); while in Persia, Aries was known as the Lamb.

The leading forms in which the Ram appears in Christianity are as follows :—

(*a*) Christ figuring as a Ram carrying the cross by one of its fore-feet. The Mithraic origin of this symbol may be noticed from the remark of Prophyry,[1] cited before that in the mysteries, "a place near the equinoctial circle was assigned to Mithra as an appropriate seat. And on this account he bears the sword of the Ram, which is a sign of Mars." And, as has already been pointed out, the barest representation of a sword would be a cross. So firmly had the symbol taken root among the early Christians, that a veto of a General Council towards the end of the 7th century produced no effect.

(*b*) Christ figuring as the good Shepherd [2] carrying a lamb on his shoulders.[3] This is also the symbol of Mithra in some of the monuments [4].

(*c*) The sacrifice of the Lamb.

It is no longer denied that this was resorted to by the first Christians in the Paschal mystery. Whether the slain animal was offered at the altar together with the mystical body of Christ, does not appear equally clear ; but it is admitted by Catholic writers that in the old *Ordo Romanus* the animal was consecrated, slain and eaten on Easter Day ; [5] while, according to Casalius,[6] its blood was gathered in a cup,[7] to be sprinkled as a symbol of resurrection and immortality. Hence the phrase, "washed

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1 "On the Cave of the Nymphs," c. 11.

2 "The Good Shepherd" was also a designation of Apollo. *Cf.* Macrobius, "Saturnalia," I, 17.

3 So did Hermes carry a lamb. In the statues he is represented as *Kriophoros*, the Ram-bearer. (Pausanius, Iv, 33).

4 *Cf.* Lajard's Atlas, Pl. xcii.

5 *Cf.* Bingham's "Christian Antiquities," ed. 1855, lii, 244, 245.

6 *De Veterib. Christ. Ritile*, II, 4, cited by Dupuis.

7 According to Pausanius (II, §24), it was the drinking of this sacrificial blood that possessed Apollo's priestess at Larissa every year.

in the blood of the Lamb;" hence, also, the controversy about the singing of the *Agnus Dei*.[1]

(11) *The Mediator.*

Mithra was the Mediator long before Christ.[2] He is the Redeemer; he the Saviour; he the beneficent spirit of the universe poised by Ahura Mazda midway between Spento-Mainyus and Angre-Mainyus, the two mutual antitheses, by the creation of which Zoroastrianism sought to solve the eternal riddle.

(12) *The Twelve Apostles.*

These were the logical outcome of the Zodiacal signs with which Mithra was always surrounded. Particularly noticeable is the fact that the Mithraic circle started with Aquarius to the right, and ended with Capricornus to the left.[3] Hence it is but natural that Peter should take the place of Aquarius, and that his old festival at Rome should coincide with the entry of the sun into that constellation (January 18); a further coincidence being the fact that the Zodiacs of this age connected this sign with fishing.

(13) *Midnight Meetings.*

These, among the early Christians, were not due, as is popularly supposed, to fear of persecution of the celebrants of mystic rites which the new faith had not succeeded in uprooting. They were solely and simply the survival of old Mithraic custom of holding midnight meetings in caves.[4]

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1 No more certain indication of the Zodiacal origin of these early usages concerning sacrificial animals is furnished than by the designation given to Christ by his early followers, *viz.*, "the Fish." The sun was actually entering this constellation in the vernal equinox when Christ came on the scene.

2 See Part I.

3 *Cf.* Well-beloved (p. 86) on the Zodiacal arch of the Church of St. Margaret's in Walmgate, York.

4 This was also the Egyptian and Essenian custom.

(14) *The Sabbath.*

Ever since Mithra was identified with the sun-god,—and this happened at a very early date,—the first day of the week, (which latter was the creation of the Chaldæc system of planets), was consecrated to him. Hence Sunday was the "Lord's Day" in Mithraism long before Christianity ordained it as such.

(15). *The Mass.*

In the Mithraic ritual, the sacred bread was a round cake emblematic of the solar disc. It was named *Mizd* which, according to Seel, was Hebrewed into *Messa* or *Messah*, the name of the "bloodless sacrifice", (the *Hostia*). This latter became the Christian "Mass." As to the threefold evidence of such theevolution of the Christian "Mass," King refers to—

(*a*) The size and shape of the *Hostia* being the same as that of the *Mizd.*

(*b*) The naturalisation of Hebrew terms by the first Christians.

(*c*) The express statement of Fortalicium[1] that the circular form is emblematic of the sun, being offered as a sacrifice to the genius of that luminary.

The popular etymology of "Mass," the Latin *Missa*, from *Missum*, "to send or dismiss," (with reference to the formula *Ite, Messa est*, "the congregation is dismissed," used at the end of a service), is ridiculed by King; for, says he, firstly it is the *object* sacrificed that gives its name to the rite, (*viz.*, here the Hebrew *Messah*), and secondly, the Latin term *Messa* is a neuter noun.[2]

(16) *Churches facing East.*

It is well known that the Mithraic places of worship were built facing the east,[3] where the sun rose. It was from his eastern cave that the god was daily born anew, triumphing over the dark spirits of the night.

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[1] Fidel, II, 2. [2] "Gnostics," p. 53.

[3] It must be admitted, however, that this was the case with all religions.

(17) *The Bishop's Crown and Boots.*

There is no reasonable doubt now that the one was copied from the tiara of the Mithraic priests,[1] while the explanation of the other (the red military boots) as being "emblematical of the spiritual warfare on which he (the bishop) had entered," makes no attempt to disguise the source. For the Mithra of the Avesta is the Lord of Hosts; the Mithra of the Latin cult is the Lord of the Armies of an empire of which a ruler, Christian in name, Mithraic at heart,[2] continued to pay homage at the shrine of the War Lord, who led his followers to victory against the spirit of evil.[3]

If then, Christianity was nothing but a borrowal from Mithraism as regards its most cardinal tenets, and from paganism generally as regards others, what were the causes of its ultimate success over either? The answer is that, as regards

(I) *Paganism.*—Although paganism recognised in its various forms the existence of a presiding Intelligence over the universe, and the doctrine of immortality, it nowhere urged this as a bold and clear exposition of an idea lying at the root of human faith. Christianity brought this to the forefront, with the super-added doctrine, however, of a Redeemer, who was the only Redeemer. Salvation was through Christ only. So much is the Saviour the central pivot of the system, that the end of religion would appear to be, not a belief in God, but a belief in God through Christ.[4] As regards

(II) *Mithraism*:—The subtle philosophy and symbolism of the latter system was literalised by the new faith. Allegory died out, no longer intelligible to a decayed civilisation in the declining days of Rome. The symbolic Mithra became the concrete Christ, and in this form appealed more to the intellect of the dark ages.

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1 The priests of Osiris also wore a tiara.

2 The reverse of Constantine's coins bore, even subsequent to his conversion, the image of the sun, with the legend, *Soli Invicto, Comiti.*

3 A further instance of the debt of Christianity to non-Mithraic sources is the seamless robe of Christ. In the mysteries of Isis and Osiris (Plutarch) c. 78. *Cf.* also Jamblichus, "On the Egyptian Mysteries," c. ix.), the robe of Osiris was a seamless whole, for the light of the sun is indivisible, unchequered, uniform, and universal; while the robe of Isis was represented otherwise, the light of the moon being such.

Another noted instance is the formula in Rev. 22, 13, etc. It is a pagan formula of a very ancient date indeed. (*Cf.* Pausanius, x, 12. Plato, "Laws," iv, 7). "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty," was the utterance of the universal soul of nature, of the light eternal emanating from the sun, the one visible generator of life here and hereafter.

4 Breathing the same sectarian spirit is the Mohammedan formula: "There is no God but the one God; Mohammad is His Prophet"; meaning that a belief in the One God" avails not, unless it is through the "Saviour Mohammad."

And this brings me to the third great cause of the survival of Christianity,—its spirit of compromise where it could not conquer. An example of this is the numerous shrines of the Virgin and of local saints, taking the place of those of the various Pagan deities.[1]

The causes of the fall of Mithraism, despite its having been a world religion which answered so well the higher aspirations in man, and which accorded so perfect a response to the spiritual instinct in the human soul are, then, not difficult to seek. These are

(1) *Change of environments.*

With religious organisms, as with animals, the survival is that of the fittest, not as being the most perfect in the abstract, but as being best suited to existing environments. When Rome had fallen, when the barbarians had made inroads into western civilisation, then the higher Mithraic symbolism became incapable of comprehension by the masses; then also were the Christian promises, full of human sympathy of a better state to be, welcomed by the masses. When, likewise, a martial people had ceased to be martial, Mithra ceased to be the leader of his hosts; and the masses were content to pay homage to a new god, who came to live and die among them as a man of peace.

(2) *Esoterism.*

No esoteric faith can compete against a republican one. The mysteries of Mithraism could only be communicated in secret to the neophyte; not so the rites of the vast republican church which was raised on the model of a republic Rome, a sacred empire on the ruins of a secular one, a brotherhood of the masses, the gates of whose house were universally and eternally open.

(3) *Absence of the female element.*

This was the fatal stumbling block, for although the monuments and records contain some vague suggestions of the presence of these in the Mithraic cult, yet on the whole this point is marked by a notable absence of direct evidence. It is safe, therefore, to assume that

[1] *Cf.* the history of *Allah*, the name of the God of Islam; and *cf.* also the history of several doctrines in the Koran.

Mithraism, like modern freemasonry, closed its doors to women; and it is not to be wondered that a faith, which was barred to a half of humanity, should eventually give way to one which welcomed within its fold this half as cordially as the other.

(4) *The special weapons of Christianity.*

(*A*) *Positive measures*:—These were the organised Christian charities. No doubt the Mithraists, bound by ties of mutual help to their brethren, kept up a high standard of morality: while the unrestricted prospects of aggrandisement attracted to the early Christian Church, (as it no less does now in far-off missionary zones), large bodies of undesirable characters. But in a struggle for existence, numbers counted: and here Christianity scored in the end.

(*B*) *Antagonistic measures*:—against its rival Mithraism, on whose foundations it had reared its structure. These were

(*a*) *Forcible suppression.*

Towards the end of the 4th century, the Mithraic worship was forcibly suppressed in Rome and Alexandria.[1] The Gnostics, successors to the old Mithraists, were out-casted. The great number of ancient treatises on Mithraism, which we know from Porphyry[2] and other sources to have been in existence, were destroyed with a diligence worthy of a better cause. We can only say, *alas*, that a divine cult should have been so ruthlessly obliterated; and did its parent Mazdaism suffer less at the hands of Greek and Arab?

(*b*) *Mutilation.*

Of the several grave charges laid against Mithraism by its Christian enemies, the gravest is its having at

[1] Jerome, *Epist.* cvii *ad Laetam* (Migne, xxii, Col., 869); Socrates, "Ec. Hist." B., v. c. 16.
[2] "On Abstinence from Animal Food," iv, 16, and elsewhere.

one time permitted human sacrifices. The alleged authority for this vile accusation is a passage in Lampridius' life of Commodus.[1] Now this very passage, carelessly referred to by Sainte-Croix,[2] rebuts the charge; for it distinctly says that Commodus "polluted the rites of Mithras by a real homicide, where it is usual for something to be said or feigned to be done for the purpose of causing terror."

(c) *Calumny.*

Nobody now pretends, of course, that Mithraism is not prior to Christianity. If, then, Mithraic rites and symbols were found in the latter, the only rational explanation would be that they were copied from or suggested by the former. To avoid this inevitable admission, the early fathers were never tired of denouncing Mithraism as having been a copy of Christianity anticipated by the Devil. For the Devil, it seems, can, among his other feats, reverse the order of history. Hence it is that Justin Martyr,[3] Tertullian,[4] and Fermicus[5] are all enthusiastic over this Devil theory. For, it is said, as to the Lord's Supper, "the wicked devils have imitated it in the mysteries of Mithras, commanding the same thing to be done." And again, "the devil, by the mysteries of his idols, imitates even the main parts of the divine mysteries," and so on; an ingenious, if not ingenuous, way of recognising its obligations to a system to which Christianity so largely owes its birth.

[1] Roman emperor. (180—92), son of Marcus Aurelius.

[2] "Recherches," II, 135. The charge originally came from Socrates (B. III, c. 21; B. v. c. 16).

[3] In his first Apology, c. 66. [4] Præscr.; c. 40. [5] *De Errore*, xxiii.

III

ANALOGY TO OTHER ANCIENT MYSTERIES.

As is to be expected, Mithraism, (solarised in its later stages), bears marked analogy to the solar cults of antiquity. In particular may such analogy be noticed to what has been known by the general name of "the Mysteries" I shall take only a typical one of these, the Eleusinian. Among the features that lay at the root of the latter, were an agricultural aspect, fecundity, lustrations, phantasmagoria and formulæ. I propose to shew that these formed part of the Mithraic system before ever Eleusis put them into shape.

1. *Agricultural Phase.*

The agricultural phase of the Eleusinian mysteries has been noted by me elsewhere. The same in a measure applies to the mysteries of Mithra, primarily the "god of wide pastures," "Mithro, of the vast cattle-pastures . . [1]" "Mihir, of the rolling country side, [2]" "Mithra, . . who has pasture-fields to give at his will; harmless to the tiller of the ground, . . beneficent."[3] The fact is that even before the Gathic period Mithra, the national Aryan deity, was the guardian of the husbandman. It is easy to see that in an epoch when husbandry formed the chief vocation of a people, it should be regarded as being under the protection of the leading deity. The idea was sustained by the Gathas, which were the pious outpourings of an agricultural Iranian race against the raids of its nomadic neighbours; the only difference being that the protector, from being Mithrais now Ahura Mazda himself. And as the herdsman's chief asset was his cattle, so it is the soul of the kine that sends out its wail to the Creator:

> "On me comes the assault of wrath, . . audacious insolence, and (thievish) might. None other pasture giver have I than you, therefore do ye fetch me good (tillage) for the fields, my only hope of welfare![4]"

And having commenced in this strain, the Gathas later refer to Zoroaster as the first ideal husbandman:

> "Thine, O Ahura! . . was . . the Spirit, when thou didst order a path for the kine's (guiding). From the earth's tiller, (aided) she goeth in that allotted way."[5]

Thus arose a Mithra, originally the guardian deity of husbandry; to whom the bull was sacred in the later occidental

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1 Beheram Yast, 34, etc. 2 Aogemaidê, 8. 3 Mihir Yast, 60.
4 Yasna, 29, 1. 5 *Ibid*, 31, 9.

ritual, an idea perhaps primarily suggested by the Avestic reference to the animal:

> "In the bull is our strength, in the bull is our need;
> In the bull is our speech, in the bull is our victory;
> In the bull is our food, in the bull is our clothing;
> *In the bull is tillage, that makes food grow for us.*" [1]

Hence also appears to have arisen an injunction against the slaughter of cattle for human food. Such was regarded as a heinous sin, and the exhorter in the Gathas exclaims:

> "Of these wretched beings, Yima Vivanghusha was famed to be; he who "was eating kine's flesh in its pieces. But from (such as) these, O Ahura Mazda!..am I distinct." [2]

It is easy to see how the god of light came to be regarded as the god of pastures: not that the one was a transition from the other, both being collateral. For the power which gives light is also the power which gives heat; the one is a necessary accompaniment of the other; and it was the heat from the celestial orb that in the legend fecundated nature on earth. Hence it is that he (Mithra) "giveth increase, he giveth abundance, he giveth cattle, he giveth progeny and life."

The occidental legend of the birth of Mithra, as reconstructed by M. Cumont, discloses some important agricultural features. The birth took place on the bank of a river, under the shade of a sacred tree, and was witnessed by neighbouring shepherds, who paid him the first homage with the best of their flocks and harvest. And Mithra, in his first adventures, was accompanied by his sagacious dog; (note, here, the presence of the shepherd's inseparable companion). The chief of these adventures was the immolation of the primeval bull, (note, here, the Chaldæan superstructure on the old Persian tradition), from whose body sprang the various herbs and plants that cover the fertile earth; from whose spinal cord sprang the heat that gives life; from whose blood arose the wine that forms the sacred beverage of the mysteries instituted in honour of the heroic god.

2. *Fecundity.*

Of old, Mithra, as the sun-god, was invoked as being the source of fertility on earth. It was the first of the five places

[1] Behram Yast, 20. Yasna, 32, 8.

to which the Ahura Mazda of a pastoral era accorded priority; the other four followed in logical sequence. Thus we have the following order:

(*a*) Where Mithra is invoked;

(*b*) Where a family settles down, "with cattle, and .. good herds;"

(*c*) Where corn is grown, and the soil watered;

(*d*) "Where there is most increase of flocks and herds;'

(*e*) "Where flocks and herds yield most dung."[1]

It is Mithra, the later Apollo, identified with the sun in the Latin myth evolved through Chaldæc media, that is the source of this manifold material prosperity. And king Yezdezard is said to have asked the Christians, "Why don't you praise the sun? Is it not the source through which ripens food for men and cattle?"

In its transition through Chaldæism,[2] this part of Avestic Mithraism was still kept up, with the superadded worship of the moon: for while the god of day gave heat and life to organic creatures, to the goddess of night was specially assigned the reproductivity of the vegetable world.

Hence also it was, that during the Latin era of Mithraism, the uplifted torch borne by the dadophoric figure of the god denoted heat and life, the inverted one cold and death; while the old legend was further amplified by deifying the soul of the primeval bull, whom Mithra had slain, and making it guardian over herds.

3. *Lustrations.*

Mithraism retained throughout its history the austere purity which marked its Avestic birth. Despite the non-Aryan elements introduced through Babylonian contact, purity of the body and soul remained the chief goal in the life of the Mithraic devotee, and this was effected by repeated lustrations.

4. *Phantasmagoria and Formulæ:—*

As in the Eleusinian mysteries, the doors of the magic temple were suddenly thrown open to the bewildered candidate, so here the neophyte, entering the dark subterraneous

[1] Vendidad, III, 1—6. [2] Elisæus;

crypt, (which the Roman towns substituted for the fabled mountain cavern), suddenly beheld the majestic figure of the youthful Mithra beside the giant Kronos, laden with his innumerable symbols; the priestly pair devoutly kneeling on stone benches on either side; the figures of celebrants in fantastic garbs, ready to receive the new-comer in their ranks; the skilfully manipulated flashes from the various lamps still further increasing the awful grandeur of the scene. When to this was added the effect of the beverage which the neophyte drank, he was transported into an ecstatic state, in which his occult eye beheld visions reserved only for the initiated, and in which he exclaimed, with Apuleius, the mystic formula to which reference has been made by me elsewhere.

There are several other points of resemblance as well of difference between Mithraism and the ancient mysteries, but with a passing reference to these here, I proceed to the next section, in which I propose to deal with some of the striking points of analogy modern speculative freemasonry bears to the cult of Mithra.

IV.

ANALOGY TO MODERN FREEMASONRY.

The position here occupied by Mithraism is curious, yet clear. Speculative freemasonry is an order admittedly based on Christian groundwork, for every mason must avow a belief in the unity of god-head, in immortality, in resurrection, and (it was believed at one time, for all degrees; and even now, as regards the higher degrees) in Christ. Now, it has been demonstrated in Part II how far Christianity itself has been evolved from Mithraism; so that the latter would be the true parent of the craft, and a belief in Christ would be but a belief in Mithra. How far the three other fundamental requirements of the masonic creed have been anticipated by Mithraism, is shown towards the end of this section. The similarity of the ritual and the composition of the respective brotherhoods are still more marked. I am not at liberty here to reveal the component parts of the masonic ritual: I can only describe the corresponding Mithraic ones, and leave it to the modern order to judge how close the resemblance is. The question, then, arises,—apart from the three fundamental doctrines referred to, (which were adopted through the medium of Christianity), were the details of ritual a conscious borrowal from the old cult? I shall not pause to examine the question here, beyond remarking that one account of the modern order traces it to the Roman

Sodalitia, which in their turn were not improbably affected by the Mithraic institutions which dominated the empire during the last days.

With this brief foreword, I shall proceed to set out the points of analogy.

1. *Secrecy.*

The Avestic accounts of Mithra laid stress on this. "Let not that spell be shewn to any one, except by the father to his son, or by the brother to his brother from the same womb, or by the Athravan to his pupil. [1] These are words that are awful and powerful and victorious and healing. These are words that save the head that was lost, and chant away the uplifted weapon." [2]

When Mithraism received a sub-stratum of Chaldæan astrology, though the outward symbolism became public property, the Avestic groundwork still remained a rigid priestly secret, communicated only to the initiated.

When, later, Mithraism was latinised, the chief feature of the *sacramentum*, (the ceremony of initiation, so called from the *sacrament* or oath taken by the neophyte), was the vow of secrecy.

2. *Initiation.*

From all existing accounts, this ceremony, whose origin may be found in the Mihir Yast of the Avesta [3], was an exceptionally painful one. It comprised the ordeals of fire and water, of hunger and thirst, of maceration and mock death. If Nonnus [4] is to be believed, there were eighty such; though it is more probable that this number was twelve, corresponding to the signs of Zodiac, symbolic of the twelve labours of the god on the Mithraic monuments. [5] The period over which these trials extended was variously placed at from fifteen to forty-eight days. [6]

3. *Resurrection.*

This, as in the mysteries of Osiris, [7] was the most important feature of the ceremonies through which the novitiate passed. The stone image was placed on a bier all night, and

1 Sc. "In black hair," (Khordad Yast, 10). 2 Beheram Yast, 46.
3 *Cf.* Darmesteter, in the "Sacred Books of the East," xxx, 122.
4 Cited by Selden, *De Diis Syris*, Syntag, I, c. 5.
5 *Cf.* King, "Gnostics," p. 128.
6 Sainte-Croix, "*Recherches*," II, 126 n.
7 Tertullian, "Against Marcian," I, 13.

the dead god was mourned by the devotees. The body was then lowered into a tomb; all was dark, and the mourners preserved an awed silence in the presence of death. Suddenly the body was reverently taken out of the tomb: this was the resuscitation of the god: all was now rejoicing; the place was lighted up, and the head priest, annointing the novitiate's throat, whispered, "Be of good cheer, O thou, who hast been this day initiated in the mysteries. Even so shalt thou have salvation from earthly woes."[1]

4. *The mystic formula.*

This was symbolic of the purification of the soul, and its ascent above the body and above all things of the earth. Exhilarated by the beverage he had drunk, the initiate exclaimed, like Apuleius;[2] "I have transcended the boundaries of death, I have trodden the threshold of Prosperpine, and having traversed all the elements, I am returned to the earth. In the middle of the night, I have seen the sun scintillating with a pure light; I have approached the gods below, and the gods above, and have worshipped them face to face."[3]

5. *The various degrees, or stages.*

The number of these in Mithraism has sometimes been placed at twelve, following the zodiacal number, and the corresponding labours of some of the deified heroes, *e. g.*, Hercules. Seven, however, is a more probable number. It was the number of the Ameshaspands or Archangels in the Avesta, and was, otherwise, a sacred number in Persia. At the same time, the number was an important one in Chaldæan cosmogony, where it corresponded to the number of the planets, each of which was supposed to exercise a distinct occult influence on human life. Jerome[4] mentions the stages of Mithraism as being seven, and his statement is borne out by contemporary inscriptions reproduced by M. Cumont. These corresponded to the seven planets through which the soul passed on its way to Final Beatitude. They were

(*a*) *Corax*, the Raven, the swiftest and strongest bird in the Avestic mythology; which, heralding the dawn, was regarded as the servant of the sun.

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[1] Firmicus, "*De Errore*," xxiii. [2] Metam, xi, 23.

[3] *Cf.* The allegoric journey of Mohammad through heaven on the *Borak*.

[4] "*Epistola*," cvii (vii) *ad Lætam*. Subsequent to A.D. 400, Jerome wrote to Lœta about the final destruction of the Mithraic cave as follows: "A few years ago, your kinsman Gracchus, a name the very echo of patrician nobility, when he held the office of Prefect of the City, did he not upset, break and burn the cave of Mithras, and all those monstrous images that served in the initiatory rites, the figures of Corax, Niphus, the Soldier, the Lion, the Persian Helios, and Father Bromius?"

(*b*) *Cryphius*, Occult. In this degree, the mystic (*sacratus*) was probably placed in the sanctuary behind a veil, the lifting of which, with the accompanying revelation of the imposing spectacle, was calculated to inspire awe.

(*c*) *Miles*, Soldier. This was especially symbolic of Mithra, the god of battles, fighting against the spirits of evil. The novitiate at this stage received a sword, and was called the soldier of Mithra. The ceremony is thus described Tertullian: [1] ". . . . soldier of Mithras who, when he is undergoing initiation in the cave . . . . when the *wreath* is offered to him (a sword being placed as if in semblance of martyrdom), and then about to be set on his head, he . . . . puts forth his hand and pushes the wreath away . . . . saying, at the same time, 'My only crown is Mithras.' And thenceforth he never wears a wreath; and this is a mark he has for a test, whenever tried as to his initiation, for he is immediately proved to be a soldier of Mithras if he throws down the wreath offered to him, saying his crown is in his god . . . "

(*d*) *Leo*, Lion: symbolic at once of the corresponding Sun, and of Fire: for Mithra, be it remembered, was above all the god of Light.

(*e*) *Perses*, Persian: reminiscent of the origin of the cult; (and note that Mithra in the western monuments is generally represented with a Persian cap).

(*f*) *Heliodromus*, Courier of the Sun, with which latter Mithra was in the later mythology identified; though in the beginning, he is separate and distinct from him.

(*g*) *Pater*, Father, a designation conferred on the *sacratus* when he entered the governing board of the cult, where he remained for the rest of his life.

Another account mentions the second stage as being that of the *Gryphon*, and the sixth as that of *Bromios*, or the Roarer, *i.e.*, the Bull of the Mithraic legend; and both Jerome and Prophyry say that the novitiate symbolised the birds and beasts in the various grades by wearing their skins or heads.

It should be noted, also, that the first three degrees brought the *sacratus* only to the stage of "Servant", (roughly corresponding to the E. A. and F. C. degrees of freemasonry); while

1 "*De Corona*," xv, Garucci. "*Mystères du Syncrétisme Phrygien*," 1854, p. 34

it was the fourth only that brought him up to the rank of "Participant," or a full initiate, (roughly corresponding to the M. M).

These degrees or stages were called trials or tortures on account of their extreme severity; Suidas, (one of those who believed the number to be twelve), called them the Twelve Tortures. They included ordeals by all the four elements, and a scenic representation of the approach of death.[1] The neophyte is said to have been exposed naked on the snow for a certain number of nights, and then to have been scourged for two days. Among other representations of the grimness of death, which were at once to strike terror in the neophyte and to brace him against that inevitable event in man's life, was the following: Two crowned horsemen, naked, trampling over two corpses; between them a prostrate figure in a supplicating attitude; behind each horseman two soldiers. And King[2] believes that these "tests of courage . . . . have been maintained by a constant tradition through the secret societies of the Middle Ages and the Rosicrucians, down to the modern faint reflex of the latter, the Freemasons."[3]

6. *The institutions of Masters and Grand Master.*

The Masters were the "Father" in the last and the highest of the seven stages (*supra*). The Grand Master (*Pater Patrum*, or *Pater Patratus*) was above these, and in him was vested for life the general direction of the mystic community. The brethren were themselves called *consacranei*.

7. *The Brotherhood.*

The whole mystic community formed itself into a brotherhood, cemented by ties of mutual love towards one another, and of affectionate reverence towards the Fathers. The members of some of the sects, (*e.g.*, that of Jupitor Dolichenus), called one another "dearest brother." The primary tie of the brotherhood was religious. In this spiritual democracy social rank was extinguished, and the slave was the equal, sometime the superior, (by degree of initiation), of the *clarissimus*. Their doctrine of a future life also renders probable a funereal tie in these Mithraic bodies: and it is believed, although no sepulchres have yet been unearthed, that brothers of the same association rested in the same "mansion eternal,"

[1] "On Abstinence from Animal Food," iv., 16.

[2] *Cf.* "Chiflet's Gem," described by King, p. 54.

[3] "Gnostics," p. 47.

there to await in long and lasting slumber the day of Resurrection.

While, however, these Mithraic bodies were primarily spiritual, they were temporal *sodalicia* no less; whose organisation was in a measure identical with that of the ordinary municipality.[1] They published an *album sacratorum*, in which members appeared according to the ranks of their offices. The chief features of the constitution were

(*a*) A managing committee of Decurions, the *decem primi* of which had special privileges.

(*b*) Magistri, (presidents), annually elected in open meeting.

(*c*) Curatore, who answered to the modern treasurer.

(*d*) Defensore, (attorney), who represented the association before the public courts.

(*e*) Patroni, (patrons), who were primarily looked upon for the recuperation of funds.

8. *A system of morality.*

As the symbol of light Mithra, in the Avesta, is the embodiment of all that is good in nature. He always knows truth from falsehood. He helps men to keep their plighted oath; while he smites those that break their faith. His eight *ratis* keep watch at the eight points of the compass, "observing the man who lies unto Mithra but....guarding the ways of those whose life is sought by men who lie unto Mithra." [2]

> "He is the keeper and protector of the dwelling of those who lie not....And thus it is how so many men who have lied unto Mithra, even privily, lie smitten down to the ground." [3]

Unlike some of the old mysteries, (to which freemasonry likewise bears a strong analogy), the Mithraic system recognises the unity of god: for Mithra, in the Avesta, is but an Archangel of the Lord set to watch over the weal of the universe;

> "Whom Ahura Mazda has established to maintain and look over all this moving world . . . . who, never sleeping, wakefully guards . . . . (and) . . . . maintains the creation of Mazda." [4]

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1 They corresponded to some extent to the social offshoots of the modern masonic lodges, such as are doing purely practical work, *e.g.* promotion of education and relief of distress among the families of deceased brethren.

2 Mihir Yast 45. 3 *Ibid*, 80. 4 *Ibid*, 103.

And it is to be noted that the cardinal tenets of Mithraism, of which a single god-head was the chief, survived among the masses even after its decline as a universal religion. Its doctrines of hell and resurrection were adopted by its rival faith; while a large part of its ritual, with its admitted efficacy, also passed to the Christian church.

9. *Absence of feminism.*

Like freemasonry, and unlike most of the ancient mysteries, Mithraism, both in the Avesta, and in its later Latinised aspect, is marked by the complete absence of the female element. Such evidence of its existence, as has been before examined, is of the haziest character. The austerity of the Avesta, which precluded women from the esoteric ritual of the faith, is intelligible for various reasons; but the tenacity with which Mithraism, in its Latin migrations, adhered to the tradition, dealt its death-blow in the West as a ruling system. Among the hundreds of texts, inscriptions, references and monuments that have come down from antiquity, and that have been laboriously collected by M. Cumont in his standard work on the subject,[1] there is not a single record of a female as having been either a priestess, or a votary, or even a donatress. It was this withholding of the sacred secrets from one-half of the human race that contributed partially to the failure of a system, which aspired to become universal, in its struggles against the inroads of a rival faith.

I shall now examine individually, and in some detail, how far the three fundamental tenets of the masonic creed have been anticipated in the cult of Mithra, as built up in the Avesta.

1. *Unity of God-head.*

The *Gathas*, the oldest portion of the Avesta, the contemporary historical record of the tribulations of Zoroaster, a record compiled by himself or under his guidance, make this sufficiently clear, in spite of this part of the Avestic philosophy having long been a subject of scholastic speculation. Ahura Mazda is the one God, the only God, the beneficent God; and yet a God who respects the laws of the nature He created, who engenders a respect for order and cosmos, by Himself not indulging in the supernatural. If these immutable laws of nature are to be recognised, then must the existence of evil remain

[1] "*Textes et Monuments Figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra.*" (Large 8vo 931 pp., 507 illus. and 9 phgr plates. Brussels: H. Lamertin.)

a part of them; and there will be nothing against the omnipotence of the creative Deity in such a doctrine. Thus does the Avesta offer the most rational explanation of the existence of evil that has ever been given to the civilised world.[1] God, Ahura Mazda, has a personal name in the Avesta; while evil has a name which is only a passion. This is the Ahura Mazda, whose chosen messenger Mithra is on earth, as in the rest of the universe. The power that Mithra has, is the power entrusted to him by his divine master. Above him and above all is the one God. In countless passages of the Avesta, and notably in the historic *Gathas*, is the supremacy of Ahura Mazda triumphantly set forth. He is "the Lord, the Great Creator; He who understands the mysterious grace by his insight."[1] And the invocation to Mithra himself begins with the words: "I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, one who obeys the laws of Ahura."[2] While it is Ahura Mazda, who "has established" Mithra "to maintain and to look over all this moving world."[3] Mithraism, therefore, in its Avestic origin, as in its occidential development, consistently recognised the unity a god-head.

2. *Immortality of the soul.*

"Protect us in both worlds," exclaims the Avestic votary, "the corporeal and the incorporeal, against the evil death." "With uplifted arms, Mithra, the Lord of wide pastures, conveys us to immortality"... While the Gathic votary had already supplicated "the absolutely ruling great Creator" for the grant of "the two eternal powers," *viz.*, material and spiritual weal, the eternal united duration of which begets a state of immortality.[4] This belief in immortality survived as an aspect of Mithraism during its migration to the West, after receiving a Chaldæan stratum of astrological phantasies; and the hopes of a life to come beyond death on earth contributed not a little to the attractions of the faith, and to keep up the spirits of its votaries through the tribulations which are the unwilling lot of humanity during its sojourn below.

3. *Resurrection.*

The belief in this was a logical corollary to the last. The most luminous Avestic passages on the subject are comprised in *Bundahis*, Ch. 30 and reflect the spirit in which Persian Mithraism embraced the doctrine.

"Observe that when that which was not, was then produced: why is it not possible to produce again that which was?

1 Yasna, 29, 6. Mihir Yast, 103.
2 Mihir Yast (preamble).
4 Yasna 43, 1.

for at that time one will demand the bone from the spirit of earth, the blood from the water, the hair from the plants and the life from fire, since they were delivered to them in the original creation."[1]

"First, the bones of Gayomard [2] are raised up, then those of Mashya and Mashyoi, then those of the rest of mankind; in the fifty-seven years of the Soshyans, they prepare all the dead, and all men stand up; whoever is righteous and whoever is wicked, every human creature, they rouse up from the spot where its life departs."[3]

These fundamental ideas became more embellished in the later Mithraic legend;[4] according to which the world will finally be destroyed by the pestilences sent by the Spirit of Evil, (whose Avestic conception is still retained); Mithra, (who has before this taken up his abode in heaven, having completed his task on earth), will then re-descend on earth, and awaken the souls from their death-like sleep. He will separate the good from the wicked. To the good he will give a beverage composed of the fat of the primeval bull, (which also has reappeared, and been sacrificed by Mithra in the last sublime immolation), and consecrated wine: these will constitute then the Blessed Immortals.[5] At the same time, the fire of Ahura Mazda's justice will finally consume the wicked, and the world will rise once more a chastened creation, free from evil. If the existence of evil was explained by a theory of dualism,[6] its extinction now forms a triumphant feature of the doctrine of Resurrection.

It was this hope of an ultimate resurrection in one grand assembly, that induced that western disciples to lay themselves, as appears probable, in one common sepulchre; brothers in life, brothers in death, brothers in a supreme resurrection which is to render them the happy immortals.

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[1] Note how much more comprehensive and philosophic this is than the popular expression, "Ashes to ashes, dust to dust," (sc. on the extinction of the human body); for, as the macrocosm of universal nature is composed of the four elements, so is the microcosm of human nature, including the germ of life. It is to these four elements that the essentials of human existence fly on its decadence; it is from these that they are demanded back on its resurrection.

[2] The first created man according to the Avesta, corresponding to the Hebrew Adam.

[3] 6, 7.

[4] The *Soshiyos* of Mazdeianism (the parent of Avestic Mithraism) will, at the millenium, be miraculously conceived. This doctrine was already in existence when Christianity came into the field.

[5] The Mithraic institutions themselves were *Sodalitia* of a sort, *supr.*

[6] The "dualism" of Zoroastrianism is a philosophic attempt at an explanation of the existence of evil engrafted on the theological doctrine of a unity of God-head. *Vide* the author's essay on "Zoroastrianism."

ART. XIII.—*A Brief History of the Gujarat Saltanat.*

BY

M. S. COMMISSARIAT, M.A.,

Bombay Educational Service.

(*Continued from the last issue of the Journal.*)

VI—Sultan Mahmud Shah I, Begada (A. D. 1458-1511).

Greatness of the reign in the history of Gujarat.

Sultan Mahmud I ascended the throne of his fathers in 1458, and reigned for the next fifty-four years in uninterrupted glory and prosperity. He is perhaps the greatest, as he is certainly the most popular, of the Sultans of Gujarat, and to this day the glory of his name remains enshrined in native tradition throughout the province as a pious Muslman and model sovereign. "He is to the Muslim as Siddh Raj is to the Hindu—a nucleus around which gathers romance and tale." Himself a great patron of architecture, there is hardly a monument of Muslim art in the country which popular legend does not connect with his name. The Persian historians represent Mahmud as the hero-king of Gujarat. They linger with evident fondness on the many excellences of his character, and on the greatness of his exploits, and part with him at last with reluctance and unfeigned regret. Sikandar bin Muhammad says: "He added glory and "lustre to the kingdom of Gujarat, and was the best of all "the Gujarat 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 Islam; 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."[1]

The epithet 'Begada.'

Two interpretations have been offered by historians of the etymologically perplexing epithet of Begada under which Mahmud I is known to posterity. One is that the Sultan was so called from his conquest of the two forts (in Gujarati *be gadh*) of Junagadh and Champaner. Another suggested derivation is that *Bigarha* is the name given to "a bullock whose horns stretch out right and left like the arms of a person about

[1] Bayley's *History of Gujarat*, p. 161

to embrace," and this term was applied to Mahmud because his moustaches were straight and long like these horns. Either derivation appears plausible. While the former is the more popular of the two, the latter obtains some support from the remarks of a contemporary European traveller that the Sultan "has moustachios under his nose so long that he ties them over his head as a woman would tie her tresses."

Conspiracy of the nobles.

The Sultan was only a boy of thirteen when he was raised to the throne, but in a rather formidable conspiracy hatched at the capital within a few months of his accession, he gave early proof of that personal bravery and maturity of judgment that distinguished him in later life. Four of the principal nobles of the court conspired to bring about the fall of Malik Shaban,[1] the loyal minister of the crown, and assembled their adherents in arms. Mahmud put himself at the head of his partisans, numbering barely three hundred, and with bow in hand and quiver at back, proceeded to the main gate of the Bhadra, and gave orders for the elephants to charge. Taken aback at this unexpected attack, the nobles fled, and their followers were cut down in large numbers in the narrow streets of the city.

Sack of Sanjan and the Parsis.

One military episode of the early years of Begada's reign, not very important in itself and briefly dismissed by the Musalman historians, cannot be passed over unrecorded because of its connection with the early history of the Parsis in India. In1465 Mahmud led his army to the northern Konkan to capture the forts of Barat and Parnera and the seaport town of Daman, all of which were still in the hands of Hindu rajas and zamindars. The critical researches of a Parsi scholar[2] make it very probable that it was in the course of this expedition that the Sultan destroyed the Hindu principality of Sanjan after a valiant but unsuccessful defence by the raja's Parsi subjects. The details of this event have come down to us in the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*, a chronicle in Persian verse of the traditional history of the Parsis in India written by a priest named Bahman at Navsari in the year 1599.[3]

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[1] Malik Shaban was raised by Mahmud Begada to the dignity and office of *Vazir* but appears to have retired some years after into private life, as has been already stated. The date of his retirement was probably 1466.

[2] Prof. S. H. Hodiwala's paper on "The Sack of Sanjan."

[3] Translated into English by Lieut. E. B. Eastwick in Journal *B. B. R. A. S.* Vol. I, pp. 167-191.

Sanjan is at the present day a small hamlet situated near the coast about a hundred miles to the north of Bombay and some sixteen miles to the south of the Portuguese settlement of Daman. But up to the time of its sack by Begada in the fifteenth century it appears to have been a considerable town. According to genuine historical tradition it was the port at which the Parsis first landed in India on their flight to this country from Persia to escape the persecution of their religion by the Arab conquerors. The date of this exodus has, according to the latest theory, been placed in the year A.D. 936, in the early part of the tenth century. The exiles were hospitably received by Jadi Rana, the Hindu ruler of Sanjan, who gave them permission to settle in his land. And now, after the lapse of many centuries, an opportunity was offered to their descendants to repay the debt of gratitude which they owed to their kindly and tolerant Hindu rulers.

At the call of the raja, the small Parsi colony of Sanjan put into the field a cavalry of 1,400 men clad in steel armour, and their leader Ardashir led the host of the raja to war against the forces of Mahmud Begada. In the first skirmish, Alaf Khan, the Sultan's general, was repulsed; but he obtained reinforcements and returned to the charge. The odds were too great. Ardashir was slain covered with wounds, and so was the raja, and his army was completely routed. Alaf Khan appears to have been a man of the most sanguinary disposition, for he used his victory to the utmost, and the town of Sanjan was rendered desolate. The Parsis of the place, deprived of the flower of their youth, are said to have fled with their sacred fire to the neighbouring mountain of Barat (Barhot) in the inaccessible recesses of which they maintained a precarious existence for some years: after which they migrated successively to Vansda and to Navsari.

Mahmud's religious wars.

The military annals of the reign of Mahmud I constitute a record of uninterrupted successes extending over a period of half a century. We have seen how the three foremost Hindu principalities in Gujarat—Junagadh, Champaner and Idar—had managed to survive the religious wars of Ahmad Shah and to retain their semi-independent existence as feudatory states. The first two of these, however, were destined, after a long and heroic resistance, to succumb to the arms of Mahmud, and were, at different periods during this reign, incorporated with the crown territories. The Sultan had inherited not only the military genius but also the fierce religious

bigotry of his grandfather Ahmad Shah. To him, indeed, it appeared intolerable that what he considered infidelity should continue to flourish in the heart of the Gujarat kingdom, and in 1567, within a year of his attaining his majority, we see him advancing on his first expedition against the ancient capital of the Chudasama princes.

The conquest of Junagadh.

The province of Kathiavad, known to the ancient Hindus as Saurastra and to the Muhammadans as Sorath,[1] had been the object of Muslim desire ever since the first establishment of their power in Gujarat during the reign of Ala-ud-din Khilji of Delhi. The glowing eulogy of this province recorded by Sikandar will, perhaps, furnish the secret of this desire:

"And what a country is Sorath! As if the hand of heaven "had selected the cream and essence of Malwa, Khandesh, "and Gujarat, and had made a compendium of all the good "people of the world, and had picked out the noblest and most "vigorous of men from the three countries named, and collected "them together unto one standard, as a touchstone of the "countries of the world."[2]

As the rulers of Junagadh, generally styled the Mandalik rajas,[3] held sway over the larger part of the peninsula, their capital was naturally the object of every Musalman attempt for the conquest of Sorath. The names of the Emperor Muhammad Tughlak and of Sultan Ahmad Shah are connected with successive attempts for the capture of Junagadh. Though their capital was often occupied by the enemy, the power of the Ravs was never completely broken, and they managed to reassert their independence as soon as the tide of invasion had rolled way. The glory of annexing the kingdom of Junagadh to the Gujarat Saltanat was reserved for the arms of Ahmad's famous grandson.

But the conquest of Junagadh was not a task to be lightly undertaken, for there are few places in Gujarat so well

[1] The name Sorath is at present employed to designate only one of the four divisions or *prants* in which Kathiavad is divided for administrative purposes, *viz.* Halar, Sorath, Jahlawad and Gohelwad.

[2] Bayley's *History of Gujarat*, p. 180.

[3] "Rav Mandalik" appears to have been the official title of the Hindu rulers of Junagadh or Girnar. It means a feudatory prince—one of the petty rulers who formed a *mandal* or group round the superior overlord or *Sarvabhauma*. Ever since the time of Siddh Raj, the Solanki rulers of Anhilvad Pattan had established themselves as overlords of the princes of Girnar and of the other chieftains of Saurastra. As the power of Anhilvad declined, the mandalik rajas became independent. According to the *Tarikh-i-South*, Mandalik was also used as a proper name by the Ravs of Girnar.

protected by nature and fortified by art as this almost impregnable fortress. The ancient capital of Kathiavad is situated in the centre of a range of granite hills which guard its approaches, and it was at this period encircled by a belt of deep forest so closely interwoven as to admit of no ingress except by two or three avenues cut through it to lead to the adjacent towns. While adding to the security, this dense jungle must have increased the insalubrity of all the places confined within it, for the Gir forest is still considered very unhealthy before and after the rains. The city of Junagadh is dominated at its north-east angle by the ancient fortification known as the Uparkot, situated on a commanding plateau. But the Uparkot, formidable as it must have been before the days of artillery, was by no means the only stronghold of the rulers of Junagadh. At a distance of but a mile and a half from the 'citadel' rises the noble hill-fortress of Girnar whose almost inaccessible approaches had so often secured the safety and independence of the princes of Junagadh before the days of Mahmud Begada.

According to Firishta, supernatural guidance was not wanting to encourage the Sultan in his resolve. We are told that the holy prophet of Islam appeared to the king in a dream and presented before him a magnificent banquet of the most delicate viands. The wise men interpreted the dream as a sign that the king would effect a conquest that would bring him immense treasure. The most elaborate preparations were made by the Sultan for the successful conduct of the religious war. The treasurer was ordered to join the expedition with five crores of gold coin. The royal armourer was required to supply 1,700 swords of Egyptian and Arabian manufacture with gold handles weighing four to six pounds; also 3,800 Ahmadabad swords with silver hilts of similar weight; and 1,700 daggers with gold handles. The master of the horse was to attend with two thousand Arab and Turki horses in gold trappings. All these treasures were distributed among the troops during the first days of the war.

The Junagadh war lasted for nearly four years from 1467 to 1471. The first two campaigns were inconclusive. But in 1469 Sultan Mahmud marched in person against the hapless ruler of Girnar. Rav Mandalik went out to meet him in his camp and asked the king why he was bent on the destruction of a dependant who had committed no fault. The Sultan replied that there was no offence greater than infidelity: if he wished to be spared he must repeat the creed of Islam. The

raja then fled to his capital, and Mahmud began the investment of the Uparkot which lasted for nearly two years. The last phase of the war centres round the siege of Girnar. Every day the Rajputs sallied out and fought, but the end came when the provisions fell short. The surrender of this inaccessible fortress is unfortunately associated with an episode of domestic treason. It is said that the raja had forcibly taken to himself Mohani, the beautiful wife of his minister Visal. The injured husband, unable to show open resentment, schemed in secret for the downfall of his master.[1] When the provisions in Girnar had given out, Visal sent a messenger to the Sultan that the opportunity was favourable for taking the fortress by assault. The king acted on the advice, and before long the Rav came down to do him homage and handed up the keys of the fortress (1471).

The fall of the royal Girnar, the holiest of the shrines and the most impregnable among the fortresses of Kathiavad, made the Muslims supreme over this long-coveted peninsula. The descendant of the heroic Ra Khengar, and the lastof the revered line of the Chudasama princes, was now a prisoner and a suppliant at the feet of the conqueror. His life was spared, but at the sacrifice of that which to the Rajput is dearer than life itself. At the stern dictates of the victor Rav Mandalik repeated the creed of Islam—"There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is the apostle of Allah." The story related by Sikandar that the Rav was converted, after his arrival at Ahmadabad, during a visit to the saintly Shah Alam, does not appear very plausible and is evidently introduced by the historian to glorify the Bukhari saiyids. The royal proselyte received the name and title of Khan Jahan, and his descendants long occupied one of the most respectable posts at the Gujarat court. We are told, however, that whenever the Rav thought of Girnar and of his past glory he sighed and wept. The tomb of Khan Jahan or Rav Mandalik is to be seen at Ahmadabad near the Manek Chok, and the shrine is still venerated with offerings of flowers by the descendants of those who had unrelentingly persecuted him throughout his life.[2]

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[1] In the picturesque language of the Persian historian, "with the hand of deceit applied the saw of hostility to the root of the Rav's prosperity."

[2] The tomb of Khan Jahan (Ra Mandalik) is situated in the Kandoi Ol at the commencement of Kalupur Road from Manek Chok, on the right side going eastwards. It is a small room about 8 feet square, part of which is let. (Burgess, *Architecture of Ahmadabad*, pt. II, p. 72).

According to the *Tarikh-i-Sorath* (Ed. Burgess) the dynasty of Rav Mandalik was allowed to continue for another century as tributary jagirdars at Junagadh under the control of the governors or thanadars of Sorath appointed by the Gujarat Sultans.

Foundation of Mustafabad.

In order to secure and consolidate his conquest Mahmud Begada remained for a considerable period at Junagadh, and so improved its beauty and its defences that he thought himself justified in renaming it Mustafabad. His religious zeal led him to decide upon this new capital as the centre from which to propagate the tenets of Islam throughout the peninsula. He, therefore, invited holy saiyids and men learned in the doctrines of the faith from every city in Gujarat and gave them an honourable residence in Mustafabad. But, perhaps, the most permanent memorial which the Sultan has left of his conquest is the enormous mosque, now in a semi-ruinous condition, which stands on the crest of the Uparkot, and the materials for which were obtained by the spoliation of the beautiful Jain temples and palaces that adorn the brow of the sacred Girnar.[1] During his reign Mustafabad rose to the dignity of a mint town of the Gujarat Saltanat, and it became henceforth the headquarters of the permanent officer who was now appointed to administer Sorath as a crown possession, and to receive the tribute from the petty chiefs of the peninsula. The name of Mustafabad, however, does not appear to have survived the death of its founder. The associations of many centuries could not be suppressed by the arbitrary will of a despot, and the historic name of Junagadh has outlived the reign and dynasty of its most famous conqueror.

Muhafiz Khan at Ahmadabad.

The long absence of the Sultan from his capital owing to the Junagadh War, and his residence at Mustafabad with his army, was not without its evil effects. The officers neglected their duty, the lawless persons took to robbery, and the roads became unsafe for travellers. To provide against these disorders the Sultan appointed in 1471 a noble named Jamal-ud-din as faujdar in Ahmadabad, and gave him the title of Muhafiz Khan under which he is known to posterity. The khan discharged his duties with zeal, and in a short time about five hundred robbers were publicly executed, with the result that the people of the city "slept at ease with open doors." Firishta says that some idea of Muhafiz Khan's police establishment may be obtained from the fact that, at one time, he had in attendance 1,700 *bargir-i-khas*, i.e., retainers equipped by him and riding

1 Col. J. Tod, who visited this mosque in the Uparkot at Junagadh in 1832, says: "Several reasons authorise a belief that this edifice was constructed from the wreck of other temples: chiefly the correspondence in size and shape between its columns and those yet left in several of the half-mutilated temples on the sacred hill above."

horses from his stables. Some time after this Muhafiz Khan was given the entire government of the city. He rose to still higher honours during the later years of this reign, and in 1480 was elevated to the office of vazir. We shall refer later on to the beautiful mosque erected by him at Ahmadabad in 1492.

Invasion of Cutch and Sind.

We shall turn to review Sultan Mahmud's expeditions against Cutch, Sind, and the pirates of Dwarka, all of which were carried out while his headquarters were established at his favourite city of Mustafabad. From the meagre and confused accounts that have come down to us, it appears that the people of Cutch, though very expert archers, were at this time a rude race, professing a nominal adherence to the tenets of Islam. Mahmud easily defeated them, in spite of great odds, and, at his dictates, the leading men of each tribe were sent to Junagadh, to be there instructed in the doctrines of the true faith. From Cutch, the Sultan, crossing the desert, marched against the Baluchi and Jat tribes of Sind, and, according to one account, carried his victorious arms to the banks of the Indus (1472). He then returned to Mustafabad, but was soon called upon to take up arms against the Hindu chief of Dwarka, the city whose hoary traditions are carried back to the days of the Mahabharata and the sway of the Pandav princes, and where the ancient temple of Sri Krishna, one of the holiest of Hindu shrines, is to this day frequented by thousands of pious pilgrims from all parts of India.

Capture of Dwarka.

Placed in the extreme north-western corner of the peninsula, the pirate chief of Dwarka, who also held sway over the adjacent island of Sānkhodhār or Bet, continued his independence after the rest of the country had acknowledged the authority of Mahmud Begada. The Sultan had for long contemplated an attack on both these strongholds, but had been dissuaded from his design by the inaccessible character of the approaches. An act of more than usual insolence on the part of the pirates, however, made the Sultan resolve on a signal chastisement. A maulana who had spent the greater part of his life in the service of the Bahmani sultans of the Deccan, was returning to his native country in a vessel bound for Ormuz. On its passage the ship was driven by stress of weather to the coast of Kathiavad. The pirate chief plundered it, retained the mulla's wife and property, and left the learned man adrift on the shore. After many hardships the latter reached Mustafabad, and on hearing his sad story, the Sultan finally decided

to carry out his long cherished project against the freebooters. When Mahmud arrived with his army at Dwarka, its ruler Bhim fled for safety to his fortified island of Bet. The king delivered Dwarka and its temples to plunder, proceeded to the coast, and, equipping a fleet, carried Bet by assault. A very valuable booty, the accumulated spoil of the pirates, fell into his hands, and in 1473 he returned victorious to Junagadh. Bhim, who had escaped in a vessel during the assault, was overtaken and brought to the Sultan, and was ordered to be sent in collar and chains to Muhafiz Khan at Ahmadabad, with instructions that his body should be cut to pieces and a portion hung over each gate of the city. When Bhim was brought to the capital, Muhafiz Khan dragged him around the city and then put into effect the inhuman decree of the Sultan.[1]

Foundation of Mahmudabad, 1479.

About the end of 1473, after an absence of nearly five years, the Sultan returned to Ahmadabad. On the way he halted for three days at Sarkhej, where he received and comforted the families of those who had fallen in the previous campaigns. During the next nine years Mahmud appears to have occupied himself with domestic affairs, as no record of any great military operation has come down to us. To this period belongs the foundation of a new city which the Sultan named after himself—Mahmudabad—situated on the banks of the river Watrak, eighteen miles south-east of Ahmadabad. Strong embankments were raised along the river, and the city was adorned with a palace, handsome buildings, and extensive gardens. At a later period Mahmudabad was selected for his residence by Sultan Mahmud III (1536–53), who formed in its vicinity his famous "Deer Park," as we shall later on relate. In the course of the next century the city fell into decay, and the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* tells us that at the time of his writing (1756) only the remains of the palaces were to be seen. During the last fifty years, however, the city has recovered some of its past prosperity, but its original name is now corrupted into Mehmadabad.[2]

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1 Col. J. Briggs, writing in 1829, says:—"The pirates of Jagat (Dwarka) and Bet have been notorious for many ages, and they are little less infamous, I fear, in the present day than they were several centuries ago. Local circumstances account for their propensity and for their success." (Briggs' *Firishta*, Vol. IV, p. 60 *n.*). Long after the time of Mahmud Begada the pirates and robbers of the Okhamandal district (in which Dwarka is situated) continued a danger on the seas and a standing menace to the adjoining places and to the pilgrims. The Waghers of Okhamandal gave endless trouble both to the Gaekwad and the British Government until their power was finally broken by the British expeditions during 1859–1868.

2 Mahmudabad, now written Mehmadabad, is a considerable town in the Kheda (Kaira) district, on the main railway line from Bombay.

In the immediate vicinity of Mahmudabad, near the village of Sojali, may still be seen the mausoleum of Mubarak Saiyid, which is perhaps the most beautiful of the provincial examples of the Indo-Saracenic style of architecture to be seen in Gujarat. It was erected, about 1484, for one of Mahmud's ministers, and was probably designed by the same architect who built the tomb of Qutb-ul-Alam at Vatva during the early part of this reign. Though small, "there is a simplicity about its plan, a solidity and balance of parts in its design, which has rarely, if ever, been surpassed in any tomb in India. The details, too, are all elegant and appropriate, so that it only wants increased dimensions to rank among the very first of its class."[1]

Conspiracy of Khudawand Khan, 1480.

During these years the Sultan was in the habit of going once a year from his capital to Mustafabad. In 1480 he went as usual to his favourite residence in Sorath, leaving behind him his eldest son Prince Ahmad in charge of Khudawand Khan, a brother-in-law of the Sultan. This nobleman formed a conspiracy to dethrone his master and to put Prince Ahmad on the throne. The reason of the conspiracy appears, from all accounts, to be the discontent created among the courtiers by the Sultan's incessant campaigns, which was further increased by the contemplated invasion of Champaner. The festival of the Ramzan *Id*, when the Prince would go in procession to the Idgah, was decided upon as the occasion on which to put the project into effect. But the attempt of the conspirators to win over the vazir Baha-ud-din, who had the dignity of Imad-ul-Mulk, betrayed the whole plan. The vazir feigned consent, but at heart remained loyal to the state, and with the help of Malik Sarang (Kiwam-ul-Mulk)[2] at once took effective steps to guard against the expected insurrection in the city, and the conspirators saw that their designs had failed.

It was not long before the news of the contemplated treason reached the ears of the Sultan at Mustafabad, though the loyal officers whose action had so swiftly crushed the plot did not think it proper to send any information to the king of this distressing episode. Arriving at the capital the king gave out that he wished to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and asked the nobles to give him leave to do so, declaring that he would

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[1] Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, pp. 244-45.

[2] Malik Sarang, Kiwam-ul-Mulk, a famous minister of the reigns of Mahmud Begada, Muzaffar Shah II, and Bahadur Shah, built the well-known quarter of Sarangpur at Ahmadabad in the south-east of the city. See p.

not touch food till they had given their consent. The nobles, well aware that the Sultan's object was to ascertain whether they would welcome his departure, remained silent. Twice did Imad-ul-Mulk come to them and say, "you must give the Sultan an answer, he is fasting." At length one of them, who was older than the rest, was sent out to recommend to the king the conquest of the fort of Champaner, from the spoils of which the expenses of the journey to Mecca might be defrayed. Pleased with this loyal advice, Mahmud immediately called for food. After a time he made the vazir relate to him on oath all the details of the plot: but such was his attachment to Khudawand Khan that he practically let him go free. According to one account, the Sultan showed his displeasure towards his relative by calling one of his pigeons by his name; according to another he ordered that the person employed in the meanest post in the royal household should be called by that name. Soon after Imad-ul-Mulk died, and the king appointed Muhafiz Khan as the vazir, an elevation to which all his public appointments since 1471 appear to have pointed.

War against Champaner, 1482-84.

About eleven years after the conquest of Junagadh, Sultan Mahmud started on his second great war against the Hindu powers of Gujarat. The attack was this time directed against the famous hill-fortress of Champaner or Pavagadh.[1] This great isolated hill, under whose shelter the ancient city lay extended, rises to a height of about 2,500 feet above the surrounding plain, and its gigantic outlines frown over the eastern districts of Gujarat. For nearly two centuries before this period, the stronghold had been in the possession of a section of the Chohan clan of the Rajputs.

1 According to tradition, the origin of Champaner goes back to the dim distant days of the Chavada dynasty, its foundation being ascribed to Champa, one of the companions of the heroic Wan Raj. The ruins of this ancient Hindu and later Muhammadan city are to be seen in the Panch Mahals district, about 25 miles north-east of Baroda, and 2 miles south of Godhra. Pāvāgadh was in old inscriptions Pāvakgadh or the fire-hill. Mr. A. K. Forbes' form Pavangadh, 'the castle of the winds,' is seldom used. A third derivation is found in the following story. In a bygone age a valley ran where *Pavagadh* now stands. On the high ground overlooking the valley lived the ascetic Rishi Vishvamitra. He owned a cow, the famous Kama-dhenu, gifted with speech and an unfailing store of milk. Grazing on the brink of the valley she one day slipped, and unable to climb the steep sides filled the valley with milk and so swam home. Learning what had happened the holy man, to prevent another mischance, prayed that the valley might be filled. His prayer was granted, the gods sending so large a hill that three-quarters of it filled the hollow. The rest standing out of the plain was called *Pavagadh* or the quarter-hill. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. III, p. 185 and n.)

Though more than sixty miles from Ahmadabad, Pavagadh was visible from the minarets of the Jami Masjid before their fall in 1819. (Captain William Miles' *Account of the Hill-Fort of Champaner in Guzerat*, 1812, in *Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 150.) The hill is sacred to the goddess Kali Mata, whose temple is situated on the summit.

" to which has been assigned the palm of martial intrepidity among all the royal houses of India." Sultan Ahmad I had conducted several expeditions against Champaner, but without any lasting success; and his son had been obliged to raise the siege of the fort owing to the approach of the king of Malwa. It was reserved for Mahmud Begada to achieve the final conquest of this ancient kingdom after defeating its last sovereign Raval Jayasingh, generally described in Hindu chronicles as Patai Raval.[1]

In 1482, in consequence of an unusual drought, famire prevailed in Gujarat and many thousands perished. The Sultan's officer in the Baroda territory carried out a plundering raid in the Champaner country in search of supplies, but he was driven back with great loss by the raja. The incident was seized upon by Mahmud as a pretext for the invasion of Champaner. On his arrival at Baroda, he was met by several envoys from the raja who offered peace and submission, but the king declined all negotiations except " by the sword and the dagger." Raval Jayasingh, thereupon, betook himself to his mountain-fortress, and determined to defend it to the last. The Sultan began the investment of Champaner, which lasted, with many vicissitudes, for over twenty months, during which he superintended in person the construction of elaborate trenches or " covered ways " which were gradually extended from his camp to the base of the fortress (1482-84).

During the course of the investment, Raval Jayasingh despairing of success, sent his minister to Mandu to the court of Sultan Ghias-ud-din, promising to pay him one lakh of silver *tankas* for every day's march that he should make in coming to his help. The Malwa ruler accepted the terms and marched out with his army. Mahmud Begada, leaving the conduct of the siege to his officers, proceeded with his troops to the Malwa frontier; but, on arriving at Dohad, he was informed that Ghias-ud-din had abandoned his designs on being reproached by the kazis and other learned men of his court for going to help an infidel. Mahmud, thereupon, returned to the siege of Pavagadh, and caused a mosque to be built in his military lines as a token of his firm resolve not to desist from the siege until he had taken the fortress.

At length the trenches were completed, and the Sultan decided to carry Pavagadh by storm. Being informed that the Rajputs

1 The title of Patai Raval for the rulers of Champaner is perhaps only a contraction for Pavapati Raval, the Raval or lord of Pava (*Indian Antiquary* Vol. LXIII., p. 2).

left the fort through a sally-port every morning to perform their ablutions, he ordered Malik Sarang, Kiwam-ul-Mulk, to keep ready at daybreak for the charge. As soon as the Rajputs had left the walls, the Muslims overpowered the guards and rushed in. About the same time Malik Ayaz Sultani (later on the semi-independent governor of Sorath) escaladed with a small party the western wall of the fort, where a breach had been made by a gun, and obtained possession of the main gate. The Rajputs, who had lost heavily in these assaults, retired to the palace enclosure and prepared for the *jauhar*, that awful act of sacrifice so often recorded in Hindu annals. They made a funeral pyre within the walls, and bringing to it their wives, their children, and their property, consumed them all in a dreadful holocaust.[1] Malik Ayaz had by this time opened the gates and admitted the main body of the Muslim army, which entered with the king and obtained possession of the ramparts. Mahmud then delivered the final charge against the palace enclosure. The Rajputs cast aside all defensive armour, bathed, and charged the enemy with their swords and spears, and fought till they fell.

The gallant ruler of Champaner and his minister Dungarsi were both wounded and taken captives. The Sultan gave them in charge of Muhafiz Khan to be taken care of until their wounds were healed. After a few months, on being restored to health, they were brought before the king who asked them to embrace the Muslim faith. Both of them refused, and, as they had thus publicly rejected Islam, the *Ulama* ordered their execution. The Raval's head was struck off and exposed on a gibbet. The minister Dungarsi, wresting a sword from a soldier, killed one of the Sultan's relatives at one blow, but was overpowered and slain (1485). The two daughters of the Raval were admitted into the Sultan's harem, and his son given in charge of a high nobleman to be educated and brought up as a Musalman. He received the name of Malik Husain Bahmani, and played an important part during the next reign under the titles of Nizam-ul-Mulk and Mubariz-ul-Mulk.[2]

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1 The terrible sacrifice known as the *jauhar*, by which the Rajputs invariably destroyed their wives and daughters rather than permit them to fall into the hands of the Muslims, has been often recorded in Rajput annals. Mr. Vincent A. Smith, in his latest work on Akbar, says: "Sir George Grierson permits me to announce that he has discovered the etymology of the word *jauhar*. It is the Prakrit *jauhara* representing the Sanskrit *jatu-griha*, the 'lac-house' of inflammable material in which their enemies tried to burn the Pandavas alive (*Mahabh.*, I, chaps. 141-51). The word should be written *jauhar* not *johar*" (*Akbar, the Great Mogul*, p. 72 *n.*).

2 The faimly of the Chohan rulers of Champaner, though deprived of its chief seat in 1484, is still represented by the rulers of the Chhota Udeypur and Devgadh Bariya States: (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. III, p. 304.)

Foundation of Muhammadabad-Champaner.

Delighted with the climate of Champaner, Mahmud transformed this ancient Hindu city into a Muslim capital, and renamed it Muhammadabad. He erected an outer wall round the city, and constructed the enclosure which is called the Bhadra or "citadel." Within the city he built a palace and a beautiful Jami Masjid, and in a short time the nobles and wealthy merchants erected in it lofty mansions for themselves. The Sultan laid out extensive gardens on the outskirts of the new capital, which were adorned by the skill of a native of Khurasan with fountains and cascades. Champaner territory is said to have excelled in fruit-trees of all kinds, particularly the delicious mango, and sandalwood trees were found to be so abundant that their timber was used by the Musalmans for building their houses. Muhammadabad-Champaner, as we may call the new city, rose in this reign to the dignity of one of the mint-towns of the Saltanat, and for the next fifty years it was regarded as the political capital of Gujarat. The disorders consequent upon the death of Sultan Bahadur in 1536 precipitated the decay of the city. Its decline from this date appears to have been very rapid, for the historian Sikandar, writing about 1611, only seventy-five years after the death of Bahadur, says:—

"Blessed be Allah! Was this Champaner—now the abode "of the tiger and the lion? Its buildings are ruined and "its inhabitants have given their property to the winds "of destruction. Even its waters are poisoned, and its "air such that it deprives the human frame of its strength. "Thorns grow now where flowers bloomed, and where "gardens smiled there is jungle dense and frowning, and "there is neither name nor trace of sandalwood trees. Of a "truth, the Quranic saying has here been illustrated: "'Everything on earth shall perish except the face of thine "glorious and gracious Lord.'"[1]

Such was Muhammadabad-Champaner in 1611. In the same desolate condition it remains to this day, and we may well apply to it the lines written in connection with a far more famous and more ancient city,

"They say the Lion and the Lizard keep
The Court where Jamshid gloried and drank deep."

[1] Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, pp. 68-9.

The causes which, within so short a period, sapped the vitality of the city, and turned it from a flourishing and populous capital into a desert, are difficult to discover. The superstitious may well ascribe its fall to the dying curses of those innocent Rajput women who perished in that awful *jauhar* on the lofty heights of Pavagadh in 1484. The extent of the city in the days of its prosperity may be judged from the fact that at the beginning of last century, its ruins extended almost to Halol, about three and a half miles to the north-west of Pavagadh hill. The massive wall of freestone with which Sultan Mahmud surrounded the "citadel" of Muhammadabad-Champaner still exists in almost perfect repair, though much overgrown with creepers and clinging trees. It is about thirty feet high with bastions at regular intervals. Within the city walls all is silent and desolate, for the modern village, occupied by a few Bhil and Naikda squatters, consists of a single street of mean huts. In the midst of the extensive ruins, two beautiful mosques and the "mandvi" or customs-house still remain to remind the visitor of the past splendour of Champaner as a Muslim capital.[1]

Naval conflict with the Portuguese, 1507.

During the remaining twenty-five years of his reign Sultan Mahmud was engaged, at intervals, in several military operations, though none of these is of sufficient importance to deserve special mention. One naval episode however, cannot be passed over. "The first of the three great waves of European invasion was already beating on the shores of Gujarat," and, in 1507, the recently established Portuguese power came into conflict with the ruling power in Western India. Within less than ten years after the first arrival of Vasco de Gama at Calicut, these adventurous foreigners had extended their influence over the whole of the western coast of India. The result was that the Musalman rulers of Turkey and Egypt found themselves deprived of the chief source of their revenue by the interception of the overland trade between Europe and the East and its diversion to the Cape route. In 1507, the last Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, realising the peril to his eastern trade, resolved to drive the

1 One of these mosques is the beautiful Jami Masjid, described by Fergusson as "architecturally the finest in Gujarat" (*Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 242). It is a large building and still in excellent preservation. According to Firishta it bore an inscription containing a chronogram of the date of its completion in the words—*Khutbah wa minbar*, "the benediction and the pulpit" (Briggs' *Firishta*, Vol. IV, p. 70) The numerical value of the Persian letters gives the Hijra year 914, corresponding to A.D. 1508-09. The mosque was thus erected in the very last years of the reign of Mahmud Begada, at the time when the Ahmadabad style of architecture was perhaps at its best. A full description of the mosque with fine illustrations will be found in Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Gujarat*, pp. 41-43.

Portuguese from the Arabian Sea. He sent a fleet under Amir Husain into Indian waters, and it was joined by the Gujarat navy under the command of the famous Malik Ayaz, the governor of Diu. The combined flotilla sailed down to Chaul and defeated the Portuguese squadron, which was much smaller, and under the command of the son of Dom Francisco de Almeida, the first Viceroy of Portuguese India. Mahmud Begada is said to have been greatly pleased at the success of his admiral. Shortly after, in 1509, Dom Almeida in person sailed with a fleet into Gujarat waters, and defeated the combined Egyptian and Gujarat navies in the harbour of Diu.

A 'Mahdi' from Jaunpur.

About the close of the reign of Mahmud Shah, Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpuri, the first man who in India claimed to be the Imam Mahdi or "Restorer of Islam,"[1] arrived at Ahmadabad from Jaunpur and took up his residence at the mosque of Taj Khan Salar, near the Jamalpur gate of the city. His eloquent preaching attracted large crowds of people; though Saiyid Shah Sheikhji, the grandson of saint Qutb-ul-Alam, considered his doctrines more suited to a few chosen disciples. The Sultan is said to have expressed a desire to hear him, but his ministers would not allow him to do so. As the *Ulama* of Ahmadabad soon after issued a *fatwa* against him deciding on his death, the Jaunpur preacher left the city. His subsequent career has been differently described and he is said to have died in 1505 near Kandahar in Persia. His followers still exist in some parts of India and are known as the *Ghair Mahdiya*, *i.e.*, those who hold that the promised Mahdi has already appeared.

Death of Mahmud Begada.

In 1510 Sultan Mahmud left Ahmadabad on his last visit to Pattan, where he interviewed the holy men of the place, saying, "I have come this time to take leave of you, for I know that the measure of my life is full. Pray for me." He then retraced his steps to his capital. On his way he halted at Sarkhej, and visited the shrine of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu. Then, gazing with a mournful look at his own mausoleum, which he had caused to be built near the saint's resting-place, he

1 "The alleged prophesies of the Founder regarding the advent of the Restorer of the Faith, assumed a peculiar importance when Islam entered on the century preceding the first (Hijri) millennium, and the learned everywhere agitated the question till at last the Mahdi movement assumed in India a definite form through the teaching of Mir Sayid Muhammad of Jaunpur. The fall of Jaunpur was to him a sign that the latter days had come; extraordinary events, which looked like miracles, marked his career; and a voice from heaven had whispered to him the words, 'Anta Mahdi, "thou art Mahdi"' (Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pp. IV, V).

said, "This is Mahmud's advance camp, which he will soon occupy." After arriving at Ahmadabad the Sultan fell ill, and continued so for three months. He sent for his son Prince Khalil Khan from Baroda, and advised him to rule with righteousness and justice. As some improvement was seen in his condition, the prince returned to Baroda, but soon after the old Sultan succumbed to exhaustion (1511). With mournful laments they carried him to Sarkhej and buried him in the tomb which he had prepared for himself. He was at the time of his death sixty-seven years of age and had reigned fifty-four years. He was called after his death *Khudaigan-i-Halim*, or "The great gentle lord." Not long before his death the Sultan was informed that Shah Ismail Sawafi of Persia had sent him an embassy headed by Yadgar Beg Kazilbash. The Kazilbashes were Shiahs, and the Sultan, who was a staunch Sunni, prayed that he might not be forced to see a Shiah's face during his last days. His wishes were fulfilled, for he died before the Persian embassy entered the city.

Family of Mahmud I.

Mahmud Begada had four sons. (1) Prince Muhammad Kālā, whose mother was Rani Rup Manjari. She had been the wife of Sultan Qutb-ud-din, and, after his death, came to Sultan Mahmud. Both the prince and his mother died before the Sultan, and the rani's tomb is in the "mausoleum of the queens" at Ahmadabad. (2) Prince Abu Bakr Khan (or Aba Khan), the son of Rani Sipari. The young man was involved in a low intrigue, and the matter coming to the ears of the Sultan, he ordered poisoned drink to be given to him. Rani Sipari's rauza is situated near the Astodiya gate at Ahmadabad, and the lovely mosque which she erected at this place in 1514 will demand our attention in the next reign. (3) Prince Ahmad, whom Khudawand Khan attempted to place on the throne in 1480. His complicity in the plot appears to have cost the prince the throne, since he was eventually passed over for the succession. (4) Prince Khalil Khan, who became the heir to the throne, and succeeded his father as Muzaffar Shah II. He was born in 1475, and the chronogram for his birth is the word *Farrukh*, which means-happy or auspicious. His mother was Rani Hirabai, the daughter of Naga Rana, a Rajput chief on the banks of the river Mahi. The Sultan associated his youngest son at an early age in the work of administration, for in 1487, when he was barely twelve years old, we find him put in charge of Sorath. His jagir was at Baroda where he mostly resided till called to the throne.

Mahmud's personal characteristics.

The European travellers who visited India during the early years of the sixteenth century appear to have been powerfully impressed by the fame of Mahmud Begada, and the strange accounts which they gave of his personal habits made his name familiar to the nations of Europe. The famous Bolognese adventurer, Ludovico di Varthema, who visited Cambay and other ports in Western India about the year 1506, gives the following account of the Gujarat ruler :—

"The Sultan has mustachios under his nose so long that "he ties them over his head as a woman would tie her "tresses, and he has a white beard which reaches to "his girdle. Every day he eats poison. Do not, how- "ever, imagine that he fills his stomach with it; but "he eats a certain quantity, so that when he wishes to "destroy any great personage, he makes him come before "him stripped and naked, and then eats certain fruits "which are called *jaiphal* (nutmeg), which resemble a muscatel "nut. He also eats certain leaves of herbs called "*tamboli* (pan or betel-leaf), and with these he eats some "lime of oyster-shells. When he has masticated them well, "and has his mouth full, he spurts it out upon that person "whom he wishes to kill, so that in the space of half an "hour he falls to the ground dead. Every time that he takes "off his shirt, it is never again touched by any one. My "companion asked how it was that this Sultan ate poison in "this manner. Certain merchants, who were older than the "Sltan, answered that his father had fed him upon poison."[1]

We would hesitate to give credence to these somewhat gruesome details were they not substantially in agreement with the account given by another European adventurer of the same period. Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese, who visited Gujarat shortly after the death of Sultan Mahmud, says that the Prince had from childhood been nourished with poison. "And 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. This "poison he was unable to leave off eating, for he feared if he did "not use it he would die soon after."[2] The works of both

[1] *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema* (Hakluyt Society Publications), pp. 109-10.

[2] *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in* 1514 by Duarte Barbosa (Hakluyt Society Publications), p. 57.

Varthema and Barbosa were translated into several of the European languages, and so it came about that Mahmud Begada gained in Europe an unenviable notoriety as "the Blue Beard of Indian History." It is to this ruler that Samuel Butler, the English satirist of the seventeenth century, makes reference in the well-known lines in *Hudibras*,

> "The Prince of Cambay's daily food
> Is asp and basilisk and toad."

Strangely enough, the Muhammadan historians of Gujarat make no allusion to Mahmud's constitution having been poison-saturated. The details which they give of the abnormal, and almost disgusting, gastronomic capacities of their favourite hero are, however, quite in keeping with the characteristics described above, and deserve to be noticed. His appetite was enormous. As a modern writer emphatically puts it, "With all his many excellences, Mahmud had at least one quality which must have rendered him as a companion disgusting—no milder adjective will do. He was a huge glutton." According to Sikandar his daily allowance of food was one Gujarati *man* in weight, *i.e.*, 41 lbs. After taking his meals he used to eat five *sers* of parched rice as dessert. On his retiring to rest he ordered two plates of *samosas* (minced meat pattis) to be placed on each side of his bed, so that on whichever side he awoke he might find something to eat. For breakfast, after his morning prayer, he used to take a cup of Mecca honey, and another of butter, together with a hundred and fifty 'golden' plantains.[1] Conscious of the inordinate cravings of his appetite, Mahmud often used to say, "If Allah had not given his unworthy slave rule over Gujarat, who would have satisfied his hunger?"

It is related that though the Sultan, after the conquest of Champaner in 1484, resided for the greater part of the year at his new capital Muhammadabad, he used to pass the hot weather at Ahmadabad in order to enjoy the season of ripe melons. Very few of us, at the present day, would share the Sultan's preference for his capital during the summer months, and our sympathies rather go with the Emperor Jahangir, who, during his visit to the capital of Gujarat in 1618, was so disgusted with the intense and stifling heat that he could only give vent to his feelings in the strongest epithets of opprobrium.[2]

[1] A similar story is related of the extraordinary appetite of Akbar's famous minister Abul Fazl, the celebrated author of the *Ain-i-Akbari*. On the authority of the *Masir ul-Umra* he consumed daily twenty-two *sers* of food. (Blochmann, *Ain*, Vol. I, p. xxviii.)

[2] The average temperature of Ahmadabad in the month of May is about 105° but the highest temperature recorded during recent years is 119° in the shade. If Jahangir described the city in the language of disgust as *Jahannamabad*, a modern daily newspaper, in recording the temperature mentioned above, was hardly less emphatic in characterising the city as "unfit for human habitation."

Career of saint Shah Alam.

In 1475, the holy saint Shah Alam "quitted this transitory life," and his name still commands, along with that of his father and of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, the pious reverence of the Gujarat Muhammadans. Born in 1415, Hazrat Muhammad Shah Alam Bukhari was sixty years old at the time of his death.[1] He is said to have been the eleventh of the twelve sons of Saiyid Burhan-ud-din Qutb-ul-Alam. On the death of his father in 1453, Shah Alam succeeded to the leadership of the Bukhari Saiyids of Gujarat, and, as the head of the devotees of this school, began to take a very active part in the politics of his day. He appears to have been a man of unbending will and stern disposition, and his marriage, his wealth, and his sanctity combined to give him great political and social influence. At first the friend and spiritual adviser of Sultan Qutb-ud-din, he became the object of the ill-concealed animosity of that Sultan, whose violence, however, failed to injure a man of Shah Alam's personal piety and vast popularity. The last seventeen years of the saint's life were passed in the reign of Mahmud Begada, during which period, as the protector of the Sultan's youth and the husband of Bibi Mughali, his prestige must have been at its height and his influence unchallenged. Shah Alam had several sons, one of whom, Shah Bhikan, the son of Bibi Mirgi, appears to have died in boyhood.[2]

Rasulabad was for many years the residence of Shah Alam, and there he was buried. The place itself is now usually styled "Shah Alam," and is situated about a mile to the south of Ahmadabad. We shall turn, therefore, to describe the famous group of buildings at this place which were erected at various dates between 1475 and 1570 and which cover an area of about five acres. A Musalman fair is held here every year on the anniversary of the saint's death, and is attended by about 50,000 people from Gujarat and Kathiawad.

Monuments at "Shah Alam".

The principal buildings enclosed within the lofty and bastioned wall at "Shah Alam" are the two beautiful tombs of the saint and his descendants, the masjid, and the Jamat Khana or Hall of Assembly. The

[1] Shah Alam was born on the 9th of Zulkaadah, A.H. 817 (18th January 1415) and died on the 20th Jumada II., A.H. 880 (21st. October 1475)—Jarrett, *Ain-i Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 372. The date of his death is found in the chronogram *Fakhr* ('Glory.') as also in the words *Akhir-ul-Auliya* ('the last of the Saints')—Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, p. 63.

[2] The tomb of Hazrat Shah Bhikan is said to be on the banks of the Sabarmati to the south-west of the city. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 336 n.)

central monument, round which all the rest may be said to be grouped, is the mausoleum of the saint himself, and it is doubtless the earliest of the structures erected in the enclosure. It was raised, soon after 1475, by Taj Khan Narpali, a nobleman of the courts of Mahmud Begada and his son, and is said to have taken ten years to complete. The floor of the central area is paved with black, white and grey marble. Round the sarcophagus is a white marble screen, beautifully carved, about four feet high. The dome of the mausoleum is also richly decorated inside with inlaid mother-o'-pearl, the gift of Ali Asaf Khan, who distinguished himself during the conquest of Gujarat under Akbar, and died there in 1581. At a short distance from the saint's mausoleum is another, on the same plan and scale, which contains the tombs of the Bukhari Saiyids who were directly descended from Shah Alam.[1] Both these monuments are pleasing in design and retain to a great extent the character of the local Ahmadabad style of the period. On the domes of both are tall metal finials terminating with the pipal leaf—the cognizance of the rulers of the Ahmad Shahi dynasty.

The masjid at "Shah Alam," which is of a much later date, is said to have been erected by Muhammad Salih Badakshi. The minarets at either end were begun by another noble early in the seventeenth century, and completed after his death by a third. The mosque partakes of the usual type of such buildings in other parts of India, and can scarcely be said to belong to the Ahmadabad style. "The interior, however, is well worthy of study by those who have not had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the grander examples of this form of construction at Agra and Delhi." The remaining building of importance in the sacred enclosure is the Diwan Khana or Assembly Hall, the first erection of which is ascribed to the life-time of Shah Alam and the reign of Muhammad Shah II (1442–51); but it was restored by Muzaffar Shah III, the last of the Sultans of Gujarat (1560–72). It is stated that when General Goddard besieged Ahmadabad in February 1780, during the war with the Marathas, this hall was partly

[1] The central grave in this second mausoleum is that of Saiyid Muhammad Maqbul Alam, the sixth in lineal descent from Shah Alam. Over this grave, upon a stone tablet, are the footprints of the prophet (*qadam-i-rasul*) which are specially honoured on the *bari wafat*, the anniversary of the death of Muhammad the Prophet.

destroyed to furnish materials for the siege. It is now in good preservation.[1]

The nobles of Mahmud's Court.

We are indebted to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* for a detailed account of the careers of the principal nobles who flourished in the reign of Mahmud Begada. The memory of many of them is still preserved in the names of several of the wards and suburbs of Ahmadabad, and in the beautiful mosques which their religious piety led them to erect. It must not, however, be forgotten that the elaborate additions made by them to the architecture of the capital and its environs was in no small measure the result of royal patronage and influence.

(*a*) Malik Ayaz Sultani.

The name of Malik Ayaz Sultani has already been noticed in connection with the final assault on Pavagadh (1484), and the first naval conflict with the "infidel Portuguese" in 1507. Originally a purchased slave, he rose to the command of provinces and unlimited wealth and became the most distinguished among the nobles of the time. As governor of Diu he exercised almost regal sway, and did much to fortify and beautify the island. He erected its fort, which was later on reconstructed by the Portuguese when they became masters of the place. He also built a tower in the sea on an under-water rock, and from it drew a massive iron chain (the *sankal kot*) across the mouth of the harbour, so as to prevent the Portuguese ships from entering. Malik Ayaz also built a substantial bridge over the creek which runs into the island. "During the rule of the malik," says Sikandar, "no Firangi ship dare enter a port of Gujarat. Now-a-days (1611) not a vessel dare leave a port of Gujarat without a pass from the Firangis, except, perhaps, from Surat, and then only by the boldness and gallantry of the crew."

Of the immense wealth and boundless liberality of Malik Ayaz Sultani many stories are related. He had a thousand water-carriers on his establishment, and kept with him a huge

[1] Liberal endowments must, no doubt, have been settled by the Ahmadabad Sultans for the maintenance of the tombs and the mosque at Shah Alam. But, in spite of the severity of Muslim law for the protection of these *waqf* endowments, the income was usually alienated by the trustees. A century after the extinction of the Gujarat Saltanat, we find the Shah Alam rauza in need of support, and in 1670 a *sanad* was granted by the Emperor Aurangzeb assigning several villages for the maintenance of the tomb and its custodians—the Saiyids of Vatva. In 1724, the Gaekwad Trimbakrao Dabade assigned or confirmed several villages for the same purpose. When, however, Gujarat came under British control, in 1817, most of these villages seem to have been again alienated or sold. In 1867, the Government of Bombay sanctioned a large sum of money for repairs at Shah Alam "because of the remarkable architecture of these structures," and made provision for their upkeep.

reservoir of leather which supplied his army, his horses, and elephants with water when on the march. His retainers, down to the humblest, were clad in velvet and broadcloth and gold brocade ; and his table was supplied with the richest and rarest articles of food from every country. It is said that when, in the reign of Muzaffar Shah II, the king summoned Malik Ayaz rom Sorath to help him in the war with Rana Sanga, the malik, in spite of the marches and the turmoil of war, used to invite all the nobles in the royal camp to dine at his table, and to those who did not turn up he used to send a sumptuous dinner. Several of the amirs, who considered themselves the equals of the malik in rank and wealth, were displeased at this assumption of superiority, and ordered their servants not to return the china plates in which the dinner was sent them, hoping that the exhaustion of his stock would compel the malik to give up his ways. This went on for a month, at the end of which, the amirs, overcome by his plenty and liberality, sent back the plates.

(*b*) Muhafiz Khan.

The political career of another brilliant nobleman, Muhafiz Khan, has been described in connection with his exaltation after the conquest of Junagadh. He appears to have also taken a prominent part in the great war with Champaner, and was entrusted by the king with the construction of the upper citadel at Pavagadh and the outer city wall. A minister of his standing and influence could well afford to build a special mosque in the character of a family chapel, and the pretty little mosque that goes by his name still stands as a momento of the great governor of Ahmadabad under Mahmud I. The mosque, which was erected in 1492, is near the Delhi gate, and is in better preservation than any other at Ahmadabad. The minarets are at the extreme ends of the building, an arrangement that was at this period coming into fashion. They are "among the most richly carved at Ahmadabad, and the panels of rich floral tracery that adorn the three sides of each have been the subject of the greatest ingenuity and care." A beautiful wooden model of this mosque appears to have been made in the last century.[1]

(*c*) Malik Sarang.

Malik Sarang, Kiwam-ul-Mulk, built the great *mahalla* or ward of Sarangpur at Ahmadabad. Of Rajput extraction, he was taken captive by the Sultan and forced to accept Islam.

1. H. G. Briggs, writing in 1848, says: "I saw a wooden model made for Mr. A. Kinloch Forbes of the Civil Service, Assistant Judge of the station. I was told it cost upwards of four hundred rupees: it was exquisitely wrought of teak and true to the original." (*Cities of Gujarashtra*, p. 254.)

His services have been mentioned in connection with the abortive conspiracy of Khudawand Khan in 1480, and four years later he distinguished himself at the storming of the fort of Champaner. His political career extends beyond this reign, and we find him often mentioned in the reign of Muzaffar II, though under this ruler he proved violent and turbulent. In 1520 he was made governor of Ahmadabad, where he ruled arbitrarily. In 1528 he is reported as put in charge of Diu by Sultan Bahadur, and probably died an old man soon after that date. It is natural to suppose that Malik Sarang built the quarter of Sarangpur about the time when he was governor of the capital in the time of Muzaffar II. Here also, though the date is unknown, he built the large mosque (the Sarangpur masjid) and the tomb near it, both of which, on completion, "must have been among the finest in the city."

(*d*) Malik Baha-ud-din.

Another was Haji Malik Baha-ud-din, entitled Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk and Imad-ul-Mulk. In 1466 he was elevated to the dignity of vazir. He probably built the suburb of Hajipur, to the north of Ahmadabad, on the banks of the Sabarmati. The beautiful mosque at this place, known by the name of Bibi Achut Kuki's, erected in 1472, is attributed to him, but the inscription being defective in parts, the builder's name cannot be identified with certainty. Being outside the city, this mosque has not attracted as much attention as it deserves. But it is second to none in finish, and altogether one of the finest examples of the architecture of the period. It exhibits, perhaps, the most perfect development of the "mixed style," the Hindu and Saracenic elements being "so perfectly amalgamated that it requires a practised eye to detect what belongs to the one style, and what to the other." Bibi Achut Kuki is said to have been the wife of the founder. The Mosque of Miyan Khan Chishti, which is also outside the city to the north, near the Shah-i-Bagh, is said to have been built in 1465 by Malik Makhsud Vazir, the brother of Malik Baha-ud-din. It was erected in honour of a member of the famous Chishti family of holy men, whose descendants are the hereditary kazis of the Shahpur quarter in Ahmadabad.

(*e*) Other nobles.

This list is, however, by no means complete. There were (1) Khudawand Khan, known as Malik Alim, who built the old hamlet of Alimpur outside the city, now the village of Dana Limdi, and to whom is attributed the introduction into Gujarat of the melon, the fig and the bamboo; (2) Dawar-ul-Mulk,

generous and God-fearing, who was appointed by the Sultan as "thanadar" of Amran in Kathiawad, and who exerted himself strenuously to spread the light of Islam from Morvi to Bhuj, across the salty *Rann*. (3) Malik Kalu, who built the ward of Kalupur and probably erected the mosque known as Sakar Khan's situated in this quarter. (4) Taj Khan Narpali, the same who built the ward of Tajpur and raised the beautiful marble tomb over the resting place of saint Shah Alam. (5) Darya Khan and Malik Shaban, the monuments associated with whom have been noticed in the reign of Sultan Qutb-ud-din, under whom they first rose to power.

Mahmud's domestic administration.

From the information, scanty as it is, that we possess of Mahmud Begada's civil administration, we have reason to believe that the Sultan was throughout his reign actuated by a desire to secure to his subjects the benefits of a strong and well-ordered government. We are told that the cultivators led a contented existence as the king never deviated from his regulations after he had once laid them down fairly. The merchants were happy because the roads were safe for traffic. The Sultan constructed fine *sarais* and inns for the comfort of travellers, and erected splendid mosques and colleges for the benefit of his subjects. If in any town or village he saw an empty shop or a house in ruins, he would ask the owner the reason, and, if necessary, would provide what amount was needed for its restoration. We are also informed that the abundance of fruit trees in Gujarat—such as the khirni, the jambul, the cocoanut, the gular, the bel, the mhowra, the amla, etc.—is the result of the fostering efforts of this great Sultan. He is said to have given particular attention to the planting of roadside trees. Whenever he saw any shade-giving tree, such as a banyan, a nim or a pipal, he would pull up rein, call for its owner, and ask him in a very kindly manner whence he watered the tree. If the owner said that the water was distant, and that he was put to trouble in fetching it, the king would order a well to be dug there at the state expense. The people were also promised rewards in proportion to the number of trees they planted. The "garden of paradise," which was about ten miles long and one mile broad, and the "garden of Shaban" were both laid out during this reign.

His solicitude for his army.

An efficient and well-equipped standing army was the instrument of Mahmud Begada's military glory, and in return for its services he was constantly solicitous for its welfare. A

rule was established that if an amir or a soldier was killed in battle or died a natural death, his jagir was confirmed to his son; if there was no son, half of the estate was given to the daughter; and if there was no daughter, a suitable provision was made for the dependants. A suggestion was once made to the king that the son of a deceased noble was not worthy of his position. "The position will make him worthy" replied the king; and from that time no one ventured to raise such an objection again. The Sultan also decreed that no soldier should borrow money on interest. He appointed treasurers at different places to advance money to such as were in need of loans, and to recover the amount according to the agreement made. In this way the Sultan saved his troops from the grasp of the usurious money-lenders, who, as the historian says, now "led the life of dogs, or rather were looked upon as worse than dogs."

Several stories are related to show the interest taken by the king in the families of those who had fallen in his wars. About 1473, on his return journey after the successful expedition against Junagadh and the conquest of Dwarka and the pirates, Mahmud halted for three days at Sarkhej, where he paid a visit to the tomb of Saint Ahmad Khattu, and summoned to his camp the sons of the amirs and of the soldiers who had been killed in the campaigns. During these three days the king's eyes were often filled with tears and his countenance marked with grief. His courtiers remonstrated with him for delaying his entry into his capital and for exhibiting so much sadness when he had returned after such glorious victories. The Sultan replied that a ruler must be utterly devoid of humanity if, after having himself returned safe, he could not tarry three days to interview the widows and families of those who had perished, and to console and comfort them. When Najmuddin, the kazi, came out of Ahmadabad to congratulate and welcome the Sultan, the latter responded sadly, "Ah! kazi, it is well with me, but you should tell me of those whose sons and brothers have become martyrs during these last five years. If I had remained at home all they years, how many children might have been born who have been sacrificed for these victories!"

Modes of warfare.

It will not be out of place to mention a few points about the methods of warfare employed at this period. In common with perhaps every other ruler in India, the Gujarat sovereign employed a corps of war-elephants as an integral part of his military organisation. These elephants were brought to the sea-ports by

merchants from Malabar and Ceylon and sold for about 1,500 ducats[1] each. Barbosa tells us that the king had four or five hundred of these elephants at his residence, all very large and fine: "They make wooden castles on the top of the elephants, "which hold four men, who carry bows, guns, and other "weapons, and fight thence with the enemy. And the elephants "are so well trained that they know how to take part in the "battle, and with their tusks wound the men and horses so "severely that in a very short time they put any array into "confusion. But they are so timid, and subject to pain when "wounded, that they take to flight at once, and put one "another into confusion and rout their own side."[2]

The next important arm of the army was the cavalry, composed mainly of horses bred in the country and said to be of excellent quality. The riders were bold knights, using small saddles, and each carrying a very thick round shield, two swords, a dagger, and a Turkish bow with very good arrows. Many of them had coats of mail or tunics quilted with cotton. The horses, likewise, had housings and were protected by steel head pieces.

Repair of the city walls.

Firishta informs us that on his return to the capital after the conquest of Champaner, Sultan Mahmud caused Ahmadabad to be surrounded by a wall and bastions, and on the completion of the work had the sentence "Whosoever is within is safe," inscribed on one face of the fortifications, thus commemorating the date of the event. This chronogram gives the year 892 H, or A.D. 1486. The statement is, however, difficult to accept in light of the fact that, according to the "Mirat-i-Ahmadi," Sultan Ahmad Shah I completed the city-walls in 1417. The probability is that Mahmud repaired the walls and bastions erected by his famous grandfather.

Relations with Hindu zamindars.

The *Ras Mala* supplies us with an interesting episode, connected with Mahmud's conquest of Ranpur, which well illustrates the relations of the Sultan with the Hindu

[1] The ducat was a coin formerly current in most European countries. A gold ducat was worth about 9s.; a silver ducat about half that amount. One thousand five hundered gold ducats would, at this rate, be equal to about £675, or approximately Rs. 6,750.

[2] *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar* by Duarte Barbosa (Hakluyt Society Reprint), p. 55.

landholders of Gujarat. According to the bardic chronicle the fort of Ranpur[1] was at this time held by a Gohil chief named Ranji as a feudatory of the Sultan. It is said that Ranji and the Badshah had married sisters, the daughters of the raja of Marwar. Once, when on a visit to her father's house, the queen met her sister, the thakorani, whom she invited to dine with her. The Gohil's wife excused herself by saying, "You have married the king, and my husband is his servant, I am not therefore worthy to sit at dinner with you." When, however, the elder sister continued to persist, the other confessed her real reason, viz., that she would lose caste by eating with the queen who had married a Muhammadan. The latter was greatly incensed and determined to have her sister brought to the court by any means and there make her dine in her company. The king was persuaded to take up the matter, and he contrived to make Ranji's wife come to Ahmadabad. Some time after her arrival the Sultan requested Ranji to bring his wife to the palace on a visit. The Gohil refused, but finding that resistance was hopeless, he had recourse to stratagem, and brought away his wife in safety te Ranpur.

About the same time, says the *Ras Mala*, another incident happened which further increased the Sultan's resentment against the chief of Ranpur. An old Muhammadan woman and her son, who were on their way to Mecca on pilgrimage, lodged one night at Ranpur. Early the next morning the boy rose, and, as was his custom, began to cry the "bang" or the Islamic summons to prayers. The Brahmans of the city, hearing this, hastened to the chief and told him that this unusual incident portended that his sovereignty would pass to the "barbarians." Enraged at this thought, the Gohil seized the boy, and, in spite of the entreaties of the mother, slew him. The woman retraced her steps to Ahmadabad and sought redress at the Sultan's hands.

Mahmud's nephew, by name Bhandari Khan, volunteered to march against Ranpur. Ranji met him at Dhandhuka, where a desperate conflict ensued. The Gohil was defeated and pushed back to the gates of his town. He sent word to his wives that when they beheld his royal umbrella go down, they should take it as a signal that all was lost, and should

[1] Ranpur is a small town and fort in the Dhandhuka sub-division of the Ahmadabad district. As one of the posts on the borderland between Gujarat and Kathiavad it has always been a place of historical interest. It was founded in the beginning of the fourteenth century by a Rajput chief Ranji Gohil (the forefather of the opponent of Mahmud Shah mentioned in the text) who is the ancestor of the Bhavnagar family. The date of Mahmud's conquent of Ranpur is uncertain.

destroy themselves to avoid being captured by the Muhammadans. As the fight proceeded, Ranji's umbrella-bearer set it down for a moment to drink water. The ladies, taking this as the signal of their husband's death, jumped into the well in the fort and perished. Soon after Ranji himself fell, and the Muhammadans became masters of Ranpur. It is related that Mahmud later on presented this place to the Gohil's nephew Haluji Parmar, Chief of Mali, who had become a convert to Islam. When Haluji begged for a grant on copper-plate to confirm his title, the Sultan assured him that it was unnecessary since the fact of his conversion was not likely to be forgotten.[1] Such is the poetical record of the acquisition of Ranpur by the Sultan of Ahmadabad. The handsome fort which stands at present was erected about 1635 by Azam Khan (surnamed Udhai or "the white ant"), the famous Mughal viceroy of Gujarat under the Emperor Shah Jahan.[2]

Manners and customs of the people.

Barbosa, in his itinerary, gives a descriptive account of the manners and customs of the various classes of the people of Gujarat at the time of his visit. He informs us that the Musalmans in the province, apart from those born in the country, belong to various nationalities—Turks, Mamluks, Arabs, Persians, Khurasanis, Turkomans—being attracted to the country partly by its wealth and partly by the liberal pay offered by the Sultan. The members of the ruling race are described as all richly dressed in stuffs of gold, silk, cotton and wool, with leggings of leather worked with gold knots and embroidery. Their swords, ornamented with gold and silver, are borne in their girdles or carried by their pages. The Hindus of the country, we are told, are molested and ill-treated by their masters. They are described under the usual classification of Rajputs or knights, Banias or merchants, and Brahmans or priests. The following details which Barbosa gives to illustrate the exaggerated importance attached by the Banias (Jains) of Gujarat to the sanctity of animal life in every form are as entertaining as they are accurate :—

"The Banias are men who do not eat meat nor fish nor "anything that has life; neither do they kill anything, nor " like to see it killed, and they observe this to such an extreme " that it is something marvellous. For it often happens that

[1] Haluji Parmar founded the family of the present Ranpur Molesalams. A brother of Haluji, who also became a Musalman, was the founder of one of the branches of the Dholka Kasbatis. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol IV, p. 352 and *n*).

[2] A fuller description of Azam Khan's fort at Ranpur will be given when we review his memorable viceroyalty of Gujarat (A.D. 1635–1642).

"the Moors (Muslims) bring them some worms or little birds "alive, saying they intend to kill them in their presence; and "these merchants ransom them, and buy them to set them "flying and save their lives for more money than they are "worth. In the same way, if the governor of the country has "got a man to be executed, these Banias unite together and "buy him from the officers of justice, that he may not die. "And in the same manner the Moors when they want alms "from these people take great stones and strike themselves "with them on the shoulders and the breast and on their "stomachs as if they were going to kill themselves, and they "receive alms not to do it and to go away in peace. And "others bring knives and stab themselves in the arms and "legs before them in order to extract alms; and others come "to their doors to decapitate rats and snakes and other reptiles, "and they give them money not to do it. If these people meet "with a band of ants on the road, they hasten out of the road "and go and look for a place to pass without treading upon "them. They likewise sup in the daytime because they do not "light candles at night in order that the mosquitoes and "other insects may not come and die in the flame; and if of "necessity they must have candles, they keep them in lanterns "of paper so that no living thing can get there to suffer. If "these people have lice they do not kill them, and if they "worry them very much, they send to fetch some men whom "they esteem of holy lives, like hermits, and who live in much "abstinence for the love of their idols, and these people pick "out the insects, and all those that they extract they put in "their own heads, and they nourish them on themselves and "on their flesh for the service of their idols. And so this law "of not killing anything is held in great observance."[1]

The city of Cambay.

The ancient and historic seaport of Cambay[2] is at present so far removed from the main channels of trade and communication that few are aware of the fact that at this period it stood among the foremost of the cities of Western India, and rivalled Ahmadabad in wealth, beauty, and industrial prosperity. The Italian traveller Varthema, who visited Cambay about 1510, tells us that "about three hundred ships of diverse nations come and go here, so that this city supplies all

[1] *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar* by Duarte Barbosa, pp. 51, 52.

[2] With the downfall of the kingdom of Anhilvad in 1298, Cambay passed under Muslim rule. In 1299 the city was taken and plundered, its temples wrecked, and its people mercilessly slaughtered (Dowson's *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 43, 44). Cambay, however reached the height of its glory under the independent rulers of the Gujarat Saltanat.

Persia, Turkey, Syria, Barbary and other places with silk and cotton stuffs." He also mentions the cornelians for which Cambay has long been famous. His remarks, however, show that he was evidently confused by the imposing and extraordinary tides in the Gulf of Cambay which are called the Bore.[1] The account which Barbosa gives of the industrial activities of the city is interesting. He says :—

"In this city there are many mechanicians of subtle "workmanship, after the fashion of Flanders. They make many "cloths of white cotton, also many silk fabrics, camlets of silk, "velvets of all colours, both smooth and fluffy and coloured "taffetas. Besides a very large quantity of ivory is employed "in very delicate work, such as inlaid articles of gold, handles "of knives, daggers, bracelets, and chess-boards. There are "artists with the turning lathe who make large bedsteads. Also "great lapidaries, and imitators of precious stones of all kinds, "and makers of false pearls which seem real. So also there "are very good silversmiths of very skilful workmanship. In "this city they make very pretty canopies for bedsteads of "delicate design. They work there too in coral and other "stones."[2]

That Cambay, as the emporium of the trade of all northern, central and western India, must have had a very large and thoroughly cosmopolitan population hardly admits of any doubt, and a considerable foreign element is indicated by the remark that "the Moors (Musalmans) of Cambay speak many languages, such as Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Gujarati."

The city of Diu.

The island city of Diu, situated to the south of the Kathiavad peninsula, appears to have been, at this period, hardly inferior to Cambay as a great and busy commercial mart. After enumerating a very large number of commodities that come to and leave this port, Barbosa goes on to add, "This town gives such a large sum of money as revenue to the king for the loading and unloading of such rich goods, that it is a subject of marvel and amazement." We are not, therefore surprised to find that the possession of Diu began to be coveted about this time by the Portuguese, who had already appeared in Indian waters, and who, before the sixteenth century was over, were to dot the Indian Ocean with their possessions extending from Ormazd to the Moluccas. Besides Cambay and

[1] *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema* (Hakluyt Reprint), pp. 107-111.

[2] *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar* by Duarte Barbosa Hakluyt Society Reprint, pp. 65, 66).

Diu, Barbosa selects for special mention ten flourishing towns of commerce, situated along the shores of the Gulf of Cambay and southward as far as Bombay.[1] It was not then so much from the interior districts of their kingdom that the Sultans of Gujarat obtained the chief part of their revenues, but from the large and thriving seaports, enriched by commerce and industry. No wonder that the Delhi Emperor Sikandar Lodi (1488–1518), the contemporary of Mahmud I, contrasting the wealth of the Gujarat ruler with the scanty resources of his own kingdom, is reported to have said:—"The magnificence of the king of Delhi rests on wheat and barley, whilst that of the king of Gujarat, who has eighty-four ports under him, has its foundation on coral and pearls."[2]

The coins of the reign.

To numismatists the reign of Mahmud has an importance and an interest perhaps even greater than that of Ahmad I. "As in the history of the Saltanat it is his figure that bulks largest, and round him most of the 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." To Mahmud also belongs the honour of giving his name to the silver coin that was in current use throughout the province during his own and subsequent reigns. This was the "mahmudi," which remains by far the most common of the coins that numismatists have been able to procure in the bazars of Gujarat for the period of the Saltanat. No definite statement can be made about the value of the "mahmudi" as its weight underwent frequent changes.[3] A like transference of a sovereign's name to his coin is furnished by the French *Napoleon*.

Though Ahmadabad continued to remain the first mint-town of the kingdom, we find that Mahmud I established mints

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1 The names of these ports as given by Barbosa are:—Patemri (Patan-Somnath, now Veraval); Surati-Mangalor (Mangrol); Gogari (Gogha); Barbesi (Broach); Guendari (Gandhar); Ravel (Rander); Surati (Surat); Denvi (Dahnu); Baxay; (Bassein); and Tanamayambu (Thana-Mahim).

2 Bird's *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p.132.

3 Dr. Taylor makes some valuable remarks on the value of this coin a note on the *Mahmudi* prepared by him and incorporated by Rev. J. E. Abbott in his paper on "Bal Harir's Inscription at Ahmadabad" (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, No, 42)..

at the two capital cities of Mustafabad and Muhammadabad that he founded in 1471 and 1484 respectively. The activity of the mints at both these towns appears to have been confined to the reign of their founder. The mint-epithet of Mustafabad, as read on some of the coins struck at this place, was *shahr azam*, or "the very great city." The coins struck at Champaner generally record the name of the mint in its doubled form, Muhammadabad *urf* Champaner, though in some the "*urf* Champaner" was dropped and the new name Muhammadabad alone retained. "The city's remarkable prosperity was reflected on its coins, for these are quite the most florid and most elaborately designed of all in the series of the Gujarat Saltanat. If the exquisite workmanship of the silver coins is suggestive of the phenomenal prosperity that early attended the new Muhammadabad, 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 Mahmud."[1].

Later monuments at Sarkhej.

The Indo-Saracenic architecture of Ahmadabad may be said to have reached its golden age during the long and glorious rule of Mahmud Begada. According to tradition, Sarkhej was the favourite resort of the Sultan for repose and meditation, and the additions which his partiality for the spot led him to make complete the noble group of religious and secular monuments at this sacred place.

The beautiful lake at Sarkhej, which the Sultan excavated, is a considerable sheet of water, and covers no less than seventeen acres and a half. Its supply-sluice, though not so elaborate a work of art as that at Kankariya, is of the same pattern and richly decorated, "being carved with all the care ordinarily bestowed on the minarets and buttresses of the mosques." On the south-east corner of the great lake, and opposite the tomb of the Saint, Sultan Mahmud erected a mausoleum for himself and his family, which still remains in almost perfect condition. The Kings' Chamber contains the remains of three rulers of Gujarat, *viz.*, Mahmud Begada himself, his son Muzaffar II (the Clement), and Mahmud III, the grandson of Muzaffar II. Due west of the resting-place of the three kings, stands a smaller chamber for the dead, reserved for queens. Here also we notice three tombs. The brief inscription on one of these tells us that it contains the remains

1 Taylor, Geo. P., *The Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat.*

of Rani Rajbai.[1] She was the wife of Muzaffar II and died in 1590 at the age of one hundred and one, fully sixty-five years after the death of her husband. It is impossible to affirm with certainty who lie buried beside Rajbai in the two nameless tombs, but they were doubtless ladies of the royal family.

Our account of Sarkhej and its monuments is completed by reference to the imposing and extensive remains of buildings that are to be noticed on the other three sides of the lake. Those in the south-west corner are believed to represent Mahmud Begada's harem and palace. The buildings are in ruins, having long since been pillaged for the sake of the materials; but the verandahs and projecting balconies in both bear evidence that coolness and restfulness were main considerations in their construction. It is sad, however, to reflect that while the older group of monuments at Sarkhej has survived to this day in almost perfect condition, the palace and the harem, constructed by a later generation, are in a state of ruin and desolation. The Sabarmati once flowed past the Sarkhej buildings[2], but its bed has since been diverted either from natural or artificial causes, and the river now runs a mile to the south-east of this famous group of monuments.[3]

Two of the most beautiful of the monuments of Ahmadabad, though their date is unfortunately lost, have, on architectural grounds, been declared to belong to the end of the reign of Mahmud Begada. They are the Sidi Saiyid mosque and the Queen's mosque in the Mirzapur ward.

The Sidi Saiyid Mosque.

The mosque of Sidi Saiyid, with its glorious windows, is situated in the north-east corner of the Bhadra, close to the Lal Darvaza. The style of the building does not so accord with that of Ahmad Shah's mausoleum as to permit us to attribute it to an early date. Whilst it is probably subsequent to the tomb at Shah Alam, it may belong, at earliest, to about the end of Mahmud

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[1] The lower portion of the slab over Rajbai's tomb bears the following short inscription:—"Date of decease of Rani Rajbai: the year nine hundred and ninety-nine (999). Her name as usually known was Bibi Sultani." The *Hijri* year corresponds to A. D. 1590.

[2] *Vide* Briggs, J., *Firishta*, Vol. IV, p. 49.

[3] The fame of Shaikh Ahmad Ganj Bakhsh as a holy man has, as usual, attracted Musalmans to Sarkhej as a desirable burial place. There is buried here, Ghazali of Mashhad, "unrivalled in depth of learning and sweetness of language, at home in the noble thoughts of the Sufis." Ghazali was much liked by Akbar who conferred upon him the title of *Malik-ush-Shuara* or King of the Poets. He accompanied the Emperor in the expedition against Gujarat, and died suddenly on the 27th Rajab, H. 980 (A.D. 1575). By Akbar's orders he was buried at Sarkhej. (Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 568 and *n*.

Begada's reign, though possibly later. The prominent position of this beautiful mosque in the royal enclosure exposed it, in later times, to very rough treatment. It was desecrated by the Marathas, and afterwards allowed to fall out of use and repair. After the British occupation of Ahmadabad, General Goddard converted it into the "kachery" of the mamlatdar of the Daskroi taluka, two of the *mihrabs* being used as presses, and the whole of the interior defaced by a coat of hideous whitewash. From this desecration Lord Curzon delivered the Sidi Saiyid Mosque during one of his official visits to Ahmadabad as Viceroy, and, at his orders, the mamlatdar's office was ousted from the sacred precincts.

In spite of the vicissitudes through which the mosque has passed, its most attractive feature remains intact in its windows of carved sandstone, of which there are seven, the remaining three, strangely enough, being left incomplete. Of these exquisitely perforated windows, two on the west side are carved in a style that is perhaps unrivalled in the East. "At Agra and Delhi," says Mr. Fergusson, "there are some nearly as fine, but neither so extensive nor so exquisitely balanced as these. There is something wonderfully beautiful in the mode in which construction is, in these examples, combined with mere ornamentation. It is probably more like a work of nature than any other architectural detail that has yet been designed, even by the best architects of Greece or of the Middle Ages."[1] Both these masterpieces, which are among the glories of India, remained uninjured till about 1905 when some damage was unhappily done to the tracery of one during the process of taking paper casts of the carving. The attempt made in recent years to insert freshly carved material to fill the gap, only heightens by contrast the beauty and colour of the original. The undiscovered identity of Sidi Saiyid, and the incomplete character of the three windows on its north side, make this pretty little mosque one of the puzzles of Ahmadabad architecture.

Rani Rupavanti's Mosque.

The Queen's mosque in Ahmadabad, also known as the Rani Rupavanti masjid, derives its name from two royal ladies whose tombs occupy the adjacent rauza, but in whose reign they lived is not on record. One of them reveals her Hindu origin in her name (Rupavanti), being probably one of those unfortunate princesses whom their Rajput parents were constrained to surrender in

1 Hope and Fergusson, *Architecture of Ahmadabad*, pp. 86-87.

token of submission to the conqueror. The mosque is, along with those of Bibi Achut Kuki and Rani Sipari, among the most beautiful in the city. It is in the mixed style, and shows, on the whole, a fairly successful combination of the Muslim arch with the Hindu lintel.[1] As in other mosques of this style, the central part of the façade is raised considerably above the level of the rest of the roof to make room for the imposing central arched entrance, and at the same time to screen off a clerestory for admitting light into the interior, which is so pleasing a characteristic of the Ahmadabad mosques. The minars of this masjid, the upper towers of which were destroyed by the great earthquake of March 1819, are remarkable for the richness and variety of their decoration.[2] H. G. Briggs, who visited this mosque at the end of 1847, tells us that a model of the building, admirably executed in teakwood on the scale of half an inch to a foot, was made some years before his visit for Mr. Jackson, the Collector at that time of the district, and that it had cost about eight hundred rupees.[3]

Bai Harir's wav and the Adalaj well.

Like the masterpieces of the Gothic art of mediæval Europe, the Indo-Saracenic architecture of Ahmadabad was essentially religious in character, as is amply illustrated by the mosques and mausoleums that have been described in the course of this history. To Mahmud Begada's reign, however, belong two monuments, which are primarily utilitarian in their object, and the conception of which the architects of the end of the fifteenth century evidently borrowed from the preceding Hindu period. These are (1) Bai Harir's wav or step-well near the ancient well

[1] Mr Fergusson says: "Although the architects had got over much of the awkwardness that characterised their earlier efforts in this direction, they had not yet conquered them. There is, for instance, a very disagreeable contrast between the extreme richness of the minarets on each side of the central arch and the extreme plainness of the arch itself. The richness of the cornice above it adds to the discordant effect." (Hope and Fergusson, *ut sup*, p. 85.)

[2] In this connection Mr Fergusson observes: "Perhaps, after all, the greatest beauty of this mosque is to be found in its details, especially in that beautiful form of tracery which fills the niches of the minarets. In every Jaina or Hindu temple there always is on each face and on each storey a niche which is occupied by a statue or group indicative of the worship to which the temple was dedicated. As the Muhammadans keep the second commandment with the same strictness with which the Scotch observe the fourth, this, of course, was inadmissable; but as the niche was there, and the Hindu architects did not know what to substitute in its place, they retained it, but filled it with tracery, sometimes pierced to form a window, sometimes blind, as a mere ornament. Generally these were drawn with so free a hand and at the same time so gracefully, that they form the most beautiful details, taken singly, to be found in Ahmadabad. All are different, not only in detail but often in character, but all are beautiful." (Hope and Fergusson, *ut sup*, p. 86.)

[3] Briggs, H. G., *Cities of Gujarashtra*, p. 221.

of Mata Bhavani[1] in the suburb of Asarwa, and (2) the similar well at the village of Adalaj, eight miles to the north of Ahmadabad. A wav or bauli is a large structure, picturesque and stately, as well as peculiar in design. It consists of a deep well, which is approached by a series of galleries or floors, connected by broad flights of steps descending successively from the uppermost platform till the water-level is reached. These galleries and pillars below the surface are ornamented to as great an extent as some of the largest buildings above ground. In Bai Harir's wav at Asarwa there are two inscriptions, one in Sanskrit and the other in Arabic, and they state that this beautiful well was constructed at the expense of Sri Bai Harir Sultani, who was "the lady superintendent of the king's zanana during the reign of his august majesty Sultan Mahmud." The date of the Sanskrit inscription is 1499, and that of the Arabic epigraph is 1500.[2] Bai Harir is also said to have founded at Asarwa a suburb that went by the name of Harirpur, and situated to the west of the step-well are a mosque and rauza that still bear her name.

The way at the village of Adalaj was constructed about the same time as that described above and is the finest of its class in Gujarat. According to the Sanskrit inscription in the upper gallery, it was built, in 1502, by a Hindu lady named Rujhadevi (or Rudabai), who was the wife of Narasimha, the chief of Kālol.[3] The sculpture and ornamentation in this well closely resemble those at Bai Harir's. But we notice, at the same time, over a door in the second gallery, a frieze covered with the *Navagraha* or the nine planetary divinities, as also, in other places, a course of Hindu animal figure sculpture, both of which show that the Hindu architects could, in the works they erected, adapt their designs to the religious class to which these works belonged.

[1] The old Hindu step-well, known as Mata Bhavani's, is situated at Asarwa, about three-quarters of a mile to the north-east of Ahmadabad. It takes its name from a small shrine of the Mata erected on the lowest gallery, just above the water level. "This epithet of the Wav, however, has no certain claim to antiquity, though the well evidently belongs to the pre-Muhammadan period, and probably goes back to the eleventh century. Nor does the small shrine of Bhavani appear to be original—indeed it is probably of quite recent date". (Burgess). If Ahmadabad occupies the site of the earlier city of Karnavati, this Wav probably belongs to the reign of Karna Solanki (A.D. 1064–1094), the founder of Karnavati. As such it would be nearly contemporaneous with the "Rani's Wav" at Anhilvad, constructed, about A.D. 1032, under the auspices of Udayamati, the queen of Bhim Deo I and mother of Karna Raja. The interest of the old Wav of Mata Bhavani consists principally in its being probably the oldest existing monument in Ahmadabad, and the last remaining example of the Hindu period. It supplied the pattern for the two later and more elaborate step-wells constructed under Muhammadan rule, which we have reviewed in the text.

[2] For details of the Sanskrit inscription, *vide* an article entitled "Bai Harir's Inscription at Ahmadabad, A.D. 1499," by Rev J. E. Abbott, in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV No. 42; and for the Arabic inscription, *vide* Burgess, *Ahmadabad Architecture*, Pt. II, p. 4. Both the inscriptions are also given in original in "Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency" (1897), by H. Cousens, pp. 299–301.

[3] See Burgess, J., *Ahmadabad Architecture*, Pt. II, p. 12; and H. Cousens, *ut sup*, p. 310–12.

Estimate of Mahmud I's reign.

During the long and glorious reign of Mahmud Begada the prosperity of the Gujarat Saltanat reached its culminating point. Its extent was wider under Bahadur, and its revenues perhaps more flourishing: but never again does it appear in such all-pervading splendour among the kingdoms of India as it did during the reign of the first Mahmud. Though inferior in dignity, the Sultan was in reality much more powerful than Sikandar Lodi, Emperor of Delhi, and it must have been a matter of no small gratification to him when, in 1510, a little before his death, the Delhi sovereign sent him some presents in token of his friendship and as an acknowledgment of the independent status of the Gujarat ruler. With the exception of the two abortive attempts on the part of the nobles, Mahmud's long reign of over half a century was undisturbed by any domestic treason or internal strife. His iron will and commanding personality would brook no such opposition, and we have not as yet the least sign of that unbridled licence of the nobility, which began some years after his death, and ultimately paved the way for national decline and foreign invasion.

VII.—Sultan Muzaffar Shah II, "The Clement." (A.D. 1511–1525).

Summary of the reign.

Prince Khalil Khan was in his thirty-seventh year when he succeeded his father to the throne of Gujarat under the title of Muzaffar Shah II. Brave and generous, fervently pious, and unequalled in learning, he is perhaps the only ruler of his dynasty whose character commands our admiration and regard. His mild and merciful administration justly earned for him the title of "Muzaffar the Clement," but his moderation bordered on weakness, and he was unsuited to those rough times which demanded in the ruler sternness and unrelenting vigour. The first signs of the insubordination of the nobles are already visible in Gujarat before his reign comes to a close.

The political and military history of the fifteen years of Muzaffar's reign may be reviewed under two heads. In the first place we shall consider his relations with the kingdom of Malwa and the important part which he played in restoring the throne of Mandu to its ruler Mahmud II. Secondly, we have the contact in arms with the celebrated Rana Sanga of Chitor, the head of all the Rajput princes of India, whose heroic career throws a last ray of splendour over the dying efforts of Rajput sway in Hindustan.

Relations with Malwa.

It was in 1510 that Mahmud II Khalji (1510–1531), destined to be the last ruler of the independent Malwa dynasty, ascended the throne. His right was disputed by his brother, and in the protracted civil war that followed, the nobles were broken into factions, and Mahmud owed the preservation of his throne to the fidelity and valour of Medini Rai, the feudatory Rajput chief of Chanderi. His long continued services gave Medini Rai a complete ascendancy over his master, and he at length became predominant in the state. The leading Muhammadan nobles were removed from the country; the highest posts in the army and in the state were given to Rajputs and even the royal bodyguard came to be composed of Hindus. Mahmud II found himself a puppet in the hands of his powerful minister and a virtual prisoner in his own capital. Unable to bear this humiliation, he escaped without a single follower to the frontiers of Gujarat, and appealed to Muzaffar II to come to the aid of a brother Musalman.

The chivalrous ruler of Gujarat marched at the head of an army into Malwa, and after a protracted investment, carried the fort of Mandu by assault (1518). Nineteen thousand brave Rajputs are said to have lost their lives in the final encounter, among them being the son of Medini Raj. All Malwa was now at Muzaffar's feet, but, in order to avoid temptation and the insidious advice of his nobles, he hastily quitted the fortress and handed over the kingdom to its legitimate sovereign. A few days later Mahmud II invited his benefactor to a sumptuous banquet which he gave in his honour at Mandu. According to Firishta, Mahmud treated his guest with the utmost respect as his Superior, seating him upon the throne and standing himself at the foot of it, and carried his humility so far as to wait on his guest at the entertainment in the capacity of a menial servant. After the feast was over, two thousand beautiful women of his seraglio, gaily dressed and adorned, and carrying plates of gems and golden ornaments, were presented before the royal guest, and their master declared that they and all he had were at Sultan Muzaffar's disposal. The latter thanked him, but begged that they might be permitted to retire.[1]

Medini Rai.

The real character of Medini Rai can with difficulty be discerned under the mist of calumny in which it is enveloped by the Muslim historians. From their own accounts, however,

1 "The Sultans of Mandu were all very luxurious to an incredible extent." (Bayley's *Gujarat*, p. 260.)

he appears to have been a remarkable man, distinguished alike for his loyalty and chivalrous courtesy. In the confusion of the civil war in Malwa he gained supreme power, and to retain it naturally employed men of his own nationality. At the height of his power he never forgot the respect which he owed to his master, and his treatment of Mahmud II and his family appears to have been throughout generous and considerate. He, no doubt, hesitated to transform Malwa into an avowedly Hindu kingdom from fear of provoking the jealous hostility of the neighbouring kingdoms, which would be bound in honour to restore the practice of their religion. After the fall of Mandu in 1518, Medini Rai sought the protection of his ally Rana Sanga of Chitor, by whom he was re-established in the strong fortress of Chanderi. In 1527 we find him fighting alongside of Sanga in the memorable battle of Kanwaha (Khānua), in which Babur destroyed the power of the Rajput confederacy, and shortly after he perished in the assault and capture of Chanderi by the first Mughal Emperor.

Invasion of Rana Sanga.

In 1520 Rana Sanga of Chitor (Mewar) was at the height of his power. He had, in the preceding year, won a signal victory over Mahmud II of Malwa, who had rashly offered him battle, but was himself severely wounded and taken captive. By an act of magnanimity, which does him infinite credit, the Rana sent him back to his capital after his wounds had healed. Flushed with this success Sanga was ready to measure his strength with the more powerful ruler of Gujarat, and a pretext offering itself, he carried out a short but victorious campaign over the districts of Northern Gujarat.

When Malik Sarang was governor of Ahmadabad in 1520, Mubariz-ul-Mulk,[1] another brave noble, was appointed to take charge of Idar. The story goes that a wandering minstrel came to the latter's court and began to extol the martial prowess of the Rana of Mewar. Incensed at this Mubariz began to abuse the Rana, and, to show the contempt he had for the ruler of Chitor, he ordered a common cur to be named Sanga and to be chained up at the gate of the fort. When informed of the gratuitous insult offered to him, the Rana marched

[1] This noble was the son of Raval Jagasingh, the last ruler of Champaner. After his conversion he received the name of Malik Husain Bahmani, and was successively raised to the dignity of Nizam-ul-Mulk and Mubariz-ul-Mulk. His Hindu ancestry may account for the subsequent dissensions between him and the other Gujarat nobles.

against Idar at the head of 40,000 Rajputs. Mubariz-ul-Mulk, whose garrison was very small, was persuaded by his officers to fall back on Ahmadnagar on the Hathmati. Sanga set out in pursuit and defeated the Gujarat forces in a great battle before the walls of Ahmadnagar. He plundered this city and carried off the inhabitants; spared Wadnagar at the entreaties of the Brahmans; and captured and sacked Visalnagar. He was now within sixty miles of Ahmadabad, but setting aside the advice of his followers to march on the capital of Gujarat, he returned victorious to Chitor.

In this emergency Sultan Muzaffar summoned the famous Malik Ayaz, the semi-independent governor of Sorath, to come down to the capital to recover the lost reputation of Gujarat. He was given supreme command of an army of more than a hundred thousand horse, and under him were placed Malik Sarang, Mubariz-ul-Mulk, and many other famous nobles (1521). On their way towards Chitor the Gujarat troops captured Dungarpur and Vansvada and reduced them to ashes. But during the siege of the fort of Mandasor the dissensions and lack of co-operation between the commander-in-chief and his lieutenants came to a head. Rana Sanga sent envoys to Malik Ayaz, who patched up a peace against the wishes of his generals and returned with the army to the capital. The Sultan received him coldly, dismissed him to his government in Sorath, and expressed his intention of marching in person against Sanga. As the latter, however, sent his own son to Ahmadabad with offers of tribute and goodwill, the Sultan abandoned his idea (1523). In the same year Malik Ayaz died and his jagir of Sorath was confirmed to his eldest son Ishaq.[1]

Malik Ayaz and the Portuguese.

The Portuguese authorities bear sufficient testimony to the great services rendered by Malik Ayaz during this reign in resisting the persistent attempts of their countrymen to secure a footing on the coast of Gujarat. From 1509 to 1515 Alfonso de Albuquerque, rightly styled the Great, was viceroy of Portuguese India, and the erection of fortresses at strategic points along the coast was one great object of his policy in the East. In a letter to King Manuel of Portugal in

[1] Of Malik Ishaq it is said that he was so stout that no horse could carry him and he had therefore to ride a camel. In 1527, during the reign of Bahadur, he broke out into rebellion against the Sultan with the help of the Hindu Zamindars of Sorath, but was defeated, and ultimately escaped to the Run of Cutch. In 1529 we find Malik Tughan brother of Ishaq, put in charge of the port and island of Diu with the title of *Mir Bahr* or Lord High Admiral of the Gujarat ports. It appears that both these sons of Admiral Malik Ayaz inherited all their father's pride and hauteur.

1513 he writes: "Your Highness cannot be lord over so extensive a country as India by placing all your power and strength in your marine only; for this, and not to build fortresses, is the very thing the Moors of these parts wish you to do, for they know well that a dominion founded on a navy alone cannot last."[1] But all the attempts made by the viceroy to induce the king of Gujarat to grant him permission to erect a fortress at Diu met with refusal: and he knew but too well that Malik Ayaz was the principal cause of this opposition. In 1514 Albuquerque sent two ambassadors to the court of the "King of Cambay" —this being the style under which the Sultans of Gujarat were known to the nations of Europe. The envoys came by sea from Goa to Surat, where they were received with great kindness by the governor, who had been instructed by the Sultan to furnish them with safe-conduct and all necessary facilities. Under proper escort they travelled to Ahmadabad and were at length introduced to the king. They offered him the costly presents sent by the viceroy, as also a despatch containing a request for a site at Diu for the erection of a fortress. The envoys expatiated on the largely increased revenues which the Sultan would receive in customs from the great volume of trade that would follow the establishment of the Portuguese at Diu. After three days the king sent them an offer of a site either at Broach, Surat, Mahim or Dumas. But the envoys replied that they had no authority to accept any other fortress than Diu, and were soon after politely allowed to depart.[2]

In 1521 Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, viceroy of Portuguese India, after having in vain attempted negotiations with Malik Ayaz for the erection of a fort at Diu, determined to secure his object by force. But he found the island so strongly fortified and garrisoned that on the advice of his captains he relinquished the intention of attacking it.[3] Two years later Malik Ayaz died. In the reign of Sultan Bahadur important concessions were made to the Portuguese in Diu, and the serious complications and disaster to which they gave rise form the highest justification of the unbending policy of exclusion so consistently followed by the great admiral of the Gujarat Sultans.

Prince Bahadur leaves Gujarat.

In 1525, Prince Bahadur, the second son of the Sultan, left Gujarat for Delhi, ostensibly dissatisfied with the smallness of his jagir, but really to save his life from the evil

[1] Danvers "The Portuguese in India," Vol I, p. 261.
[2] *Ibid*, pp. 293-295.
[3] *Ibid*. p. 348.

designs of his elder brother Sikandar, the heir-apparent. On his way north, Bahadur halted at Chitor, where he was hospitably received by Rana Sanga and his mother. The Rana's nephew invited the guest to an entertainment at his house, during which the latter was much struck by a dancing-girl of singular beauty. The Rajput prince came up to Bahadur and said, "Do you know who she is? She is the daughter of the kazi of Ahmadnagar (Idar). When the Rana sacked the city, I went to the kazi's house, killed him, and carried off this girl; the rest of his women were carried off by the other Rajputs." A prince of Gujarat could ill brook this bravado, and Bahadur at once cut the Rajput in two. Only the intervention of the Rana's mother, however, saved him from the consequences of his rash action. Leaving Chitor, the prince arrived at Mewat, whose ruler Hasan Khan placed all the resources of the state at his disposal if he desired to attack Gujarat. But Bahadur replied that he had no such wicked intention as a war against his father. He at length reached the court of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi (1518-1526) of Delhi, who was then preparing to oppose the formidable invasion of Zahir-ud-din Babur into India.[1] Bahadur was well received by the Sultan and soon became very popular at Delhi. As Ibrahim's rule had come to be thoroughly disliked both by the Afghan nobles and the people, a conspiracy appears to have been formed to dethrone him and to put Bahadur in his place. Under these circumstances, the prince, finding the Sultan becoming cool towards him, left Delhi for Jaunpur. On the way he received news of the death of his father and retraced his steps towards Gujarat.

The Rani Sipari mosque.

The year 1514, the fourth regnal year of Muzaffar's reign, saw the erection of the Rani Sipari Mosque, which is regarded by competent critics as the most beautiful architectural work in Ahmadabad. It stands near the Astodiya gate, and, according to the inscription as interpreted by many scholars, the mosque was built by Rani Sipari, the widow of Sultan Mahmud Begada and the mother of Prince Abu Bakr Khan. "Notwithstanding the smallness of its dimensions," says Mr. Fergusson, "it may be considered the gem of Ahmadabad, and, in its class, as one of the most exquisite buildings in the world. It is also one of the most perfectly Hindu of the buildings of this city, no arch

[1] Among those who invited Babur to the conquest of Hindustan was Ala-ud-din Lodi son of Bahlol Lodi, and uncle of Ibrahim Lodi. Ala-ud-din appears to have been of a turbulent disposition and spent many years in exile at the courts of Mahmud Begada and Muzaffar II. In 1523 he left Ahmadabad to fight with his nephew Ibrahim, but was defeated, and fled to Kabul to the court of Babur, and gave him such information as led to the overthrow of his own family. His son Tatar Khan will be mentioned in Bahadur's reign

being employed anywhere (except in the one side doorway), either constructively or for ornament. The minarets, too, though so exquisite in design, are not minarets in reality; they have no internal stairs, and no galleries from which the call to prayer could be recited. They are pure ornaments, but of the most graceful kind." The same eminent critic adds, "It would, of course, be absurd to compare such a building with the Parthenon, or one of our great Gothic cathedrals; but it is, architecturally, a more perfect building than the Erechtheion at Athens; and, though we have some Gothic chapels of great beauty, there probably is not one that would not look coarse and plain if placed side by side with this mosque."[1] Ahmadabad may well be proud of a monument which has elicited such unstinted praise from the historian of Indian and Eastern architecture. One cannot, however, but regret that the mosque stands at present amid mean and dirty surroundings, which fail to set off its exquisite beauty. Right in front of the masjid stands the rauza, which is also very beautiful, in which lie the remains of Rani Sipari.[2]

Death of Muzaffar II.

Muzaffar Shah died in 1525, and the details of his last illness illustrate a singularly unselfish and amiable character. The rains had failed, and the tender-hearted Sultan could not bear the sight of the unhappy victims of the famine that afflicted the land. He lifted up his hands in prayer to God, and said: "O Lord, if for any faults of mine my people are afflicted, take me from this world, and leave my people unharmed, and relieve them from this drought." Since the prayers of a Sultan are entitled to acceptance, "the arrow of his prayers reached its mark, and the rain of mercy fell from the heavens." From this time the king's health began to fail. One day he was listening to the reading of the Quran, and observed: "I read more of the Quran 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." Finding that he was getting worse, the Sultan left Muhammadabad for Baroda, and thence by easy stages arrived at Ahmadabad, where his favourite residence was the palace of Ghattamandal on the Kankariya lake. He directed considerable sums to be given over in charity, gave salutary

[1] Hope and Fergusson, *Architecture of Ahmadabad*, p. 84.

[2] When H. G. Briggs visited the Rani Sipari Mosque in December 1847, he found that an old Multani had made it his abode, and "his 'charpai' and 'chula', his clothing and crockery graced the walls and the rifled marble pavement." The mosque had been his dwelling-place for the preceding twenty years. The mausoleum opposite the masjid was filled with grass, and the entrance to it was locked (*Cities of Gujarashtra*, p. 245).

advice on government to his eldest son Sikandar, and finally took leave of all his household establishment and asked for their forgiveness. He died on a Friday, the Muslim sabbath, and was buried by the side of his father in the royal mausoleum at Sarkhej.

His family.

Muzaffar had eight sons and two daughters. His chief queen was Bibi Rani, the mother of Sikandar and of the two daughters, viz., Raji Ruqaiyah, who became the wife of Adil Khan Farrukhi of Khandesh, and Raji Ayesha, who was married to the Prince of Sind. Bibi Rani is said to have been a lady of great abilities, mature judgment, and firm decision, and the control of the household and of the army was in her hands. Seven thousand state servants were in her employ, and she was a counsellor of great influence in the affairs of the kingdom. She died in 1524. Prince Bahadur's mother was Lakshmi Bai, the daughter of a Gohil Rajput. The mother of the third son, Prince Latif Khan, was Rajbai, the daughter of Rana Mahipat. She survived her husband no less than sixty-five years, and was buried in 1590 at Sarkhej in the mausoleum of the queens.

The Sultan had granted to each of the princes two or three villages for their maintenance. As the jagir of Bahadur lay in the vicinity of Vatva, he was very frequently at that place, having become a disciple and intimate friend of Saiyid Shah Sheikhji, then the head of the sect of the Bukhari Saiyids of Gujarat. The prince used occasionally to play boyish tricks upon the people of Vatva. Sometimes he would knock off their turbans, and at times he set his Georgian dogs at those whom he disliked. An instance of more than his usual recklessness being brought to the notice of the saint, the latter became very angry and said that "the hated dogs of Firangis (the Portuguese) should tear Bahadur Khan to pieces." The prince was very penitent, but "the decree of fate prevailed in the end." This prophecy, however, so far as we are aware, has, no historical basis.

His clemency.

Of the clemency of Muzaffar II many stories are related. Only one may be mentioned. Owing to the carelessness of the water-carriers of the palace, a musk-rat fell into the boiler at night. It was boiled down and its remains poured over the Sultan's head during his bath the next day. Soon after, the king summoned the offenders, who came despairing of life. The Sultan said: "I am an old man and can

pardon the offender; but my sons are young—how will you satisfy them? Will your lives be safe with them, you miserable men, if you are equally careless with them?" We are told that ultimately, during the reign of Sultan Bahadur, these same men poured some water a little too hot on the king's hands, and he punished them by ordering boiling water to be poured on the tenderest parts of their bodies, so that they died on the spot.

Owing to his extreme clemency, Muzaffar failed to punish even the turbulent and the guilty, and the administration became weak and inefficient. Criminals and rebels lost all fear of punishment and took to highway robbery, and acts of lawlessness began to prevail even in the capital. But the Sultan "would not extend the hand of punishment from out of the sleeve of patience, nor draw the dagger of vengeance from its sheath." The entire government was handed over to Malik Sarang, entitled Kiwam-ul-Mulk, and to Malik Gopi, a Brahman. Though the former became overbearing and did not show proper respect to his master, the Sultan continued him, as an old associate of his father, in the office of *abdar*. He, however, suspected the minister's loyalty. When, during the month of Ramazan, Kiwam-ul-Mulk brought drinking water at the time of breaking the fast, the Sultan used to repeat certain verses of the Quran, which were supposed to act as antidotes against poison. As for Malik Gopi, Muzaffar lost all patience at his high-handed acts, and at last ordered him to be put to death. The failure of both Mubariz-ul-Mulk and Malik Ayaz in the war against the Rana of Chitor was, in no small measure, due to the policy of these two ministers.

His piety.

Many interesting traditions are preserved of the piety of Muzaffar II. One night Mahmud Begada was conversing with holy and learned people, when a wise man said: "On the Day of Judgment the sun shall descend and come so low as to burn the souls of the wicked. On that day those who know the Quran by heart, together with seven generations of their ancestors, will be shaded by umbrellas of divine mercy, and the heat of the sun shall be as nought to them." Mahmud sighed sadly and said that as none of his sons had been trained to this holy task he might not hope for this mercy. Muzaffar, who was present on this occasion, at once repaired to his jagir at Baroda, and for over a year devoted himself to the self-imposed task of committing the holy volume by heart. He then returned to Ahmadabad and gladdened his father's heart by informing

him of his achievement. During his reign Muzaffar regularly celebrated the birthday of the Prophet by a great feast to which were invited the Saiyids and the Ulama. Moreover, a fixed sum was set apart for the poor of Mecca and Medina, and regularly remitted to those places every year. Ships were provided, free of cost, to those who wished to make a pilgrimage to the holy shrines, and their expenses while on board were also met from the state treasury. The Sultan is said to have strictly observed the religious injunction against intoxicating drinks. His favourite horse was one day seized with gripes, and, when all other remedies failed, he recovered on being given pure spirits. The Master of the Horse reported the incident to his sovereign. "The Sultan bit the finger of sorrow with the tooth of regret," but he never rode that horse again.

Charge o parsimony.

As Muzaffar discouraged all extravagance at his court, he was stigmatised as parsimonious. "But," says Sikandar, "how can the Sultan be deemed miserly when he gave to Mahmud Khalji the entire country of Malwa, with all its treasures, which he had won from Medini Rai?" One of the king's ministers, who afterwards rose to eminence under the title of Khan Jahan, proposed to resume all religious grants, after the persons to whom they were made were dead. The Sultan got violently angry, and issued an order that no allowance should be resumed on the death of its recipient. One day a lively young page, who was liked by the king for his sharp answers, criticised the texture of the Sultan's turban, declaring that "his waist-cloth and turban were like those of Mullas and Bohras." A nobleman, who was near, slapped the boy's face, but the king said: "He is only a boy and talks as he hears his father and mother speak. I am pleased that my turban should be compared with those of Mullas; but why do they say it resembles the head dress of Bohras who are heretics?"

His accomplishments.

Muzaffar had inherited all the personal bravery of his forefathers, and was a finished horseman, a practised swordsman, and a skilful wrestler. He was also an accomplished musician, able to play on many instruments, and to hold his own against any master of musical science. He excelled in calligraphy (an accomplishment highly valued throughout the East), and transcribed in a beautiful hand several copies of the Quran which he sent to the sacred shrine at Mecca. The Sultan greatly promoted learning, and men of letters from

Persia, Arabia and Turkey found a welcome in Gujarat during his liberal and auspicious reign. During his time cultivation increased so much in Jhalavad that, owing to the complaints of the people, it became necessary to keep a part of the land unsown to serve as pasturage for cattle.

Reigns of Sikandar and Mahmud II, 1525.

The combined reigns of the next two rulers occupy less than six months. Muzaffar's eldest son Sikandar came to the throne, and so completely gave himself up to pleasure that "all his days were like the days of the *Id* and his nights like the night of *Barāt*." As he showered honours on his worthless favourites, he soon became very unpopular, and one of the principal nobles compassed his death before he had been seven weeks on the throne. Sikandar was murdered in the royal palace at Muhammadabad-Champaner and buried at Hālol, four miles away, where his humble tomb may still be seen. He was the first of the Sultans to be assassinated, and after him every king, down to the last ruler Muzaffar III, met a violent death. "It seemed," says the historian, "as if the blood of Sultan Sikandar washed away the words 'tranquility' and 'prosperity' from the tablet of the kingdom of Gujarat," and the truth of this remark will be found abundantly illustrated in the sad history of the next fifty years. After the murder, the traitor Khush-Kadam raised to the throne Nasir Khan, a younger brother of the late ruler, who was but a child of six, and gave him the title of Mahmud II. But the complete ascendancy now obtained by the minister roused the envy of the other nobles, and they lost no time in sending an invitation to Bahadur Khan, the second son of Muzaffar II, who was then in Hindustan, to assert his right to the throne of Gujarat.

VIII.—Sultan Bahadur Shah. (A. D. 1526–1536.)

Bahadur's accession.

Prince Bahadur was on his way from the court of Delhi to the kingdom of Jaunpur, the throne of which had been offered to him by the Afghan nobles, when he received the news of his father's death. The story is related that the prince, uncertain as to whether to accept the offer or proceed to his native land, decided to leave the matter to fate or chance. He threw the reins on his horse's neck, and as the animal took the southern road, Bahadur, believing in the omen, proceeded towards Gujarat. Though this story would seem to have no historical basis, the decision arrived at indicates that Bahadur, when in Hindustan, was sufficiently in touch with affairs in Gujarat, and that

intelligence of what was going on there was regularly transmitted to him, probably by his friends the Bukhari Saiyids of Vatva. The news of his brother Sikandar's assassination must have further strengthened him in his resolve to bid for the throne, a step to which he was now urged by a powerful party of the leading nobles of Gujarat led by Taj Khan Narpali.[1]

At Nahrwala (Pattan Anhilvad) Bahadur assumed royal pomp and state, and soon after entered Ahmadabad, where his first act was to pay a visit of respect to the mausoleum of his ancestors in the Manek Chok. He then proceeded by rapid marches to Muhammadabad-Champaner, the political capital of the kingdom, where he ordered the traitor Khush-Kadam (Imad-ul-Mulk) to be arrested and ignominiously executed along with all his associates. Prince Latif Khan, the third son of Sultan Muzaffar II, tried, with the help of the neighbouring Hindu princes, to assert his right to the throne, but he was defeated and mortally wounded. Soon after this, the boy Nasir Khan (Mahmud II) was poisoned by the Sultan's orders. Thus three brothers perished before the rising power of Bahadur and were all interred near each other at the village of Hālol.

Stirring events of the reign.

Bahadur Shah was only twenty years old when he ascended the throne, but in a brilliant reign of eleven years he arrested for a time the forces of disorder and revived the aggressive policy of his great predecessors. "The entire country of Gujarat," says the historian, "which had been left in darkness by the setting of the sun of government, began again to flourish on the rising of this sun of the kingdom, Bahadur Shah." Events of the most stirring and conflicting character are comprised within this short period of eleven years. Bahadur annexed the kingdom of Malwa to his own, compleled obedience and homage from the kings of the Deccan, captured the almost impregnable stronghold of Rana Sanga (the ruler of Mewar), and defeated the Portuguese in the greatest naval action of the time. Elated by a sense of his power and invincibility, he appears to have aspired to the empire of Hindustan, and rashly measured his strength with the rising power of the Mughals under Humayun. The result was disastrous to his throne, and for many months he was an exile and a fugitive. From the depth of despondency he was restored to his kingdom by a strange reversal of fortune

[1] Taj Khan Narpali will be remembered a sthe same wealthy nobleman who raised the beautiful marble tomb over the remains of saint Shah Alam during the reign of Mahmud Begada or his successor Muzaffar the Clement.

only to meet a watery grave at the hands of the Portuguese whom he had alternately befriended and opposed.

Wars in the Deccan.

On the downfall of the great Bahmani Empire of the south at the end of the fifteenth century, its territories had been divided up among the five independent Deccan kingdoms that rose on its ruins. These states were engaged in constant wars with each other and with Khandesh, and, soon after his accession, Bahadur's intervention was invoked in the affairs of these kingdoms. The reason is sufficiently evident. More than a century of brilliant and prosperous sway had naturally given the Sultans of Gujarat a lofty position in Indian politics, and their power was held in respect and fear by the rulers of the comparatively younger dynasties that had risen in the south. Miran Muhammad Shah Farrukhi, the ruler of Khandesh at this period, was the nephew of Bahadur Shah, being the son of his sister Raji Ruqaiyah. This prince, in confederation with the king of Berar, called in Bahadur's help against Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, who was assisted by the Bidar ruler and other chiefs. During the years 1528-32 Bahadur was engaged in several expeditions in the Deccan, but into these we need not enter, except that in details of 1530 he captured Ahmadnagar, the capital of the Nizam Shahi dynasty. By his orders all the palaces and fine buildings in that city were levelled to the ground, and the *khutba* was recited in his name at Ahmadnagar and Bidar in token of submission.

Interview with Burhan NizamShah.

In 1532 Burhan Nizam Shah sent his minister, Shah Tahir, famous alike for his talents, his learning and his diplomacy, as his ambassador to the court of Bahadur, and soon after himself waited in person on the Gujarat sovereign, attended by a retinue of seven thousand men. An interesting account of the interview between the two Sultans is preserved in the pages of the celebrated historian Firishta.[1] The place of the meeting was Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh, and Bahadur gave it before hand to be understood that he would remain seated on his throne, but that all others, of whatever rank, should keep standing. When informed of the contemplated procedure, the pride of Burhan Nizam Shah revolted at this further humiliation. "Should he who had won his independence from the great house of Bahmani stoop to that of Gujarat?" Shah Tahir, however, besought his master not to be impatient, as he had devised a plan to deliver him from the dilemma and

[1] Briggs, *Firishta*, Vol. III, pp. 222-226.

spare him this indignity. When the king of Ahmadnagar, attended by his nobles, arrived at the royal tents, Shah Tahir, who had in his possession a volume of the Quran in the handwriting of Ali (the son-in-law of the Prophet), placed the holy work on his head, and advanced towards the throne. Bahadur, on being informed by his vazir of the precious relic which Shah Tahir was carrying, immediately descended from his throne to pay it reverence and kissed the sacred book three times. Burhan Shah now advanced and greeted Bahadur. The latter, to show his superiority, enquired after his health in Gujarati, his own language, to which Burhan Shah replied in Persian. Bahadur then returned to the throne and requested the Deccan Sultan and his resourceful minister to be seated. During the conversation that followed Bahadur studiously addressed the Ahmadnagar ruler as Nizam-ul-Mulk. But his pride was at last satisfied, and taking a sword and a jewelled dagger from his own waist, he girded them on to his guest's with the words, "May the title of *Shah* prove auspicious to you," presenting him at the same time with a royal canopy. Firishta appears to have derived these interesting details of the interview from the works of the Persian historians of Gujarat, who would naturally gratify the vanity of their master. It is, however, difficult to accept the version that the Nizam Shahi Sultans of Ahmadnagar, who assumed all the titles and insignia of royalty as early as 1490, should have, so late as 1532, sought and obtained the confirmation of their sovereignty from a distant ruler of almost equal dignity. With this modification, the other details of the interview may be accepted as substantially correct.[1]

Annexation of Malwa.

Bahadur's next enterprise was of a still more splendid character, for in 1531 he annexed the kingdom of Malwa to that of Gujarat. The country which the chivalrous generosity of Muzaffar II had restored to its sovereign fell an easy prey to the ambitious designs of his unscrupulous son. The Malwa ruler was charged with returning the obligations that he owed to the father by intriguing against his son: but it is probable that any pretext was thought by Bahadur sufficient to justify a war against a ruler who, though personally brave, was fatally weak and incapable as a sovereign.

[1] According to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Shah Tahir waited upon Sultan Bahadur in 1532 with a request from his master that he might be honoured with the title of Nizam Shah. Bahadur asked him what difference would then remain between himself and Nizam-ul-Mulk. Shah Tahir replied, "A great difference. You are now known as a king over *umirs*, you will then be a king over kings." Pleased with this delicate flattery, Bahadur bestowed the royal umbrella on the Ahmadnagar Sultan.

Chand Khan, a younger brother of Bahadur, had taken refuge at the court of Mandu, and Mahmud II not only took no steps to prevent the prince from intriguing against his brother, but deliberately evaded all requests for a personal interview with Bahadur. Mahmud is said to have given further proof of his ungrateful character by making war against the son of Rana Sanga who had so generously saved his life when he was wounded and a prisoner in his power in 1519. Bahadur Shah, who was at this time friendly to Chitor, marched with an army to Mandu, and captured this magnificent stronghold by scaling it at its loftiest and most precipitous side, known under the name of Songhad-Chitori (1531). Mahmud II was taken captive along with his seven sons, and it is sad to relate that all of them appear to have been soon after put to death. Thus ended the independent sway of the Malwa Sultans, which had lasted, under the two dynasties of Ghori and Khalji, for a hundred and thirty years.

Capture of Raisin and the tragedy of Durgavati.

Bahadur Shah must needs consider this conquest incomplete so long as Silhadi, the powerful Rajput lord of Raisin, Ujjain and Bhilsa, continued his semi-independent sway in the eastern districts of Malwa. Silhadi's disinclination to render him personal homage, and the fact that he retained in his seraglio a large number of Muslim women,[1] were matters of deep offence in the eyes of the Gujarat Sultan, who determined to secure his fall. In 1532 the Rajput chief was made prisoner when on a belated visit of respect to the royal camp. Bahadur next occupied Ujjain and Bhilsa, and finally directed his whole power to the capture of the fort of Raisin, which was Silhadi's stronghold, and was, in his absence, ably defended by his brother Lakshman Sen. In the course of this siege the name of Rumi Khan, the most famous artillery-captain in India at the time, first comes into notice.[2] Silhadi had married his son Bhupat to the daughter of Rana Sanga, and for a time Bahadur's attention was diverted from the siege by the advance of the Chitor army. But the investment of Raisin was soon resumed. Silhadi, who had, nominally at least, become a convert to Islam, now asked for permission to go inside the fort to induce the garrison to

[1] It is said that the expenditure in Silhadi's household on women's dresses and perfumes exceeded that in any king's palace. He had four *akharas* or bands of dancing girls, who were each unrivalled in their special art. Forty women held the torches while the dancing-girls performed. (Bayley's *Gujarat*, p. 366).

[2] It is a pity we know so very little about this famous engineer whose skill made him the most trusted military adviser first of Bahadur Shah and afterwards of the Emperor Humayun. He was, without doubt, a very clever adventurer who probably came from Turkey, and may have originally been a European renegade.

surrender and to escort the women of his family out of the fortress. The request was granted. When he was once again in the midst of his brave Rajputs, he was upbraided by his relatives and by his wife Durgadevi for having in his old age deserted both his honour and his religion. Overcome by these reproaches he decided to remain and to share the fortunes of his garrison.

Bahadur, being informed of this defection, delivered the final assault and carried the fortress, but, before the Muslims entered, a terrible tragedy had been enacted within its walls. The fatal *jauhar* had been prepared, and the Rajputs, under Silhadi and his brother, set fire to it before they rushed out to meet their death at the hands of the enemy. Thus, for a second time in the history of fifty years, was the victory of a Gujarat Sultan stained by the awful sacrifice of the Rajput women. The lovely Durgavati, together with seven hundred of Silhadi's women, including the Muslim ladies in his possession, were forced into the devouring flames, and in a moment all this "harvest of roses" was reduced to ashes. The Sultan offered all the gold and silver collected from the ashes of these unfortunate victims to one of his nobles, who accepted the gift, though all honourable men condemned his conduct. We are informed, however, that he distributed the whole of the proceeds in alms among the people of Gujarat.

Brilliant defence of Diu.

Nuno da Cunha, the famous viceroy of Portuguese India, came to Goa in 1529, and soon after led the greatest expedition yet made by his countrymen for the capture of Diu. A fleet of four hundred vessels was collected in Bombay harbour, on which were embarked five thousand Portuguese and fifteen thousand natives. After a general review, the armament proceeded to its destination taking Daman on the way (1531). Diu was ably defended by its governor with heavy guns, and the entrance to the channel between the island and the mainland was protected by massive chains suspended between vessels. The Portuguese captains bombarded the town for a whole day until their guns began to burst from incessant firing; but as no appreciable damage was done to the fortifications, Nuno raised the siege and sailed away to Goa. Strangely enough the Musalman historians have given but slight attention to this brilliant defence, and our information about it is based on the account of the contemporary Portuguese writer Faria e Souza.[1]

1 See Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, pp. 400-402

Conquest of Chitor.

In 1533 Bahadur Shah was at the height of his power, and carried into effect his long-cherished desire of taking the fort of Chitor, the almost impregnable stronghold of Rana Sanga. That heroic Rajput prince, who counted eighty wounds on his body, had died in 1530, probably from the effects of the severe wounds received in 1527 at the decisive battle of Khānua against Babur. Under his feeble son the power of the kingdom of Mewar declined, and Bahadur had an opportunity of avenging the disasters which the Gujarat arms had sustained during the reign of his father. The siege of Chitor lasted for two years. For a time it was raised on the entreaties of the Rana's mother, who offered complete submission and a handsome tribute, including the jewelled crown and girdle won by the late Rana from the Mandu Sultan in 1518.[1] During the armistice Bahadur's army captured the "iron-bound" fortress of Ranthambhor, as also the fort of Ajmer (the *Dar-ul-Khair* or "home of goodness"), both of which formed at this time part of the Mewar territory. The siege of Chitor was, however, soon resumed, and Bahadur's brilliant engineer, Rumi Khan, surpassed himself in getting the heavy guns up the hill and in digging the mines. At the end of 1534, while the siege was still in progress, Bahadur's relations with the Emperor Humayun became strained, and the latter came down from Agra to Gwalior with a large army to make war on the Sultan. Humayun's sense of honour, however, would not permit him to attack a Muslim enemy who was engaged in what may be termed a Holy War against the infidels, and he stood by till Bahadur, profiting by his chivalrous attitude, finally took the fortress by assault.[2] "The Rajput women eagerly rushed upon the swords of their husbands and fathers to escape the shame of Muslim harems; the men sallied forth to be slaughtered; and the conqueror turned to meet his complaisant foe who amiably awaited the issue."

The war with Humayun and its causes.

We now turn to consider the most memorable episode of Bahadur's reign, viz., the war with Humayun, which he so lightly provoked, and which led, for a time, to the dramatic collapse of his throne and kingdom. His

[1] These regalia were the same that were originally carried off to Malwa by Mahmud I Khalji after the battle of Kapadwanj with Sultan Qutb-ud-din (1451). The royal waistband, believed to be of inestimable value, was afterwards sent with Bahadur's family to Medina, and eventually found its way, in the shape of a present, to the Grand Signor Suleman the Magnificent at Constantinople. (Briggs, *Firishta*, Vol. IV, p. 12 *n.*).

[2] As Stanley Lane-Poole says, "one cannot help respecting Humayun's quixotic observance of a Muhammadan scruple of honour; *mais ce n'etait pas la guerre.*" (*Mediæval India* p. 224).

reign of eight years had been characterised by brilliant victories and great territorial expansion, and we may well believe that the vision of imperial sway now began to float before his mind. Nor, on the other hand, is it difficult to discover the grounds of Humayun's hostility to the Gujarat ruler. The extremely favourable reception which Bahadur had given to all the Afghan princes of the Lodi dynasty, who had taken refuge at his court since the battle of Panipat in 1526, had given great offence at the Mughal court, and created an impression that he desired to make himself the chief centre of opposition to that power. Moreover, in 1533, Muhammad Zaman Mirza, a turbulent prince of the house of Timur and brother-in-law of Humayun, escaped from the honourable confinement in which he had been placed at Agra, and obtained protection at Bahadur's court. Deeply resenting the hospitality thus extended to a prince who had been frequently engaged in plots against his life and government, the Emperor sent polite messages to Bahadur demanding the extradition of the fugitive, to which the Sultan returned haughty and ill-conceived replies. Humayun, thereupon, marched from Agra towards Chitor, but, as we have related above, instead of attacking Bahadur at once and winning the favour of the Rajputs by his timely interference, he must needs stand by idly at Gwalior till his opponent had completed the capture of Chitor.[1] Bahadur returned the compliment by sending a large army under Tatar Khan (an exiled member of the Lodi dynasty) to march against Delhi, but the Afghan prince was defeated by Mirza Hindal and killed in the action. Chitor now fell, but Bahadur, on the advice of his nobles, declined to carry out a promise which he had made to Rumi Khan to put him in command of the great fortress. The Turkish adventurer was deeply offended, and revenged himself by secretly

1 Humayun's neutrality on this occasion is affirmed by several historians, and disproves the tradition recorded by Col. Tod that the Emperor came down to champion the cause of the Rajputs as the result of receiving the "gift of the bracelet" from the widowed queen of Rana Sanga. The interesting custom, here alluded to, played, on more than one occasion, an important part in the history of Rajputana, and has been thus briefly described :—" The festival of the *rakhi* (bracelet) takes place in the spring, and, whatever its origin, it is one of the few when an intercourse of the most delicate nature is established between the fair sex and the cavaliers of Rajasthan. At this season the Rajput dame sends a bracelet, either by her husband or the family priest, to the knight of her choice. With the *rakhi* she confers the title of adopted brother; and, while its acceptance secures to her all the protection of a cavalier servant, scandal itself never suggests any other tie to his devotion. He may hazard his life in her cause, and yet never receive a smile in reward, for he cannot even see the fair object who has constituted him her defender. But there is a charm in the mystery of such connection, and no honour is more highly esteemed than that of being the *rakhibund bhai*, or bracelet-bound brother, of a princess." (Tod's *Annals of Mewar*, edited by C. H. Payne, pp. 58-59).

writing to the Emperor that, if he marched against Bahadur, he would secure him victory.

Bahadur's defeat and flight.

The details of Humayun's conquest of Gujarat and Malwa (1535) are of considerable interest, and belong as much to the history of Gujarat as to that of the Mughal Empire. Flushed with their recent success, Bahadur's troops might have overwhelmed the imperial army had they been immediately led to the attack. But the triumph of the artillery in the siege of Chitor had given a predominant influence to Rumi Khan in the councils of Bahadur Shah, and, "as with Sir John Burgoyne before Sevastopol, the voice of the engineer prevailed over the bolder counsels of the cavalry leaders." Near Mandasor Bahadur entrenched himself in a huge fortified camp, bristling with artillery, at this time the finest in India and worked with the help of Portuguese and other European gunners. Confronted by the big guns, Humayun could not hope to attack the enemy; but he adopted the tactics, secretly suggested to him by Rumi Khan, of cutting off all Bahadur's supplies and forage. After two months of blockade and gradual starvation, during which his troops were reduced to the consumption of horse-flesh, the Sultan found his position untenable, and the treachery of Rumi Khan, in whom he had reposed unbounded trust, became at last evident when the Turk deserted him for Humayun. In the dead of night, Bahadur, with only five followers, fled from his camp. He was pursued by the dilatory Humayun with unwonted energy from one stronghold of his kingdom to another, to Mandu, to Champaner, and to Cambay,—the one flying out as the other entered in—till at last he found refuge with the Portuguese in the island of Diu in the remotest corner of his dominions.

An interesting episode.

Deserted by their sovereign, the Gujarat troops were cut down in large numbers by Humayun's army, and the spoils of the camp given up to plunder. When the Emperor entered the Sultan's tents, all loaded with gold embroidery, he exclaimed: "These are the equipments of the Lord of the Sea."[1] The historian Sikandar informs us that his father, who was in charge of the Emperor's library and in daily attendance on him, protected the author of the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi*, the historiographer at the Gujarat court, when the plunder of the camp was going on. Humayun gave a reception to celebrate

1 Compare with this the similar remark about the resources of the Gujarat ruler made by Sultan Sikandar Lodi of Delhi on p. 277.

his victory, and a very striking incident which happened at the time is recorded by Sikandar on the authority of his father who was an eye-witness. A well-trained parrot had been found in Bahadur's camp and was presented in its cage to the Emperor. When Rumi Khan's arrival was announced in the darbar, the parrot at once began to cry out in Hindi, "That traitor, Rumi Khan! that scoundrel Rumi Khan!", and it repeated these almost human reproaches several times. The great artillery-captain hung down his head in shame. When Humayun was made acquainted with the meaning of these words, he was much annoyed, and said: "Rumi Khan, if any sensible being had said this, I would have plucked the tongue from his throat; but as it is a senseless bird, what can I do?" The assembled courtiers guessed that after Rumi Khan had deserted Bahadur's camp, the men of the Sultan's court must have given vent to their anger in these words, and that, when the parrot heard again the name of Rumi Khan at the reception, he recollected these expressions and gave them utterance. We can appreciate our historian's pious commentary that the words were divinely inspired, since, under the circumstances, it was impossible for such words to have been spoken about Rumi Khan in the Emperor's presence in any other manner.

Humayun at Mandu.

Humayun did not waste time at Mandasor, but set off in pursuit of the fugitive Sultan, who had taken refuge at the hill-fortress of Mandu and made it ready for defence. The defection of Bhupat Rai, the son of Silhadi of Raisin, enabled the imperial troops to gain entrance into Mandu,[1] though not before Bahadur had made good his escape to Champaner. Humayun entered the capital of Malwa, and gave orders for a general massacre. The story is related that Manjhu, "the prince of singers," and the favourite musician at Bahadur's court, fell into the hands of a Mughal trooper, and was only rescued from death by the timely arrival of an old friend, a Rajput raja who belonged to the imperial suite. As the trooper persisted in claiming his victim, the party repaired to the Emperor's presence. Humayun had put on a red dress[2] and was so full of wrath and vengeance that he talked of nothing but slaughter. But when Manjhu's identity was fully explained to him, and he was told that the minstrel had probably no equal in

[1] When Sultan Bahadur was informed of Bhupat Rai's treachery, he exclaimed: "The men of old were not mistaken when they said that to kill the snake and to keep the young alive is not a wise man's act."

[2] The day of the week must have been Tuesday, for on this day the Emperor, according to fantastic astrological fancies, clothed himself in red robes, the colour suited to Mars, the guardian planet of the day.

all Hindustan, he asked the latter to sing to him. Manjhu selected a Persian sentimental ditty, and the effect was immediate:

> "The master saw the madness rise,
> His glowing cheeks, his ardent eyes;
> And while he Heaven and Earth defied
> Changed his hand and checked his pride."[1]

As with Alexander the Great under the sway of the lyre of Timotheus, the potent power of music over human passions asserted itself. The whole demeanour of the Emperor changed, the rivers of his mercy began to flow, he doffed his red dress and put on a green one, and offered to grant the minstrel whatever boon he asked. The historian Sikandar, who relates these interesting particulars, tells us that he received them from his father who was present on the occasion as one of the Emperor's select attendants.

Humayun at Cambay.

The fall of the capital of Malwa encouraged Humayun to pursue his success and to follow Bahadur into the heart of his kingdom. Within three days he hastened by forced marches to Champaner, accompanied by ten thousand cavalry. Though Bahadur had put that almost impregnable fortress in a state of defence, and provisioned it for a long siege, he did not feel himself secure in it, and, on hearing of the arrival of the imperial army, he fled to Cambay. Humayun had no intention of abandoning his quarry which appeared to be almost within his grasp. He left his army under Mir Hindu Beg to proceed with the investment of Champaner, and himself, attended by only a thousand horse, followed the flying prince in hot haste. But Bahadur's luck had not deserted him. When Humayun arrived at Cambay he learnt that Bahadur had left the same day for Diu in the Kathiavad peninsula.[2] Finding that his adversary had at length succeeded in securing a safe retreat in the island citadel, in the furthest corner of his dominions, the Emperor finally abandoned the pursuit.

Humayun, for the first time, "encamped on the shores of the salt sea," which none of his ancestors had ever seen. During his brief halt at this ancient sea-port an incident happened which must have been deeply mortifying to his imperial dignity.

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[1] Dryden, *Alexander's Feast, or, the Power of Music.*

[2] When compelled to retreat to Diu, Bahadur sent the royal jewels and treasures and the ladies of his family to Medina in charge of Asaf Khan. These gorgeous treasures consisted of 300 iron chests. They never returned to India as they fell into the hands of the Grand Signor of Constantinople, who, from their possession, became entitled to the appellation of Sulaiman the Magnificent.

Taking advantage of the slender force that accompanied the invader, Bahadur's officers pointed out to the chiefs of the rude Koli and Gowar tribes of the district that they had a very favourable opportunity for surprising and plundering his camp. The idea was readily taken up, and a night attack was carried out by some five or six thousand of these wild aboriginals of Gujarat. They completely plundered the royal tent, and in the confusion and mêlée several eminent persons were killed. It was Humayun's custom to carry a travelling library with him, and, in the plunder of his baggage, a number of valuable books were lost or destroyed. The loss on this occasion of a splendidly illuminated copy of the *Timurnama* is particularly recorded by Abul Fazl.[1] As soon as day broke, the Emperor led his disciplined troops against the disorderly assailants, who were found dispersed in every quarter of the camp, and routed them with much slaughter. Enraged at the insult offered to him, Humayun ordered the unoffending town of Cambay to be set on fire and given up to plunder.

Humayun at Champaner.

Leaving Bahadur Shah for a time in his secure refuge at Diu, making friendly overtures to the Portuguese, we shall return with Humayun to the siege of Champaner. This famous fortress, which towers over the level plains of south-eastern Gujarat, has several of its sides formed of scarped rock so steep and precipitous as to make it almost impregnable against assault. Moreover, Ikhtiyar Khan conducted the defence on behalf of Sultan Bahdur so skilfully that the imperial army was unable to make any headway for some months. A fortunate accident at last put Humayun in possession of very important information. The garrison in the fort had established a secret understanding with the rude woodcutters of the plain, who, penetrating through the inaccessible ravines of the hill, carried grain and oil to the foot of the fortifications, whence the garrison, letting down the price by means of ropes, drew up the provisions in exchange. Humayun, while making a circuit of the fortress to discover some point favourable for an escalade, came across a party of these peasants issuing from the thick underwood. On being questioned they professed themselves to be woodcutters but as they carried neither hatchets nor any implements of their calling, the Emperor's suspicions were aroused. He ordered the men to be seized and beaten till they

[1] According to Mr. Erskine this work was probably the *Zafarnama* of Sharf-ud-din Ali Yezdi (*History of India: Baber and Humayun*, Vol. II, p. 62*n*.). But in the opinion of Mr. Beveridge the reference is to a poem called *Timurnama* by Hatifi (*Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 309*n*.).

confessed everything, and, acting as guides, conducted the imperial party through the impervious and trackless forest to the base of the fortifications.

Humayun fixed upon this spot as a suitable place for attempting an escalade: but the problem was by no means solved. The rock at the base of the fortress was found to be sixty or seventy yards high, and so steep and smooth that to climb it was an impossibility. The Emperor ordered seventy or eighty iron spikes to be made, and, repairing to the spot one moonlight night with a select party, he had the spikes driven into the face of the rock to right and left at the distance of a cubit above each other. This was carried out unobserved as the garrison had no apprehension of an attack in that quarter. Thirty-nine of the bravest warriors mounted the spikes, eager to distinguish themselves under the eyes of their sovereign. Then came Bairam Khan, followed by the Emperor, who was thus the forty-first to reach the top. In all about three hundred men ascended the hill by this iron ladder before daybreak.

Meanwhile, Humayun had ordered the main body of the imperial forces to make assaults on the other side of the fort. The garrison was engaged in repelling this feigned attack in front, when it found itself, at daybreak, suddenly assailed in the rear by a shower of arrows. Distracted by this double assault, and ignorant of the numbers that had effected an entrance into the fort, the defenders were struck with terror and could offer no effective resistance. In the confusion the escaladers managed to capture a gate, by which they admitted the rest of the besiegers. Ikhtiyar Khan and his garrison surrendered at discretion. This brave general, eminent for his scientific attainments, especially in geometry and astronomy, was also no mean poet and man of letters. He and his family were spared, but the rest of the garrison were barbarously put to the sword according to the inhuman practice of the times.

The capture of Champaner put Humayun in possession of the accumulated treasures of the Sultans of Gujarat. Being, from its situation, regarded as impregnable, great quantities of jewels and precious stuffs of every description, besides arms and warlike stores, had been laid up in the fort as a place of security. The Emperor is said to have given to his officers and soldiers as much gold, silver, and jewels as could be heaped on their respective shields, proportioning the value to their rank and merit. We also learn from his domestic Jauhar that one of Bahadur's trusted officers, who had

made his submission, being plied with wine and good cheer, revealed to Humayun the place where more treasures lay concealed. Under his directions, the water from a certain large reservoir was drained off, and immense riches were discovered. The same noble also pointed out a well that was found to be filled with gold and silver melted into bars.[1] Humayun and his army abandoned themselves to the enjoyment of the vast spoils that had so easily fallen into their hands.

With the fall of Pavagadh, the extensive and, at that time, magnificent town of Muhammadabad-Champaner, which lay extended along the base of the fortress, passed into the hands of the conqueror. It will be remembered that under Mahmud Begada this city was among the most important of the mint-towns of the Saltanat. To commemorate his victory, Humayun revived the activity of its mint and caused coins to be struck in his name. "On neither the silver nor the copper coins, however, do we find the name Muhammadabad, which even thus early would seem to have passed into desuetude. A unique copper coin in the Lahore Museum is of special interest. Its observe reads 'the conquest of Champaner in the year 942' and the reverse simply 'struck at shahr mukarram' ('the illustrious city'). In another coin of the same year, 942 H. (A.D. 1535-1536), Champaner is styled 'shahr al zaman', the 'city of the age'."[2] These were then the last coins to be struck at this ancient city. In the light of the honorific epithets showered upon it, no doubt indicative of its power and prosperity, it is more than ever difficult to account for the utter desolation that overtook this flourishing capital of Gujarat during the next fifty years.

Bahadur's treaties with the Portuguese.

We shall now return to Sultan Bahadur. The Portuguese writers inform us that at the end of 1534 he had entered into a humiliating treaty with Nuno with a view to secure his friendship against the impending Mughal invasion. By the terms of that treaty the island of Bassein, with all its dependencies and revenues, was surrendered to the king of Portugal;[3] all ships sailing from any of the Gujarat ports to the Red Sea, or coming thence, were to call at Bassein to receive passes and to pay the customs; no help of any kind was to be given to the Turkish power; and no vessels of war were to be built in any of

1 "The Private Memoirs of the Moghul Emperor Humayun by Jouher," translated by Major Charles Stewart (1832), pp. 4-6.

2 Dr. Geo. P. Taylor, "The Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat," (J. B. B. R. A. S. 1903.

3 Bombay thus passed from the hands of the Muhammadans to the Portuguese power.

the ports belonging to the king of Gujarat.[1] In 1535, when Bahadur's kingdom had been completely overrun, and he was a fugitive at Diu, he entered into another treaty of alliance with Nuno da Cunha. By it the surrender of Bassein was confirmed; and it was further stipulated that the Portuguese were to be permitted to erect a fortress at Diu, though the revenues of that port were to remain with the Sultan.[2] The date of this treaty, which secured to the Portuguese the grand object of their policy during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, is given as the 25th October 1535. On his part, Nuno da Çunha agreed to assist the Sultan against his enemies both by land and by sea. The viceroy lost no time in the erection of a strong fortress at Diu, which, on completion, was put in charge of Emanuel de Souza with a garrison of 900 Portuguese and sixty large pieces of ordnance. In fulfilment of his obligations under the treaty Nuno supplied Bahadur with a force of 500 Europeans (of whom fifty were "men of note") to help him in the recovery of his territories.

Bahadur reorganises his army.

While Humayun was enjoying himself at Champaner, Bahadur Shah entrusted Imad-ul-Mulk, a distinguished noble of his court, with the difficult task of organising an army of opposition in Gujarat against the Mughal usurpation. He was invested with plenary powers to demand or remit the revenues, to make grants of land, and to disburse money in whatever manner he thought best for the furtherance of his master's interests. The chiefs and zamindars of Kathiavad flocked to his standard, and such was the popularity of his cause (for the people of Gujarat showed a decided partiality for the dynasty of their Sultans), that, by the time he reached Ahmadabad, he found himself at the head of a very considerable army. The news of these events roused the Emperor from his pleasures, and, leaving Tardi Beg at Champaner, he marched towards Ahmadabad. Imad-ul-Mulk, at the head of fifty thousand men, attempted to surprise the advance guard of the Emperor at a spot between Mahmudabad and Nadiad, but, though at first successful, he was ultimately defeated with great slaughter.

Humayun at Ahmadabad.

The Emperor now proceeded to Ahmadabad and encamped near the Kankariya Tank. He gave orders that none of his troops, except the men of Mirza Askari, who was put in charge of the

[1] Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, pp. 406, 417.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 417-18.

capital, should enter the gates. At the same time, the more effectively to preserve the inhabitants from harm, he led his army to the village of Sarkhej, across the Sabarmati, so as to interpose that river between his camp and the city. From Sarkhej, accompanied by his principal officers, Humayun visited the magnificent palaces, mosques, and colleges of his new capital, at that time one of the noblest and richest in the world, and, without doubt, superior in every respect to Delhi and Agra in extent, population, and architectural monuments.

Humayun was now master of Malwa and Gujarat, with the exception of the Kathiavad peninsula. These two flourishing provinces, equal in extent to all the rest of his kingdom, had fallen "like ripe fruit" into his hands. Never was conquest more rapid or more easy. But his unwonted decision had given him only the military occupation of these provinces: it would require his personal presence and all his energy to consolidate his conquest and to evolve a permanent administration.

Humayun's settlement of Gujarat and departure.

The Emperor proceeded to settle the government of Gujarat, rejecting the sound advice proffered by the veteran Hindu Beg to return the kingdom to Bahadur as a dependent prince while retaining under his own control the principal fortresses of the country. Mirza Askari, the Emperor's brother, was nominated viceroy of Gujarat, with his headquarters at Ahmadabad. Under him was placed Hindu Beg as commander-in-chief with a large force. Tardi Beg was to continue in charge of Champaner and Yadgar Nasir Mirza was given the district of Pattan-Nahrwala. Other officers were similarly put in charge of the forts at Cambay, Mahmudabad, Baroda, Broach and Surat. These arrangements completed, Humayun pushed on towards Diu in pursuit of Bahadur. But he had scarcely reached Dhandhuka when expresses from Agra overtook him bearing news of the most alarming character: for he now learned that the eastern provinces of his kingdom were in revolt and demanded his presence. Despatches of a similar nature also came from Malwa where the imperial garrisons were being driven out by the local chieftains. The Emperor was, thereupon, constrained to retrace his steps from Gujarat, and, proceeding by easy stages, he returned to Mandu, which he now made his headquarters.

Reaction in favour of Bahadur —his restoration.

The Emperor had hardly turned his back on the province of Gujarat when a counter-revolution commenced in favour of Bahadur Shah. Some of the Sultan's loyal officers, with the support of the Gujarat fleet, recovered the sea-board

towns of Surat, Broach and Cambay, and the whole country was soon up in arms against the invaders. Mirza Askari, the viceroy at Ahmadabad, summoned Yadgar Nazir Mirza from Pattan, and that city was soon occupied by a large army under the Gujarat officials and many friendly Rajput chiefs. Bahadur Shah also now emerged from his retreat at Diu and assumed charge of the operations. The complete panic that overtook the Mughal leaders, and the indecisive counsels that prevailed among them, may appear unaccountable when we remember that Humayun had left behind him in charge of his conquest some of the ablest generals of his army—veterans who had been trained in the school of Babur himself. But the reasons for the Mughal collapse may be found in the passive resistance of the people of the country, in Humayun's failure to send up reinforcements,[1] in the utter demoralisation of the Mughal armies by the spoils of Champaner, Cambay and other places, in the fact that the imperial forces were dispersed over places very remote from each other, and, worst of all, in disaffection towards the imperial throne.

When Bahadur, amid the acclamations of his subjects, encamped at Sarkhej, over against the capital, Hindu Beg advised Mirza Askari to assume the ensigns of royalty in Gujarat and so encourage his soldiers: but the advice was rejected. The danger was, however, pressing. At a council in which the principal amirs were present, it was decided to retreat from Gujarat, to take the treasures in the fort of Champaner on the way, and then march to Agra and there proclaim Askari Emperor. Acting upon this decision the Mughal generals beat a precipitate retreat from Ahmadabad, without offering a single battle in defence, though they were at the head of twenty thousand horse, and challenged by Bahadur from the other side of the Sabarmati. Tardi Beg, who had been left by Humayun in charge of Champaner, had received secret information of the contemplated treason. When, therefore, Askari and his generals arrived with the imperial army at that fort, he sternly refused either to admit them or to help them with supplies. Askari thereupon pushed on towards Agra, and by an accident encountered Humayun in the Chitor territory. Explanations were offered and accepted as a matter of expediency. That Humayun could give no further thought to his conquests was clear enough. The revolt of Sher Khan Sur and other Afghan chiefs in the

[1] Humayun's inactivity after he had reached Mandu may in a great measure be explained by the fact that during his stay in this luxurious capital he had been enslaved by opium. (Beveridge, *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 321 n.).

Gangetic provinces required his undivided attention, and compelled him to leave Mandu for Agra, on the way to which city he effected the junction with his brother as stated above.

Bahadur had followed the retreating Mughal army up to the Mahi, where an action was fought with the rear guard of the imperial troops at Kanij, five miles from Mahmudabad, in which the Sultan was victorious. When Tardi Beg also withdrew the garrison from Champaner to join the Emperor, Bahadur took possession of the fort, and saw himself again master of the whole of his kingdom. Malwa, however, may now be said to have been lost to the Saltanat. When Humayun abandoned Mandu for Agra, that country fell into the power of Mallu Khan, a noble of the recently extinguished Khalji dynasty. He assumed the ensigns of royalty under the title of Kadir Shah, and ruled the kingdom until Malwa was conquered by Sher Shah Sur. The Mughal occupation of Gujarat and Malwa had lasted little more than nine months.

Death of Bahadur at sea.

Bahadur Shah was not destined to enjoy for long the sudden restoration to his throne and kingdom; for, within a few weeks of that event, he perished at sea in an inglorious affray with the Portuguese. The accounts of his death have been handed down to us both by the Muhammadan and the Portuguese historians: and the details of the catastrophe are given at length in the "Akbarnama" and the "Mirati-Sikandari" as also in the works of the Portuguese writers Correa and Castanheda. From a comparison of the various accounts it appears that Bahadur, when restored to power, regretted the concession with which in the days of his distress he had purchased the help of the Portuguese against the Mughal invasion. At the end of 1536 he hastened from Champaner to Diu to recover if possible the rights he had bartered away. But he dissembled his feelings and assumed the most conciliatory policy towards Emanuel de Souza, the captain in charge of the fort there. About this time Nuno da Cunha also arrived at Diu with a fleet, but declined the Sultan's invitation to come to a conference on shore on the ground of sickness. Bahadur, thereupon, against the advice of his ministers, and accompanied by a few nobles, proceeded in a boat to visit the viceroy. He seems to have thought that, by this show of confidence, he would induce the viceroy and his party to come to an entertainment on shore, where he might put them all to death and then seize upon their ships and property.

Once on board the viceroy's ship, Bahadur saw that Nuno's illness was a mere pretence. During the conversation a page came in and whispered something in the viceroy's ear, upon which the Sultan's suspicions were aroused. At last Nuno, rising, requested to be excused as he wished to show his majesty some presents he had brought. Bahadur and his nobles, now thoroughly alarmed, and regretting this ill-conceived visit, hurriedly left the vessel and reached their boat. Emanuel de Souza, following in his barge, invited the Sultan to visit the fort. He was requested to step into the king's boat, in attempting which he fell into the sea, and was taken up by Bahadur's attendants amidst much confusion and bustle. The Portuguese seamen, who witnessed this incident from the surrounding vessels, misinterpreted the facts, Thinking that their captain's life was in danger, they leaped into the royal boat: menaces were exchanged, and blows followed. Bahadur jumped into the sea and tried to make for the shore. While he was swimming, an officer in a Portuguese vessel reached him out an oar to assist him in getting in, but a soldier who stood by struck him on the face with a halbert, and so did others till the unfortunate monarch was killed and sank beneath the waves. De Souza also fell overboard during the scuffle. Neither his body nor that of the Sultan could be found though the viceroy caused diligent search to be made for them in order to give them honourable burial.

Remarks on the event.

Such apppear to be the facts of the tragedy as far as we can make them out by a study of all the accounts. The task of apportioning the responsibility or of probing the intentions of the two parties is much more difficult. Colonel Briggs, the translator of Firishta, after a careful examination of the different versions, comes to the conclusion that "both Nuno da Cunha and Bahadur Shah were resolved each to seize the other; that the followers of both knew the intentions of their respective masters, and suspected the opposite party; so that nothing was wanting to bring about bloodshed, but such an affray as arose, originating entirely out of an accident, which blew the embers of suspicion and mistrust into a blaze, and produced the melancholy result which has been related."

We are inclined, on the whole, to support this judicious conclusion. The real facts will very probably never be known. No doubt the responsibility of explaining Bahadur's death rests on the Portuguese, for he was their guest and was killed among their ships. But it would be wrong to charge the

Portuguese alone with entertaining treacherous intentions. The Persian historians plainly admit that Bahadur wanted to get Nuno in his power, though not necessarily at the time he went to visit the viceroy in his ship. Sikandar tells us that the Sultan was weaving a plot, but "fate was not in accord with his designs." The version of the author of the *Tazkaratu-l-Muluk*, who arrived in India little more than twenty years after the event, also clearly brings out the intention of both the king and the viceroy to seize each the person of the other. The catastrophe was evidently brought on prematurely by accidental circumstances. Bahadur's folly in putting himself at the mercy of his enemies led to his tragic and untimely death.[1]

Character of the reign.

The Hijri year of Bahadur's death, 943, has been preserved in an elegant chronogram composed by his vazir Ikhtiyar Khan: *Sultanu-l-bar, Shahidu-l-bahr*, "King of the Land, Martyr of the Sea." Bahadur was twenty years old when he ascended the throne, and was thusthirty-one only at the time of his death. But during his reign of eleven years he had shown all the ability and martial valour of his ancestors, had kept the nobles loyal to him and completely under control, and had raised the power of Gujarat to its culminating point. Till the time of his defeat by Humayun, his alliance was invoked by the Hindu and Muhammadan rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms, and the discontented princes of the house of Timur sought his protection. After his death the tributes from the kings of the Deccan and from the Gujarat ports in the hands of the Europeans ceased to be received. Bahadur was the last of the great Sultans of Gujarat. In the dark days of anarchy and civil strife that followed his death, the people must have longed for the peaceful and, on the whole, glorious days of his reign.[2] But in character the Sultan was cruel and passionate, and his sanguinary disposition, as shown in the murder of his brothers and all his relations at the commencement of his reign, stands out in striking contrast to the clemency of his father, the saintly Muzaffar. His tragic death, when in the prime of life, has earned for him a degree of sympathy that he does not altogether deserve.

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1 For the literature on Bahadur's death see (1) Briggs' *Firishta*, Vol. IV, pp. 132–141; (2) *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 347–351; (3) Bayley's *History of Gujarat*, pp. 394–97; (4) Abu-l-Fazl's *Akbarnama*, translated by Mr. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 323; (5) Bird's *History of Gujarat*, p. 251 n.; (6) W. Erskine's *History of India: Babar and Humayun*, pp. 91–95 and notes; (7) Whiteway's *Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, pp. 244–50.

2 Of his domestic administration we have hardly any information. The outer city walls of Broach were erected by his orders in 1528.

Alleged reappearance of Bahadur.

The fact that Bahadur's body was never recovered, and that thus no burial obsequies were possible, gave rise to the belief, in such instances fondly indulged in by the common people, that he was alive and would one day return to govern his kingdom. Both in Gujarat and in the Deccan reports of his reappearance were common enough in later years. For instance, it was rumoured that a person appeared in Nizam Shah's territory, whom that prince acknowledged as Bahadur, and as such played with him at *chaugan* (polo). But as a crowd gathered about him, the Nizam became uneasy, and had his guest secretly put to death. Mir Abu Turab, a noble who played a leading part in the history of Gujarat about the time of Akbar's invasion, relates that Mulla Qutb-ud-din of Shiraz, who had been Bahadur's preceptor, was then in the Deccan and conversed with the stranger, and that this Mulla affirmed on oath that the man was no other than Bahadur, as he talked about certain matters of which the two only were cognisant. No reliance, however, can be placed on these stories.

The Portuguese take possession of Diu.

The Portuguese made the fullest use of the opportunity presented to them by the sudden death of the Sultan. Their viceroy took possession of the royal palace, the treasury, and all the public magazines at Diu, and assumed control of the administration. The populace, however, were seized by panic, and fearing that the town would be given up to plunder, they abandoned their homes and made a rush for the gates. Nuno spared no efforts to quiet their fears, and the rich traders and others, being assured of safety, soon returned to the city. In order further to pacify the people, the viceroy ordered that the Muhammadans in the city should be allowed free exercise of their religion and laws, and that all pensions and allowances granted by Bahadur should be continued.

Among the late Sultan's papers Nuno found incriminating letters which gave proof of his designs against the Portuguese with the help of the Sultan of Turkey and other Muslim rulers. The viceroy laid these evidences of the king's treachery before a council of the principal merchants and learned men of the town, and obtained from them certificates, duly signed and attested, of their approval of his action. These he sent to the princes of the Deccan, and to the rulers of Ormuz and other places on the coast of Arabia, that they might be duly informed of the circumstances that had led to the Sultan's death.

That the action of the Portuguese in thus assuming sovereign rights over the city of Diu was wholly unscrupulous and unjustified cannot be denied. It is, however, not to be wondered at. As Mr. Erskine says, "The spirit which in that age regulated the proceedings of Europeans towards the princes of America or of Asia and their subjects, was that of the most unprincipled cruelty and rapacity, in no degree superior to that of the buccaneers of a later period."[1] The Portuguese had made themselves the tyrants of the Indian seas, and were not likely to surrender the prize which they had desired for so long and which chance had thrown into their hands.

Muhammad Zaman Mirza aspires to the throne.

As Bahadur left no heir, Muhammad Zaman Mirza, the ambitious and intriguing Timurid prince whose reception at the Gujarat court had provoked the war with Humayun, thought that an excellent opportunity was at hand to secure the crown for himself. Professing the deepest sympathy and distress, he presented himself before the ladies of Bahadur's household, and urged that as the late Sultan had treated him as a brother, the queen-mother should now adopt him as her son, and assist him to secure the throne for which he was best fitted by character and descent. He was informed that it was not the custom for the ladies of the royal house of Gujarat to interfere in state affairs and that he should address himself to the ministers. Nevertheless, the prince appears to have secured from them over two millions of gold, which amount he spent in raising a large army. At the same time the Mirza alternately demanded from the Portuguese satisfaction for Bahadur's murder, and also secretly sent them large sums of money in order that they might use their influence in having him acknowledged as sovereign. At Navanagar he entered into negotiations with Nuno de Cunha promising large territorial concessions in Gujarat in return for his help. The Portuguese accepted the terms, and under their authority the "khutba" was read in his name in the Safa mosque at Diu. Meanwhile, the nobles of Bahadur's court came to the decision that their first duty was to put down these pretensions, and a large army was sent against him. In a battle that was fought near Unah, three *kos* from Diu, the prince was defeated, whereupon his troops forthwith deserted him. He fled from Gujarat to Sind and thence to Hindustan where he threw himself upon Humayun's mercy.

Muhammad III.

Bahadur had, during his lifetime, expressly indicated to his nobles that his sister's son, Miran Muhammad Farrukhi, king of Khandesh, should succeed

[1] W. Erskine, *History of India: Baber and Humayun*, Vol. II, P. 95.

him to the throne. This ruler was at Ujjain in Malwa when he received the invitation of the nobles to come to Gujarat. But his reign as Muhammad Shah III was destined to be a very brief one. His death within a few weeks is said to have been brought about by intense grief at his uncle's sudden end.

Mahmud III succeeds.

The next heir to the throne of Gujarat was Mahmud Khan, another nephew of Bahadur, and son of his brother Latif Khan. Bahadur had, at his accession, "sent all his brothers and relatives to the kingdom of death," and only one person, then an infant at the breast, was spared. The story goes that one day Bahadur sent for the child in order to get rid of it also; but when he saw it he was moved by a feeling of compassion. He took the child in his arms, and the latter, as is usual, began to toss about its hands and feet, in which act its hands came accidentally into contact with the Sultan's beard. "On my word", exclaimed Bahadur, "you invoke the protection of our royal beard, and you shall have it!" The boy was put into safe custody to be brought up and educated, and was now, at the age of eleven, raised to the throne by the nobles with the title of Mahmud Shah III.

IX.—Sultan Mahmud Shah III (A. D. 1536–1553).

Decline and fall of the Saltanat.

After Bahadur's death shades of night descended upon the Gujarat Saltanat. In the disastrous period of thirty-six years that followed before the kingdom was finally annexed by Akbar (1573), the bonds of authority were loosened; the rulers, young and feeble, became mere puppets in the hands of ambitious and semi-independent nobles; the country was distracted by factions and endless civil wars; the frontiers were contracted; and the Hindu populace, which had been for nearly a century treated with tolerance, was alienated by an active and severe persecution. Of the three inglorious reigns that cover this dreary period, the first, that of Mahmud III, lasted for seventeen years.

Mahmud III's long tutelage.

The reign of Mahmud, being uneventful, need not detain us long. Taking advantage of his boyhood, the most powerful among the nobles, Imad-ul-Mulk, Darya Khan and Alam Khan Lodi, at times in combination and at others in deadly opposition to each other, usurped the whole control of the government for the first eight years of the reign. During the greater part of this period, the Sultan, being kept under surveillance by one or other of these

nobles, was virtually a prisoner either in the Bhadra at Ahmadabad or in the Ghattamandal palace outside the city. At length, about 1545, with the help of Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari (the patron of the author of the "Mirat-i-Sikandari") and other loyal ministers, he availed to assert himself as king. Himself innocentof administrative ability, he was a confirmed sensualist, and addicted to the company ofl ow-born favourites and the nine years of his direct government brought no good, to the country.

Failure of attempt to recover Diu.

Though the Muhammadan historians are silent on the subject, we learn from the Portuguese authorities that in 1538 the combined forces of Gujarat and Turkey made the most determined effort to recover Diu. Bahadur, before his tragic end, had sent a request to the Grand Turk at Constantinople for help to drive the foreigners out of his dominions. Accordingly, a powerful fleet of 70 sail with 7,000 soldiers on board, fitted out under the command of Suleman Pasha, the governor of Cairo, arrived before Diu at the end of 1538. The ministers of the Gujarat Sultan also collected a force of 15,000 men of all arms to co-operate with this fleet. The siege of Diu that followed is perhaps the most memorable in the history of the island. The duty of defending the place against such overwhelming odds fell on the governor Antonio da Silveira and his garrison of only 600 Europeans. Unable to hold the city, Antonio retired with his men to the fort, abandoning the ships and some of the guns. For more than a month the tiny garrison held on in spite of many assaults and an incessant cannonade by the enemy from heavy land batteries which contained no less than 130 guns. The heroic character of the defence may be judged from the fact that when the garrison was reduced by death and illness, and no succour arrived, the Portuguese women took upon themselves some of the duties of the men and were even present at assaults.[1] At length Suleman delivered a final desperate assault. When that also failed, he raised the siege and sailed away. Eight years later, in 1546, the forces of Mahmud III. made a last great effort to recover Diu by land, but though the siege was conducted with vigour and success for six months, it had ultimately to be abandoned. The Portuguese have remained in possession of the town and fort of Diu from that day to this.

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1 Among these courageous women was one who, having once been a Turk, had become a Christian: she donned her husband's uniform and a helmet, and with his sword and lance did considerable execution against the invaders (Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, pp. 434-35).

Construction of Surat Castle.

Surat, at this period but a small town of about 10,000 inhabitants, had been twice sacked and burnt by the Portuguese in the reign of Bahadur. Annoyed at this insolence, the Gujarat ruler ordered the construction of a strong castle, and the work was entrusted to an old and trusted officer named Safi Agha, an Italian renegade who had been ennobled with the title of Khudawand Khan. In spite of Portuguese opposition and intrigue, the castle was completed in 1540 or 1546, and still remains a strong and imposing structure. From this time Surat began to increase in size and population, and soon took the place of the older port of Rander. According to a local writer, Safi Agha submitted to the Sultan three plans.. The king chose the one that placed the castle on the bank of the river and under it wrote the word *mubarak*. Hence the city is called *bandar mubarak* or "the blessed port." It is, however, more likely that Surat obtained this auspicious epithet on account of its being the place at which, throughout the Mughal period, the pilgrims embarked for Mecca.[1] Whatever the origin, coins bearing this honorific appellation, were struck at the mint in this city in Aurangzeb's reign.

"Deer Park" at Mahmudabad.

In 1546 Mahmud III removed his seat of government to Mahmudabad, the city founded by Mahmud Begada about 1479. Here he laid out a magnificent enclosure, six miles long, which he named the "Deer Park," at each corner of which was erected a pavilion ornamented with beautiful gilt traceries. By the side of each pavilion was a bazar, and in every shop was stationed a 'fairy-like' damsel who sold everything that conduced to pleasure and delight. In many retired corners of the park pleasure-gardens were laid out and kept perpetually green by means of water-courses. Even the trunks of the trees were encased in brocades and velvet, and the branches covered with satin and *kinkhab*. In these secluded retreats the Sultan passed his time with his "deer-eyed spouses" and in the enjoyment of all the pleasures of youth. At times he would order his huntsmen to drive deer and other game from the jungles into the park, and at sunset and in the moonlight he would go out hunting these in the company of his "darlings." In this manner did the voluptuous ruler of Gujarat fritter away on his selfish and senseless pleasures the revenues received from an oppressed and hard-worked peasantry.

[1] For this reason Surat has also been called the *Bab-al-Hajj* or "Gate of Pilgrimage."

Persecution of the Hindus.

Having got rid of his domineering nobles, Mahmud conceived the design of reconquering Malwa. The vazir, Asaf Khan, being consulted on the subject, said that he could direct the Sultan to a conquest not less important and nearer home. A fourth part of the land in Gujarat, he urged, was held by Rajputs and 'garasias' as *wanta*[1] or hereditary estate. If the king would resume this and transfer it to Muslims, he would acquire a jagir sufficient to maintain an army of 25,000 horse. The wicked advice was at once acted upon, and the Hindu landholders were forcibly ejected from their ancestral estates. This unscrupulous invasion of the sacred rights of private property at once raised up a storm of bitter opposition, and the feudatory chiefs of Idar, Sirohi, Dingarpur, Rajpipla and other frontier districts rose in a formidable revolt. But the Sultan strengthened his military outposts, and the insurrection was put down in the most sanguinary manner. The parties of soldiers stationed at Sirohi, Idar, and other places were ordered to extirpate the very name of Rajput and Koli from these places: excepting, however, those who were the armed police of the country, or such as were engaged in trade, and who were to be distinguished by a special mark on the right arm. Should any of this class be found without this mark they were to be executed.[2]

Nor was this all. So bitter was the zeal displayed in the persecution of the Sultan's harmless subjects that no Hindu was allowed to ride on horseback in the city, and none was to enter a bazar unless distinguished by a red patch of cloth on a white dress as a token of submission. Moreover, the public celebration of the festivities of the Diwali and the Holi, the open practice of idol-worship, and the ringing of bells in public were sternly proscribed. Those who practised these rites in private did so with fear and trembling. The iron must have entered deep in the souls of the Sultan's Hindu subjects, for it is related that after the murder of Mahmud in 1553 by the villain Burhan, they regarded the assassin as their saviour, and set up a stone image of him which they worshipped as a god, saying, "This is our preserver, who has brought us from death unto life."

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1 Wanta or portions of village lands had been originally assigned by Sultan Ahmad I to the Rajput chiefs with a view to conciliate them to the new dynasty. Much of the wanta land is still enjoyed either free from assessment or subject only to a quit-rent.

2 Bird's *History of Gujarat*, p. 267.

Mahmud's zeal for Islam.

Though terribly cruel and tyrannical in his treatment of the Hindus, Mahmud III was yet kind and considerate to his Muslim subjects, and carried out zealously all the religious duties enjoined by Islam. Following a practice handed down from the time of his grandfather, Muzaffar the Clement, he used to assemble annually at his court in Mahmudabad, from the first to the twelfth of the sacred month of Rabi-ul-awwal, all the holy and learned men of the town to celebrate the nativity of the Prophet. On the twelfth day, which was the Prophet's birthday, the Sultan, personating the Sharif of Mecca, gave a great banquet to all assembled, when he and his nobles waited in person on the guests.

His attachment to low favourites.

In spite of some fulsome praises of the Sultan, the historian Sikandar blurts out the simple truth when he says that "from the beginning to the end he was a man of low tastes and delighted in low company." During the period when he was still a minor and under the power of his nobles, he lavished his favours on one Charji, a bird-catcher in the royal household. The insolence and tyranny of this upstart at length led the nobles to put him to death in the very audience-chamber of the palace. Another favourite of the Sultan's later years was a handsome youth named Burhan, the son of the chief of the royal stables. The youth became addicted to wine and gross licentiousness, which facts coming to the notice of the Sultan, he ordered him to be built up in a wall. But on the entreaties of his parents the youth was pardoned, just before it was too late, for he had already been encased up to the shoulders. By a most perverse decision, Burhan was restored to favour and put in charge of some of the most confidential posts relating to the royal person, including that of supervising the Sultan's food.

Circumstances connected with his murder.

Some years later, in 1553, when the Sultan was out hunting with his ladies in the Deer Park at Mahmudabad, he accidentally saw Burhan under a tree in the midst of a debauch. Threatening him with condign punishment, the king proceeded after the game and forgot all about the incident. The threat, however, sank deep into Burhan's mind, and he decided to be beforehand in the matter. The next day was the anniversary of the birthday of the Prophet. After celebrating the festival of the nativity in the usual manner, the Sultan took farewell of the assembled guests, and, weary with the exertions of the entertainment, hastened to his private chamber to rest.

Feeling thirsty he called for some "sharbat." The villain Burhan, who was in waiting by virtue of his office, brought a poisoned draught, and Mahmud, suspecting no evil, drank it off. But he soon got up feeling very unwell, and asked the fellow what drink had been given him. Burhan replied, "Your majesty has been unduly fatiguing yourself. Take a little more of the drink and go to sleep." His master acted upon the suggestion and retired, "never again to wake till the day of Resurrection." Finding the Sultan asleep, and fearing that the poison might fail to take effect, the villain, "accursed in this world and the next," drew out a dagger and stabbed him to death.

Mahmud was only twenty-eight years of age at the time of his murder, and his death was sufficiently tragical to satisfy his bitterest Hindu enemies. His body was carried in sad procession from the palace at Mahmudabad to the mausoleum of his family at Sarkhej, where it was placed by the side of his grandfather Mazaffar II and his great-grandfather Mahmud Begada. The low pillar at the head of the tomb guides the visitor to the last resting place of Mahmud the martyr.[1]

Burhan's villainies and fall.

The assassin proceeded to put into effect a deep-laid plan to raise himself to the throne. The late Sultan had kept near him a company of twelve hundred bodyguards called the "bagh-mar" or "tiger-slayers." Burhan summoned the leaders of this band, and, putting them in an ante-chamber of the palace, told them that it was the Sultan's order that they should put to death whoever might enter. The vazir Asaf Khan was then summoned to the palace in the name of the Sultan, and, being ushered by Burhan into the fatal room, was quickly despatched by the bravoes there. In this manner about twelve of the highest nobles of Gujarat were invited one after another and done to death in the course of a single night.

The murderer, thinking that he was now secure, broke open the Sultan's jewel-chamber, and putting round his neck a richly bejewelled necklace, "seated himself, like a dog, on the royal chair." He also distributed lapfuls of jewels among his vile companions. Towards morning he issued forth with his band into the city. The procession encountered some of the nobles on their way to the palace, but ignorant of the bloody deeds of the night. Shirwan Khan, the adopted son of the

1 According to Muslim theology not only those are martyrs who die fighting for the faith, but also all whose deaths are calculated to excite the compassion and pity of their fellow-men.

lately murdered vazir, alighted from his horse as a mark of respect to his supposed sovereign. On seeing him Burhan cried out, "Let him approach : he is on my side, and desires to make his obeisance." The youth, gathering from these words the fate of his father and his sovereign, was fired with rage and dealt the villain such a blow that he was cut in twain and fell from his horse. The band of "tiger-slayers" either fled or "were sent after that evil one to hell."

Ahmad III placed on the throne.

The task of restoring order and of finding a successor fell upon the surviving nobles, chief among whom was Itimad Khan. Being questioned if the late Sultan had left any son, Itimad replied in the negative, but he said that there was a blood relation of the late king, by name Ahmad Khan, who was then at Ahmadabad. The messenger, sent to that city to fetch the lad, found him bringing home in the skirt of his dress some grain for his favourite pigeons. Placing the boy in a carriage, he started post-haste for Mahmudabad. The child's nurse set up a cry demanding where he was taking her charge ; to which the courier gave the sententious reply, "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."

Note.

The references to Barbosa's Itinerary in this History have been the first English translation of the same made in 1865 for the Hakluyt Society by Lord Stanley from the Spanish version under the title of "A description of the coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the Sixteenth Century."

A second English translation, based on the Portuguese text of 1813, has been recently published (1918) by the Hakluyt Society under the title of "The Book of Duarte Barbosa, Vol. I. The able translator—Mr. M. Longworth Dames, I.C.S. (Retired)—has enriched his work by extremely valuable and elaborate notes which are the result of very wide and patient research. As the proofs of this paper were in the press when Mr. Dames's work came to hand. it has unfortunately not been possible to make use of much new light which he has thrown on the history of Gujarat. To mention only one instance, he has given us for the first time a full account of the early career of the celebrated Malik Ayaz as derived from the work of the Portuguese historian De Barros. It now appears that this famous general and admiral of the Gujarat Sultans was by birth a Russian who was taken captive to Constantinople by the Turks and sold to a merchant who traded with Damascus, Busrah, and the East. Ayaz soon gave his master proofs of unusual valour and skill in archery. Arriving in the "kingdom of Cambay" during the course of his business, the merchant presented his slave to Sultan Mahmud I "as a jewel of great price." For the details of Ayaz's emancipation by the Sultan and his subsequent rise to distinction at the Gujarat court see. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. I., p. 130.*n*.

ART. XIV—GĀLĀ INSCRIPTION OF SIDDHARĀJA JAYASIMHA [VIKRAMA] SAMVAT 1193.

By G. V. Acharya, B.A., Rajkot.

In Kathiawar there are the ruins of an old temple situated on the west bank of the rivulet named Chandrabhāgā and equidistant from both the neighbouring villages Gālā and Dudāpur. Both these villages are at the distance of about 8 miles from Dhrāngadrā which is the capital of a first class state under the Jhālāwād Prānt.

It would not be presumptuous on my part to infer that the existence of this temple has not been noticed till now, for the simple reason that there is not the slightest mention of this temple either in the *Kathiawar Gazetteer* or in the statistical account of the Dhrāngadrā state, which have been compiled under the instructions of the eminent antiquarian, the late lamented Col. J. W. Watson.

It is no wonder therefore that we find the temple at present almost in a neglected condition. I am confident however, that the state authorities will not hesitate to take active steps for the conservation of this temple when the historical importance of the same will be made clear to them.

From what exists at present it is difficult to ascertain the identity of the deity to whom this might have been dedicated. The outer entrance which leads us to the *sabhāmandapa* faces east and is in the form of a covered passage measuring 8′-4″×6′-4″. Strangely enough there are no traces whatsoever of the existence of the shrines either on the western or on the northern side of the *sabhāmandapa*. The only existing shrine is on the southern side and it faces north. This has in it the broken image of Gaṇésa.

With these preliminary remarks as regards the condition and the nature of the temple itself I submit below the transliteration and translation of the inscription itself and the necessary observations to bring out the historical importance of the same.

Almost all the inscriptions in the temple being engraved on rough sandstone, have been deplorably damaged, though, as a matter of sheer accident, this particular inscription is comparatively in a good state of preservation. The *script* is the Devanāgari of not earlier than the twelfth century. The

Mātrā is throughout written by the side of the letter and not above as at present. The *language* is Sanskrit of an incorrect type.

The inscription which is dated in [Vikrama]—Saṁvat 1193. *Vaisākha-vadi* 14, *Thursday*, refers itself to the reign of Chaulukya king *Jayasimha-deva*, who being the seventh in succession from Mularāja, is popularly known in Gujarat as Sadharo Jaising (A. D. 1094—1143). This is thus the earliest inscription hitherto discovered of the Chaulukya king in question, and as such its importance will not fail to be appreciated by scholars interested in the history of Gujarat.

Out of the series of usual epithets that are coupled with the name of Jayasiṁha-deva, we have here the following three: (i) *Samasta-rājāvalī-virājita*, (ii) *Siddha chakravarti*, (iii) *Avantīnatha*. The name of *Aṁbaprasāda* as treasury officer (*Vyayakarane Mahāmātya*) is given in the third line. It may be added that the name of another officer *Kalanna prasāda*, also ending in *prasāda*, is given in another inscription in the same temple dated V. 1215. I have looked for these two names in Jayasimhadeva's published inscriptions, but have failed to notice them anywhere and hence I might safely assert that these two names have been made known to us now for the first time.

In spite of the loss of several letters at the beginning of all the lines and of a few more in the middle of the inscription, the general sense can be made out with certainty. The *object* of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple dedicated to the goddess called Bhattārikā along with a shrine of Ganeśa by certain persons (their names are only partially preserved) who were apparently related to the above mentioned Aṁbapradsāda.

The *date* of the complete subjugation of Western Mālwā (Avanti) by Siddharāja Jayasiṁha has as yet not been satisfactorily settled. The copper-plate found at Ujjain gives V. 1191 as a date for Parmāra Yaśovarmaṅ of Avanti and therein Yaśovarman is styled *Mahārājādhirāja* which leads us to infer that he was not subdued till then; in other words Siddharaja J. was not Avantināth till the year V. 1191.

A recent find at Ujjain of a stone inscription dated V. 1195 has been recorded on page 55 of the *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March 1913. In that inscription Siddhārāja Jayasiṁha has his usual epithet Avantinathā significantly added before his name. It was thus believed that Jayasimhadeva must have

vanquished Yaśovarman at some time between the years V 1191 and 1195.

Now this new inscription at Gālā which is dated V. 1193 further narrows down this period of uncertainty to two years (viz. V. 1191–93) inasmuch as the epithet Avantināth has been clearly prefixed therein to the name of Siddhārājā. We have thus gone a step further towards fixing the exact date of the conquest of Mālwā by Siddhārājā Jayasiṁha.

Text.

1. [श्री] संवत् ११९३ वै[शा]ख वदि १४ गुराव[दे]ह [स]मस्त [रा] जावली विराजित महा·····वि———
2. अ·····[सि]द्ध चक्रवर्त्ति अवंतीनाथ श्रीम[ज्ज]यसिंहदेव कल्याण विजय राज्ये इत्ये तस्मिन्कालेऽ—व—[मा]·····
3. ·····[त्र] व्ययकरणे महामात्य श्री अंबप्रसाद प्रतिबद्ध महं० [वाल्हु] रा । पारि० श्री कुमार । द्वि० पारि० केर—भे·····
4. ·····[ळी] दि पंचकुलेन द्रुमतीर्थे खान्यां श्री भट्टारिका [ख्य] श्रीदेव-ताया:·····विनायकदेव कुलिकासमे [तं] कारितं
5. ·····पानंदनायति ॥ मंगलं महा श्री : ॥ शिवम[स्तु] सर्वेगजत : ॥ छ ॥ ऽत्र———सूत्र० म[ह]—केन ॥

Translation.

(Ll. 1–2) [Sri !] Here to-day, on Thursday *the 14th of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha of the year Samvat*) 1193, in the beneficial and victorious reign of the illustrious *Jayasimhadeva*, who has illuminated the whole line of Kings, who . . . . who was a perfect *Chakravartin* (supreme ruler) and who was lord of Avanti (Mālwā,)—at that time . . . . . .

(L. 3) . . . . . Maham [Vālhu] rā, dependent on the illustrious Amvaprasāda who was the great minister (appointed) on the duty of disbursing; attendant the illustrious Kumāra; another attendant . . . . . by the five families . . . .

(L. 4.) . . . . . was caused to be erected . . . of the goddess named Bhaṭṭārikā, along with a chapel of Gaṇeśa in Drumtirtha-Khani . . . . . .

(L. 5.) for propitiating . . . . . Great auspiciosness ! . . . . . Good be to the whole world . . . . . By mason . . . . . .

ART. XV—*An unpublished Mogul Inscription at the Margalla Pass near Rawalpindi.*

BY

SHAMS-UL-ULMA JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH. D.,

C. I. E.

(*Read on the 17th October* 1918.)

I

Introduction.

On my return to Rawalpindi on my way back to Bombay from Kashmir, during my second visit of the beautiful valley in 1915, I had paid a short visit on 16th July 1915 to the excavations of Taxala situated at about 20 miles from Rawalpindi. On my way back from the excavations, I halted at the Margalla Pass which is situated at about 15 miles from Rawalpindi, to see there, the great monument in honour of General John Nicholson (died 23rd September 1857, aged 34), erected by his British and Indian friends to commemorate his services in the "four great wars for the defence of British India" and to commemorate "his civil rule in the Punjab" and "his share in its conquest."[1] As I had then in mind the movement of the erection at Sanjan, of a Memorial Column by my community to commemorate the event of the landing in Gujarat of our forefathers, the Iranian Pilgrim fathers, after the Arab conquest of Persia, I had some special interest in examining the structure of the monument. While going to the monument from an old Mogul road on the right, I happened to see on my right, a Persian tablet in a rock. I asked the keeper in charge of the monument to produce a ladder, so that I could examine and copy the inscription. I waited for some time, but, as he could not turn up in time with the ladder and as I had to return to Rawalpindi in time to prepare for, and catch, the one o'clock train for Bombay, I had reluctantly to leave the place without

[1] *Vide* Indian Monumental Inscriptions, Vol. II, Part I. A List of Inscriptions on Christian tombs or Monuments in the Punjaub, N. W. F. Province, Kashmir and Afghanistan, p. 128. (Serial No. 842.)

satisfying my literary curiosity. On coming to Bombay, I looked into the *Rawalpindi Gazetteer*, if I could find the inscription therein. I did not find the inscription itself, but found a reference to it, which runs as follows :—"At Mârgalla there is an old cutting through the hill crossing the Lahore and Peshâwar Road. The roadway is paved with flags of stone, while a stone slab inserted into the wall on the side contains an inscription, which shows that the work was completed in 1083 A.H., corresponding with 1672 A.D., or about the time when the Emperor Aurangzeb marched to Hassan Abdâl and sent his son Prince Sultân with an army against the Khattaks and other trans-Indus tribes. The pavement was no doubt a remarkable achievement in those days, but it has been completely cast into the shade by the new cutting higher up to the east by our own engineers, who have also constructed at the latter place a fine column to the memory of the late General John Nicholson."[1]

Then, on 29th September 1915, I wrote to the Commissioner of the Rawalpindi Division, requesting him to be good enough to refer me to any publication which gave the inscription, and, if it was not published anywhere, to kindly send me a copy from his records, if it was there. After some further correspondence, the Commissioner, Lt.-Col. (now Sir) F. Popham Young, kindly sent me, with his letter, dated 13th November 1915, a report, dated 10th November, from the Tahsildar, Mr. Hari Singh. The report was accompanied with the text, transliteration and translation at the hands of the Tahsildar and was received by the Commissioner through the Deputy Commissioner. I beg to tender my best thanks to these officers for the trouble they so kindly took in this matter.

The Deputy Commissioner, in his communication to his Chief, dated 11th November 1915, hoped "Mr. Jamsetjee will now be satisfied." Unfortunately, or, as it has turned out rather fortunately, I was not satisfied, because the Tahsildar said thus in his report: "I have tried to decipher this inscription which has been dimmed by time. The inscription is engraved in bold relief and the constant exposure to rain and hail has washed away several letters and parts of words. I have tried to make it out as far as possible but am doubtful about the words marked X. The date given is 1080. It is probably Hijri, and it would correspond with 1662 A.D. This was the fifth year of Aurangzeb's reign, but I doubt very much whether this inscription could be meant for an Emperor. This appears to be meant for some Khan; and it may

[1] *Punjab District Gazetteer*, Vol. XXVIII-A, Rawalpindi District (1907), p. 35.

be for Mahbat Khan, the famous Mogul general who was for some time Governor of Peshawar."

I visited Kashmir again for the third time this year,[1] and on my return to Rawalpindi from there, I took advantage of my stay there for a day and saw the inscription again leisurely on the 21st of July. I had the pleasure of the company and the assistance of Munshi Mahmad Din, the teacher of Persian in the Dennis High School at Rawalpindi, and so, in the reading of the inscription, which I give below, I acknowledge with thanks his help in settling the reading of several words, here and there.

II

Plan and Tablet.

First of all, I give below a plan of the place at the Margalla Pass where the tablet is situated. It was kindly drawn, at the request of my host, Mr. Nusserwanji J. Boga, by Mr. J. Vesugar, Assistant Engineer, P.W.D., at Rawalpindi. I beg to thank Mr. Vesugar for it. To do justice to the Tahsildar, and to do justice to myself, as well as to place before the students another reading of a number of words here and there, I give, as an appendix, the reading and translation of the Tahsildar, which, in some places is evidently faulty. Of course, his reading was a hasty decipherment in the midst of work in response to the desire of his superiors; so, his reading must be free from criticism. Had he known that his decipherment was required for some literary purpose, he would have perhaps been more cautious and careful. I repeat here my thanks for what he has kindly done.

On my way homewards, and on my return to Bombay after my second visit to Margalla, I wrote to the Archæological Department of the Government of India and requested it to kindly send me an impression of the inscription. Dr. D. B. Spooner, the then Officiating Director-General of Archæology, kindly sent me, with his letter, dated 14th September, a copy of the inscription with its transliteration and translation. These were, as said by him in his letter, dated 14th October 1918, supplied to him by the Commissioner, Rawalpindi Division. I give these, as an appendix, at the end to help the student to make his own selection of the reading. I have again asked for an impression which I have not received

[1] From 27th May to 21st July 1918, including the days of arrival at, and departure from, Rawalpindi.

as yet. It will be subsequently given, if received. I give below, my reading of the text and translation:—

Text of the Tablet.

هوالقادر

خان قوی پنجه مهابت شکوه ∴ شیر ز سر پنجهٔ او ناتوان
در کتل مارکله آنکه بود ∴ با کرهٔ چرخ برین توامان
ساخت خان را ز روی شرف ∴ بوسه دهد چرخ برو هر زمان
بگفت مُغل از پی تاریخ سال ∴ ناصیه مهوش هندوستان[1]

. . . . . .

[2]

باهتمام میرزا محمد میرانی داروغه راستان
احمد معمار وجوکداش و..... شرف
و دیالداس حواساز در سنه ۱۰۸۳
مرتبت شد

Translation.

GOD, THE POWERFUL.

The Khan, (who possesses) a powerful claw and awe-inspiring dignity, before whose claw the lion is powerless, built, in the hill of Markaleh, which is linked[3] with the high heavens,[4] a building, which, out of respect, is always honoured by the heavens.[5] The Mogul said: "*nâsiya mehvash-i-Hindustân.*" (*i.e.*, the moon-like face of Hindustan),[6] for the date of its year.

In the supervision of Mirzâ Muhammad Mirâni, the superintendent of . . . . .[7], Ahmad the architect,[8] and Jogdâsh and[9] . . . Sharf and Dayâldâs were . . . .[10] Prepared (*i.e.*, finished) in the year 1083.

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1 The line here has disappeared. It does not seem to be a running line, but a mere heading to the effect that now follows the name of the architect, supervisor, builder, etc. One or two words are legible, *e.g.* در and کا

2 The reading is doubtful. The first part میر seems to be clear. The word may be میرانی or میراسی Mirâni or Mirân or it may be میرا سا

3 Tau'amân twins, linked with.

4 *Lit.*, which is a twin with the globe or dome of the high wheel, *i.e.*, which is as high or as splendid as the Heavens.

5 *Lit.* to which the sky gives a kiss every moment out of respect for it.

6 *i.e.*, the building is a beautiful place of Hindustan.

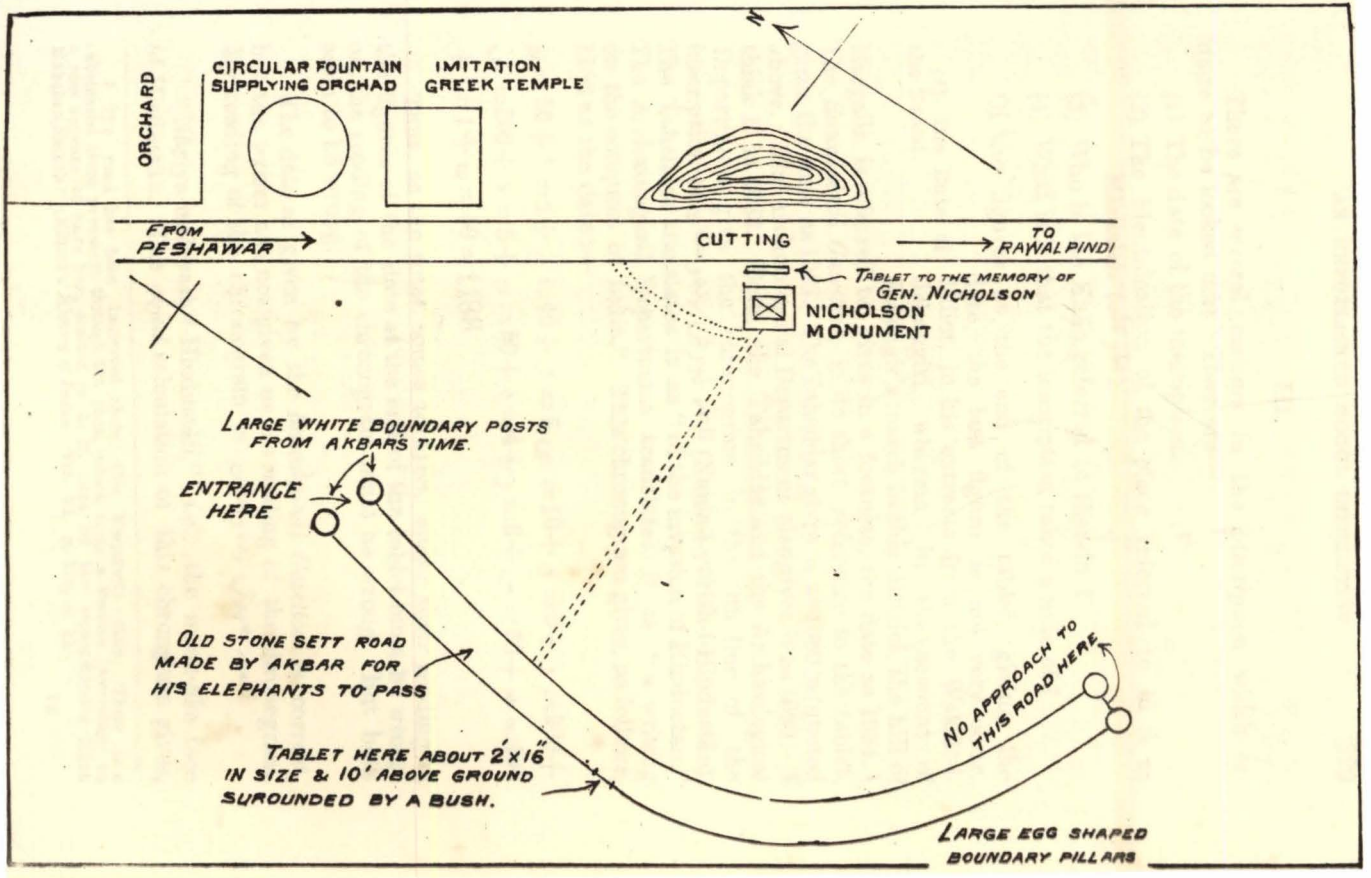
7 The word reads like *dástán.*

8 Mi'mar, an architect, a builder, a mason.

9 Not legible. It seems to be the first part of a name ending in *Sharf.*

10 The reading of the word is not clear, though the last part ساز is clear. It seems to be a word signifying some petty officer under the architect or supervisor. It seems that here three names are mentioned, *viz.*, (1) Jogdâsh and.... Sharf and Dyâldas, as those of petty officers who served as overseers or as some officers of that kind. I may add, that even the reading of the names is not certain.

PLAN OF THE MARGALLA PASS.



III

There are several matters in the inscription which require to be looked into. They are—

(1) The date of the inscription.

(2) The identification of the place referred to in it as Mârkaleh (مارکلہ).

(3) Who is the Khân referred to therein ?

(4) What is it that the inscription takes a note of ?

(1) The Date of the Tablet.

Of the figures at the end of the tablet, giving the date, the last figure is not very clear. Elliot, in his extracts from the Wakiât-i-Jehangiri, wherein, in the account of Jehangir's march in this district, the hill of Margalla is referred to, gives in a footnote, the date as 1084.[1] The *Rawalpindi Gazetteer*, in its short reference to the tablet, gives the date as 1083. The Tahsildar gives it as 1080, as quoted above. The Archæological Department also gives it as 1080. I think it is 1083. Both, the Tahsildâr and the Archæological Department give the chronogram in the 9th line of the inscription as نامہ یورش ہندوستان (Nama-i-yurish-i-Hindustân). The Tahsildar translates it as "of the invasion of Hindustan." The Archæological Department translates it as "a writing on the conquest of India." This chronogram gives, as follows, 1188 as the date :—

ن =50+ ا =1+ م =40+ ہ =5 ی =10+ و =6+ ر =200+
ش =300+ ہ =5+ ن =50+ د =4+ و =6+ س =60+ ت =400
+ ا =1+ ن =50=1188

Thus, as the total comes to 1188, either their reading of the figures of the date at the end of the tablet must be wrong, or, the reading of the chronogram must be wrong. But both seem to be wrong.

The date as given by the *Rawalpindi Gazetteer* is correct, but the writer has not given us his reading of the chronogram. My reading of the chronogram is ناصیہ مہوش ہندوستان

"Nâsiya mahwash-i-Hindustân," *i.e.*, the moon-like face of Hindustân. The *abjad* calculation of this chrongram gives,

[1] The road has been improved since this Emperor's time. There is a substantial stone pavement through the pass, which from a Persian inscription on a rock appears to have been erected in A. H. 1084 by the strong-handed Khân Mahabat Shikoh" (Elliott's *History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 310, n. 1).

as follows, 1083 as the date, which is the date I read at the end of the inscription.

ب =50+ ا =1+ ص =90+ ي =10+ ه =5,+ م =40+ ه =5 + ر =6+ ش =300,+ ه =5+ ن =50+ د =4+ ر =6+ س = + ك =400+ ا =1+ ن =50=1083

Thus, my reading of the chronogram supports my reading of the date. Again, the chronogram, as read by me, gives some sense.

IV

(2) Markaleh of the Tablet is the Margalla Pass.

The Mârkaleh (مارکلہ), referred to in our tablet, is the modern Margalla Pass. It is the place, the country round which was, at one time, occupied by the Ghakkar[1] tribe, who played an important part in the early history of the Punjab. We read as follows in the *Rawalpindi Gazetteer* about Margalla : "The Margalla Range, which, so far as it lies within the district, is a continuation of a spur running through Hazara District about the junction of the Murree, Haripur and Rawalpindi Tahsil boundaries, and runs in a south-westerly direction across the north of the Rawalpindi Tahsil. For most of its course through this tahsil it maintains a height of over 5,200 feet, and derives from the steepness of its sides and the suddenness with which it starts up from the level fertile plain below, its somewhat impressive appearance. As it approaches the Attock border the range begins to sink down. About 15 miles north-west of Rawalpindi, it is crossed by the Margalla Pass which carries the Grand Trunk Road and is also marked by a conspicuous monument to General John Nicholson."[2]

In the *Wâki'ât-i- Jehangiri*, Margalla is thus referred to :— "The camp moved to Kâlâ-pâni, which means in Hindi '*black* water.' On this march there occurs a hill called Margalla. *Már*, in Hindi, signifies 'to rob on the highway' and *galla*, a caravan, that is, 'it is a place where caravans are plundered.' Up to this extends the country of the boundary of the Gakkhurs."[3]

V

(3) Who is the Khan referred.

As to the Khân referred to in the tablet, Elliot, in the foot-note referred to above, takes him to be one Khân Mahâbat Shikoh. It appears that the Khan is Mahâbat Khân of the time of Aurangzeb. The date of the

1 The Ghakkars are spoken of also as Gakhars, Gakkhurs, Gakkhars, Ghakars Kokars and Khokhars.
2 *Rawalpindi District Gazetteer*, Part A, p. 3.
3 Elliott, Vol. VI, p. 310.

tablet is, as we saw above, 1083. So, it belongs to the time of Aurangzeb. Though his name is not mentioned directly as such in the tablet, it is indirectly mentioned, as is, at times, the way of some Persian poets, inasmuch as he is spoken of as *mahâbat shikuh*, *i.e.*, of awe-inspiring dignity. The writer has ingeniously used the word *mahâbat*, both, directly, as a common noun signifying his position, status or influence, and indirectly, as his proper noun.

The following is an epitome of an account of Mahâbat Khan's life, as given in the *Maasir-ul-Umara* of Nawâb Samsâmud-Dauloh Shah Nawâz Khân.[1] His whole name was Mahâbat Khân Mirzâ Lohrâsp. He was the bravest of the sons of Mahâbat Khân Khân Khânân. As a youth, in the reign of Shâh Jahân, he accompanied his father in the conquest of Daulatâbâd as a commander of 2,000 troops. After the death of his father, he was appointed to various places, among which one was the Foujdâri of Oudh. He was then appointed on a post in Kandhar. In the 24th year of the reign of Shâh Jahân, *i.e.*, in 1652, he was made a Mir Bakhshi. Up to the 25th year of the reign (1653), he was known as Lohrâsp Khân. In this year, after being honoured with the title of Mahâbat Khan, he was appointed viceroy (Subâh) of Kabul. In 1657, he was appointed governor of Deccan under Aurangzeb. He took part in the war with Bijâpur and in the siege of Bidar. He had a great hand in the defeat of the Bijâpur army under Afzul Khân. Soon after, he received a message from Dârâ Shakoh, the eldest prince, that he was wanted by Shâh Jahân; and so, he went by quick marches to the Emperor's Court. He was then (Hijri 1068, A.D. 1657-58) appointed to the viceroyalty of Kabul. In the 5th year of Aurangzeb's reign (1663-64), he returned to the royal court. He was then appointed viceroy of Gujarât. In the 11th year of Aurangzeb's reign (A.D. 1670), he was again appointed viceroy of Kabul. In the 13th year of the reign (A.D. 1671-72), he returned to the royal court at Akbarâbâd. When Shivaji began his depredations, including therein the plundering of Surat, he was sent to the Deccan to punish him. He punished the Mahratha chief. A short time after, the Afghans of the mountains round Kabul rose in rebellion and Mahamad Amin Khan, Governor of Afghanistan, was defeated in the Khyber Pass. Mahâbat Khan, who had a previous experience of the mountaineers, was thereupon called from the Deccan, and in the 16th year of the reign (A.D. 1673), was sent to Kabul for the

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Text, edited by Maulavi Mirza Ashraf Ali (1891). Vol. III, pp. 590-94.

settlement (*band-o-bast*) of the affairs of Kabul. But, instead of fighting with and molesting the Afghan army on his way to Kabul, he evidently avoided a fight and went to Kabul safely by another route. Aurangzeb did not like this. So, in the 17th year of the reign (A.D. 1674), he himself went to Hassan Abdal. Mahâbat Khân then attended the royal court and was placed under the orders of Birsangh, the grandson of Raja Bahavpat Dâs Kur.

The above is the outline of the life of Mahâbat Khan, as given in the Maasiru-l-Umara. To properly understand that life, especially to properly understand his connection with the Afghan frontiers, in a locality of which we find his tablet, we will examine some further details.[1]

In 1636, a treaty was made by Shah Jahan, the Moghul Emperor at Delhi, with Adil Shah, the king of Bijapur, whereby the latter was acknowledged as a friendly ally and his sovereignty was left unimpaired to him. Several royal customs were special to the Court of the Emperors of Delhi. For example, (*a*) they alone could hold their courts in palaces or places outside the citadel. Other kings were to hold their courts within their citadels. (*b*) They alone held elephant-combats in the open ground outside the fort, the other kings holding them within the fort. (*c*) The Emperors only could confer the title of Khân-Khânân upon their previous ministers. The king of Bijapur latterly began to act in opposition to these customs and acted as if he were an Emperor. So, Shâh Jahân called upon him not to do so. Adil Shâh first defied Shâh Jahân, but soon yielded. The quarrel was thus averted, but that only for a few years. It began again in the reign of Adil Shah's successor, Ali Adil Shah II. In the meantime, Shâh Jahân's son Aurangzeb, had, by his intrigues and bribes, won over some of the nobles of the Court of Bijâpur. It was in the war, declared in 1657, against Bijapur, that we first find Mahâbat Khan taking an active part at the direction of prince Aurangzeb. At the head of an army of 15,000 soldiers, this Moghul general ravaged a part of the Bijapur territory, and, later on, gained other victories over the Bijapur armies.[2] We then find, that, soon after the above victories, Mahâbat Khan retired from Aurangzeb's army and went away to Agra without giving any notice to Aurangzeb

[1] *Vide* Elliott's "History of India" and Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's "History of Aurangzeb," in three volumes.

[2] *Vide* Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's "History of Aurangzeb," Vol. I, chap. VI, for further details of Mahâbat Khan's part in the war with Bijapur.

This was in the 32nd year of Shah Jahan's reign (1068 Hijri, 1657-58 A.D.).[1] Shâh Jahân fell ill on 6th September 1657, and was, as it were, on death-bed for one week. Then began a war of succession among his sons, Dârâ, Shujâ, Aurangzeb and Murâd even in his life-time. He had declared his wish that Dârâ, the eldest son, should succeed him. The other sons jointly and severally opposed that nomination. Aurangzeb marched, against the capital, took it, and, in June 1658, made his father a prisoner. Shâh Jahân continued as prisoner for seven years till the time of his death on 22nd January 1666. Aurangzeb was declared Emperor in July 1658. His formal installation was in May 1659. It was in the account of this captivity that we read of Mahâbat Khân again. He was then the governor of Kabul. We thus read in the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubâb:* "Shâh Jahân, while in confinement, wrote secretly to Mahâbat Khân, Governor of Kabul: 'Dârâ Shukoh is proceeding to Lahore. There is no want of money in Lâhore, there is abundance of men and horses in Kabul, and no one equal to Mahâbat Khân in valour and generalship. The Khân ought, therefore, to hasten with his army to Lahore and having there joined Dârâ Shukoh, they might march against the two undutiful sons to inflict upon them the due reward of their misconduct, and to release the Emperor, the Sâhib Kiran-i-Sânî from prison.'"[2]

Aurangzeb had a long war with the Afghans. We are now and then hearing of the question of "the Afghan Frontiers," and of the raid of this tribe and that tribe, of the Afghans. On the way to Afghanistan from India, there live a number of clans which are Turco-Iranian clans, and are known as Pathan or Baluchi as the clans belong to the north or to the south of the region. These clans have their own peculiar constitutions, the one principal feature of which, is, that the chiefs rule over their followers as allowed by them. So, the chiefs often change. There is no hereditary line of chiefs, which one may expect to rule long. So, no treaty arrangement with them can be called a *pucca* arrangement on which one can depend long. That is the present difficulty of our British rulers and that was the difficulty of the Moghal Emperors. Though these emperors had their rule in Kabul itself, they had their difficulties with the Afghan tribes living between Afghanistan proper or Kabul and India. Akbar had such difficulties, and his famous courtier Raja Birbal was defeated and killed by these Afghan tribes in 1586.[1] Our present experiences

[1] Elliott VII, p. 130.

[2] "9 Muntakhabu-l-Lubab" of Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan. Elliot, VII, p. 228.

were, to a great extent, the experiences of the Moghals. Tiny expeditions to punish them, treaties to secure peace, pensions for keeping peace, and guarding the roads, etc., are our present inheritances from old times. All such things continued, even after Akbar, in Jehangir's and Shâh Jahân's times.

When we come to the time of Aurangzeb, we find the mischief growing. The Yusufzai tribe had the chief hand in the mischief. In 1667, under one Bhagu, they rose, and crossing the Indus above Attock, invaded the Moghal territory. A Moghal army of more than 25,000 men went against them and defeated them. Even after the defeat, stray depredations and fights continued, off and on, till 1672 A.D. The Rajput feudatories of Aurangzeb fought bravely against the Afghans during this war. Maharaja Jaswant Singh with his Rathors had, at one time, held Jamrud,[2] which stands on this side of the Khyber Pass. In 1672, the Afridis rose against Aurangzeb and defeated Amin Muhammad Khân, the Moghal Viceroy of Afghanistan. It is said, that 10,000 men of Aurangzeb's army were killed and two crores of rupees in cash were lost. Besides these, 20,000 men and women were captured and transported to Central Asia, where they were sold as slaves. Aurangzeb's army met with a catastrophe, greater than that of Birbal in the time of Akbar. In this national rising of the Afghans, the Khataks who lived in the Southern part of the Peshawar District, and who were formerly conquered and won over by Aurangzeb, also joined under their chief Khush-hal, who was a poet as well as a brave chieftain and who, at one time, was imprisoned in Delhi and Raitambhor. It was at this crisis, that Mahâbat Khân, who had thrice before ruled over Afghanistan as Governor from Aurangzeb and who was then in the Deccan, was appointed Viceroy of Afghanistan for the fourth time. Mahâbat Khân did not dare to fight with the Afghans who had struck terror all round by their above-mentioned great victory. Instead of proceeding to Kabul, he wasted time at Peshawar, in trying to bring about some settlement with the Afghans. Thereupon, Aurangzeb

[1] Birbal, having advocated the views of Akbar, who admired the Iranian reverence for the Sun and Fire, met his death at the hands of the Afghans in this rebellion which was hailed with delight by bigoted Mahomedan writers like Badaoni, who called him "a hellish dog" (سگ جہنمی) and bastard (حرام زادہ) and who said, that the death he met with in this rebellion was a portion of his base deeds. Akbar was much affected by his death (*vide* my "Parsis at the Court of Akbar").

[2] Afghan tradition connects this Jamrud with Shah Jamshed of the Peshdâdian dynasty of Persia. *Vide* my paper on "L'Etymologie populaires des noms des étapes entre Pichaver et Kabul" (Journal Asiatique, Huitième Série, Tome XIV. (1889), page 527 *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part I, p. 261 *et seq.*)

sent a special officer from his court to Peshawar to urge Mahâbat Khan to force his way to Kabul. Mahâbat Khân thereupon did proceed to Kabul, but not by the regular route, fighting with the difficulties he may meet with at the hands of the Afghan enemies, but by another route, the Karopa Pass, making his passage thereby easy by bribing the Afghans. He thereupon incurred the displeasure of Aurangzeb, who then appointed one Shujayet Khân, a man who had risen from a lower status of life, to the command against the Afghans. But Shujayet Khan met with a great disaster in the Karopa Pass at the hands of the Afghans in 1674. Thereupon, Aurangzeb himself went to Hassan Abdal, situated on the road from Rawalpindi to Peshawar, and stayed there for nearly 18 months. He removed Mahâbat Khân from the Viceroyalty of Kabul, for having intentionally abstained, out of jealousy, from giving help to Shujayet Khân. The emperor's presence and diplomacy mastered the situation. Some of the hostile Afghan tribes were won over by money and others were defeated and overpowered.

Mahâbat Khân is once referred to by Aurangzeb in one of his letters[1] to Asad Khân, who bore the titles of Umadat-ul-Mulk (the best of the kingdom) and Madur-ul-Mahâl (the support of State business), but nothing special is mentioned about him.

A chronological list of dates given in the above account.

I give below a list of the principal events referred to above in connection with Mahâbat Khân's career :—

A.D.

1636. Treaty of Shâh Jahân with the King of Bijapur.

1652. Mahâbat Khân appointed Mir Bakhshi.

1652. Appointed to the Viceroyalty of Kabul for the first time.

1653. Got the title of Mahâbat Khân, his original name being Lohrâsp Khân. His father, who died in 1634, also had the same title.

1656. War declared against Bijapur in which Mahâbat Khân takes an important part.

1657. Mahâbat Khân leaves Prince Aurangzeb's army at Bijapur and goes to Agra.

1657. Shâh Jahân fell ill.

(1) The Ruka'at-i Alamgiri or Letters of Aurungzeb by Jamshid H. Billimoria (1908) p. 142.

1657. Mahâbat Khân appointed Governor of Deccan.

1657. Appointed Governor of Kabul for the second time.

1658. Shâh Jahân imprisoned by his son Aurangzeb.

1658. Aurangzeb declared himself Emperor.

1658. Dârâ Shukôh gathers troops at Delhi and marches towards Lahore (end of June, beginning of July).

1658. Shâh Jahân writing secretly from the prison to Mahâbat Khân, who was then the Governor of Kabul, imploring him to go with his army to Lahore and help Dârâ Shukôh.

1659. Aurangzeb formally installed as Emperor.

1663. Mahâbat Khân appointed Viceroy of Gujarat.

1666. Death of Shâh Jahân.

1667. The Yusufzai Afghans rose in rebellion under Bhagu. They were defeated.

1670. Mahâbat Khân appointed Viceroy of Kabul for the third time.

1671. Mahâbat Khân sent to the Deccan to suppress Shivaji's power.

1672. The Afridi Afghans rose in rebellion.

1672-73. Mahâbat Khân, who was at Deccan, was appointed, for the fourth time, the Governor of Afghanistan, and asked to proceed to Kabul. He went to the frontiers but hesitated to fight and reached Kabul by another way.

1673. Mahâbat Khân was superseded, as a general against the Afghans, by Shujayet Khân Shujayet Khân met with a great defeat.

1674. 26th June. Aurangzeb himself went against the Afghans and stayed at the frontiers for 18 months, till he settled the Afghan question, both by diplomacy and force. Mahâbat Khân died in this year, on his way from Kabul to the Royal Court.

1675. Aurangzeb returns to Delhi at the end of the year.

(*a*) The tablet bears the Hijri date of 1083. The Hijri year 1083 began on 29th April 1672.[1] Now, we learn from the above account of Mahâbat Khân, that it was in this year (1083 Hijri, *i.e.*, 1672-73 A.D.), that he was appointed, for the fourth time, the viceroy of Afghanistan, and was asked to march against the Afghan rebels. The *Rawalpindi Gazetteer*, as quoted above, attributes the tablet to "the time when the Emperor Aurangzeb marched to Hassan Abdal and sent his son prince Sultan with an army against the Khattaks and other trans-Indus tribes" and attributes the tablet to that event. But we find from the above account, that the *Gazetteer* seems to be wrong. It was in 1674, that Aurangzeb went to Hassan Abdal and not in 1672. So, this tablet has nothing to do with Aurangzeb. It seems to have been put up by Mahâbat Khân in1 672, when he was in the good grace of Aurangzeb, and when he was on his way to Peshawar to fight with the Afghans and to make his way to Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, of which he was appointed the Governor.

The statement of the *Rawalpindi Gazetteer* examined.

(*b*) The Gazetteer also seems to be incorrect in the mention of the name of the prince who accompanied Aurangzeb when he went to the place to look personally after the affairs of the Afghan war. Aurangzeb had five sons—(1) Muhammad Sultan, who had intrigued against his father in the war of succession and joined the side of Shuja, but was admitted to favour in 1672. (2) Muhammad Muazzan (afterwards, Emperor Bahadur-shah I), who was at first a great favourite of his father, but had subsequently fallen into his displeasure in 1673 and was afterwards restored to favour again in1676. He was appointed, under the title of Shâh Âlâm, commander in Afghanistan in that year, fell in disfavour again, and was arrested in 1687. (3) Muhammad Azam. (4) Muhammad Akbar, who rebelled openly against his father. (5) Muhammad Kam Bakhsh. When Aurangzeb went personally to attend to the Afghan war, it was the fourth, out of these five sons, prince Akbar, who accompanied him. He was asked to march to Kabul *vid* Kohât under the guardianship of Aghar Khân[2] and Mahâbat Khân was removed from the viceroyalty. When Aghar Khân won victories over the Afghans on behalf of his royal master, it was prince Akbar who was asked to co-operate and advance eastwards from Jalâlâbâd.[3] He could

[1] Wollaston's Persian Dictionary, p. 1489.

[2] Aurangzeb by Prof. Sarkar, Vol. III, p. 270.

[3] *Ibid* p. 273.

not carry on well his part of the war work. Having settled the affairs of the province of Kâbul, he returned to Hassan Abdal.[1] When Afghan affairs improved in the end of 1675, prince Akbar seems to have returned to Delhi with his father. In October 1676, it was prince Muazzan, the second son, that was sent to Afghanistan after being invested with the title of Shâh Âlam. We thus see, that Prince Sultan, the first son of Aurangzeb, had no hand in the Afghan war and had not accompanied his father to the frontiers. So, the *Gazetteer* is incorrect in mentioning the name of Prince Sultan in place of Prince Akbar.

VI.

4. What is it that the Inscription takes a note of?

Then, the next question is: What is it that the inscription takes a note of? I think, that it takes a note of the work of some adjoining building, which no longer stands there now. The *Rawalpindi Gazetteer* says, that it takes a note of the completion of the pavement of the roadway, which, it says, "was no doubt a remarkable achievement in those days." As the *Gazetteer* has not given the whole inscription, we are not in a position to know, how its writer has come to this conclusion. Both, the Tahsildar and the copyist of the Archæological Department have taken the word خان Khân in the fifth line of the inscription, to be the honorific word Khân, meaning a chief, but I think it is a common noun signifying a house. The word *khân* means "a house, an inn, a caravanserai, a station, a market, or any meeting place of merchants."[2]

(*a*) If it is merely the construction of a roadway, pavement or cutting that the tablet commemorates, however good an achievement it may be in those days, it cannot be spoken of so highly as it is in the tablet. The work referred to, is spoken of, as being in or on the *katal*, *i.e.*, hill of Margalla. Again, it is spoken of as one, to which even the high heavens pay a homage. So, even taking into consideration, the fact of exaggeration in praise by Persian versifiers, we cannot take it, that a mere roadway or pavement would be spoken of so highly and compared to the high heavens. (*b*) Again, the roadway or pavement is not very long or extensive. It is, I think, about 200 yards or so. So, a tablet with an inscription of the above kind for a roadway of such a length would be something too much for a small thing. The Moghal Emperors had built mausoleums like the Taj Mahal, masjids like the several Juma masjids, and palatial

1 *Ibid.* p. 274. 2 Steingass.

buildings like the Diwân-i-Khas. So, a small paved roadway would be nothing before those great works and would not be so highly praised and compared to the high heavens. (*c*) Again, if the tablet was intended to commemorate the event of cutting the hill and making a roadway through it, and if, as such, it was the work of the Moghal Government, and not of Mahâbat Khân personally, the tablet should have mentioned Aurangzeb's name and not simply Mahâbat Khân's. This circumstance also should lead us to think, that it is not merely the Moghal cutting or paved roadway that it takes a note of.

In the plan which Mr. Vesugar, the Assistant Engineer, P. W. D., has kindly prepared for me, and which is given above, he describes the road as "an old stone set road made by Akbar for his elephants to pass." While studying the subject on my return to Bombay, these words struck me and I wrote on 24th September to Mr. Vesugar, inquiring, what was his authority for the statement. He writes on 30th September 1918 in reply: "The information given by me to you *re* the stone at Margalla is just from local traditions and I vouch for its accuracy in no way." I think this tradition as heard by Mr. Vesugar may be true. From a passage of the *Wakiât-i-Jahangiri* given above, we learn, that, when Jahangir went to Kabul in the second year of his reign (1015 Hijri, 1606 A.D.), he passed across this Margalla hill. It seems, that there was already a road there, and perhaps, as said by the tradition heard there now, it was built by Akbar. One, who would see this road paved with big rough stones, would not take long to agree, that it was intended for elephants. To save the feet of elephants from slipping while passing on the slopy road on both sides of the pass, it seems to have been paved with big stones.

The road may have been built by Akbar's officers at the king's direction, as a necessary war-work during the time of the rebellion of the Yusufzai Afghans, in the suppression of which, as said above, Birbal, the great favourite courtier of the king, was killed. Or, it is possible, that, the roadway may have been built at Akbar's direction for his elephants to pass during his visits of Kashmir by this route. Akbar took Kashmir in A.D. 1586 and visited it three times. According to his *Âin-i-Akbari*, Kashmir, Kandhâr, Zâbulistân, Swât and other adjoining places belonged to the Subeh or viceroyalty of Kabul. In the divisions made by Akbar of this part of the country, one was named Akbarâbâd. The hill of Hassan Abdal in the neighbourhood, referred to in our above account of the Afghan war of the Moghal

was a favourite place of Akbar. A place there is named "Wah" from the fact, that Akbar, once admiring its beauty, exclaimed *wah* (واہ), which is a Persian expression of admiration. The place was a resting-place for Akbar and other Moghal Emperors when they went to Kashmir. So, it seems, that possibly this paved roadway was specially intended for Akbar's and his successors' elephants. It is more likely that it is was built, not for the temporary purposes of the Afghan war, but for a permanent purpose, as a part of the trunk-road, passing over the Margalla pass.

On various considerations, and after examining the place, I think, that the tablet belongs to some other building or edifice in that locality built by Mahâbat Khân in 1672 A.D., and that the building having fallen down, somebody later on—it may be one or two hundred years ago—may have brought it here and fixed it on the rock. We find some instances of this kind, wherein, a tablet belonging to one place, has been, on that place falling into ruins, removed and fixed in another place. In my paper on the Moghal Emperors at Kashmir before this Society,[1] I have referred to a tablet of Shâh Jahân removed from an adjoining canal and fixed on the side of an octagon tank, the sidework of which was done at the orders of the king. I found another instance of this kind during my third visit of Kashmir, this summer, when I was studying and examining some of the inscriptions of Kashmir, referred to by Rev. J. Loewenthal in his paper, entitled "Some Persian Inscriptions found in Srinagar, Kashmir."[2] Rev. Loewenthal, speaking of the inscriptions in the ruins of buildings known as the tomb of Zain-ul-Abidin, gives an inscription over what he calls "a postern gate." When I went to examine the inscription on 24th June 1918, I could neither find "the postern gate" nor the inscription given by him. After some inquiry, to my great surprise, not unmixed with sorrow, I found, that the stones bearing the inscription, which Rev. Loewenthal saw in 1864 at their proper place, were used with some other loose stones, to form the compound wall of the back part of the yard containing Zain-ul-Abidin's tomb. The inscription sides of the stones face the public road of the adjoining bazâr, and, I think, it will not be long before the street boys deface the inscription, or some body carries away the stones.

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[1] *Vide* Journal, Vol. XXV, No. I, pp. 26-75.

[2] Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXXII No. 3 1864), pp. 278 290.

APPENDIX.

THE TAHSILDAR'S READING, TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION.

هوالقادر

1 خان قوی چشم مهابت شکوه
2 شیر زسر پنجهٔ او ناتوان
3 در کستل مارکله آنکه بود
4 با کُره چرخ برین توانان
5 ساخت خان را ز روی شرف
6 بوسه دهد چرخ برو مهر زمان
7 بگذرشت میل دوامی تاریخ سال
8 نامه یورش هندوستان

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9 با اهتمام مرزا محمد میران داروغه داستال
10 احمد معمار و چوکیدارش ولد شرف
11 و دیالداس تجوبا ساز در سنه ۱۰۸۰
12 مرتب شد

(*Transliteration.*)

Hav-ul-Qadir.

1. Khan Kavi Chashsm Mahabat Shakoh
2. Sher zi sar panja-i oo natiwan
3. Dar kastal [1] Markalla an ki bûd
4. Bâ kurra i charakh barin tawanan
5. Sakht khan ra zi ru i sharaf
6. Bosâ dihad charakh baroo Mehar i zamân
7. Biguzasht Mil dawami tarikh sal
8. Nama i [1] urash i Hindustan

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9. Ba Ihtamam Mirza Mohammad Miran Darogha Das-tan*
10. Ahmed mimar chaukidarsh* wald Sharaf
11. Wa Dialdass tajuba* saz dar 1080
12. Muratab Shud

[1] These words are very doubtful.

(*Translation.*)

He who is omnipotent.

1. The khan with bold eyes and commanding appearance
2. Against whom even the lion is quite powerless
3. Who was in the pass of Margalla.
4. By the help of the high heavens Powerful.
5. Made the khan through its greatness
6. The heavens kiss the face of this the sun of the times
7. Left a permanent inscription of the date and the year
8. Of the invasion of India

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9. Under the supervision of Mirza Mohammad Miran, superintendent of passes
10. Ahmad Mason and chaukidar son of Sharaf.
11. And Dialdass sculptor in 1080 (Hijri.)
12. Was made

THE TEXT TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION, SUPPLIED BY THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

هوالقادر

1 خان قوی چشم مهابت شکوه
2 شیر ز سرپنجهٔ او ناتوان
3 در کتل مارگله انکه بود
4 با کوه چرخ برین توانان
5 ساخت خان را ز روی شرف
6 بوسه دهد چرخ برو مهر زمان
7 بر مکمنت میل دوامی تاریخ سال
8 نامهٔ یورش هندوستان
9 باهتمام مرزا محمد میران داروغه دائسقان
10 احمد معمار چوکیدارش ولد شرف
11 و دیالداس تجوبا ساز در سنه ۱۰۸۰
12 مرتب شد

HO WAL QADIR.

Khân-i-Qawî chashm mahâbat shikoh

Sher ze sar-i-panjae o nâtawân

Dar katsal-i-Mârgalla anke bûd

Ba kurrah-i-charkh-i-barin tawânân

Sâkht Khan ra ze rûe sharf

Bosa dihad charkh-i-bar wo mehre zamân

Bar makmanat mail-i-dawâmi Târikh sâl

Nâma-i-yurish-i-Hindostân

Ba ehtmâm Mirzâ Muhammad Mirân, Dâroghâ-i-dâstân.

Ahmad maimâr, chowkidârash wald Sharf

Wo Dayâl Dâs, tajûbâ sâz, dar san 1080

Murattab shud.

ALMIGHTY.

The awe-inspiring redoubtable Khan

By whose invincible strength the lion is reduced to helplessness.

Who in the fortress of Margalla

could cope with the untrained horse of the sky.

God created this Khan, at whose face the sky and the sun of the

world imprint their kisses on account of his exaltedness.

In perpetuation of the date of the erection of this edifice. of

which eternity is enamoured, the following words have been written.

'A writing on the conquest of India'

Under the management of Mirza Muhammad Miran, the supervisor of stories

Ahmed architect, his aid-de-camp, son of Sharf

And Dayal Das sculptor,

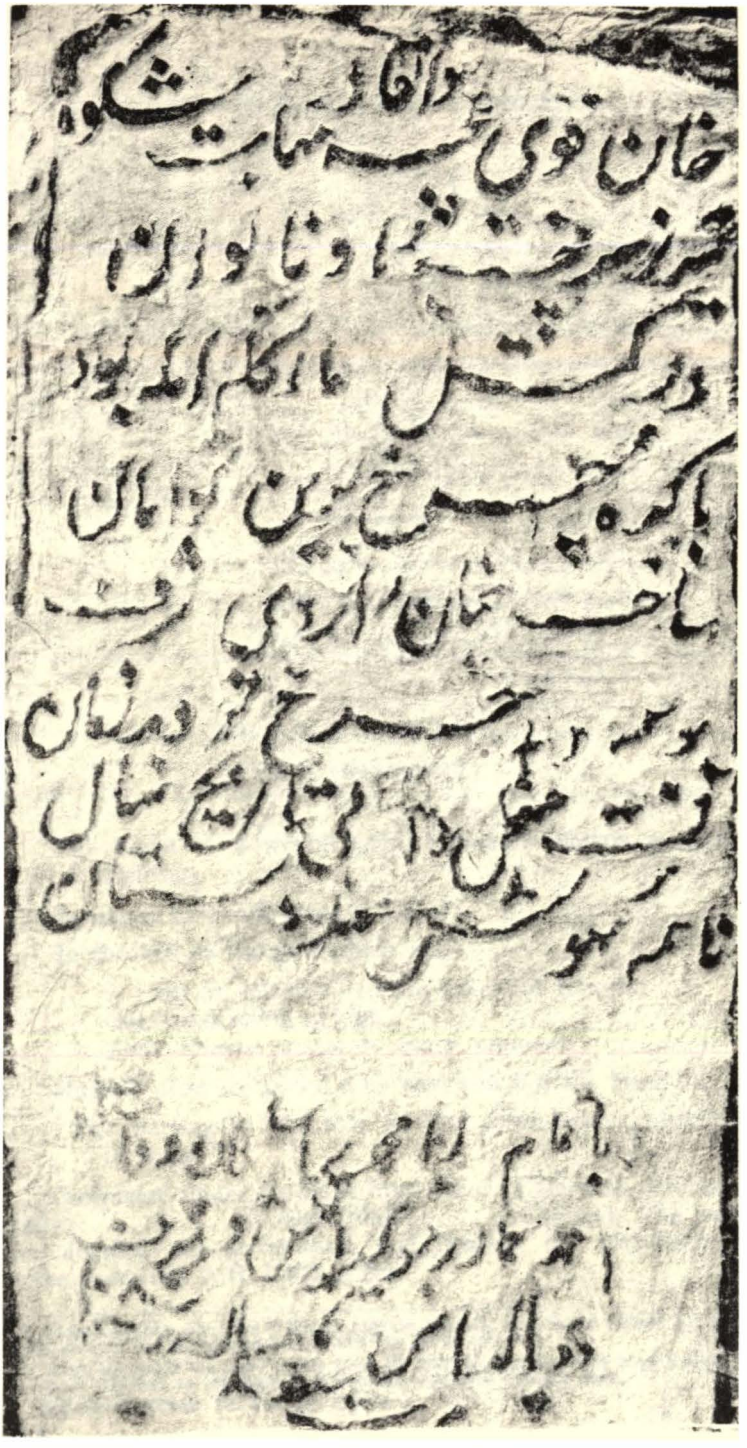
Prepared in the year 1080.

POSTSCRIPT.

After reading the paper on 17th October 1918, I received a letter dated 18th November 1918 (Saraikala, District Rawalpindi) from Sir John Marshal, the Director-General of Archæology in India, in reply to mine of the 28th September, sending therewith a rubbing of the inscription. Then, in continuation of that letter, I received another letter, dated 14th January 1919 (Camp Sanchi Bhilsa, Central India) from Dr. D. B. Spooner, the Assistant Director-General, sending therewith the reading and translation of the inscription by Mr. Ghulam Yazdani. I beg to thank all these gentlemen. I give here a copy of the rubbing as well as Mr. Yazdani's reading and translation.

Mr. Yazdani's reading differs a good deal from the previous readings, supplied to me by the Commissioner of Rawalpindi and the Archæological Department, and agrees much with my reading, especially in the first important part. But his reading of the fifth line differs from mine. It is the second word that makes all the difference. What the Tahsildar, the reader of the copy supplied by the Archæological Department, and I with Munshi Mahmad Din, read from the tablet itself as *Khan ra* (خان را), Mr. Ghulam Yazdani reads, from the rubbing, as "Chûnân râh (چنان راہ). He puts(?) a mark of question in his reading after these words. So, he himself is doubtful. He reads the fifth line as بروی شرف (?) ساخت چنان راہ and translates it very freely as "Cut a pass rising so high." There is no word for "cut" in the text. The word is sâkht (ساخت) *i. e.* made. But the fact of the tablet being found on a road which is a "cutting" seems to have suggested to him the sense of cutting. However, if this reading is accepted, my above view of the tablet, that it belonged to some other work and was latterly placed here, would turn out to be wrong, and we must take it, that it belongs to the road itself and that it takes a note of its construction. But, as the Tahsildar, the reader of the Archæological Department's first copy, myself, and the Munshi who accompanied me, have all read the word on the spot itself, as '*Khân*', and, as Mr. Yazdani himself seems to be doubtful about his reading, I leave the matter as it is in the hands of other readers.

BYRAMJEE HOUSE,
Matheran, 27th February 1991.



هوالقادر
خان قوی پنجه مهابت شکوه
شیر ز سر پنجهٔ او ناتوان
در کتل مارگله آنکه بود
با کمر چرخ برین توامان
ساخت چنان راه (؟) بروی شرف
بوسه دهد چرخ برو هر زمان
گفت مغل از پئی تاریخ سال
ناصیهٔ مهوش هندوستان*

باتمام مولانا محمد.....دارو وفا (؟)
احمد معمار و جوگیداس..... شرف
و دیالداس تحویلدار در سنه ۱۰۸۳
مرتب شد

TRANSLATION.

He is Omnipotent!

The Khân of powerful grip, Mahabat[1] Shikoh (awe-in-Spiring),

In whose hand the tiger is feeble;

In the hill of Margala which was

A rival (in loftiness) to the sphere of Heaven,
Cut a pass rising so high
That Heaven kisses it every moment.

Mughal[2] thus composed a chronogram (for the Pass):—

"The parting in the hair of the moon-faced (mistress) of India."

Completed under the Superintendence of Maulana Muhammad.....and Wafa.....Ahmad, the mason, Jogidas, the accountant, and Dialdas, the cash-keeper, in the year 1083 A.H. (1672 A.D.)

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1 Mahâbat Khan, Governor of Kabul, 1651-56, 1658-62, 1668-70 and 1672-73 A.D. For a full account see *Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 590-95.

2 Here Moghal is the name of the poet. He may be identified with Mughal Khan, an officer attached to the Court of Aurangzeb who held different posts.
Ma'athir-ul-Umara, Vol. III., pp. 623-25.

ART. XVI.—*British Embassy to the Court of Hyder.*

[COPY OF THE JOURNAL OF MR. GEORGE GRAY, SENT AS A VAKEEL TO HYDER ALI BY SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD.]

[This manuscript was obtained from the collection of Lord Macartney who was Governor of Madras from 22nd June 1781 to 1785, having succeeded Sir Thomas Rumbald who was the Governor from February 1778 to 1780. The journal written from day to day gives an interesting account of the political mission to Hyder Ali and graphically describes the manners of the Oriental court of the famous ruler of Mysore. It also gives an idea of how political negotiations were being carried on in old days between the Native Princes and the English. A mention of this journal has been made by Col. Wilkes in his history of Mysore.]

D. B. PARASNIS.

"On the 14th of January 1780 I was appointed by the Select Committee to proceed to Seeringapatam, on an embassy to the Nabob Hyder Ali Cawn, to demand the release of some English subjects who had been stopped at Calicut by Sardar Cawn, Hyder's Fouzdar there, but I was particularly instructed by Sir Thomas Rumbold to endeavour to bring Hyder into a better understanding with the English than he had for some time shown, and if possible to gain his confidence. This measure seemed the more necessary in the present juncture of affairs to prevent his taking any steps against us that might favor either the French and encourage their invading the Carnatic or the Mahrattas with whom we are actually at war; especially as the finances of the Carnatic are not in [a] condition to support a war, or to maintain armies in the field. I was therefore desired to use every argument of persuation that the urgency of the situation could suggest. A passport from Hyder had been sent for and Veenagee Pundit, his Vakeel at Madras, assured Sir Thomas that one would come for me. Sir Thomas therefore desired that I would proceed with the utmost expedition. My public instructions were dated the 14th January, but it was the 20th in the evening that I set out from Madras; I arrived on the 24th.

"I wrote to the Killadar of Vancainbody, the first town in Hyder's bounds, to acquaint him that I was going to Seeringapatam on public business, and desired he would send an escort to conduct me; but the hircarrahs who carried my letter were stopped by a party of Hyder's sepoys, stationed just within his borders, purposely to prevent my entering the country. I found that no passport had been sent and the Soubadar of the Bara

Maul who has the command of the district and towns on that road, informed me by letter that I could not possibly proceed on my journey, till such time as a passport arrived from me, until when he advised me to continue at Amboor; and I was forced to follow his advice. I was surprised at this obstacle intentionally thrown in my way when I expected a passport; it seemed to me no favourable sign for the success of my embassy. I wrote to Hyder to inform him of my commision and to request a passport and I affixed my seal with the title of Muttimud-Ul-Dowlah which I received from the Emperor Shah Allum. I forwarded my letter to the Soubadar of the Bara Maul and desired him to send it by the Nabob's Tappals to Seeringapatam, which he did.

"*3rd February.*—Mr. Hare one of the persons whose enlargement I was desired to sollicit, arrived at Amboor and the next day the rest arrived. They had been very ill-treated at first but latterly Hyder behaved very well to them, and furnished them with conveniences for their journey through his country, although the confinement of those people was one ostensible cause of my embassy to Hyder; yet as another object remained of the greatest consequence, it was necessary that I should proceed, notwithstanding they were set at liberty; whenever Hyder gave me permission to do it.

"*5th February.*—Hyder's passport arrives with two hircarrahs to conduct me to Seeringapatam, but the passport is expressed in very unceremonious terms and limits my retinue extremely; however I determined to go on with all my people and to see what construction Hyder's officers put upon it in his own country.

"*6th February.*—I set out from Amboor being saluted with 13 guns. I halt in the evening at Waniambody; next day at Mallipaddy—a fort of Nabob of the Carnatic, where I find the Killadar and Aumildar at variance, and try to reconcile them; the day after I stay at Kishnagery and the following day I arrive at the Pass of Rayacotta where the Soubahdar of the Bara Maul is for the present. I receive a letter from Hyder sealed with his small seal Futteh Hyder in answer to the one I wrote to him. Here I meet with an instance of intended slight. Hyder's letter deprives me of my title and is written in disrespectful terms. He repeats in his letter the extent of my passport which by limiting me to one Palankeen prevents my being accompanied by any person in the character of a gentleman, or even by a servant of the country of any consequence; all my

Sepoys and most of my hircarrahs are stopped and I am hindered from appearing with the retinue which is proper for the rank I bear. The rest of my people and my baggage are allowed to proceed. The Soubahdar not daring to visit me himself has sent his Munshy to me who makes an apology for his master, which shows that he is conscious of a failure in civility, not voluntary, but enjoined him.

"10*th February*.—Left Rayacottah and halt successively at Tillamunglum, Tilla Chuncanally, Holgur, Ikera, and Arkurra; Hyder's hircarrahs here informed me that it is their master's orders that I shall wait at this place till he is informed of my arrival, I therefore write to him. Next day two more hircarrahs arrive with Hyder's answer in which he writes me that on account of the popularity of Seeringapatam there is no room for me within the walls but he has fitted up for me a Mundap by the river side where he desires me to go next morning.

"17*th February*.—I set out from Arkurra and arrive in two hours at the Mundap. My habitation is an old ruinous stone Choultry about two miles from Seeringapatam and on the opposite side of the river from the fort, suburbs, and markets. It stands at a distance from any houses, on a bare plain. One part of the Mundap is filled with ropes and yokes for drawing heavy artillery, over which there is a guard of sepoys, who has centinels on this common gate who I find will also be centinels over me and my people; the other part is collected to me and my attendants. It is fortunate for me I have a good tent otherwise I should be very badly lodged. Not long after my arrival a Choubdar came on horse-back who without ceremony equalled himself beside me and asked great many questions; he seems rather to have been sent to make what observations he could about me, than to shew me civility. I ordered one of my Choubdars to go to the Nabob with my compliments, to inquire after his health, and to tell him that by God's Grace and His favor I was safely arrived. But my Choubdar was not permitted to stir out of the Mundap. I find these are hircarrahs posted at the gates and all around who will not suffer my people to go to the Buzar without an attendant, nor permit any person to come to the Mundap without the Nabob's special leave; and no person of any distinction at the Nabob's Court, or in the character of a gentleman, has come to receive me or to welcome my arrival at Seeringapatam; nor has the present of provisions usual upon such occasions been sent but I am left to provide for myself and people as well as under the restraints I have already mentioned.

"18*th February*.—The Choubdar who came yesterday returned this afternoon, to acquaint me that the Nabob expected me in the evening, and he was to conduct me to the Durbar. I desired him to let me know the precise time proper for me to set out which by his information was about half past 6 o'clock. In about an hour I arrived at the Palace where I was conducted through a gate to an open Veranda crowded with peons, sepoys, hircarrahs and all sort of rabble. There I was stared at and made an object of curiosity to all that passed. One man of apparent consequence asked my Dubash what was my name. I ordered him to reply that the Nabob knew it. I was detained in this place nearly two hours when ashamed of my situation and impatient at the indignity put upon me, I ordered one of the Nabob's hircarrahs that attended me to go and tell that if the Nabob was not at leisure then to receive my visit, I would go and come another time. Soon after this I was sent for and conducted to the Dewanchana (Dewankhanna ?) where the Nabob was. I was introduced by Abu Mahomed, Master of Ceremonies, and paid my respects by taking off my hat and bowing, but the Choubdar called out as when the lowest of his dependants made their Tusselimaut whilst I bowed, and Hyder made no other return than a bare and silent Salam with his hand to his Turband. Hyder was seated not by the wall, but about the middle of the Divanchana between two pillars and a crimson velvet musnud edged with gold lace, a sword and shield by his side, one Chidmutgar behind him with a gold Moorchal, he was dressed in a short Jama open on the left side, his sleaves were tucked up to shew a pair of diamond bracelets, and he had a large diamond ring on his finger. There was a good many people seated in the Durbar but I saw none of dignity or even of good appearance. The Jemadars had Cattaries and I wore my sword. I was conducted round and seated on the carpet on Hyder's right hand, close by the wall, at about the distance of about 20 feet from him. After I was seated I waited a few moments to see whether the Nabob chose to speak to me, but he shewing no inclination to do so, I informed the Nabob that Sir Thomas Rumbold gave his compliments and sent letters which I delivered. They were immediately read by the Munshis. I mentioned that Sir Thomas had sent a saddle and gun which were delivered into the hands of the Nabob's people. The Nabob enquired after Sir Thomas Rumbold's health. A letter was delivered me which came by the Naboob's Tappal. As I knew it was from the Governor and might be of immediate concern I opened it and told the Nabob that Sir Thomas in that letter desired me to present his compliments and to inform His Excellency that he wished to know what kind of European productions would be agreeable to His Excellency that he might send

them. Hyder replied, that he had about 600 coss of sea-coast from near Goa to below Calicut where ships of all nations restored and that he had ships of his own by which means he was amply supplied with everything he wanted. On this occasion the people of the Durbar launched out in praise of the Nabob's great possessions, the trade of his country, the number and strength of his forts, the quantity of his cannon and arms. The Nabob himself mentioned the great expences his forts cost him on which I joined in the general subject of praise. I said that Europe resounded with the fame of his wealth, his power, his wisdom and the glory of his warlike achievements, that I esteem myself very fortunate and happy that I had an opportunity of seeing a warrier I have so often heard of. Hyder seemed greatly pleased with the compliment. The saddle and the gun having been brought forth, I told the Nabob that the gun was of an uncommon construction and required particular managements. He looked a little at it and said he would send a man in the morning to learn the way of managing it. I waited to see if any opportunity offered of talking on business; but the Nabob took no further notice of the letters; and as he did not himself propose the subject of my embassy, it was a sign he did not choose to enter upon it. I saw that my reception was in state from which he did not choose to relax, either because it was my first visit or from other motives, and the style of conversation of the Durbar seemed calculated purposely to give me a great idea of the Nabob. I therefore determined to postpone entering upon business till my next meeting which I resolved to ask for next morning when the person came about the gun. It was now late; the Nabob gave me leave to depart and Beetle and otter (attar) being brought I took my leave.

"19*th February*.—Mahomed Osman, a confidential servant of the Nabob who has been at Madras, has to my surprise brought both gun and saddle and says that the Nabob desires I will think nothing of his sending them back as the saddle is not of the Hindoostan form and therefore of no use to him, and because the gun is liable to be put out of order and the workmen of this country do not know how to repair it, and besides they say that it is not so good as a gun which is loaded at the muzzle. The Nabob desires that altho' the present is returned, I should not think that his regard is diminished. I replied that he is the master, I know such trifles to be of no consequence, that what was agreeable to him was the principal object I intended to. I desired that it might be delivered; I laid very little stress on ceremonials. I said I had seen the Courts of Princes both in Europe and in India that I knew something of the forms of the

Durbars of Hindoostan, where I have some pretensions to rank from the king himself, that altho' I was very sensible when there was any deviations from the usual customs or rules, yet I was not at all affected by it, that I came to do business, not to stand on Punctilios. I particularly desired Mahomed Osman to inform the Nabob I wish to have a private audience to communicate the subject of my embassy; that the season for sending our ships to Europe and writing the dispatches was at hand and I wished to see the Nabob as soon as possible to have the time to inform the Company in Europe by the ships of this season of the result of my conference. Mahomed Osman promised to deliver my message and took his leave. Soon after a present of sheep, and rice, and other provisions came to me from the Nabob.

"The return of the present is not to be explained away by any apologies whatever, and joined with the other parts of the Nabob's behaviour, shews no friendly disposition towards us. He has from the beginning shewn an unwillingness to admit me and altho' in a manner forced by Sir Thomas Rumbold's importunity to receive me at last; he has done it in a manner that brings no honor to the English and that marks no consent nor inclination towards friendship nor concession of any kind on his part. It is indeed reported that he has entered into an alliance with the Mahrattas and is preparing to second their views by attacking the Carnatic. It is said that he is assembling a considerable army at Bangalore, where he has sent fifteen or twenty pieces of cattering cannon and a great many field pieces, troops are also said to be collecting at Carour. The old claim on the city of Trichenopoly, which was promised to the King of Mysore near thirty years ago is said to afford a pretence for the invasion and it is to open with the attack of that place. Whatever Hyder's views may be it is certain his deportment towards me is disrespectful and unfriendly hitherto but perhaps that may alter. I find Mons. Lally who was in the service of Buzalet Jung and afterwards of Nizam Ally is now come here with some Europeans and sepoys and there are Mahratta Vakeels here.

"*20th February.*—Altho' I spoke to Mahomed Osman to inform the Nabob I wanted a private audience, yet not trusting to that, I think it necessary to demand one by letter; and accordingly I write to him and send my letters by a Choubdar but it is returned, the Nabob being retired to his Zenana.

"*21st February.*—Sent my letter again, and the Nabob desires that I should come in the evening. I set out by

direction after sunset and was conducted to a better apartment than on my first visit. Here I found several Jemadars and others sitting without their Cattaries it being the usual custom of Hyder's Durbar to be unarmed. After some time two Choubdars came and called out several people by name to go to the presence, and they were told to take their Cattaries. When I had sat above an hour I was called and conducted to the same Dewanchana as at first. I take notice that the Nabob did not speak to me on my entrance. In about half an hour Mahomed Osman came and asked me from the Nabob whether I chose to confer in a public or private audience. I replied in a private one. He said in that case you must go into another apartment where a person in the Nabob's confidence will accompany you, and when he has heard that you have to say, he will inform the Nabob of it and carry you an answer. I said that I wished to speak personally with the Nabob; he said it was not the Nabob's custom to do so, and the way he had mentioned was the only audience I could get, with which I was obliged to comply. I went into another apartment and was followed by an orderly man named Mahomed Gheas and by Mahomed Osman, when seated they asked me what was the purport of my embassy; I said I had delivered two letters from the Governor of Madras, one, on the business of the English subjects who had been detained at Calicut whose dismission I was directed to demand, when that letter was written and when I left Madras it was not known that the Nabob intended of himself to set them at liberty; that I had met them on the road and learned from themselves the Nabob's kindness in sending for them to his presence and in providing them with necessaries and conveniencies for their journey for which I returned him thanks. I assured the Nabob that if any English subjects had behaved in such a manner as to give his officers just cause to complain or to detain them, it was without the knowledge of the Company's presidencies against their inclination and against positive orders and I hoped nothing of the kind would happen again in future. The second letter, I said, informed the Nabob that I was commissioned to confer with him on the interest of the two nations; in consequence of my instructions I now expressed in the name of Sir Thomas Rumbold and the Council of Madras, the high regard and friendship they entertained for His Excellency and assured him of the personal esteem and regard they had for his character; that they wished to strengthen the alliance now subsisting between him and the English, not only by a renewal of former engagements but of entering into a closer union of interest. Mahomed Gheas

and Mahomed Osman on this went to the Nabob and related what I had said. They returned and replied, the Nabob says, he would have been glad of the friendship of the English but (hia Taida) to what purpose is it. They added, the Nabob concluded one treaty with the English, every article of which he has faithfully adhered to, but the English failed in every point and the treaty is absolutely broken. They spoke of the conquest of Tanjore, notwithstanding that country was guaranteed by the treaty. They expatiated largely on the having withheld the stipulated assistance when the Mahrattas invaded and ruined Mysore; by which they said the Circar sustained a loss of 3 crores of Pagodas; and that was the only time when we had an opportunity of rendering the Nabob any services or of shewing how we stood affected towards him. They said there were many other complaints which it was needless to relate. I replied that I was not to enter into a discussion of old grievances which had happened in former Governments but to propose a remedy against new ones. The gentlemen who had now the management of affairs differed from their predecessors and were sincerely desirous of an effectual junction with the Nabob, that such a junction could not but be of great service to him by strengthening him with the assistance of our forces, supplying him with military stores and by securing his dominions to himself and to his family against all invaders or enemies whatsoever. On this Nabob's confidants hinted that the Nabob stood in no need of assistance or supplies, for he was strong enough to take care of himself. They said that the Nabob Waulan Jah Bahauder was an instance of the manner in which the English assisted their friends, who tho' an old friend of the Company's and particularly favoured by the King of England himself, yet was obliged to pay immence sums for their friendship every year. Mahomed Osman said that, when he was at Madras the Nabob Waulan Jah had shewn him several honorable letters from the King of England and from the Company, expressed in terms of the greatest friendship: but that the Nabob complained at the same time of the lacks of Pagodas each of those letters cost him. I replied the Nabob Bahauder must judge for himself how far a sincere and effective friendship and alliance with the English can be of service to him. As for the Nabob Waulan Jah Bahauder his affairs were so connected with and interwoven into those of the Company from the long and expensive wars carried on in the Carnatic, that neither Mahomed Osman, nor anybody else who was not a party concerned, could pretend to judge. I was glad however to find that the Nabob Waulan Jah had friends at the Court of Seeringapatam who interested themselves, and were so anxious on his account; but the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn was

on a very different footing in point of an expence of that nature. Finding that we now seemed to be sliding into conversation rather than doing business, I recalled the attention of the confidants to the principle points of what I had said by repeating them and desiring that they might be reported to the Nabob. I desired they would also tell His Excellency from me that it was not from the weakness or alarm I had come to make this offer, for the English were never before so strong in India as at this time. We had a fine army in the coast from whence we had driven all our enemies, our numerous fleet was unopposed, and if any unforeseen event rendered it necessary to have still more troops in the Carnatic, we had a very considerable army at Bengal ready to come down on the first notice; but that Sir Thomas Rumbold had sent me from a conviction that it would be for the mutual benefit of the Nabob Bahauder and of the Company to unite their interests confidentially and effectually together; that having informed the Nabob of the friendly disposition of the Government of Madras towards him, I had executed the commision I was charged with and was now at His Excellency's disposal either to return with an answer or to write to the Governor of Madras an account of what had passed, and wait for fresh instructions from thence. The confidants went to the Nabob, repeated to him what I had said, and returning, told me the Nabob desired I would write to Madras and stay till I heard from thence. I mentioned that the Company's ships going to Europe were to sail very soon, it was therefore necessary to send my letter by the quickest conveyance, in order to get an answer the sooner, and that whatever conclusion we came to, my letters to Madras might arrive before their departure and enable Sir Thomas to inform the Company of what had passed. I therefore desired my letters to Sir Thomas might go by the Nabob's Tappals rather than by a messenger which would occasion a difference of several days. The confidants replied "very well." I did not choose on this occasion to intimate that Sir Thomas proposed to go home himself, as it was unnecessary, and would not alter the state of the negociation. After this I returned to the Durbar, where I sat a few minutes, and the Nabob gave me leave to retire. I was not pleased with the appearance of things in this conference. The Nabob did not choose to talk to me in person, but employed other people; their opening upon me with old complaints that were in fact obsolete, the difference with which my advances were received, no advances or even encouragement on their part; one thing however I was glad of, the Nabob's desiring me to stay at Seeringapatam, as that wore the appearance of his not being determined against coming to an explanation, which I hoped in time to find some opportunity of effecting.

"*22nd February.*—I wrote to Sir Thomas an account of what passed and sent my letter to the Fort to be forwarded by the Nabob's Tappal as I desired yesterday, but the Nabob was inaccessible. Next day I sent it again and desired my Choubdar to ask for passports for the people I left at Rayacottah. The Choubdar returned with my letter which was not permitted to go by the Tappal, but he brought passports for hircarrahs to carry it, and for my people at Rayacottah. The refusal to send my letter by the Tappal does not pretend that the Nabob means to enter into an amicable connexion with us, for if he was desirous of it, he would wish that it should be effected as soon as possible, and would therefore promote it; on the contrary, it would seem that he wishes to amuse and to gain time.

"From this time till the 19th March I had no permission to visit the Nabob notwithstanding my repeated sollicitations and endeavours to obtain a private confidential audience. From day to day he used to send by Choubdars presents of fruit, flowers, sweetmeats, &c., yet even this apparent civility was conducted in a manner that discovered more the condescension of a superior to an inferior than of an act of politeness; for his Choubdars neither delivered a civil message when they came, nor behaved respectfully; but were greedy, insolent and clamarous. He gave me leave to see his two gardens without the city and I went once to each of them; otherwise I never went out of the Choultry.

"The intelligence I received was that very soon after my arrival, express camels were sent to Poona with the regency of which Hyder was executing a treaty. Before my arrival, preparations for taking the field had been carried on with great diligence, and Tippoo Sahib, Hyder's eldest son, was ordered to join the troops at Bangalore; but that order was afterwards reversed, and since my arrival his preparations have been greatly relaxed tho' not quite laid aside, and it is believed as the season is so far advanced that the army will not take the field till next year. It is the general report of the Buzar and Camp that the armament is intended against the Carnatic; some say however that the next campaign will be against Bazalet Jung, others against the Nizam. It is impossible for me situated as I am to get accurate intelligence because I am surrounded with spies and debarred all communication. My opinion however is that he keeps his troops in readiness to seize the first opportunity of extending his territories, either on the side of the Carnatic or of Golcondah as chance may offer. He will not venture to cope with the English in their present force; but the French people about him

have flattered him with the notion of an armament from the Mauritius; and he perhaps may think that the war in which we are engaged with the Mahrattas will occupy our whole force and embarrass us; in either of those cases he would not fail to make an effort; on that account therefore he probably does not choose to enter into any engagements with us at present; at the same time he will not give us direct umbrage nor come to an open rupture till the opportunity offers. His force I understand to consist of about 10,000 horse of his own stables and about 15,000 more horse of hired troops with a number of plunderers that serve without pay. He is said to have about 25,000 sepoys with European arms and peons colleries, &c., without number. He has a great quantity both of battering and field artillery. The Europeans in his service, a mixed rabble of different nations, may amount to 400, all mounted. Such was the intelligence I was able to pick up during the interval since my last visit of which I wrote to Sir Thomas Rumbold what I thought necessary.

"17*th March*.—I received by my own hircarrahs a letter from Captain Keating at Amboor dated 9th informing me that he had dispatched a letter from Sir Thomas Rumbold for me to the Killadar of Vaniambody to be forwarded by the Nabob's Tappal. My hircarrahs have been 9 days on the road whereas the Tappal arrives in three. The letter Captain Keating forwarded must therefore have arrived some days ago and must now be in the Nabob's possession. I ordered my Moonshy to wait upon the Nabob with my compliments and to represent to him that it was a long time since I had the honor to see him and that I wished for permission to wait upon him; that I understood a letter from Madras had been dispatched by his Tappals from Vaniambody and I begged to know if it was arrived. My Moonshy went, and the Nabob received him by no means in a good humour, however he gave him the letter which came by the Tappal and told him that he intended to call me to take leave of him, the day after to-morrow, of this his intention I had heard indeed a day or two before.

"19*th March*.—The Nabob having sent me notice by one of his hircarrahs that he expected me in the evening to take leave; I set out by information of his hircarrahs as usual after sun-set and was conducted to the same outward apartment as on my last visit, where I waited near two hours before I was sent for. In the Durbar I was placed at a greater distance from the Nabob than before, separate from the other people in his front, so as to be an object of exhibition to all the Durbar. He did not speak to me and scarce designed to look towards

me ; I determined as he had sent for me for a particular purpose, not to be the first to speak, especially as I was seated so far from him that I could not address him without being heard by the whole Durbar. Although it was his desire that I should write to Madras an account of the conference I had at my preceding visit and he could not but suppose that the letter I had received was an answer to what I wrote ; yet he could not condescend to inquire about it, and as he had taken the resolution of giving me my dismission before I received that answer, let it be what it would ; I thought it would not only be ineffectual but regarding to speak concerning it ; as every thing convinced me I had no favourable answer to expect, I was resolved not to give him an opportunity of making me an insulting one in the face of the Durbar. After I had sat above an hour in silence, some gold stuff a Shawl and 2 bags of 500 rupees each were brought to me with Beetle and *otter* ; I then said to the Nabob that I was very sensible of his goodness, favor and politeness and should always keep them in remembrance. I also said that if I could be of any use to him at Madras, I hoped he would command my services, to which he replied coldly, very well. A passport having been made out and a letter delivered me for the Governor, I rose up, made by bow and went away.

"And thus ended my embassy to the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn Bahauder during the course of which I was rather received and treated as a spy than as an embassador and rather confined than lodged. He never admitted me to a confidential audience although I frequently solicited it. He never allowed me to enter his city by daylight ; he kept me at a distance from his person, as if he suspected I had a design upon his life, and he watched me as narrowly as if he thought I was come to pry into his affairs or to carry on some secret plot with his people. I was by no means sorry to leave so inhospitable a region, I set out the following day and arrived to Madras in ten days."

ART. XVII.—*A Prospectus of a new and critical edition of the Mahābhārata, undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.*

A REVIEW.

By

REV. FATHER R. ZIMMERMANN, S.J.

Only rarely in literary history human energy and perseverance is confronted with a task of such magnitude as that which the Prospectus treats of. The undertaking in question has, as far as size is concerned, its parallels in the various "Thesauri," published by the authority and with the support of the most prominent Universities and Academies of Europe. Considering the peculiar nature of this editorial task, the proposed edition of the Bible inaugurated by v. Soden may be taken as the closest pendant to the present work in contemplation. It needs indeed the daring courage which may know in general, and at the same time is also sure to overcome, all risks and difficulties in order to approach a work of such responsibility as a "New and Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata". The task is nothing short of gigantic, if we consider the length of the text itself and the debatable condition in which too many of its passages have come down to us. The MS. material to be handled is surpassed in number by that of only few works; the variety of scripts in which these MSS. are found to be written; the extent to which the present text has been subjected to alterations originating from tendencies altogether outside the literary and critical interest: all these are additional difficulties. And though a band of young and enterprising scholars, distinguished by singular devotion to their duty, are at the back of the undertaking, and though Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's name, presence and inspiration is like a मंगल to the infant work: yet the greater part of the working machine will have to be created under such circumstances as hardly any other literary undertaking had to face. But, even with the full consciousness of all the risks involved, it would be cruel not to entertain the brightest hopes as to the final outcome of so much enthusiasm, able energy and justified confidence: तेजस्विनावधीतमस्तु।

It would be entirely wrong to think that the editors, for such they will be by profession for a series of years to come, are ignorant of the stupendous task awaiting them. A glance at the Prospectus proves quite the contrary. After the "Prefatory Note" which gives the genesis of the idea and plan of a new Mahābhārata edition, the writer puts himself and the reader in the proper frame of mind by considerations of the "Importance and position of the Mahābhārata." The remarks under this heading on the "general importance" imply that the influence of the Mahābhārata is both for the medieval and modern Hindu greater than that of the "Veda." It would be presumption on the part of the reviewer to question this statement. A distinction between the direct and the indirect influence possibly would give more accurately their respective dues to the Mahābhārata and the "Veda." After all, Hinduism is Hinduism as based on the Veda with all that the Śruti implies. The Mahābhārata, it is true, was "the peculiar possession and the glory of the ancient Kṣatriyas," but ब्राह्मणाः कथयिष्यन्ति महाभारतमाहवम्. The central (literary) position of the epic is then touched upon by the Prospectus. The writer only mentions, without supporting, the view still recently put forward that the "Vedic period"—whatever that is supposed to mean—is to be put at 1300 or 1500 B.C. He does so merely in order to bring out in full relief the relatively high age of the historical kernel of the Mahābhārata as compared with the avowedly oldest literary monument of ancient Āryavarta. The Prospectus, proceeding to consider the relation of the Mahābhārata to religion and philosophy, points out some of the most important issues in that line. One feels inclined to attach even greater importance to the "looking backward and forward" of the Indian epic than the Prospectus does. It is likely that the poem owes to this character, especially with the orthodox Hindu, most of its popularity, quite in keeping with the eminently conservative disposition of the Indian intellectual life at all times. But what would then follow from this "looking backward and forward" for the relative importance of Veda and Mahābhārata?

It cannot be gainsaid that the philosophy of the Mahābhārata is indeed far from what the moderns understand to be a system; it is rather "a delectable combination of diversion and knowledge," as it has been put by a leading writer on the epic. But let us not forget that the writers and redactors of this work never pretended to offer to their readers any system of the terseness in thought and form of the Bādarāyaṇa-sūtrāṇi. Their main purpose was to tell and to teach, to tell

the story of the prowess and noblesse of ancient Bharatavarṣa, and to preach a sermon in more or less philosophical garb. The musical charm of the epic Sanskrit, the comfortable metre of the Śloka, the quaintness and plainness of expression was better able to drive home a moral, legal, or even metaphysical doctrine than most of the over-technical Sūtras of professional philosophy or the Dharmaśāstra. A well-known instance in point is the Bhagavadgītā. To this very day scholars are not agreed on the main tendency of this episode in the great epic: yet its influence on the whole of India from century to century, from the Arabian Sea to the Gulf of Bengal is unquestionable. The writer of the Prospectus may consider himself fully entitled to draw the reader's attention to the "national importance of the Mahābhārata." The instances he gives for the influence of the epic on the creation and the shaping of Indian ideals and characters are—according to the nature of a mere prospectus—not exhaustive. Under this heading too the encyclopaedic character of the Mahābhārata insisted upon by the poem itself in the well-known verses: यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नहास्ति न कुत्रचित्। might have been more fully enlarged upon.

Both the importance of the Mahābhārata and the nature of the editions brought out hitherto make the necessity of a new critical edition clear to anyone who looks upon and uses the Epic as a literary work. The criticisms passed from this point of view on the Kumbhakonum edition also are just, though merely technically that edition easily surpasses its predecessors. Knowing the number and scientific calibre of the editors, many of whom have been trained in Western methods of criticism, the reviewer concurs with the writer's opinion that "It need not, however, necessarily be presumed that a critical edition of (the) Mahābhārata is possible only in Europe. On the other hand, there are certain distinct advantages in such an edition being undertaken in India. The main materials of this task, namely, the MSS. and the printed editions, lie almost at hand, and a personal inspection and handling of the former in their originals, is not beyond feasibility. The requisite staff of Śāstris and graduates of the desired type, and knowing thoroughly well the Sanskrit language and the different scripts, can easily be got together, and the whole scheme can certainly be worked out here in India, more economically, efficiently and expeditiously." (Prosp., pp. 8-9.)

The next (third) chapter makes inventory of the material, both printed and MS., on which the proposed edition is going

to be based. Though this inventory has been prepared with great care and circumspection, it is, of course, not to be supposed that any new forthcoming material worth including in the already long list, would be excluded. The editors' love and care for their work will always be found to exceed their task. The relation of the Mahābhārata edition taken in hand by the Institute in this country to the "edition of the Mahābhārata in the South Indian recension" (?) proposed to be published by the Sanskrit Epic Text Society in Europe is outlined and amicably settled. The two undertakings will indeed only profit from each other, even if the Institute's edition should have to do much of the spade-work, which, as far as the reviewer knows, the Sanskrit Epic Text Society was once in a fair way to do and, in the ordinary course of events in the literary and political world, by this time, in all probability, would have done. Whichever edition may now win the race, Indology, undoubtedly, will reap in the long run the fruits of the labour bestowed on both the editions. Supposing, even, for instance, for a moment the worst of cases: that there should be, "as many recensions as there are codices", that the literary value of each line should have to be individually determined by criticism, and that in a number of instances it should be impossible to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion: if the work of collation of the MSS. and that of the preservation, emendation and restoration of the text is carried out, as promised by the Prospectus, then posterity will at least be spared all Sisyphean labour with regard to this text. Reliable negative results are highly valued by modern research and criticism.

The position which the proposed text edition of the Mahābhārata, with its accompanying treatises, will occupy in the history of Sanskrit philology, is given in the "Sketch of the Mahābhārata studies." The development of epic research is outlined there from Wilkins and Weber down to Hopkins and Jacobi in the West, as well as from Bhandarkar to Vaidya in the East. It is an agreeable feature of this, as indeed of all the portions of the Prospectus that it weighs the evidence of an opinion carefully and makes its pronouncements with a reserve and modesty that befits and marks the true scholar. Really, times should be gone by now once for ever when it was deemed necessary to accompany one's own view with the expressed or implied stigmatisation of the opponent as a fool with all that the term denotes, or something not far from it. The position of a scholar becomes somewhat awkward if he finds the "deliraments" of a fellow-writer backed up by weighty authority, and the same scholar may find in the end that his

opponent was not the only fool, when it should happen that opinions and theories apparently diametrically opposed to each other, are found to lead partly or wholly to the same results. Compare on this point the expositions of the Prospectus outlining Dahlmann's and Hopkins's views on the origin and tendency of the Mahābhārata. It would be an unhistorical presumption to assume that "deliraments" are the exclusive privilege of the scholars on only one side of the Atlantic; slight "inconsistencies," not "deliraments," of course, might even be detected in the works of such logical writers as E. W. Hopkins. The following words of the Prospectus, whilst dealing with the merits of the analytical and synthetic methods, are classical in their scientific soundness and good tone:—"No one denies the utility of the analytical method as applied to (the) Mahābhārata; it is indeed *the* method in the investigation of any literary or historical work; but, it should not, at the same time, lead (if possible) to such extreme and self-destructive propositions as those of Winternitz for instance, who . . . . says that the date of each verse of any given passage of our text must be decided in itself. The synthetic consideration of a work may not be precluded after the contents of the work have been subjected to a critical analysis; indeed, analysis and synthesis are both equally necessary and mutually supplement each other." (Pp. 24-25.)

The "Resumé" in this chapter deals with the age and growth of the epic and touches upon the question of the tendency or tendencies which the work was made to serve. Among the problems suggested and furthered by the preparatory work for the new edition vistas are opened up, such as new data for the literary and religious history as well as for Kulturgeschichte and for the history of language.

The "method in working out the new edition" of the Mahābhārata is outlined in Chapters V—VIII. The editors repeat there in so many words that they are under no illusion whatever about the magnitude of the task they have set themselves. On the contrary, they look the facts with stern resolution in the face and hope, in the first instance, by means of well devised principles of division and arrangement, to create order in the now "chaotic mass of the material." If anywhere, in the carrying out of the plan it will be necessary throughout to preserve the cool head of the critic and the warm heart for the inheritance of ancient भरतवर्ष. The supervision and control of the progress of the undertaking, spreading over not much less than a decade, and brought to completion in various

centres with general headquarters at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, is entrusted to two bodies. The first is an Advisory Committee, whose activity would be more of an inspiring nature: the second an Editorial Committee, whose main duty will be guidance during the actual carrying on of the work. The Advisory Committee, in due time, is to include also foreign scholars: the Editorial Committee is looked upon as the nucleus of a Mahābhārata Text Society.

From Chapter VII we learn the size of the new Mahābhārata edition, which, with preparatory treatises and subsidiary appendices, is expected to swell to something like 10,000 pages in quarto. The illustrations, a peculiarly pleasing and instructive feature of this edition, are prepared and executed "under the direct supervision and control" of the munificent Chief of Aundh, Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B.A. He has been pleased to become a Maecenas to this monumental work of the new edition. The reviewer agrees with the Prospectus that his example should prove a stimulus to his fellow-rulers, and the appeal for "Public Support" made in Chapter IX deserves to be underlined. Max Müller's classical edition of the Rigveda has been done in the West: this edition of the Mahābhārata is the duty of the Indian East, and may the editors never forget it: If the road becomes long and weary, and the stumbling blocks greater and more numerous than expected, this Mahābhārata edition will be a *monumentum aere perennius* to those who inaugurated and accomplished it. It will be instrumental in opening up India more to the world, give a new impetus to the epic studies, and prove to evidence the renaissance of Sanskrit philology in this country.

The editors are endeavouring to offer the very best in the proposed edition, we may be sure. Together with a consistent up-to-date method in the broad lines, accuracy as well as untiring attention to, and love for, the detail will be the salvation of the undertaking. The hurry with which the Prospectus had to be got ready is, very likely, chiefly responsible for certain defects in the form. The idiom is, in some instances, not the usual one. Most striking, sometimes distinctly odd, is the look of the abbreviations: Encyclo., Ency. Reli. . . , *e.g.*, are undoubtedly somewhat novel, and Ame. Jou. . . , might, as far as sound goes, occur in some language of the very far East. In an essay written in English, the English method of abbreviation should rigorously be adopted. A formula like "Gesch. d. indis. Littera." is not very illuminating, not

to speak of its grammatical shortcomings. Grammatically hardly correct is MB. for Mahābhārata, as *b* is substituted for *bh*. It would also be more idiomatic to speak consistently of *the* Mahābhārata, instead of saying "importance of Mahābhārata," for instance. These defects in form may be remedied in another issue of the Prospectus and should not mar the whole publication to any appreciable extent.

A Review of the Same Edition.

By C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B.

The prospectus of a new and critical edition of the Mahābhārata, undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, is a document well worthy of that body, and does great credit to the drawer of it, Mr. Utgikar, M.A. The prospectus, in the main, places before the public the necessity of such a new edition and the materials on which it can be based. It also summarises what scholars, who have studied the Mahābhārata, have written about this ancient national poem of India up to this time, both in the West and the East. And it outlines how this new edition will be worked out and prepared, in view of all that scholars have said so far. The prospectus is therefore worthy of study and considering the fact that such a vast work can only be undertaken once in a century or perhaps two, it is the duty of every learned body to scan it carefully and offer such suggestions as will enable the workers to bring out, as far as possible, a perfect edition. The prospectus has indeed, been sent to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society with this view, and the Branch gladly takes this opportunity of expressing its view on the subject and making a few suggestions which, it is hoped, will be duly considered by the promoters of this edition.

It appears from this prospectus that this new edition will be, in addition to an edition of the Mahābhārata, which has been undertaken in Europe by a large body of reputed scholars headed by Dr. Macdonell, and which has the support of the Secretary of State for India. It seems that this work, undertaken before the great European War, has not yet proceeded much, owing, of course, to the difficulties created by the war and, probably, to the fact that German scholars could not cooperate during this period. The work, however, will proceed, and it appears from this prospectus that, eventually, there will be two critical editions of the Mahābhārata, one European and the other Indian, one supported by the Secretary of State for India in progress in Europe (p. 38) and the other undertaken by the Institute for which the help of the Government of India and the

Native Princes is solicited. The question, therefore, at the outset is, are two such editions needed ? And what will be the difference between the two ?

When Dr. Macdonell says " One of the great tasks reserved for the future of Sanskrit philology is a European edition of the whole epic " (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1905, p. 282) he means to say something more than " a critical edition of it " (p. 8). Instead of indicating the nature of the edition he mentions the personnel of the body editing it and the place of preparation. The expression therein indicates unquestionably a general sense of disapprobation of the work done by Indian scholars. Now it cannot be gainsaid that European scholars have just cause to be proud of their achievements in the field of research. They have exhibited a love of knowledge, a patience, an attention to detail, and an acumen which are indeed phenomenal. The credit of deciphering the hieroglyphics of Egypt or the cuneiform inscriptions on tiles of Mesopotamia is due to them. Nay, even in India it is European scholars who have led the way in reading coins and inscriptions and have, indeed, taught Indian scholars the proper method of research. An edition of the Mahābhārata, therefore, brought out by European scholars, will leave nothing to be desired from the point of view of proper research and the attention to detail. And we may well be assured of the great value of such a European edition when scholars like Macdonell, Holtzman, Winternitz, Smith, Rhys Davids, Hopkins and others are associated with the work of bringing out such an edition.

But the reasons, on which the issue of an Indian edition of the Mahābhārata (as it may be properly called) is justified in this prospectus, have an importance of their own which cannot be ignored. The main materials of this task, *viz.*, manuscripts, are more available in India than elsewhere, and secondly the requisite staff of Śastris and Pundits is available in India. It may be added that a great deal of importance may be attached to the collaboration of Śastris. Whatever may be said of the high proficiency and the critical spirit of the Western scholars, it cannot be denied that they can never compare in erudition with the learned Pandits of India. Lassen and Weber, Max Müller and Macdonell, Grierson and Smith are indeed towering names in the field of Oriental research, but they cannot compare in Sanskrit learning with a Gopalacharya, a Rajaram Śastri and a host of other Pandits whose help has always been indispensable to the European scholars themselves. But there is a third point on which emphasis may be laid. Indian Pandits

and Indian scholars have an advantage over European scholars, in the fact that they are in touch with the ancient Indian traditions and can never commit strange mistakes as sometimes crop into the works of the greatest European scholars. For example, when Dr. Macdonell says "The title Karshna Veda, the Veda of Krishna and Sarasvati (Vishnu's wife) proves Mahābhārata to be a Smriti of the Vaishnava sect of the Bhāgavatas" (p. 284) the whole sentence strikes us as unmeaning. (A few such other mistakes may be pointed out in the *History of Sanskrit Literature*, e.g., the translation of the *Gayatri* at page 79 is mistaken.) While, therefore, European scholars, it may be admitted, possess an advantage over Indian scholars in one direction in being unconnected with Indian tradition and enjoy a position of impartiality, they are at a disadvantage in another direction and cannot understand Indian things as fully as Indian Pandits can. Lastly, when it is remembered that a generation of Indian scholars trained in the European method of research has now grown up and that that veteran leader of Indian scholars, Dr. Bhandarkar, is himself superintending the bringing out of this Indian edition of the Mahābhārata, we may be sure that, even from the point of view of accuracy and correctness of method, this edition will not leave much to be desired. This enterprize, therefore, may be hailed and welcomed whether in place of, or in addition to, the work in progress in England and Europe on the self-same Epic.

On the necessity and utility of an Indian edition of the Mahābhārata, one cannot but agree with the framers of the prospectus. On the method of working out the edition a few suggestions may, however, be offered in disagreement with it. Firstly, the prospectus speaks of an authoritative or a reliable edition of the Mahābhārata or of judging the relative merits of individual readings. But this is a work which should entirely be kept out of sight by the editors. No body of scholars, we are afraid, can decide which is the reliable text or reading, or can have the right to say that this is the authoritative edition of the Mahābhārata. An authoritative or reliable edition in this sense is impossible. An authoritative edition could only be given if the work originally written by, and in the handwriting of Sauti could have been found. But this is, of course, impossible. We can speak of the authoritative edition of Moropant's Mahābhārata, because we can have access to the work as originally written by the great Marathi poet. The Mahābhārata is so old that the original copy of it is impossible to be got. Nor is the work learnt by heart like the Rigveda by learned Brahmins, so that we can go to them and settle

the authoritative text. The only thing we can do is to get at the oldest copy that can be had and treat it as more authoritative or rather merely more ancient than the rest. For mistakes by copyists might creep into even the oldest work in one province while in another correct copying might go on and the last copy may be correct though the latest of all. Therefore neither the criterion of time nor of place can properly apply. The only thing which the editors should do is to select some copy of the Mahābhārata (excluding one from Madras side, for reasons we shall presently give) from whatever province that may be deemed the best and deserving of the honour and give it in the body and note all such variations in readings, as may be found in the different copies consulted, at the foot. If scholars discuss and fix upon the best reading and then give it in the body they will be doing a thing which they have no right to do. They will be importing their own views unnecessarily into the work of editing. And who knows that subsequent research may not bring to light some other reading which is more acceptable and perhaps more authoritative? A Śloka of the Mahābhārata may be found quoted in some ancient inscription or work giving a different reading. This labour, therefore, is uncalled for and useless. The avoiding of it will also save much time and necessarily much cost.

Of course, it is impossible to give different readings from all the copies that may be made available; for their number, it is said, will exceed two thousand. The copies should be provincially arranged into sets and the provinces suggested in the prospectus are indeed acceptable. It may, however, be suggested that Kashmir should be allotted a separate place; because the Kashmir school is a distinct one from a very long time. The provinces would, therefore, be (1) Kashmir, (2) North India, including Benares, (3) Bengal, including Mīthila, (4) Andhra, (5) Tamil and Malyalam, and, (6) Mahārāshtra, including Berar and Malwa. Of these provinces some representative and, as far as possible, old editions should be fixed upon and numbered and their different readings noted at foot with their particular number. Any scholar who wishes to study the Mahābhārata will thus have before him the most important different readings that exist and can draw his own conclusion as to which might be the original reading.

We may here discuss the question whether there are more than one recension of the Mahābhārata. Provincial peculiarities may have created different readings here and there. But, to all appearance, there exists only one recension. The Madras

recension strikes, at first sight, as a different recension, and there are many different Ślokas as also whole additional chapters in the Kumbhakonam edition, but, really speaking, the recension is the same; the story is the same, and the teaching is the same. Whether there are interpolations or not, the editors should not take upon themselves to decide, though there may be obvious reasons why they should be treated as such. The audacity of Madras Pandits and their capacity to make exact counterfeits alleged by some may, perhaps, be admitted. The spurious grant of Janmejaya referred to in this prospectus is an instance of this. And Winternitz himself states that these additions so little differ in style and language from other parts of the text, that if they had been included in our Bombay edition, they would, to use Winternitz's words "undoubtedly be considered as original." All the same, it would not be proper to treat such additions as interpolations. These additional whole Ślokas or chapters should be given in footnotes, at the very places where they are found in the Kumbhakonam or other editions in smaller type, and not at the end in a different volume as the prospectus proposes to do, in order that a student may not have to trouble himself every now and then; but will have all the different versions at any point before him.

And here we may digress a little and speak of the peculiarities of the different provinces as they are noted by writers on Sanskrit poetry. It is well known that Dandi divided styles into Vaidarbhi and Gaudi. The former was simple and concise, the latter diffuse and bombastic. Bengal thus enjoys the notoriety for verbosity even from the fifth century A. D.; though it may be added that the greater proficiency of the Bengal Pandits in Nyāya made them necessarily verbose. Next we may notice that Śloka of Bāṇa, not perhaps as well known as the above which speaks similarly of the characteristics of the different provinces. श्लेषप्रायमुदीच्येषु प्रतीच्येष्वर्थगौरवम् ।
उत्प्रेक्षावाक्षिणात्येषु प्राच्येष्वक्षरडम्बरः ॥

In Bāṇa's days, therefore, there were four styles, *viz.* (1st) that of the Northerners, including Bana himself full of Ślesha, (2nd) of the Westerners, which paid attention only to meaning, (3rd) that of the Southerners or Mahārāshtra full of Utpreksha and (4th) that of the Gaudas, full of the jingle of words. The Gauda and the Mahārāshtra characters, strangely enough, still survive, showing how provincialities are hard to die. For the Marathi writers who succeeded Sanskrit writers in Mahārāshtra from Jṇyānesvara down to the latest (excepting, perhaps, Moropant) and even modern Marathi writers are full of Utpreksha

(poetical fancies), while Bengal still retains its verbosity and jingle of words. The Northerners' gift of Ślesha is, however, dead for modern languages are incapable of indulging in Ślesha (*pun*). The Westerners have disappeared unfortunately (perhaps Bhāravi was their greatest representative) but in place of them two more schools have come in, I mean in days later than Bāna. The Pandits of Tamil and the Pandits of Kashmir have left their mark on Sanskrit literature. The Tamil Pandits probably wrote formerly in their own vernacular, as the most inspiring Tamil poetry belongs to that period. But from Śankara onwards the Tamil Pandits conquered the whole of India and even Kashmir.

This little historical digression will show how it would be necessary to divide the available manuscripts into 6 sets according to provinces from Kashmir to the southernmost Tamil country. It will also show to us that there cannot be two recensions of the Mahābhārata. The poem belongs to a time when these provincialities had not arisen, when perhaps Sanskrit had neither penetrated into Bengal nor into Mahārāshtra much less into the further south. There are no Śleshas or puns throughout the whole length of the Mahābhārata, and jingle of words is also conspicuous by its absence. Utpreksha, too, I think is rarely met with, while mere attention to thought without any attention to the music or melody of sound is also not to be met with. The Mahābhārata, therefore, properly belongs to the centuries before Christ, when neither the Vaidarbhi nor the Gaudi styles had developed. Whatever differences there may be in the views of scholars there can be no difference about this. And therefore if that edition of the Mahābhārata, which is entirely free of these provincialities, be taken as the chief edition, it would be very proper and best. However, this is a minor question and it would be enough if the board of editors fixes upon some copy from the north as the chief copy and give the variations in the other copies at the foot.

There is one more suggestion in this connection to be made. The editors should first compare the Anukramanika Adhyāya in all copies and ascertain whether any copy gives the number of verses and the number of chapters in each Parva in a different manner from others. It seems probable that all copies will agree in this and the number and the names of several Parvas. This will also convince us that there is only one recension of the Mahābhārata and that minor differences have only been created by the faults of copyists or the faulty tendencies of provincial writing. There is a more potent disturbing factor in the intensity of sectional animosities and that may

be responsible to a great deal of additions subsequent to the text settled by Sauti who has fortunately attempted to make it fixed by enumerating the number of verses and the number of Adyāyas in each Parva. Such animosity exists to a great extent in the further south and that is an additional reason why any text from the Madras side should not be taken as the principal text.

Lastly, may be touched a few other important points. The prospectus contemplates the preparation of a Pratika Index (page 35). An index of this kind is not needed. It will practically be of little use. And the labour and the expense bestowed on the preparation of such an index is not at all proportionate to the use of it. An index of the Pratīkas or beginnings of a lakh of Ślokas or of 4 lakhs of quarter Ślokas would be an unnecessary and troublesome undertaking when, perhaps, not more than 20, or at the most, 50 of them would be found in general use or quoted elsewhere. And it is always impossible to say whether the line is quoted by the Mahābhārata or from the Mahābhārata. The Asvalayan Sutra, for instance, quotes the Sloka अंगादधिजायसे (as shown by Hopkins) which occurs in the Mahābhārata. Now it is impossible to decide whether the Sūtra quotes from the Mahābhārta or *vice versā*, or whether they both quote from a third unknown or known source. Moreover, that sacredness does not attach to the Ślokas of Mahābhārata which attaches to the verses of the Rigveda. A Pratīka index for the Rigveda is an absolute necessity, for lines are quoted from Rigveda by Pratikas even in the Yajurveda and the various Brāhmanas. It is, therefore, useless and unnecessary labour to prepare a Pratīka index for the Mahābhārata. Instead, it would be very useful to prepare an index of rare names of things, places and persons. Such an index would be historically very useful. For example, Eduka is a word which occurs in the Mahābhārata in the sense of relic-enclosing structure (which was the earliest mode of Buddhist sacred buildings) and that shows to us that the present Mahābhārata is later than the rise of Buddhism. The line न शङ्ख-लिखितां वृत्तिं शक्यमास्थाय जीवितम् suggests that Sankha-Likhita, as a law-giver, is a name older than the Mahābhārata. What are rare words must be left to the choice of the editors, for it is impossible to prepare an index of all names and words from the Mahābhārata. An index of the kind suggested, would be a reasonably small volume and would be very useful.

Secondly, an introduction to such an edition is necessary, as outlined in the last para, on page 35. But the preparation

of an introduction as it is probably wrongly styled or a Mahābhārata Encyclopædia covering about 500 pages, "dealing with the whole field of epic studies, and including such topics as the origin of epic poetry, the multiple or unitary nature of the authorship, the theory of gradual growth, the authenticity of the events, their date, etc." is absolutely not needed and would be of very little value. The views of those who will have studied and edited this vast poem would, undoubtedly, be entitled to respect, but at best they would be the personal views of the body of editors or perhaps of some of them only. They cannot be taken to be of final authority. Every scholar has the right to put forth his own views and the editors might formulate and publish their own views in a separate volume brought out by themselves. It must be independent of the edition, for the matters to be touched are of so controversial a nature that they must be left to the conclusion of each scholar. The omission of such an encyclopædia would also result in the lessening of expenditure and time.

Equally unnecessary is an exhaustive summary of the whole poem referred to on page 36. A summary like this is needed for a European edition and for European readers in England and Germany, but it can scarcely be said that it will be eminently useful in India. Of course, a Bibliography for the study of the Mahābhārata should be prepared, and would certainly be useful to students of the great epic.

If these suggestions are adopted there is no reason why the work of bringing out this splendid edition should not be completed earlier than is contemplated in the prospectus and at a less expense. Of course, the illustrations which the liberal patron, Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, promises to add must not be omitted. They will embellish the edition in a manner which cannot but be attractive and they, too, can be had from the Pant at any early time. It cannot, therefore, be seen why the printing of the edition should wait the preparation of the whole manuscript work of the edition as appears to be contemplated. The printing and publishing might commence as soon as the first two Parvas are ready. The introduction must, of course, precede, detailing what copy is taken as the principal copy and how many others are utilized in giving the different readings, and all such cognate matter. But when this is done, as no cogitation is to take place as to what reading is best and should be adopted as the authoritative reading, the work of preparation of manuscript for the press will easily and swiftly proceed, and two Parvas each time given to the public. Money

also will thus flow in for the purpose of the work much earlier than is expected. And the public will not have to wait long years to know what the Mahābhārata Text Society is doing. It is to be hoped that these suggestions will be found acceptable and that the splendid but stupendous task that is being undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute under the leadership of the aged veteran Indian Orientalist, Dr. Bhandarkar, will be finished much earlier than is intended, so that he may see it done within his own life-time and may have the happiness of adding one more laurel to his great reputation.

Art. XVIII.—Diaries of Sir William Erskine, First Secretary of the Society (1804–15).

I—JOURNEY TO ELLORA, 1820, AND (II)—JOURNEY IN GUJRAT, 1822-23.

These were written one hundred years ago and have been copied from the original manuscripts recently received from Sir William's descendants.

Where it was thought desirable foot-notes have been added in identification of certain names of places etc., with the help of the Gazetteer volumes and local survey maps. Some names have still remained unidentified and with regard to a few there is a doubt as to what they really represent. The latter are indicated in foot-notes by an interrogation.

THE EDITOR.

I.—JOURNEY TO ELLORA, [AND NASIK] 1820.

Wednesday, 7 *June* 1820.—Leave Bombay at 3 p.m. just after the arrival of the May Huntley and Dunira from England, which bring the news of the death of Mrs. Luke Ashburner on 3 January at Landaffen in Wales, and of little Mary Wiseman, my god-daughter, at Dundee. Pass Elephanta, not without melancholy reflections on the kindness of Mrs. Ashburner who passed there several days and nights, while employed in drawing the sculptures in the Grand Cave, in order to please me. I grieve to think that my letter of October cannot have reached her, and never having written her before since she went home, she must have thought me forgetful. Enter Panwell river: pass Belapur village and tower, and soon after the fishing town of Dewal, prettily situated like the others on the left as we go up. Farther up is Wanashi on the right. Reach Panwell at half past six. The landing place still very bad. Meet Capt. and Mrs. Thew at the Inn, and Lieut. Clarke. Dine and at eight go on to Chouk. Reach it at half-past twelve night.

Thursday, 8 *June*.—Proceed on to Campowly; reach it at five in the morning. Mount the Ghat the road over which is very much improved since I last passed it. Some of the views down the glens and vallies to the left as you mount are wonderfully fine. Pass Lon [1] on the side of a hill. Reach Carli [2] at nine in the morning. The valley very rich. I ascend the hill to pay another visit to the celebrated excavation. It is a very fine specimen of the Bouddhist Cave. It is an oblong excavation, like a Church, with a row of fifteen pillars

[1] Lona Vla (?)

[2] Karla.

running down each side at some distance from the wall; the farther end is circular having also a continuation of the pillars but not being visible on account of the Daghope they are less ornamented. The Daghope is a large dome, raised on a massy round base, all like the pillars hewn in the rock, it is surmounted by an inverted pyramid, cut as if step above step, only reversed, which supports a post that sustains an oblong wooden umbrella. The umbrella belongs to the charala [1] of the cave and therefore may be ancient; an idea supported by the fine arched roof, which is regularly ribbed at small distance by thin semicircular boards in high preservation. They seem of teak and were probably intended to support a *heaven* of cloth or other ornamental hangings. The pillars are octagonal, the base bulging like a water pot, and above the shaft having a capital resembling an inverted water pot of sixteen sides, supporting an inverted stepped pyramid on which is a platform, whereon two elephants each bearing a male and female figure form the outer top of the capital. Within this ornamented top between the pillars are figures representing on one a horse, on another a female figure, etc., but they are not easily distinguished from want of light. The arch rises on each side from these pillars but behind the pillars is a passage all round, as high as the capital. On the fifth pillar from the left as you enter is an ornamented hole in the shaft of the pillar, like a lotus: on the eighth on the right about the same height is the figure of a daghope, like the large one, surmounted by an umbrella, on the two sides on a pillar. The entrance must originally have been fine and grand. On the left stands a huge pillar or rather fourteen-sided obelisk, on the capital of which are three tygers. The other side may have had a similar ornament, but is now occupied by a recently built Hindu Temple; within the entrance was through a noble skreen, in which were original four doors. Only one of them is now entire. On passing the skreen is a court before the immediate entrance of the temple. It runs in to right and left, so as to present the front of the structure. On the right and left of the court are three elephants hewn in high relief from the rock, large as life, besides many figures of men and women, especially on the front of the Temple. The head-dress of the men is curiously plaited across. All round are numerous representations of doors or windows, like the grand entrance, having a peaked top, thus.

The cave as well within as without abound in Inscriptions in the Canara character. On the left without the large obelisk is a Tank also

[1] (?)

hewn out of the.[1] Some apartments were over it, and a huge fragment of the rock containing a daghope carved of a large size has fallen in. Before the entrance a modern Hindu Building must be passed through and on the right stands a Hindu temple, which are quite out of place and injure the unity of the effect.

In the hill about are numerous cells in which the priests and devotees lived in a monkish state, devoted to seclusion, meditation and prayer.

The bases of many of the pillars have been joined and the spaces behind made into dwellings for Bramins, mendicants, &c., by tattas and with mud, which tends to disfigure the place.

Pass Wurgaum famous for the Convention of the Bombay Army; change bearers at Tulligam infamous for the murder of the two Vaughans. The country people pointed out where the two trees had stood; the sepoys on coming up cut them down and rooted them up. Reach Poona at half past eight, and dine at the Commissioner's.

Friday, 9 *June* 1820.—Visit the field of Kirkee, which is reckoned a fine position, and go over the village and adjacent grounds before breakfast. After breakfast pay visits; and in the evening go to Parbati Hill on an Elephant with Mr. Elphinstone, Capt. Marriott and Mr. Dent. The number of trees planted since I was at Poona in 1808 and the clothed appearance of the country are particularly striking.

Saturday, 10 *June* 1820.—Went in the morning to Dapoori to Major Ford's, where we breakfasted. Afterwards proceeded to Chichoor,[2] where we saw the living God, an incarnation of Ganesh. It is a paltry exhibition. The God, a vulgar, uneducated looking lad of twenty-four is placed within a recess, in which near him sit some Bramins and he has a wooden skreen behind him for a promptor whose head sometimes appears. An immense crowd of people gathered, I suppose to see Mr. Elphinstone's brother. Returned to Dapoori where we *tiffed*: and afterwards saw the garden. Major Ford's dining room is a very fine one, richly fitted up—I imagine the finest in the Dekkan. His garden is finely laid out and is rich in plants. Get my letters from Europe after breakfast.

Sunday, 11 *June* 1820.—Heard Divine Service in the Commissioner's Dining Room. Mr. Robinson is a learned and sensible man. We afterwards visited the Juna-wadi,[3] Boudwar[4]

[1] Rock. [2] Chinchavad. [3] Juna Kot or Old Fort. [4] Budhawar.

and Shukrwari[1] palaces. Large building composed of courts surrounded by open galleries, some of which are large, but none elegant, and none exhibit taste. They are in the middle of the town close elbowed by houses on all sides.

Monday, 12 *June* 1820.—Tiff with Capt. Robertson at the Heera Bagh, where we also see Capt. and Mrs. Canning, the former the envoy to Siam, now proceeding to Aurungabad, as political agent. The Heera Bagh is the most agreeable of the palaces I have seen. It is near the foot of Parbati Hill, and has a tolerable lawn in front. The trees and gardens about it, though formal, are agreeable.

Tuesday, 13 *June* 1820.—Visit Doulat Rao Scindia's palace and Mhadowjee Scindia's Tomb. The former is on the usual plan, but small, and placed in a most dreary barren situation about two miles from Poona. Perhaps the military position directed the choice. Did not see Scindia's tomb having mistaken a pagoda begun but never finished close by for the tomb itself.

Leave the Commissioner's about eleven at night after a large party.

Wednesday, 14 *June*.—Reach Corygaum eighteen miles about four in the morning. Visit the scene of the action, where my poor young friend Wingate fell with glory, where Pattison distinguished himself by acts of the most heroic fortitude, and where the silly, stupid Staunton met with a distinction which he never did, perhaps from his infirmity of mind never could, deserve. We saw the spot where Wingate was killed and where he was buried. The town is large, but the walls are broken down in many parts, so that it may be considered as open. The horse under Swanston seem before the action to have occupied a large enclosure, but issued out to attack the enemy and were cut up. The Peshwa had two guns on the opposite side of the river. He encamped some way up on the right bank at a village called Wargoti. The inhabitants talked to us of *Pattin* as they called him with admiration. The country around they represent as covered with the Peshwa's troops. In speaking of the affair they talked of *our troops*, meaning the British Sepoys. The troops ought to have occupied the higher grounds, which would have rendered them nearly unassailable; but the officers were not probably acquainted with the position. At 9 a.m. go

[1] (?)

forward. Pass Ranjingaum, where the God of Chichoor's brother has a temple. Reach Seroor at 5 p.m. and are received by Major-General Lionel Smith.

Thursday, 15 *June*.—Ride up the Picket Hill, to the Burying ground, to the Horse Lines, Horse Artillery, and round the Cantonment with General Smith and Lieutenant Clark, before breakfast. Afterwards call on Major Hull, Miss Smyttan, Mrs. John Sandwith, Mrs. Hicks, &c. In the evening a grand dinner at the General's. About half past ten we set off from Seroor and pass and Kurus.

Friday, 16 *June*.—Pass Ranjingaum and about 10 a.m. reach Captain Pottinger's, the Collector of Ahmednugger. Mr. Elphinstone rather unwell.

Saturday, 17 *June*.—Take a walk round the Streets of the Town and without as far as the Kotileh, a very fine Caravansera and Mosque of Bara Imam. It is a large enclosure with arched ranges along the inside of the wall for Devotees and Travellers. The City has evidently contained numerous spacious and convenient houses. The larger edifices are generally in squares enclosed by high walls, entered by gates which shut out all observations. The servants and dependants must have lodged within. There are several elegant palaces, mosques and durgahs, finely carved in the Musulman style. The Pettah in which Mr. Pottinger's house stands is surrounded by a wall having towers from distance to distance. In the curtain between two of them near the entrance is a monument erected by Lady Hood to Captain Mackenzie her cousin who was slain in 1803 at the storm of the Pettah and to the other officers and men who fell. He had scaled the wall without breaching about the middle of the curtain and in going on to one of the towers, was shot with some others by Arabs from the neighbouring houses. After tiffin we visit the fort which is of an oval form, having high walls protected by towers from distance to distance. It has a wet ditch, and is reckoned strong against a native force. It is the grand *depôt* of the north of the Deckan, and has a fine arsenal capable of arming some thousand men, with a rich train of artillery. It is held at present by Major Staunton, the fortunate, rather than gallant hero of Corygaum. It stands rather more than half a mile from the Pettah. We next proceeded to the Farrah Bagh, about two miles S.E. of the Town. It is a noble building, in the midst of a broad, artificial piece of water, with a fine approach, and grounds about that bear the marks of having been highly adorned. These are extensive ; the lake is square and faced with wrought stone. The palace itself

consists of a dome within, with four grand arched porticos running in, clam-shell-wise, and between each two of these, other three less, but of a similar shape. Captain Marriott who walked through the water to the palace, reported the apartments to be very noble and spacious especially the central dome. The edifice is pierced in all directions so as to give passage to the air and the light. It resembles what is called a lantern house.

Sunday, 18 *June*.—Rode in the morning to visit the tomb on the spot where Aurungzeb died, and where his body is deposited. He is said to have been embowelled on a neighbouring hill, where is a small tomb, said to contain his bowels. His heart, it is said, was carried to Roza. Captain Pottinger however seemed uncertain about the accurate story. Probably the narrative in the second volume of Scott may throw light on the subject. The tomb near Ahmednugger (about two miles off) is handsome and in fair preservation. Go on to Salabat Khan's tomb. It is a noble edifice situated on the top of a high hill seven miles from Nugger. It is eighty-four feet high, a dome enclosed by a veranda resting on eight arches below, and as many above. The arches within between the external ones are formed into fine circular roofs at top, somewhat resembling a cup formed by Gothic arches. The stones are all finely cut and are of a prodigious size; many in the upper part eleven feet in length. It is a noble, massy building formed for eternity, but apparently left unfinished. The third story at the top of the dome, is incomplete, and exposed to the weather. The massy wall that supports the spacious terrace round the building is half covered with large flag stones and partly left uncovered, the stones lying below ready for cutting. Salabat Khan's tomb is in a vault below the edifice, into which we descended and saw his tomb and side by side another, said to be his concubine's. The story is that when about to drink poison he asked his wives if any of them would drink it with him; they refused, but one of his concubines offered, which made him give orders that she should share his tomb with him. There is a fine view of the country round from the top of this monument. We command both sides of the hills. The plain of Ahmednugger is very extensive and rich. The whole country round the town is studded with mosques and tombs, and remains of palaces which indicate that the wealth of the place was not only great, but widely diffused. The aqueducts which bring water from various parts in the hills, for seven and eight miles, are works highly honourable to the spirit and judgment of her kings. Orders have lately been given for clearing out some of them. They can be cleared and repaired by men entering up them. Almost every large house in

the town was supplied from them, and some had fountains that played before their gate or chief door from the force of the aqueduct, as is the case with Captain Pottinger's house. In returning from Salabat Khan's tomb I turned to the right to visit the Dumree Masjid, a small, but beautifully carved little Mosque, a quarter of a mile beyond the fort. Its story is that every workman employed at the fort allowed a dumree of his pay, daily or weekly, for its erection. It is the finest carving on stone I have yet seen in the Deckan. The plain is very bare; few trees, few houses; an air of desolation counteracted only by a few smiling groves, and by a very general appearance of plowed fields. In the country beyond Salabat Khan's tomb are some bare but smiling and well water vallies. Security and the persuasion of security are alone wanting, to make this a fine country. On my return am made happy by a letter from Maitland (14 June).

Monday, 19 *June* 1820.—Again go through the City, and round part of it. The environs towards the river very pleasing. After breakfast visit the hero of Corygaum and Lady Beemah in the Fort, and Capt. and Mrs. Canning whose tents have now arrived. She has stood the journey from Poona well. In the evening walk with Mr. Elphinstone and Capt. Marriott to see Capt. Mackenzie's tomb, and find another on the opposite side of the gate to some persons belonging to a Madras Corps. The Inscription much effaced. Mr. E. promises to renew the stone and inscription. Walk round to the large Kotileh. In the evening besides Capt. Pottinger, Miss Pottinger, Genl. Smith and his lady, Mr. E. and Capt. Marriott who have formed our party since being at Ahmednugger, we have at dinner Colonel Smith of the Madras Cavalry and his wife an agreeable French woman and Capt. Canning, his amusing wife not being able to come.

Tuesday, 20 *June* 1820.—Leave Ahmednugger at four in the morning and pass by Pipli to the Happy Valley at Dongergunj. The land is in general susceptible of cultivation and some of it cultivated. The plain is extensive and on each side at a distance is a range of hills which run North and South. The aspect of the country bare except about Pipli where there are a number of trees in the valley and round the town. Observe along the road the wells from distance to distance for clearing the grand aqueduct that supplies Ahmednugger with water. Part of it comes from Dongergurhee, twelve miles distant. The whole plain of Ahmednugger is a high table land, sustained by two ranges of mountains. The Happy Valley, which is not seen

till you come upon it, is a deep dell forming one of the descents from this Table Land to the expansive valley of the Gunga (Gungetteree) which spreads in immeasurable extent below, as seen from the peering cliffs close by the Happy Valley. The country is visible nearly as far as Aurungabad, seventy miles off. The valley itself is a beautiful dell with high closing banks on each side filled with various trees and a lovely brook rippling below. It descends three quarters of a mile, where opens into an amphitheatre of wider extent, but bare and rocky surrounded on three sides by lofty and precipitous hills, and on the fourth forming a precipice over which the brook dashes down. The entrance at top is exceedingly steep, and the descent is aided by steps, at the bottom of which is a deep edifice, said to be built by Nana Furnavese, but like a Hindu building, two lofty stories from the bottom, and on a level with the upper floor a Court between the bottom of the steps and the pleasure house, in which is a reservoir of water, a Temple to Shiva and a Resort of Byragees of [1] Gosawees. Below the pleasure house is a fine Jet-d'eau supplied with water from this reservoir. A heavy rain fell while we were there, an accident which afforded us a fine view of the water rushing from the top of the valley down a channel in the rocks and passing under the house. On the hill of Dongerpoor hard by is an extremely deep well, having apartments below. The water was to have been drawn by elephants for the supply of Ahmednugger. Capt. Pottinger, Mr. Henderson, an Assistant Surgeon and Mr. Rind from Junir dine with us there. Half past three we set out and descending the Southern Ghat reach Karoundi about half past eight; change bearers and about three reach Toka. Change bearers and ford the Gunga Godaveri; ford the Sew[2] River. Change bearers at . Pass by Turkabad to Aurungabad, which we reach half past eleven a.m. of the 21st.

Wednesday, 21 *June*.—Reach Aurungabad. The road from the Dongerpoor Ghat to this is a plain descending to the Godaveri and rising nearly to Aurungabad. At a small distance from that Town you descend again. It is a city built very much in the shape of an amphitheatre in a broad valley-pass into hills which are close upon it on two sides and approach on the third. The plain however goes on to the Eastward. Breakfast at Capt. Parker's. Call on Charles Daw and his wife, who live close by the tomb of Rabi al Dourani Aurungzeb's wife, a noble building on the plan of the Taj of Agra, and of which I shall not attempt a description. Ride round the City in the

1 or

2 Sina (?)

evening. Palmer, a natural son of Genl. Palmer's has destroyed Aurungzeb's palace to construct one for himself. The inhabitants a few years ago reduced to some hundred Capt. Parker estimates, perhaps overrates, at 50,000. The town is three miles long, ten and a quarter in circumference. Many palaces and mosques uninhabited, but many houses and shops still occupied.

Thursday, 22 *June* 1820.—Visit the Tomb of Mozaffer Shah, a magnificent pile of buildings kept in excellent order. The old Motewali [1] received us cheerfully. This is the only place in the Deckan that I have seen kept in thorough good clean repair. It is very elegant. There are two Tanks of fine water one of them built on arches and having a line of jets d'eau in it which throw up the water very beautifully and diffuse an agreeable freshness. The other is full of tame fish, carp I believe, which eat out of the hand, and crowd in surprising numbers tumbling over each other for the food. Pieces of cucumber or gourd were thrown among them, which they greedily devoured. The Mukbar [2] is richly endowed. Aurungzeb's Palace lies along the sloping Bank on the North side of the town. It covered a great extent of ground, in various courts, on a perfectly regular plan. The throne still stands in a massy edifice in the centre of the upper side, proudly overtopping and commanding the whole. A very lovely green park formerly part of the gardens still preserves a number of its trees. No city in the world is perhaps better supplied with water than Aurungabad. Every house of consequence has one handsome tank or more and generally with several fountains playing all day long. The remains of buildings of former times are numerous; the gateway and Nakarkhana of Malik Amber's palace, Nizam's Palace, the Grand Mosque at Aurungzeb's palace, many mosques, tombs and palaces of nobles. Jy Sing's palace was at the foot of the hill a mile or two to the North beyond the Grand Tomb, whence also we saw Bussi's Lines and two redoubts in a strong position close by the Tomb and Hills. In one of the Courts of the Tomb he caused to be assassinated the Nizam's Minister who had assassinated his Agent. Close by this noble edifice rests poor Eben Young, far from home and his beloved country in a humble but not unmarked grave. If there is a heaven for the virtuous his innocent soul is there.

Friday, 23 *June* 1820.—Answered Mrs. Erskine's letter and wrote Wedderburn with a letter from Hope Stuart, Dr. Stuart's brother. Yesterday Mr. Elphinstone had a visit from Govind Buksh the Raja, a brother of Chunelal, the Nizam's minister.

1. Mutawalli. 2 Maqbara.

He is a plain, and rather vulgar looking man. I hoped to have escaped and staid in my room, but he had notice of my being there, and I came out, had the honour of his embrace, and he spoke a great deal to me in Persian. This day we returned his visit and were received in Hindu state, which is very mean. A number of dirty attendants crowding behind our chairs were the only thing like an attempt at grandeur. In coming to us he had elephants, drums and a routing rabble who made a prodigious uproar and noise for his honour and glory. Called on Capt. Davis (Tyger Davis) whose house stands on high ground in the fresh breeze which blew briskly while we had none below. Aurungabad stands in the gut of the hills commanding the plain of the Godaveri on one side, and the Western range of country on the other. This accident, the abundance of water, and the vicinity of the impregnable fortress of Doulatabad may all have conduced to the choice of the situation. All the Europeans seem to enjoy excellent health and like the climate, which as far as we have seen is delightful and admits of more and more agreeable exercise in the open air than any I have yet seen in India. After dinner at ten at night we set off for Doulatabad, along the same plain we have been travelling on from the Godaveri along the base of the hills.

Saturday, 24 *June*.—Having an order from the Minister at Hyderabad, we begin ascending the far-famed hill of Doulatabad before day-rise. We had slept during the night on a piece of ground within the Pettah, close by the gate of the Fort. The Pettah which is very extensive lies on the side next the hills. Fort itself is a conical hill very steep, supposed to be 600 feet in height. It has three walls, wall within wall. The citadel comprizes the whole round of the hill, is scarped out of the solid rock in height from 300 to nearly as little as 200. The average is taken at 243 ; breadth of the ditch in the solid rock 45 feet, depth 40 to 42. Water in the dry season 9 feet by Capt. Parker's account. Another account apparently more correct makes the breadth of the ditch 80. It is supplied with water from a tank at three miles distant on the Table land. After passing the ditch where it is 60 or 70 feet broad, we enter a funnell cut in the solid rock 12 feet wide and about 8 feet high which forms a steep ascent by steps for about 300 yards, with only three openings for admitting the light. We passed it by torch-light. At one place is a small Hindu excavation with an Inscription in old Sanscrit characters on one of the pillars. The top was covered by a large iron plate, on which in case the hollow was gained was to be covered by burning charcoal and funel.[1] The *poker* as Fitzclarence calls

[1] fuel (?)

it appears to me rather a cross bar to keep down the plate in opposition to an upward pressure. The hole in the rock is too far off to act as a bellows and too high. There are tanks of water about the hill all in the rock. The ascent is very steep and painful. As we ascend is a Saint's tomb and higher up a handsome house or palace, evidently of Musulman architecture. Near the top is an excavated temple of Mahadeo evidently of the ancient Hindu Times. We all mounted to the very top of the hill where the flagstaff stands. Immediately below is a large gun mentioned by Tavernier. There is one lower down called the *Menda Top* from having on its end the figure of a ram. It is adorned with a Persian Inscription, which shows that it was made in Aurungzeb's time, and the maker's name. It is cracked and useless, as is that above. The hill is crowded by a variety of confused and useless buildings. The lower works says Capt. Parker are three ranges, stronger than any I have seen in India. There is a covered way, counter-scarp and deep ditch, two walls and large circular bastions to each range of works. The Bara Duree on the summit was erected by Shah Jehan of gray granite. On our return we ascended the lofty Minaret erected by Ahmad Shah Bahnee[1] on declaring himself independent of Delhi. It must be 170 or 180 feet high. We mounted to the summit. It gives a grand and extensive view of the country. The City of Doulatabad which was very extensive, has fallen into miserable decay like every other town we have seen in the Deckan, Poona excepted. The gardens in the suburbs, are still kept up, and a small village at a little distance in the plain is inhabited chiefly by the malis or gardeners who cultivate and tend them. There are fewer fine edifices here than at Aurungabad, or even Ahmednugger, Aurungabad having probably drawn away the nobility at an early period.

Sunday, 25 *June*.—Leave Doulatabad at dawn. Ascend the Ghaut towards Roza and have a fine view of the town and towering fort. Fitzclarence's view of it is good. The land from this to near Ellora is a beautiful table land buttressed by the surrounding hills. It spreads in a high, and pleasing situation extending several miles in all directions. Pass Kaghizwera, a small town famous for its manufacture of paper which is sent to Hyderabad, Nagpore, Poona, &c. It is made chiefly of old rope, and the different operations of washing, cleaning, sheeting, &c., occupy six months. It was Ramzan, but they made a sheet of paper to show us the method. The flat reticulations are of the stalks of hemp. Arrive at Roza. Visit the tomb of Boorhan-oo-deen

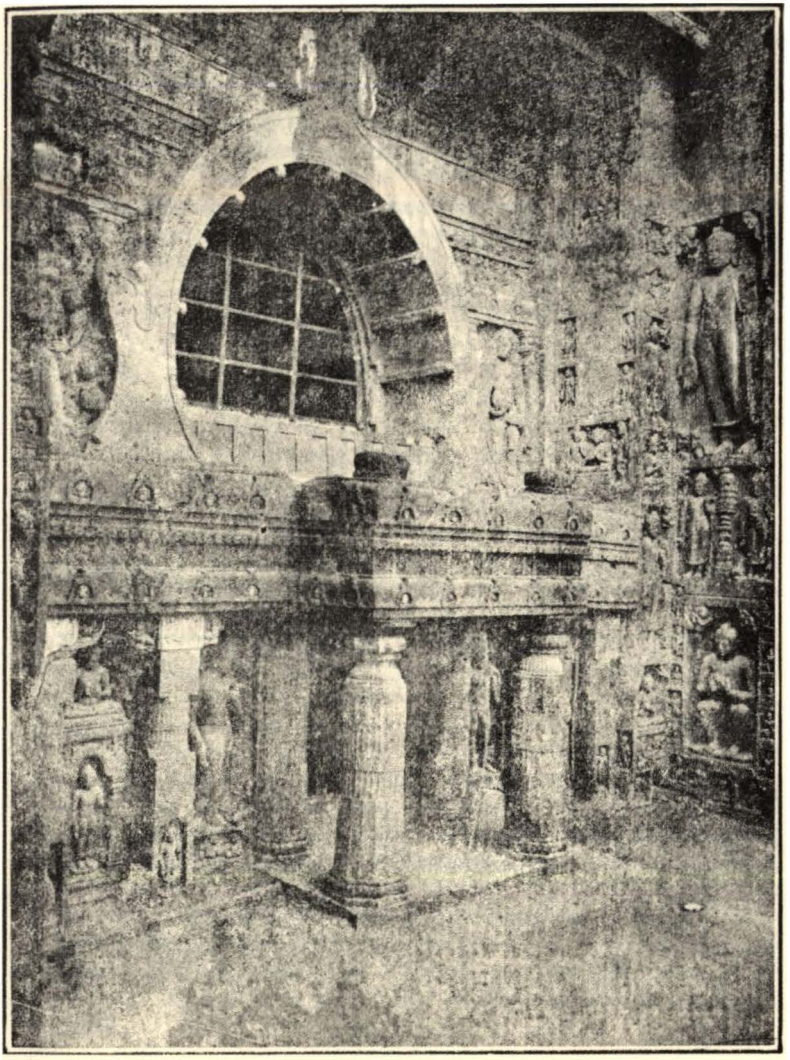
[1] Bahmani.

a saint who may be considered as the founder of the Town. He was the disciple of Nizam-ud-deen of Delhi. In the circuit of his holy ground is the tomb of the famous Asof Jeh, Nizam al-Mulk, and that of his son Nasir Jang who was killed by the Pathan chiefs. The place is in good repair. An inscription shews that the tomb was erected A.H. 744. On the other side of the street is the tomb of his disciple Zein-ud-din, within whose holy limits lies Aurungzeb in a plain unadorned tomb with no stone covering above—he desiring to be buried without expense or ceremony. His third son Muhammad Azim lies in the same court. There is a fine and extensive monument and garden to Banu Begum, the marble screen of which the Nizam has carried to Hyderabad and the whole is falling to decay. Without the town is the tomb of the illustrious Malik Amber, and one of Seedea Karima his wife, with another of Khoja his minister, in a very peculiar style of architecture. There is a tomb of a Nizam Shah also and the whole ground in the neighbourhood is covered with tombs of Saints, princes and illustrious or eminent men. The anecdote of Sheikh Zein-ud-din regarding his quarrel with the King shews his talent and art.

Monday, 26 *June* 1820.—Descend the Northern Ghaut of the Table land of Roza, to the level of the plain of the Godaveri, and begin the examination of the Ellora Caves.

Tuesday, 27 *June*.—Examine the rest of the Northern Caves. Mr. Elphinstone leaves us in the evening for Bombay.

Wednesday, 28 *June*.—Examine the Southern Caves. The Northern and Southern caves are certainly Buddhist. Those in the centre are all of Shiva. In some of these the mixture of Brahmin and Buddhist figures is curious; but the Shaivi predominates in them all over both the Vishnavi and Buddhist. In the Buddhist caves I saw only two puzzling figures both having four arms. The one between two sets of the Northern Caves, where an artificial passage had been formed. This figure is in a recess close on the passage. The other is in the Viswakarma, a Buddhist Cave to the South, and is on the left as you go up. Three figures are on the wall, one on each side of a Bouddh. The one in question is the farthest in. They may have been altered. The triad is often repeated, and two heads decidedly Shiva, both having his third eye. The third holding a mirror and pencil is female. Almost every groupe in Elephanta may be completed from these excavations. The same story is often repeated. Mr. Daw leaves us in the evening. Capt. Marriott and I set out to-morrow alone on our journey towards Nasik.



EXTERIOR OF CAVE NO. 19.

(*One of the most perfect specimens of Buddhist art in India. The cave was excavated about A. D.* 550.)

Thursday, 29 *June*.—Leave the Caves before daybreak. Half a mile from them pass Errool; which belongs to the English, but is to be exchanged. Two and a half coss pass Kussub Kaira which belongs to the Saint's tomb at Aurangabad. Pass Kaikoor and Manoore two small walled villages: Reach Laksoor belonging to the Nizam, but held by Mr. Elphinstone's Munshi of Byzapoor, four kos and a half or five kos from Kusub Kaira. At Errool is a fine square Tank descending to a point with steps all around and four pavilions. It was built by Ahilia Baee. There is an annual jatra or pilgrimage to it, where by bathing all sins are washed away. Mr. Elphinstone thought it resembled one at Ramnagur. There is also a singular obelisk looking Pagoda sacred to the Ling, with various carvings on the capitals of the pillars, some represent the stories of the Gods; in one is a hog hunt and a matchlock appears in the hands of one of the party. It was built by Ahilia Baee's mother-in-law. Hard by are several Hindoo Tombs of some of the Bhosla family and others, apparently of Musulman architects. Breakfast at Laksoor. At noon go on to Kerongaum, two kos; Dihagaum two kos; Sewra two and a half kos; Byzapoor three kos. Slept at Byzapoor, the most thriving place we have lately seen. It is part of the Jaghire of Mr. Elphinstone's Moonshi. His son waited on us.

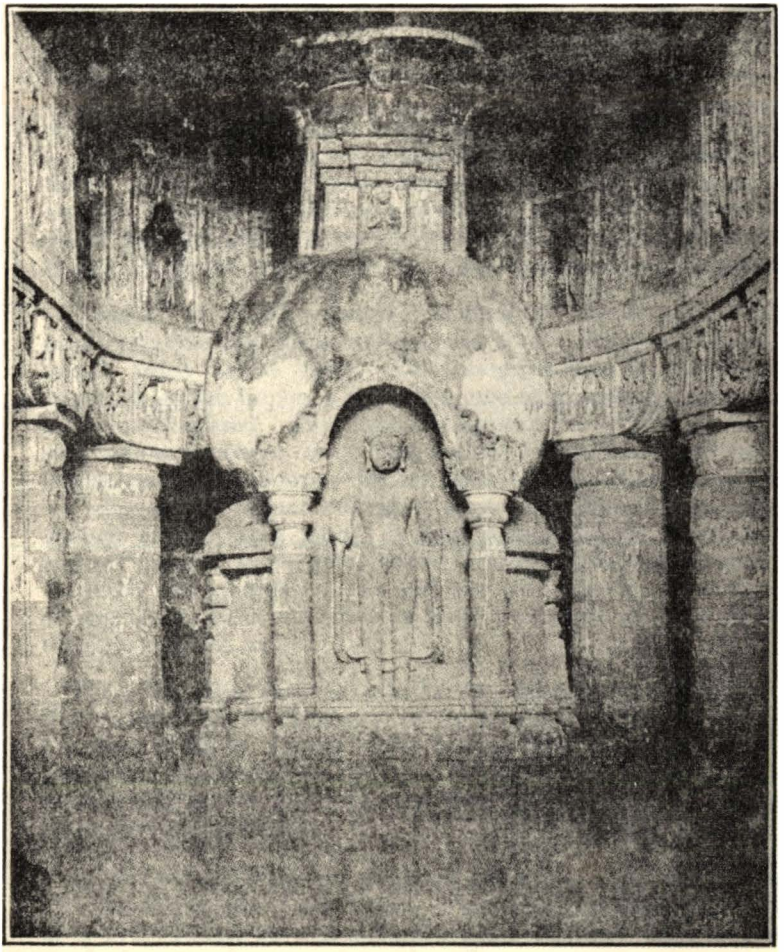
Friday, 30 *June*.—Leave Byzapoor. Two kos off Zuferpoor which Mr. Elphinstone's moonshee is building. His son was in waiting and pointed out his plan on the spot. The intended fort is in a situation that commands the country all around by a natural slope, without rising much above its level. The fort is to have nine large towers, besides two guarding the gateway, a broad wet ditch and other defences. The wall is very thick and as far as it goes substantially built of stone and lime. Go on to Undersool four and a half kos. This is the best looking town we have lately seen. It belongs to Sindia. The walls are well built of stone and in good order. A pretty stream runs by it. There is an air of comfort about the place and the inhabitants. Go on to Aiola off three kos. This is a large village where the English Government again appears.

The country we have passed through since leaving Ellora is an extensive plain on all sides; around the villages is a partial cultivation, at Erool and Kusub Kaira are vines—but there is a wide extent of land uncultivated and all the villages have more houses in ruins than inhabited. This devastation is always dated from the invasion of Sindia and Holkar, I believe,

about 1802 and the famine of 1803-4. Many villages appear in ruins without an inhabitant. The ground in general is capable of cultivation. There are occasionally streams of pure water and beautiful herds of deer and antelopes appear bounding across our path. The roads are mere footpaths made by the feet in passing. No wheel carriage seen till we reach Byzapoor and Undersool at both of which large carts supporting baskets filled with dung are observed, at the former place drawn by four good oxen. The inhabitants have not the air of being oppressed, but in general there is little appearance of industry. The cultivation however seems good and clean, as far as it goes. During this last day's march the hills of Kandesh form a beautiful scene at a distance towards the North. Most of yesterday there was only a sea-like plain in a circle around, the remote verge being sometimes foggy. Shrubs and small trees generally baubel[1] spread all about. Some wells for irrigation appear in the last day's march, and a few partial garden crops. The country is improving; there are more trees, and the villages become thicker, and nearer each other. We have been fortunate not having hitherto had any heavy rain, except one hour at Dongergunj where we were under shelter. The climate is delightful and exhilarating.

Saturday, 1 *July* 1820.—Leave Aiola or more properly Yula at half past three a.m. and at nine reach Lahsangaum or Lasselgaum a well walled town enclosing a stout well-built castle in which is a Haveli or Palace of respectable appearance. (I since find that Holkar was Patel of the village, which was the original family residence and much cherished.) This is the best building of the kind seen since we left Aurungabad. The country around in this day's march began to have rising grounds to the left, with the high Kandesh hills on the right. Around Lahsangaum the country waves beautifully, is well wooded and well watered. It is a pleasing looking place and was a district of Holkar's. We have not seen so many trees so well disposed, many of them in pleasing avenues, since coming to the Deckan. The stages were Jangaum three kos, Lahsangaum or Lasselgaum seven kos. Walk round the grounds about Lahsangaum which are rich, well cultivated and pleasing. Lodge in a palace within the Inner Fort. The grounds from Ellora have hitherto in general been of a light soil, with hard gravelly roads a little below the surface. Here the black soil, which was sometimes seen before, becomes more frequent.

[1] Babhul.



INTERIOR OF CAVE NO. 19.

Sunday, 2 *July* 1820.—Leave Lasselgaum or Lahsangaum about four a.m. Pass Kutimpur, Kolwari, Nipar a beautiful well wooded village formerly Holkar's; the Kadwa a broad stream runs past it. Our Hammals forded it, mid-thigh high. Reach Sookhna seven or eight kos. The village is Holkar's and is well surrounded with trees. The river Bhangunga[1] flows past it. In the evening took a walk round the village grounds which are divided into large square enclosures formed by milk-bush, prickly pear and thorn, and having at distances broad avenues of fine trees intersecting them. Large herds of cattle returning at night from the fields without through the different avenues. The fields well cultivated and the people apparently comfortable. Capt. Marriott thinks Undersool superior to it. This strikes me as the better.

Monday, 3 *July.*—Leave Sookana at three a.m., and pass Pipri five and Ardgaum[2] six and a half. Proceed to Nasik, which reach before eight. Each stage said to be three kos. It stands on the Gunga, a fine river, mid-thigh deep. The town large but confused. Free from the appearance of ruin we have met with everywhere else. The Peshwa's two Palaces are both in the heart of the town. Mr. Wilkins in one. That in which we lodge not so dismal looking as most other Mahratta palaces, though on the same plan. It admits more light. There are a good many considerable looking houses. The hills towards Kandesh rise in high conical and fantastic shapes. The town stands nearly in a semicircle of hills, which are at some miles distance to N.W. and E.

The population Wilkins calls 15,000, whereof 8,000 Bramins. The place is full of Temples, many of them on the banks of the Sacred River, among which is one built by Ahilia Baee, which has been struck by lightning. The best is that of Ramjee Shet, which towers above the rest in a pyramidal shape rising like a decreasing obelisk.

In the evening visit the caves of Dharmraj-Lena, about five miles to the South of the Town. They run in a small segment of a circle round part of a high conical hill, and may be 100 yards from its base or upwards. The ascent is rather steep and fatiguing. The principal caves are as follows:—

1. A small cave, the most eastern, supported by two pillars and two pilasters in front nine paces deep, seven broad; has a well in the rock by it but nothing remarkable.

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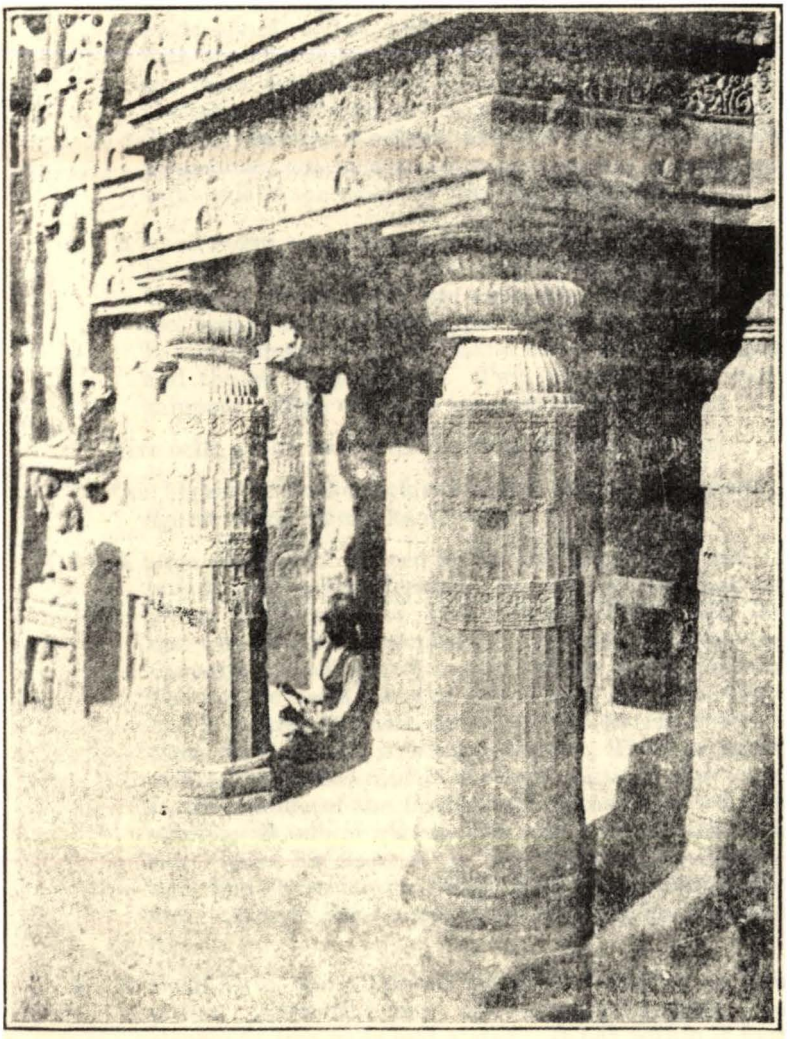
[1] Banganga. [2] Adgaum.

2. A finer cave twenty-one paces deep, fourteen wide, with a bench cut in the rock running all round it. In front it has six pillars at the entrance of a Veranda. The main Cave enters from the Veranda or Portico by two doors. At the farther end of the Hall is a recess, the Veranda before which is supported by two pillars and two pilasters. The Door of the Sanctuary itself is guarded on each side by a gigantic male figure holding a lotus with the stalk reaching to the ground. Beside one of them is a small woman and by the other a boy. In the Sanctuary a huge Boodh fronts us, I think sitting on a bench. The little finger of his left hand is held between the forefinger and thumb of his right. On one half of the large hall are *ten* cells entering from it by small doors, and on the other *eight*; besides two in the Inner Veranda. In the Hall, immediately in front of the Boodh, is a square platform lift raised a little above the level of the rest of the floor; and in other parts of the floor four small circles, some raised some depressed, with holes in their centre as if to fix a staff.

Descending some steps hewn in the rock we come to—

3. A vaulted temple, I think fifteen paces long and six broad, having a range of pillars running round it at a small distance from the wall and supporting the vault above. The pillars are seventeen in number, plain and octagonal; one of them immediately behind the Daghope, which rises at the farther end of the Temple, to a considerable height, bearing the usual inverted pyramid. On several of the pillars are Inscriptions in large letters running from bottom to top up their sides. Without is a carved Entrance, the doorway ribbed like that of Carli, which the inside vault is not, though it appears to have holes cut at the rise of the arch, by which the frame work or anything similar could be fixed. Above the Entrance among other sculptures four Daghopes are carved, two on each side, and copra capillas. This resembles the vaulted temples at Ellora, Carli and Castara, but is much less, and less highly finished. All the caves except this are flat-roofed.

4. The next considerable Cave is fifteen paces long and eight broad. In front is a Portico supported by four highly carved pillars, surmounted by two elephants each, with drivers and others riding on them. The recess facing



DETAIL CARVING ON CAVE NO. 19.

the front is supported by two pillars and two pilasters. In the Sanctuary is only an unfinished or broken rough part of the rock : but where the steps should ascend, are a small ling and Shalonka hewn in the rock, but evidently of modern fabric, and altogether at variance with the character of the rest of the Cave. Around the three sides of the Cave runs a bench or narrow platform. There are six cells in the sides of the Cave. The only carving is a figure like that of the usual Boodh attendants, cut in a small pannel on the wall on the right side of the recess as you look towards it.

5. A small recess containing a Boodh on the lotus seat, with his feet on the ground, and on the left another also on the lotus seat with his legs under him, the soles of the feet turned up. A worshipper in the Bouddh posture, having a finger of the left hand between the forefinger and thumb of the right. Two serpent-shaded worshippers. High above an inaccessible exacavation.

6. Five cells in the rock with Bouddh Benches or Beds.

7. One higher up in the rock containing carvings of Bouddh figures riding on elephants, tygers, &c.

8. A large excavation sixteen and a half paces deep and as broad, besides the Veranda, &c. The Portico has six pillars richly wrought ; two of them tyger-headed, the rest surmounted by elephants. A squat figure having the serpent head guards one side of the outer entrance. The portico has a benched cell at each end. The large hall is entered by three doors, the two screens between them having each a window above. There is much writing below the roof in the usual antique character. In the middle of the farther end of the large cell is a standing Boodh of giganic size, and a woman on each side. Over his head is the inverted graduated pyramid, and three flowers rising from their stalks shade him. Around the Cave are sixteen cells opening into it.

9. A small Cave, the portico of which is supported on two pillars. Above the entry are sculptured a tyger, two elephants, two bulls and a stag. It has within it four cells.

10. A number of small cells succeed. In one of them much broken is an Inscription in the usual ancient character.

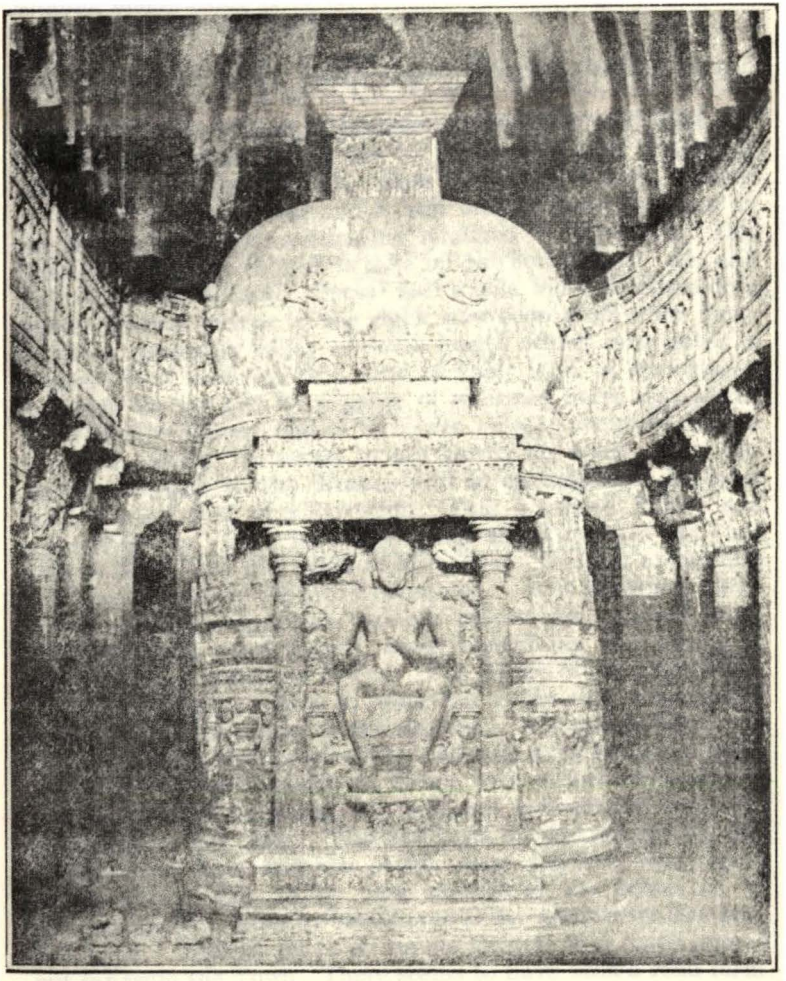
11. A large Cave fifteen and a half paces long, fourteen broad exclusive of the Portico which rises on six pillars surmounted by elephants, bulls, tygers, a lion, and an odd quadruped figure with a bird-like beak. The grand entrance is adorned by a border of small panneled sculptures generally a male and female in amorous postures. In some the man seems to lift up the female and in one to lay her on his lap by force. Above is a Daghope. In the farther end of the great room in the middle is a large daghope surmounted by thick square looking umbrellas. A stone bench runs all round the room. Ten cells enter the Hall on one side of the Daghope and eight on the other. This, with the others having a similar bench, was probably the teaching or lecturing room.

12. A small cave having three Boodhs sitting on benches with their feet down, and other figures.

13. A large broken excavation.

Many smaller cells have been omitted to be mentioned. Of the character of these caves there can be no doubt. They are all decidedly Boodhist. They have the vaulted Temple, the daghope, the teaching rooms, the cells. Not an unnatural figure appears in them.

Tuesday, 4 *July*.—Set out about six in the morning to visit the Chamarlena Cave. A heavy rain comes on. As we ascend the guides lose their way. Are enveloped with thick clouds and rain so that we can neither see the country below, nor the hill about us. The ground on which we are slippery and uncertain, and steep precipices below. Are forced to wait in the rain, being unable to move with safety in any direction. A man descends aided by the cry of some cowherds below to recover the path. We resolve to attempt a descent by a more remote road when the clearing of the rain a little, enabled us to see a promontory or *nose* on the side of the hill. Succeed, and by rounding the hill rejoin our horses, but the darkness caused by the rain prevents us from again attempting *ourselves* to find out the Cave. Return home and find the Gunga already much swollen by the rain. In the evening go out to a high bank of the river, whence we have a view of the Town on both sides of the river sloping to its margin, spires, temples and palaces, the river nobly rolling along in its winding banks, enriching verdant fields, rich cultivation and



INTERIOR OF CAVE NO. 26.

extensive woods of deep green leaves, farther off the peculiar conical hills in the neighbourhood of the town round about and in the background the distant hills of Kandesh, &c. The winding magnificent river is the feature which gives expression and grandeur to the whole.

Wednesday, 5 *July*. 1820.—Capt. Marriott having in the course of the night set off on horseback to visit Trimbuk and the sources of the Godaveri, a journey in which I wish that my horsemanship would allow me to accompany him, I set out about five a.m. from Nasik. Pass Devlalee five miles, Cheree on the Dharna river one and a half miles. Cross the river in the boat yesterday's rain having rendered it unfordable. Our horsemen, &c. are obliged to take off the horses' gear, &c. and swim them across bare. Pursa[1] half a mile, Sinda or Sindee two miles. Pass a village to the right, and soon after come down upon an agreeable valley of some length which terminates in a ghaut that leads up to a kind of Table land, as we advance in which we are met by a party of reformed horse who escort us to Sinr or Sinder[2] said to be eleven miles to complete the ten kos from Nasik. It seems to me hardly so much. Sinr formerly belonged to the Nizam, and is encompassed by trees with a good deal of cultivation. Pass a ruined Palace and some Pagodas. Just before entering the Town are two[3] one said to be of Devi, the other of Mahadeo. This last apparently the most curious of the two I examined . It is small but handsome, having an approach through pillars richly carved along the shaft with small figures, much resembling the edging of some of the doorways at Ellora. The Palace of the Deshmookh in which we lodge is now in ruins, but is the most magnificent of the kind I have seen in the Deckan. It is said to have had fourteen courts all surrounded by rich and lofty buildings many of which are yet standing in decay with numerous reservoirs and tanks and fountains. It appears ridiculously large for any purpose but show. The buildings around are all two and three stories high and the courts more spacious than usual. As we entered the valley just mentioned, we began to be enclosed on both sides by the Ghaut Hills. Our course has been S.S. by E. Walked out to see an old Temple on a rising ground not far from the Town. There seems to have been a road formed and enclosed all the way from the City gate to it. A large tank is close by it, which the banks and a breach in one side shew to have been formerly much larger. The Temple is enclosed by a square wall of hewn stone, and around it are five

[1] Pulse. [2] . [3] (?) temples.

or six chapels, all built of hewn stone and richly carved. The Temple rises like a pyramid or rather an obelisk and is highly finished. It is dedicated to Mahadeo as the Ling within and Nundee before the door shew. It is said to be 500 years old, and I could believe it, as it is very unlike those more recently built. It in many respects reminds me of some of the Excavations at Ellora, especially from a sort of approximation in many respects to the Boodh ornaments. There are several Boodh looking figures variously seated on the lotus seat : and in many instances an umbrella is held over the head of the chief figure. In one it is held over a three headed figure apparently Parbati. We mark also the two elephants lifting up water-pots over the head of Parbati ; the ringed pillars, common in, but not peculiar to, Boodh Temples and other approximations. The Temple however is clearly Braminical. We have Parvati killing the Mheisasur, [1] various many armed sculptures too much broken to be distinguished, the varavatar or long boar-head, I know not whether of Vishnu or Mahadeo, but should prefer the latter if he ever assumed that form ; the skeleton figure ; several monkey faced figures, some of them with long beards. But these are all subordinate and ornamental. The place is extremely bare of leading figures. I did not discover either of Shiv's sons, Ganesh or Kartik. Some of the small ornamental compartments contain amorous sculptures. The temple is curious and would be worth studying, as being perhaps one of the oldest in the Deckan, and containing less mythology than usage now lavishes, and infinitely more elegant.

Thursday, 6 *June*.[2]—Leave Sanr at five a.m. and pass through very rich fields of level land. The table land extends towards the hills on the right : on the left it is at first supported by some hills but as we advance seems to extend away and probably slopes down towards the Ahmednugger steppe. Soon after we fairly enter the hill country and pass through a variety of broken but beautiful grounds, with hills on each side and occasional pleasing valleys, but as we advance the ground becomes more broken and bushy or jungly, with deep ravines. About eight miles off pass Dapoor, and eight or nine miles further the hill fort of Songur, which is very steep and near the top has a perpendicular natural scarp from the solid rock of considerable height. Some buildings at top I should consider it impregnable except to artillery from a hill not far off which seems to command it. Reach Deothana a mile or two farther. Said to be twenty miles in all.

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1 Mahishasura. 2 July.

The strata in the Deckan seem chiefly to run in horizontal lines. Those at Dongergunj for example correspond to those near Doulatabad. In to-day's journey the strata of the different hills, many of them conical and others running in horizontal lines on the top, seemed to have been part of one line. Strata of rock occur below from time to time, and the breaking of this crust of rock, above, might by a theorist be supposed to have given admission to the rain and waters to wash down the softer strata beneath, and to scoop out the vallies, glens, ravines and plains. The height of the hills and the bareness of their sides expose the different strata to the view of the discerning mineralogist. The same remark applies to all the hills I have seen since coming to Dongergunj.

Capt. Marriott joined me yesterday at Sanr having been at Trimbuk with which he was much delighted. The hill is very high and the fort very strong from being inaccessible. The top of the hill the Bramins said, has never been ascended. Marriott tried to scale it, but the rain pouring in torrents from above down the steep rock, he was compelled to descend, which with difficulty he effected. The source of the Gunga is in a small fountain that bubbles from a well and trickles down the rock. Another river, the Buturna (Viturna) rises from the same hill and falls down towards the Kokan. This therefore must be the top of the ridge of these Ghauts. A fine tank has been constructed below by a Vakeel of Holkar's which receives the infant stream. The night poured with rain and the morning exhibited cascades in their glory pouring over the steep rocks that face the hill. The clouds, however, though glorious to the rising sun, hid much of the surrounding landscape.

Behind Deothana on the West is a pleasing deep valley worn into various shapes by the river that traverses it. The soil about is sandy and deep, as it has been for some miles past, by which the neighbouring ground has been worn into numerous ugly looking ravines. Resolve to go on to Akola, four kos farther, this evening.

Reach Akola, having crossed the Preoora[1] or Peera, on which it stands. Akola is finely situated by a noble river the centre of a circle of lofty hills which encompass it, at the distance of some miles on all sides. It is in decay, not having now above 300 houses. It, as well as the country on to Sinr, belonged to the Nizam at no distant time. The tract is rich and must have been well cultivated near the towns and on the plains. There is much cultivation and good ground round Akola. The

1 Pravara.

Peshwa came close to it in the late war ascending a Pass to the E. of the Warassa pass. Genl. Smith in pursuit encamped about four kos off, but could not overtake him. I believe it was in his return from Akola that he fell in with Staunton's detachment at Corygaum. The Preoora or Peera is joined lower down by the Moola which we cross in to-morrow's march, and their joint streams after traversing the Gungetteeree, fall into the Gunga near Toka. The hills around are lofty and steep. We have a good deal of rain to-day, but have been most fortunate thus far and should not complain. Theogam [1] is a kos down the Sinar [2] lying partly on both banks, but has no boat. Marriott in trying to swim his horse across the river at Akola, as he had done to the Dharna above Cheeree [3] twice, is carried down the stream after reaching its middle by the rapid current, and forced to return back.

I forgot to mention at Sinr that the chief produce of the fine fields around are rice, turmeric and sugar cane.

Friday, 7 *July* 1820.—Set off from Akola. Pass over some plain ground, and then ascend the Warassa Ghaut which is high, broken and stoney. The ground about is uncommonly grand and fine. Noble cascades, fine waterfalls dropping from ledge to ledge, and retiring vallies among the recesses of the hills. Descend on the other side passing Lingdeo, a beautiful village on the left at the foot of the Sioddhoor Ghat, so called from a temple or image of that God. Pass the Moola at Wagapoor. It is much swelled but we cross it in a boat. The current extremely strong. Proceed on to Brahmanwara. Lodge in an old warra at the top of the town. Wagapoor six kos, Brahmanwarra four more.

Saturday, 8 *July* 1820.—Leave Brahmanwarra. Go over a bad road in the rain to Wuttoor where we cross the Koosmawuntee R. the Palkee borne on the Hammals' shoulders. Cross the Adnuddee in the same way at Oudapoor, and the Kookree at Juner. The rain has been incessant. The rivers and ravines all swollen. We shall be forced to desist from attempting the Juden[4] or Nana Ghaut.

Sunday, 9 *July* 1820.—In the morning visit the Caves in a Hill S. of Juner, at the distance of a mile and a half. The hill abounds in excavations, most of them however mere cells generally with a bench at the farther end, or on one side. There are two sets however of rather more importance. The first

1 Thoogaum. 2 Sina. 3 Chehedi 4 (?)

to which we ascended has a Temple of the arched kind. On the left as we enter in a recess is a Daghope of considerable size having an umbrella cut in the stone over it. The Temple is entered from a Portico which rises on four octagonal pillars with spherical capitals. The entrance within is from a rectangular door, having an arched window over it, or rather perhaps is arched but divided above by a cross beam. The outer pillars and the arched window are covered with Inscriptions, but from the nature of the stone, very indistinct. The whole is less than those of the kind generally are, is arched, but has no aile and no pillars. It has a large daghope at the farther end. Much of the rock wall has fallen in, and the whole has an unfinished air.

Immediately North are four cells entering from the same portico. One of the outer walls has a very entire Inscription. Still farther North is another Cave supported on several pillars but nearly filled up with mud, as indeed are all on this range.

There are a number of cells to the South on the same range and more distant which have nothing remarkable.

In an upper story, above these caves are a range of small Caves, in which are several figures all mutilated. The chief figures are Boodhs sitting on their hams, and have umbrellas or other ornamental canopies over their heads. One has a Boodh over his head.

Some hundred yards N. along the hill is the other set of large caves.

There is here also a Cave of the arched kind with the usual large daghope at the farther end. It is however evidently unfinished. The usual form of these Caves is to have a line of pillars running all round them and the daghope with an aile between them and the wall. Here three octagonal pillars on the right have been hewn out, and the passage next the wall beyond them. But it has been carried no farther. Two of the corresponding pillars on the other side have been begun upon, but there has only been a hewing out of the flat surface, and the work has been stopped not only before the pillars were extricated from the rock, but before it has been brought down to the floor, leaving the work in a rough state like a natural hole. There is no cover to this Daghope, which is hemispherical above. I suspect some of the inverted pyramids and umbrellas were artificial and fixed on after being carved, as I observed to be the case in some ornamental parts of the work

at Kailas at Ellora. The outer doorway, though also unfinished, is highly carved. Encircling the arch of the doorway above are seven figures, five females and two elephants. The latter having lotus below them and smelling to lotuses. The former also holding the lotus stalk. To the right of them is a tree with long heavy fruit, as at Ellora, but more bushy. The figure corresponding to this on the left has not been hewn out. Above are two figures and on right and left of them a daghope. The door is ribbed with stone in the bend of the Arch, and surmounted by the Carli representations of ribbed windows.

South of them are many cells, but not worthy of particular notice. One set of them I remarked surmounted by eight rather large, well carved daghopes.

These caves are the least elegant and least perfect I have seen.

We set out to see a set on another hill, said to be more perfect; but were prevented reaching them by the rising of the Kookree.[1] Capt. Rind whom we met here with Capt. Gordon of the Bombay Infantry informs me that it has an arched Cave of good workmanship and also a large cave without Pillars and with many cells cut to it like that at the Dehrehwara[2] at Ellora. This I suppose was the School or Lecture room, as the arched Cave was the Temple. No Hindoo figure, no many headed or many handed monster appears in them. They are more elegant than those we saw.

The number of cells we observe in the hills about is very great, especially all about the scarp of the Hill fort of Juner.

Pass a Musulman Tomb, the top of which instead of being hemispherical, has the sphere cut to a point in the four equal sides.

Breakfast with Capt. Gordon in the Fort, the ascent to which fatigues me much, having been already wet and fagged in climbing along the slippery rocks at the Boodh Caves. The fort is of large compass rising high above the plain in a truncated cone, the top defended by works and the scarp below of solid rock perpendicular to a great height. We gain entrance by winding round the lower hill, and then ascending steps cut in the rock. Capt. Gordon has been for some time employed in demolishing the hill forts in the country. The view from the

[1] Kukdi. [2] Dhedavada.

top of the fort is grand. Hills raising their high but diminished heads all around, rich and highly cultivated plains spread out at our feet washed by the Kookree and Meena Rivers, now noble sweeping streams that wind and wander in their course; besides many torrents swollen to the size of rivers; a lovely verdure on many of the hills, and the clouds and rain sweeping in among and down below the mountains, veiling them in part with their thick watery robe. It is only by glances that we can command the prospects but it is glorious when it opens. The rain continues to pour down and all hope of passing down the Nana Ghat by Juden must be given up. I wish Maitland were with me to enjoy in this dry mansion the storm and beauty below.

Sleep at Capt. Rind's below in Juner.

Monday, 10 *July* 1820.—Leave Juner at three. Pass the Meena on gourds and earthen pots supporting a cot at three kos. Go on to Kullum three kos more. In all six kos and pass the night.

Tuesday, 11 *July*.—Leave Kullum, pass the Gor in a boat, pass Munchergaum a large place. Reach Chasgaum six kos. The road this day among hills and over ghats, none of them high. The road various—in some places it is pretty.

Wednesday, 12 *July*.—Leave Chasgaum a village lying on the Bheema. Pass the Bheema near Kaman a village a little above Chasgaum, on raft of gourds, earthen pots, &c. The raft is often overset and some of our horsemen, &c., lose their matchlocks, clothes, &c. A Mukadam of Hammals nearly drowned. After passing the Bheema we go on by Karus.[1] Leave Kiula on the left. Go on by Koorkoonda and Askna to Omra. A large village much decayed. The road in many places beautiful vallies, &c. Besides the Bheema in this day's journey we cross the Bam[2] a deep rapid dangerous stream. The raft was much under water, as we crossed.

Thursday, 13 *July*.—Leave Omra after breakfast. Proceed, first by a pleasing country over a rising ground and next by through a deep soil intersected by clayey runnels to the Indrawani, which we cross above Indur two kos. Indur and Tullegaum belong to Davabare[3], who is now gone to Hindustan to marry a daughter of Sindia's. The villages were a gift of Sindia's to the family. It has a fort. We cross the river in a wooden frame, covered by hides like, I imagine, the ships

[1] Kadus. [2] Bhama. [3] Dabhade.

of the ancient Britons. They call it Tokra. Not far off on the opposite side is Tullegaum which we leave on the left, proceeding to Wargaum, two kos. Tiff there, and proceed through horrible mires and marshes towards Nirala, near the Western Hills that stand on the E. bank of the Indrawani; go a mile or two up the banks and cross it. Rejoin the high road. Pass Taka on the right, and at night reach Carli six koss. Miserable roads.

Friday, 14 *June*[1].—Leave Carli. The first part of the road deep muddy and wet. The latter as we begin to ascend to the top of the ghaut winds beautifully through mountain dells and along streams swollen by the rains, and that wind amid the finest banks of green. Much wood, bare cliffs, steep ascents, water falls tumbling over cliffs or forcing their way through the impediment of bushes, trees and obstructing rocks. The variety of trees is beautiful and striking. Reach Candali[2].

Saturday, 15 *June*[3].—But the ascent to the East is mean compared to the grandeur of the Eastern Ghat at this season. We are first struck with an immense chasm, which yawns close upon Candali, to a fearful depth, with precipitous bushy banks and on the opposite side a face of solid rocks into which trees and bushes have wrought their roots and partly cover its surface; here and there a noble cascade now throws itself over the precipice, and now creeps from cliff to cliff, in foamy grandeur, embracing the rock. The rush of the stream below is heard but its waters are hardly seen and the large trees towards the bottom appear diminished in dignity, but with something awful from their remote dangerous situation into which they are thrown. The ghauts below are a succession of scenes of superlative beauty; woods, dells, waterfalls, high bushy hills where creepers of every kind mount up to and enrich the highest trees with their rich and fair fantastic drapery. The hills are cleft in deep and dismal rents generally enriched with all the grandeur and wealth of an eastern vegetation. The noble amphitheatres of green and the luxuriant grandeur and impenetrable thickness of the interlacing branches of trees and shrubs present the idea of the primeval world. No habitation of men, no trace of art, no attempt to mend simple nature. The mind runs cheerfully into meditation, and every sublime and elevating sentiment finds a source and echo in the scene. As we descend there are some noble glimpses of the plain country below, now intersected by silver streams and studded by little lakes of a day. Reach Capowly.

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[1] July. [2] Khandala. [3] July.

II.—JOURNEY IN GUJRAT, 1822-23.

November 25, 1822.—Left Bombay half past 3 p.m. with Captain Black in a bunder-boat—are off Tanna where the 8 o'clock gun fires—proceed through the fine narrows to Gora Bunder,[1] Dharavi and Bassein by moonlight. Reach our Botilla off Bassein on the morning of 26th about 4.

26*th*.—Are off Anar (Onore) at sunrise, make little way.

27*th*, *Wednesday*.—Are off Tarapur.

28*th*, *Thursday*.—Off Daman at sun-set.

29*th*, *Friday*.—At day break off Surat-bar. At ten get into the bunder-boat and ascend by the Kharee next Vaux's Tomb. Pass Domus[2] Mugdola, Omra—the French Bunder, the Dutch Bunder, and reach the Castle at 4 p.m.

30*th*, *Saturday*.—Call on Mr. Romer, Chief, Mr. Lumsden, Collector, Mr. Ironside 2nd Judge of Sudur Udalut and Mr. Vibart. Dine with Dr. Panton. Surat is a city rapidly hastening to decay of which it bears every mark. The late inundations have left sad traces of ruin over all the place, many houses fallen down, many tottering to their fall, many seriously injured. The lower part of some of the large houses of the English gentlemen have imbibed so much moisture, as to feel damp, cold and uncomfortable below. I even fancied them not very dry above—huge masses of building thrown down from the French and Dutch factories bestrew the banks of the river, which in many places has (have) been eaten away and undermined. Many instances of decay, none of renovation or prosperity.

1*st December*, *Sunday*.—Visit the S. W. parts of the Town, the Ilahi Bagh, the English Burying Ground in which are several expensive tombs built on the Musulman plan, the French burying ground the tombs much gone to decay. The streets are better, having richer shops and more respectable houses than in the lower part of the town. Still, however, decay is everywhere apparent. This day the Botilla arrives with our horses, &c. Romer, Lumsden, Captain Long and Dr. Panton dine at Ogilvy.

2*nd December*, *Monday*. I believe doubts have been entertained if the younger Thevenot was ever in India. If he was not he must have possessed good routes and memoirs. His route to Ahmedabad, Vol. V., p. 17, etc., being coincident with

1 Ghodbandar. 2 Dumas.

that I am about to take. I have examined by Reynolds and Williams's map and it is perfectly accurate, Surat, Beriao (Veriao), Kim (Chokee), Oklassir[1], the Nerdaba (Nerbada), Baroch Again Baroch, Sourban (Surbhon) the Dader, Debea-Petnad (Petlad), the Mai (Mahi), Sousentra (Sujeentra), Mader (Mahtur) Gitbag ([2]). His return to Cambay by Barechi is also correct—Canara I do not find—His return from Cambay by Sujeentra, Belpar Telly (unknown) over the Mahi, through the country of the Gratiates (Grassias), under charge of a Tcheron (Charon) seems all correct. Thevenot died 1666 at Miana and was buried. The younger Petit de la Croix made his remains be transferred to Tebriz to the Capuchins Church. Francois Petit de la Croix, the father according to Goujet put in order and published Thevenot's voyages. Indeed I think P. de la Croix himself mentions the fact in his introduction to Timour Bec.—The *Matrous Riviere* mentioned p. 20 last line margin, is probably a literal error for *Watrouc*, the Watruck.—Dine at Romer's with Ironside, Capt. Dunsterville, and Mrs. Romer and Ironside.

3rd December.—Through a fine level and rich country by Veriao to Kim Chokee. Leave Surat about 5. Reach the Chokee at 10. The morning cold. On the 30th the thermometer at 63° at 6 a.m. The country has suffered from the inundations; but though the crops are thin they are not ruined. The country well cultivated, yet often waste. The country fine looking, the villages surrounded by trees like villages or farm-houses, or old gentlemen's houses in England. Very few Coco-nut trees.

4th December.—Through a Moorish looking country, but interspersed with many extensive, rich and finely cultivated fields of wheat and jowari. Arrive at Panoli a little past 8. Yesterday's march was about 16 miles, this day's 8½.

5th December.—Leave Panoli at 5, pass Oklasur, and on to the Nerbudda opposite to Broach 10 miles; crops to Broach 1 mile ¾. Arrive between 8 and 9. The country near Panoli moorish but fine soil—beyond Oklasur to the Nerbudda very fine, highly cultivated, and rich country. The grains chiefly wheat and jowaree. The marks of inundation as we approach the Nerbudda quite frightful for several miles. The rack of hay, straw, etc., left high upon trees, often 12 feet up show the height of the current. Boat sailed over the fields. The Rajpipli hills visible far to the East nearly from the time we left Surat.

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[1] Ankleshwar. [2] (?)

Broach stands upon a rising ground and forms a beautiful object in approaching it. The houses are built on the slope. The fortifications high and broad, part brought down by the inundation (*rel*). Saw the place where the breach was made, and General Wedderburn killed. His battery seems to have been *in* the outer Town. Broach bears the marks of a town going to decay. The demand for coarse clothes for the African market has ceased for some years. A fraud in the Portuguese Agents, followed by want of credit began the interruptions, and the trade has not revived. The Mokah blockade also interrupted the Arabian trade, which also has not revived. The agriculture is rich, manufactures and commerce rapidly decline. The town consequently poor. Little about the place is worth seeing. Major Krentish, Mrs. Pratt and Hanson call, also Capt. A. W. Campbell of the Artillery. The climate continues cool and agreeable. Got a letter from Bombay from Mrs. E. of 29th November.

6*th December*, *Friday*.—Remain at Broach.

7*th December*, *Saturday*.—Set out about five in the morning for Sukul-Thirat [1]—in the afternoon visit the Kabir-bar, [2] on the lower extremity of an island in the Nerbudda, a little above the Town. Pass over to Nemoodra (4 miles) a village pretty situated on an eminence, where the cornelians are brought from the mines and burnt, after they are taken from the mines 10 miles off, at the extremity of the Rajpipli hills. They are carried to Cambay where they are manufactured. They shewed us the rude and the burnt stone. They look like flints or pebbles. Mr. Copland's account in the Bombay Transactions is correct and the best. Returned after sunset to Sukul-thirat. There are many tygers about Neemoodra, which are probably harboured in the neighbouring jungles—12 miles.

8*th December*, *Sunday*.—Left Sukul-thirat by Nandód, Dubhali, Samlod, Manch, Ankherod to Kishner, 11 miles, through a very rich and highly cultivated country. Jowaree and cotton the prevailing crops. Near Manch saw a very large monkey with a prodigious tail. Soon after passed half a dozen who sat by the roadside without moving, not becoming afraid of us. Saw also peacocks and deer. The country is like a kitchen garden. All over Guzerat the drill-husbandry prevails. At Surat the Tapee is about ¾ of a mile broad, at Broach the Nerbudda is a mile and ¾ broad. At Sukul-thee-rat perhaps a mile and a quarter. The late inundation has carried away much of the Kabir-bar [2], which is a very wonderful tree, if only one. It seems as if there were several. But

[1] Tirth. [2] Kabirwad.

we saw many old branches going to decay and decayed, which as the (they ?) fell would diminish the connection. Even where the soil was not carried away the force of the water had in some places overborne and broken down the tree which presented its entwined branches as a [1] to the shock. The expected letters from Bombay do not reach us.

9th December, Monday.—Leaving Kishner, advance by Wakan, Walan, Daman (Jah) Manch, to Meia-(gam) the road good through a rich country. We however found some parts of the country uncultivated from quarrels, etc. Saw some monkeys and peacocks. Meia belong to a Grassia Raja who lives in it and is subject to the Guicowar. At the village of Kishner yesterday the Patel complained that a month before his son a boy of 5 or 6 years of age had been carried away, about 5 in the evening from the field by a man on horse-back who wounded two people that came to the boy's assistance. The act seems to have been committed by Gulab Khan a Grassia of the village who went lately to reside at Jambusar, and to whom some land had been mortgaged in Gerania, about 40 bigas for Rs. 200. The return was 100 rupees yearly. The Grassia had pretended that the original sum accumulated to Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000. The Government disclaimed the grant and exacted the revenue. The Grassia enraged at this resorted to the act of violence complained of. It is supposed the boy has been carried off to some Mewasi village north of the Mahi. Notice had been sent to Baroach. The messenger after staying three days there had returned without any answer. Passed a wood where a tiger very recently killed a man. In Meia are three Jain temples and 200 Jain families. The place seems rather thriving.

10th December, Tuesday.—Leaving Meia, pass by Anastow Kerla, Kerûr to Itola. Not so well cultivated as last day's journey. See some peacocks, monkeys and at the town some green parrots. Put up in a nicely built Dhurmsala erected by the unfortunate Gungadher Shastri. It is the best and most convenient I have seen. Square with a court, verandah within and without. Rooms at the corners and Towers with a room above and on one side an upper story all along. A Temple to Shiva without the village built *like* a Jain Temple and with many of the same minor ornaments. Yesterday found one of the Jain Temples in charge of a Brahman, ignorance[2] of the Jain faith, and thrusting in Brahmanical mythology in its place. I do not doubt that many of the Jain Temples and Tenets have been mixed and injured in this way.

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[1] (illegible) [2] Ignorant.

11*th December, Wednesday.*—From Itola by Makarpura to Baroda. The country fine, rich, beautifully wooded. I never saw a finer country. Soil sandy. Reside with Dr. Kennedy, taking our meals with Mr. Willoughby, Mr. Williams, the Resident absent with Capt. Tod in Kathiawar. Receive from Mrs. Erskine a letter of the 5th December.

12*th December, Thursday.*—Receive two letters from Mrs. Erskine of the 23rd November and 3rd December earlier than the last. Confirm the marriage of Dr. Ogilvy and Miss G. as fixed, also Miller's to Miss Russell. Captain Snodgrass and Lt. Morse call.

13*th December, Friday.*—Visit the town in the morning a square with a gate in each centre, and two streets joining the gates and crossing in the middle at what they call the Mandavi, a sort of bazar. Call on Morse and Snodgrass. The cantonments seem clean and comfortable.

14*th December, Saturday.*—Visit the Garden of the Guicowar and of Sittaram, the tomb of Azim Sha, or Peer Ghora, and the large baoree or well having the Summer apartments supported by ranges of columns. They call the well Bahin-Bhaee—or Noulakhea from its being believed to have been built at the joint expense of a brother and sister and to have cost nine lakhs of rupees. The late Govind Rao Guicowar attempted to draw it dry without success as he could not bring it lower than 8 or 12 cubits from the bottom. It was in hope of finding a hidden treasure supposed to have been deposited by the makers and to be of immense value, under the well. The old town of Baroda is said to be in the mounds close by the Residency. There was a Sutee some days ago. The woman was in her times when her husband died. He was therefore burnt alone she being impure, but four days after she burned with his bones. She was a Mahratta Brahman and the whole was done from the avarice of the heirs who instigated her to the act in order to remove a rival in the succession. She went boldly and without compulsion. The custom is not prevalent in Guzerat and is not liked.

15*th December* 1822, *Sunday.*—Visited a Tower on the other side of the town for a view of the City. The trees around intercepted the sight but the situation is a fine one. Saw the Guicowar's tygers. In the evening attended the Guicowar's Durbar. Received a pair of shawls, a sirpech, necklace, piece of cloth of gold, of muslin and of Dungaree. Are to set off to-morrow.

16*th December, Monday.*—To Wasit on the Mahi, 15½ miles. The road on both sides of the river deep, full of sandy ravines and broken. The country rich. Put up at a Dhurmsala. At Wasit a man had been killed the night before by a tyger—the villagers were lamenting him. Received here Mrs. E.'s letters of the 12th enclosing Mrs. Rich and Mr. Welsh's letters.

17*th December, Tuesday.*—To Anand-mogry, 11 miles through an easy pleasant road, and a rich country. The tank or rather lake at Anand-mogry uncommonly beautiful; it winds round a promontory on which the Dhurmsala stands and is broken into fine recesses or bays.

18*th December, Wednesday.*—To Neriad by Borea, 12 miles, a rich country remarkably well watered by tanks and wooded with many and noble trees. The country of Guzerat is certainly one of the richest in the world and capable of very high cultivation. Neriad is a very large and populous town. It seems flourishing. Pass the day and night in an upper roomed bungalow of the Collector.

19*th Thursday.*—To the Roza of Mahmûdabad which is at some distance from the Town. This short-lived and formerly large capital of Guzerat is now shrunk into a small compass. A few Mussulman buildings still remain, tombs, mosques, etc., in good taste. The large Roza contains the Mausoleum, a noble building in good preservation, surrounded by fine broad porticoes sustained on ranges of pillars and surmounted by a noble Dome. I do not know if the tomb is the Sultan Mahmud's. The situation is on a river, I suppose the Watruk, which we crossed twice to-day (or rather I should suppose two branches of it). The tomb I find is Shah Mozuffer's, a Musulman Peer or Saint. We mounted to the top by a ladder, and had a noble view of the surrounding country.

20*th Friday.*—To Biach, by a road through rather an uncultivated country. Crossed a river. The country round Biach rich and well cultivated. The village belongs to the Kazi of Ahmedabad. We saw many monkeys and peafowls, between 30 and 40 of the former and two dozen of the latter in single flocks near a tank. Saw some fine Mahwah, or Mouva trees. Expect to reach Ahmedabad to-morrow. The tomb of a Bohrah Saint near the town.

21*st December, Saturday.*—To Ahmedabad—in decay but grand in decay. The number of fine mosques, Durgahs, etc., is surprising. Visit the Jooma Musjid, the shaking minarets

fell in the earthquake 1818, Shujaet Khan's tomb and mosque—the Jain Temple, underground, the Kinkhab manufactory—Mr. Jones, Sutherland, Law Dr.

22*nd, Sunday.*—Visit the Jail formerly a Musulman College and a very grand and expensive building. Call on Williamson.

23*rd, Monday.*—Breakfast with Lt. Cruickshank at the Shah Bagh a very grand and extensive palace and garden on the banks of the Subramuttee. Built for Shah Jehan when prince. Visit the Beebee's mosque, Deria Khan's Durgah and some others. In the forenoon go to Shah Alim's Durgah, very extensive and in good preservation; to the Cuvaria Tank and Dutch Tombs. Most of the buildings in part brick which occasions decay. Shah Alim a Saint's Minarets are fine.

24*th, Tuesday.*—Leave Ahmedabad. Breakfast at Serkej, about five or six miles off across the Subramuttee. The tomb of Mahmud Begre and of his two brothers is here in a magnificent dome: the tombs themselves of marble richly and delicately carved. The ornaments exhibit great taste. The Tank is square, very large, with a palace on one side and all around it fine remains. It is surrounded by flights of steps and enclosed by a face-wall. Hard by is the Durgah of a holy man or Peer The Mosque and Court are extensive and grand. The whole must have exhibited a fine view of Musulman magnificence when entire.

The country all about Ahmedabad has suffered from bad government and the attacks of predatory bands and robbers. One half of the city belonged to the Peshwa; one half to the Guicowar. Neither defended his subjects. The lands naturally fruitful were overtaxed. The Pindarees, Mewasis and neighbouring Colis plundered the fields and plundered the villages in bodies of horse and bands on foot. Even now a small body of horse traverse the country round the town-walls to guard against nocturnal depredators. The country is gradually improving under our Government, and cultivation extending.

In the evening proceed 5 or 6 coss to Peerana. Recross the Subramuttee.

25*th December* 1822, *Wednesday.*—Remain at Peerana, where there is a fine Durgah of a Musulman Saint Imam-u-din. The Patel and Tulati tell us that there is no person in the town has more than seven children alive. They take eleven rupees per beega for rice ground. This seems enormous yet the cultivation is 1,200 and increases by 50 or 60 yearly. Both

Mahomedans and Hindoos, but it should seem especially Hindoos frequent the Durgah. The Mootawali could not very easily explain the circumstance, but there being a crowd we did not press him.

26*th December* 1822.—Breakfast at Kaira 12 miles. De Vitre at the Adawlut. This the great station for horse under Bombay.

27*th December* 1822.—Driven by Gilbert More round the Cantonments, Capt. Gillespie, Capt. Agnew, Mr. Kirby, Dr. Morgan, etc., call.

28*th December, Saturday.*—Maria Grieve's wedding-day. Happiness attend her and Ogilvy. Dine at Col. Egan's with Capt. and Mrs. Barlow, Capt. and Mrs. Nepean, Col. D'albiac, Dr. Morgan and Holmes (or Home), Dr. Inglis, etc. Called on Col. Egan, Dr. Morgan, Lt. Gibson and Mr. More in the forenoon.

29*th December, Sunday.*—Col. D'albiac called. Very fond of his profession and his Corps. Dine at Mess of 4th Cavalry—a gentlemanly set of young officers.

30*th December, Monday.*—Morning dress field day of the 4th Dns.[1] A very fine Corps, seem to go through their exercise well. A very imposing sight. Breakfast with Col. D'albiac, the Colonel, who dines to-day with DeVitre.

Col. D'albiac, Capt. Barlow, Nepean, Kirby, Lt. Agnew, Gibson, Col. Egan, Captain[2] Dr. William Taylor, etc., at dinner.

31*st December* 1822.—*Tuesday.*—Breakfast at Dewa about 10½ miles from the Adaulut, Kaira. Pass the last day of 1822 in our tents, not forgetting absent friends.

1*st January* 1823, *Wednesday.*—Breakfast at Ramdharee, a Charon Village 12 miles. It is a curious republic of Charans, without Patel or head-man. There are 40 Charan houses, 24 of Coombees, one of Bramins, a few Banians, two of Bangees and some others perhaps in all a hundred. The village was bestowed in Inam by Jehangir or Shah Jehan, I forget which, on their fraternity in consequence of his satisfaction with the poem of one of their class named The people were uncommonly independent and frank, came and sat with us, sang some of their songs, brought their sick for our advice, etc., etc.

The Country between this and Kaira, low and close, but rich.

1 Dragoons. 2 (?).

2nd January 1823.—Ride to Cambay to breakfast 12 miles. The town large, enclosed by high walls, but in decay. Many houses in ruin. The country around rich and fruitful. The Myhi comes down on one side of the town, the Subramuttee on the other at some distance. The shore to a great distance perhaps a couple of miles on, below water mark as flat and muddy for a long way along the shore. The goods are carried down through the slush in carts and on people's heads. Disappointed in getting our horses across by the passage boat to Cavee; will probably[1] to send them up the Myhi ten coss to Daman. Breakfast in the garden-house of the Nabobs where General Reynolds lived, afterwards move to the English factory, in great disrepair and disorder. In spite of the bad landing the place is of considerable trade. Tankeria Bunder will probably by degrees take off part of the transit trade, and a survey has been made to discover another Bunder, more to the West. The revenue of the Nabob may be a couple of lacs of rupees.

3rd January 1823, *Friday.*—Detained this day at Cambay from difficulties in passing to Cavee. The long low sands and slush and the short time during which the tide flows are the great obstacles, which are enhanced by all the passage being under the influence of an interested Parsee. The walls of the town enclose a large space. The town itself stands on high, dry ground, but not lofty. The whole is of brick. The grounds immediately about the place are covered with Musulman burying grounds. In the English burying ground there are no very old tombs. A few days ago the Kavee boat was overset, and of 67 persons 40 were drowned. It was during the high tides. After leaving Cambay the Gulph continues shallow and dangerous for a considerable space. About 15 miles above the town at Dewam is a ford over the Myhi by which we send our horses. The passage about two miles or three. At low water it comes up to the shoulders of the horse. The cargoes have to be carried in at Cambay for some miles through the dirty beach, midleg and knee deep.

In Cambay is a Jain Temple underground. The cornelian manufacture is declined. The stones are said to be worse, the demand I fancy is less. Julian Skrine, and Dr. Gilder overdid it: as well as Mrs. Corsellis.

A Parsee servant of Genl. Reynolds's is Deewan or Prime Minister of the Nabob. Genl. Reynolds and Geo. Brown, afterwards Acting Governor of Bombay gave the Nabob an

[1] be ordered (?)

advice to which he has rigourously adhered, *viz.*, never to make any concession, treaty or compromise with the English, but if they got across him let it be by force, and without his consent. We expect to be able to get over the 7 miles to Cavee to-morrow, being the third day of waiting.

4*th December* [1] *Saturday.*—Breakfast before 7, are on board before 8. The boats lie about 2 miles off a road by a beach of the common fine soil of the country, very soft and slippery when wet. About 11 the tide came up the Karee or creek close by which the boat lay. It did not rise so high as the day before, so that but for the pushing of our hamals, the boatmen, etc., the boat could hardly have got off. When under weigh we sent some of our men to help the luggage boat which lay a few yards off. They succeeded in floating her, but she was so late that she soon after getting out of the Karee grounded again on a beach and has not yet rejoined us. Some of our Hamals remain on board of her without their clothes. The tide at particular times seems to be up hardly an hour. We were not long out of the Karee before the tide changed, the wind fell and we were carried over to Gungwa four coss 6½ miles below Cavee, and left on a bare beach 3 miles from the shore. Some people waded on shore to effect a landing, to admit of our getting off, but were stopped by a depth running near the shore which they could not get over. We were left by the sea about 2 p.m. About 8 p.m. the tide began to flow, the noise was heard a far off, and it soon reached us presenting the Bore, roaring along and sweeping on like a wall in a very terrible form, though nothing so awful as it must be in the Springs. We soon got under weigh and at 10 p.m. reached Cavee Bunder, landed and went to the Kutcheri, where we slept.

5*th January* 1822[2], *Sunday.*—Visit the celebrated Jain Temple the most complete I have seen in Guzerat. There are now no Jains here; not even one priest or Jutee. The Temple is kept and shewn by a Brahminical Hindoo. It is supported by contributions from the Jains at Jumboosur and Kathiawar. We were surprised to find the same case in the famous subterraneous temple at Cambay—a Brahmin showed it, and no Jain was at hand. The same happened at one Temple at Meiagaum. Knowledge of all kinds, Hindoo, Jain and Musulman seems at a low ebb in Guzerat. Our horses passed at Dewan 5 miles above Cambay. The water salt. The ford two miles;

[1] January. [2] 1823.

one horse fell and was with difficulty extricated from the mud. The others suffered in the confusion. The distance returning being circuitous nearly 30 miles, perhaps exaggerated. Expect our luggage boat at 2 p.m.

They have not arrived, proceed to Jittran, half way to Tankeria 7½ miles, and there sleep.

6*th January* 1823, *Monday.*—Proceed 7½ miles to Tankeria where we breakfast and dine. At 2 p.m. are rejoiced to hear that our things are on the way from Cavee where they arrived at 5 this morning, having left Cambay at midnight. Preparing for starting at 8 p.m. in a Botilla for Bombay. The Bunder is a mile and a half from the village. The country for the last two days rich, but not fully cultivated. Tygers and robbers prove an imperfect system.

7*th January* 1823, *Tuesday.*—Having embarked last night about 6, sail after eleven. Are brought up about 3 a.m. on the low grounds down the Dader Creek. The tide rises till 1 p.m. but not in sufficient strength even to float us. The place where we lie is a flat several miles on each side from sea or shore, much such as we were left in between Cambay and Gangwa. This was the day on which we expected to have arrived in Bombay. Expect to be afloat at 1 a.m. to-morrow morning.

8*th January* 1823, *Wednesday.*—(Maddy's birth and Dr. Wiseman's wedding-day) Get under way and about 8 p.m. are past Swally and off the Point on which is Vaux's Tomb, near Surat Bar. Cast anchor, but resume our course in the night.

9*th January* 1823, *Thursday.*—Pass Paneira and Daman.

10*th January* 1823, *Friday.*—Pass Sujjan Head (St. John's) and towards evening Tarapoor —Pass Tarapoor-point towards Seergam.

11*th January* 1823, *Saturday.*—Pass in the night Mahim, and Kelve—at day-break off Alnar, fort and island—Bassein.

It is surprising how few stars even the Tandel knows. He says that he knows three only—Dhooroo, the North Star by which he goes to Surat. A Southern one by which he goes to Bombay, and *Oogma*, the Planet Saturn, Jupiter he calls little *Oogma*. The N. E. wind they call Bokkar or Bookkar.

N.B.—The illustrations given here have been reproduced from the blocks kindly lent by the Editor of the G. I. P. Ry. Magazine.

The Editor.

ART. XIX.—*The Ideals of Marriage in India.*

BY

J. A. SALDANHA, B.A., LL.B.

(*Read 1st August* 1920.)

1. Marriage is an union of a male and female for mutual companionship, sexual satisfaction and procreation and care of offspring. The ideals of marriage pertain to its duration, the relation between the couple and their kinsmen as to person and property, restrictions as to choice of the parties, etc.

In India with the heterogenous peoples that have been found in it we find marital ideals of a remarkable variety from the highest to the lowest and those from the most ancient times, and I propose to touch on a few of them. Naturally I shall approach the consideration of them from my own Catholic point of view, that is that of the Canon law which is accepted as obligatory by about 3-5ths of the population of Europe and America and Australia, and by some millions in Asia and Africa, numbering in the aggregate over 300 millions of human kind, whatever might be the statutory civil laws which they are subjected to. Under this customary law, among the majority of the peoples of the West and their colonies and converts everywhere in the world marriage is between a single male and single female and is a religious sacrament, which if canonically valid and complete, is absolutely indissoluble. Unity and indissolubility are its essential features.

OFT-REPEATED SHIBBOLETH.

In India among non-Christians unity of marriage is not recognized as essential among the majority of its people, and indissolubility is considered as essential only among the minority of the twice-born among the Hindus who number a few millions. Yet we have the shibboleth oft-repeated that under the Hindu law no divorce is allowed, while under the Hindu customary law divorce is prevalent among by far the majority of Hindus without recourse to courts of justice for causes most of which under the statutory law would be treated as trivial and inadequate (Roy's Customary Law Ch. XI and

Mandlik's Hindu Law—the chapter on Marriage). The shibboleth referred to is responsible for more than one Indian statutory enactment which works unjustly on converts to Christianity, proceeding, as they do on the false assumption that there is no such thing known among Hindus as divorce. The mistake has arisen from judging of sexual relations in the West solely from their statutory laws apart from the common or customary laws, whereas students of Indian law have had mostly in view the modern Dharama Shastras which in the matter of marriage covers only a portion of the Hindu community. We cannot judge of marriage ties in India as reducible to any uniform system either in modern or ancient times. All sorts of polygamy or polyandrous or monogamous relations of heterogenous character are found now side by side as they have been always from primitive times, according to the varieties of racial elements in various degrees of civilization and under various religious influences.

2. The Catholic theory on which the unity of wed-lock is founded, is traced to the primitive injunction in the Genesis which requires that man shall leave father and mother and shall cleave to his wife and they shall be two in one flesh (Gen. 2, 24;

PERVERSION OF NATURE.

Unlimited freedom was, however, allowed among the Israelites and Jews as to marrying with more than one wife and divorce, which at the time of Christ found acceptance in the school of Hillel and others, but when the question was mooted to our Lord—the practice was condemned as having been permitted owing to the perversion of human nature (Math. XIX, 4-9; Mark X, 4-12; Eph. V, 31; Luke XVI, 18). Christ gave to marriage the high position of "a great sacrament" as St. Paul expressly mentions (1 Cor. V., 32), that is a function having outward sign with an inward divine, spiritual grace—which unites two into one, not only of *flesh* but of *spirit*. The spiritual tie bound by God no man can cut asunder (Math. XIX, 6). This treatment of the nuptial tie clearly gives the lie to the view expressed by Ameer Ali in his "Spirit of Islam" that early Christianity in its spirit of essenism or asceticism deprecated marriage and degraded its ideal.

3. As to personal relationship between husband and wife the apostles of Christ while enjoining on a wife to be subject to her husband as a lord, desire the husband to revere and love his wife as himself (Eph. V., 22; I. Pet. 3, 1).

The idea of unity and indissolubility of marriage though not treated as binding among the ancient Jews was sought as a

highly desirable one among them during all the happy and unhappy days through which they passed in their own land and in foreign lands as may be judged from many passages of the Old Testament (see *e.g.* the Song of Songs, Ps. 127).

That marriages were made in heaven was a belief that prevailed among the Jews as it does among Christians. But in order to secure this heavenly blessing it was essential that the marrying couple seek God, shut out the devil and give themselves not to lust but to prayer (Tobias VI. ,17).

4. From this vantage ground we shall now turn to India and take a view of some of the various ideals among her peoples. As I have already hinted, we shall land ourselves into a morass if we apply to all the heterogenous systems the shastric ideals. We shall find on a careful study of the ancient and modern history of Indian sociology that the highest ideals have prevailed side by side with the lowest and that from the most primitive times through all its epochs of history.

The Early Vedic Period.

In the opinion of Mandlik, during the early Vedic period, monogamy was the rule and polygamy the exception among the ancient Vedic Aryans. I shall quote a few passages :—

" Surya made a gift in marriage of his sister who was asking in her mind for a husband.

I released this girl from the bond (by which she was bound to her brother, *i.e.*, father's family) but not from the other. I bind her well with the other.

Bridegroom and bride you both stay here ; do not be separated ; partake of all kinds of food.

Be thou mother of heroic children devoted to the gods.

Be thou queen in thy father-in-law's house-hold. * * *

May all the gods make the hearts of us to one ".

(Rigveda 10, M. 85, S. 23, 6, 9, 25, 36, 38, 42, 11, 13 , 44, 46, 47.)

" Oh God ! that married pair who here perform sacrifices with one mind (Rigveda 8, M.31, S, 5.)"

The Heroic Period.

The marital rites among the ancient Hindu during the times covered by the Ramayana and Mahabharata throw a flood of light on their ideals of wedlock. When Sita was wedded to Rama after certain sacred ceremonies it is stated in the

Ramayana that Janak placed his beauteous daughter facing Dasarath's son and spoke with the father's fond emotion:—

"This Sita child of Janak dearer unto him than life. Henceforth sharer of thy virtue proving thy faithful wife.

Of thy weal and woe partaker. Be she thine in every land, cherish her in joy and sorrow. Clasp his hand within thy hand.

As the shadow to the substance, to his lord is faithful wife,

And my Sita best of women follows thee in death or life.

Tears bedew his bosom, gods and men his wishes share."

And he sprinkled holy water on the blest and wedded pair. This ritual reminds one of the Christian officiating priest sprinkling with holy water the joined hands of the couple after each plighting his or her faith "to have and hold the other for better, for worse, for riches, for poorer, in sickness and in health, till death do us part."

6. The legends of Rama and Sita, the hero and heroine of Ramayana and of Nala and Damayanti and Savitri and Satyavan, in the Mahabharata, holds out ideals of mutual love and fidelity of one man and one woman that are not merely imaginary but based on facts and realities of life, and practised by thousands of Hindus in every day life, heroic or ordinary. These noble unions took place probably among a minority while there prevailed among the majority polygamous unions and among some even polyandrous as the Kurus like those among the Nairs of Malabar.

Modern Hindu Developments.

Whatever may be the theoretical law—laid down by the Shastras or custom applicable to extreme cases, the instincts of society among all classes of Hindus tend strongly to assert themselves in favour of the following systems as I asserted in my article on Problems of Ethnical Jurisprudence published in the Jubilee No. of the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay:—

(*a*) Marriage is a life-long bond dissoluble only at death. Even among the Nayers and other so-called polyandrous castes the rule is that the union of a man and husband lasts for life (See Malabar Marriage Commission's report, IV 94, pp. 36, 57).

(*b*) The census reports show that among Hindu communities in almost every part of India, the number of wives stands scarcely higher than that of husbands. It is only in exceptional cases

(barrenness of wife, want of male issue) that a husband takes a second wife and this usually with the first wife's consent as did Abraham.

Further among cultured people highly charged with a religious spirit marriage is raised to the status of a sacrament—a spiritual union sanctioned by divine grace that cannot be dissolved by man. Such a spiritual union must necessarily be one of a husband with a single wife. For if a couple is united by divine grace the parties become one in spirit, and inseparable, neither can unite with a third party.

The Parsis.

7. Among the Parsis there was a time when polygamy and divorce were widely prevalent but with the advance of civilization among them, the community was awakened to a sense of the charms of the blessedness of a single life-long union. The agitation for attaining to this higher ideal of wedlock led to the enactment of the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act, which renders criminal marriage of either of the married couple while both of them live and have not been divorced by a decree of the Matrimonial Court. An action of divorce lies in the case of adultery of either party and under certain other circumstances. It is to the credit of the community that few cases of divorce have come before the Courts and that the majority of them adhere to the marriage vow—"to act according to the nuptial promise with honest heart to the end of their lives" sanctified by *ashirvad* or blessing pronounced by the priests, which is essential under the law to render the marriage valid.

8. The Parsis claim, marriages among the ancient Persians their ancestors, were life-long unions of single man with a single woman.

The Primitive Monogamy.

9. As I have shown above among the Aryans of the Rigvedic period when they arrived at some state of culture both social and religious, marriages generally appear to have been of the same standard, *i.e.*, life-long unions of a man with a single woman. The same system seems to have existed among other races of primitive mankind that could boast of any culture, so that one married a single woman but could never put her away. See Westermarck *History of Human Marriage* pp. 133, 459, 510; E. O. James *Primitive Ritual & Belief* pp. 65 *et* seqq.. That was what was apparently in the mind of our Lord when He set up primitive custom against divorce (Mat. XIX 8).

10. That was probably the practice among what are called in the Genesis "the sons of God," the saintly men of old times, but on coming in contact with the fair daughters of men they "took to themselves wives of all which they chose." This passage of Ch. VI of the Genesis in the old Testament of the Bible seems to indicate the transition from the higher life-long monogamous marriages to the loose polygamous unions which brought down the wrath of God on mankind. The ancient Israelite patriarchs probably succumbed to the prevalent practice taking as wives women they could choose without restriction as to number but with the consent or even at the instance of their former wife or wives. Where this consent were not possible, divorce of a previous wife was the only natural and excusable alternative to those vigorous heroes of olden times so that the divorced wife could be free to re-marry and not bound to remain in a household with undesirable wives.

11. In India polygamy among higher castes became legal during the period of the *Brahmanas* as probably owing to the contact of the highly civilized and religious advanced races with backward communities in India. But polygamy became bound with the indissoluble tie of marriage, a cruel hardship on the women, while the man was allowed unrestricted freedom as to the number and choice of wives. Luckily this cruel and unnatural combination is confined only to a few millions among the 200 millions of Hindus—while during all these times, as I have noted above mutual fidelity of single man and woman was the ideal pursued by a small number amongst them.

The Mahomedans.

12. Among the Mahomedans under the wise humanitarian liberties allowed as well as restrictions imposed by Mahomed—a man might marry not more than four wives with a divorce system which while somewhat hard on the females is on the whole a fair compromise between a Hindu sacramental system which works only in favour of males and the loose connections that are in vogue among millions of low caste Hindus with unrestricted facilities for divorce on the part of males and somewhat restricted facilities among females.

A Recent Typical Case.

13. In a recent case of bigamy that came before me as an Additional Sessions Judge of Thana for trial, the accused woman (a Varli) contracted a pat marriage with a second husband without even informing her living first husband, but after going through the ceremony of breaking the *tati* given by her

first husband, which was found according to the custom of the caste sufficient to dissolve the first marriage. The accused was convicted of the offence of bigamy on the ground that such a custom was immoral, being against public policy as has been held by several rulings of the Bombay High Court, and rightly so, because as long as succession was according to the ordinary Hindu law patrilineal—not matrilineal as among the Nayers—it would lead to any amount of confusion to encourage such loose unions breakable at the whim of either party as would render uncertain the paternity of children, the essential basis of patrilineal succession ; whereas where there obtains matrilineal succession paternity is of no importance and divorces without the formalities of an action before the Court of Justice duly constituted and second marriages would not be against natural law.

NEED FOR A DIVORCE REGULATION.

14. The other High Courts have not gone to the length of the Bombay High Court in denouncing divorces and second marriages of wives during the life-time of their first husbands as criminal, provided the customary law sanctions such divorces and re-marriages. In the midst of this conflict between custom and higher moral law, there arises the difficulty of inflicting deterrent punishments. Even the Bombay High Court has shown great leniency in the matter of penalizing such crimes and in the case tried by the Thana Court, rigorous imprisonment for one year was considerably reduced on appeal. It is therefore necessary to regulate divorces among those among whom a lax system of divorce prevails and to whom the Indian Divorce Act of 1865, the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act of 1869, the Special Marriage Act of 1872 and the Mahomedan Law do not apply.

15. The lines on which this Divorce regulation should run is not easy to settle. The Special Marriage Act and the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act while rendering marriages monogamous permit divorces under certain conditions. The Special Marriage Act (which applies to persons not professing the Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Mahomedan, Parsi, Buddhist, Sikh or Jain religion) places under the operation of the Indian Divorce Act with its complex provisions marriages celebrated thereunder, while the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act provides a simple procedure and affords, I think, facilities for divorce which are more in consonance with Indian usages and ideas except perhaps in one matter, namely that it gives a wife cause of action against her husband, if she can prove that he is guilty

of fornication with an unmarried woman not being a prostitute, which is rather a venial offence under Hindu usages and is not an offence under any statutory law.

The Two Objects.

16. The first object will be to check the un-restricted practice of divorce obtaining among the Shudra and other castes. The next will be to afford facilities for divorce to women of higher castes, whose husbands are allowed unrestricted freedom to lead vicious life and marry any number of wives or in consonance with the public conscience make monogamy compulsory among Hindus all over India or such provinces in which the majority would favour the introduction of the system subject to restricted facilities for divorce allowed in the existing Divorce Acts referred to above. I am not sure whether any Hindu community in India is prepared to go so far as Roman Catholics as to combine unity of wed-lock with its indissolubility. If higher religion however has any meaning, I do not see why the Roman Catholic experiment should not be tried. In the Western countries like Ireland in which religion is supreme connubial fidelity is remarkably universal among monogamous Catholics.

17. Roman Catholics in British India labour under a sense of grievance against the Indian Divorce Act which gives facilities for divorce to all Christians including members of their body which are denied to them under their own Canon law. The British Government has adopted an attitude of neutrality and protection towards all religions. As a result of this attitude every community is allowed absolute freedom to practise its own religion and religious usages. The Indian Christian Marriage Act permits Roman Catholics to follow their own religious customs and rites as to the celebration of marriage. They therefore contend that they should be allowed to follow their own customs as to the dissolution of their marriages.