



**THE  
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY**

**Town Hall, Bombay.**

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No. LXXV.

ART. I.—*The exploded Myth of Agnikulas.*

BY

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It is well-known that of the 36 traditional Royal Kshatriya families of India four are considered as Agnikulas or fire-born, viz., the Chauhan, the Chalukya, the Paramar and the Pratihāra. That is to say while some of the 36 are considered as solar race and others are considered as lunar race Kshatriyas these four are looked upon as fire-born or Agnikulas. This idea is generally entertained even now and is, in fact, the orthodox view, so to say, with the present day Rajputs. For example, the princes of Kota, Bundi and Sirohi who are Chauhan Rajputs fully believe that they are Agnikulas or fire-born Kshatriyas. The story of this birth from fire of these four clans is given, for the first time, I think, by Chand Bardai, the bard of Prithvirāj Chauhan in his well-known poem the Prithvirāj Rāsā, and as this poem enjoys the prestige of the Mahabharata in the eye of the Rajputs, the story is implicitly believed by them. The story is thus given in Rāsā Samaya I Rupaka 127 : "Once the Rishis wished to perform a sacrifice on Mount Abu ; but they were molested by Rākshasas. They implored Vasishtha to protect them and he performed a special sacrifice on his fire and brought out four warriors in succession, first the Pratihāra, then the Chalukya, then the Paramar and when these three could not defeat or destroy the Rākshasas there came out the fourth Chahumāna, a four armed terrible being and he by the aid and blessing of Durgā Bhavāni and the various gods defeated and dispersed the demons or Dānavas." The story is of course intended to emphasise the greatness of the progenitor of the Chauhan clan to which the poet's hero Prithvirāj belonged. And it is based on a Puranic account about the founding of the Achalesvara temple by Vasishtha on Mount Abu or Arbuda ; but the story of Vasishtha's sacrifice with the birth of four warriors is unquestionably a creation from the poet's brain and has no Puranic foundation. But as the poem gained popularity with the Rajputs, it came to be universally accepted and all the Rajput families including the four so-called Agnikula clans themselves believe in it implicitly.

Now epigraphic evidence has already proved that this story is merely the poet Chand's creation, for stone-records show that these four clans did not represent themselves as Agnikulas from the 9th to the 12th century (when the Rāsā is believed to have been composed) and even later. The Pratihāra, the first, and the Chauhan the fourth clan Rajputs are said in the records to be solar-race Kshatriyas, while the Chālukyas are represented as lunar-race Kshatriyas. There is still some doubt about the Paramars who alone are said to be fire-born in their records; but as I shall show later on, they too did not look upon themselves as Agnikulas but as solar-race Kshatriyas. Thus the records of these clans themselves of the 10th to 13th or 14th centuries declare them to be Solar or Lunar race Kshatriyas and yet strangely enough they believe themselves now to be Agnikulas. Epigraphic records have been discovered by scores since the days of Tod and it is no wonder that Tod gave by his acceptance of the Agnikula tradition, its final authority. But it is strange that after the discovery of these records historians should still stick to the Agnikula myth and should still adhere to the inference they used to draw from it, viz., that the Rājputs generally, and the four clan Rajputs especially, are descended from foreign peoples who have been incorporated into Hindu society by the Brahmins in recent times by a fictitious process of purification by fire. Sir William Crooke who has just edited (1920) the famous history of Tod, with notes based on up-to-date information, observes in his introduction "The Annals describe how by a solemn act of purification or initiation, under the superintendence of one of the ancient Vedic Rishis, the fire-born septs were created to help the Brahmins in suppressing Buddhism and other heresies and in establishing the ancient social polity, the temporary downfall of which under the stress of foreign invasion is carefully concealed in the Hindu literature. This privilege was, we are told confined to four septs known as Agnikula, the Paramar, the Parihar, the Chalukya or Solanki and the Chauhan." Though Sir William Crooke adds that Paramar was the only clan which laid claim to this distinction before the time of the poet Chand who flourished in the 12th century of our era, he is not yet prepared to abandon the whole myth as a poet's fancy and abandon also the theory of the foreign descent of the Rajputs which is principally based on this story of the Agnikula creation. It seems, however, that the story of the Agnikula creation is not only an emanation from a poetic brain but is based further upon a misconception of that poet's idea. For it appears that even Chand did not intend to put forth a new race or Vamsa for the four clans who, as epigraphic

records prove, in his time and before him and even after him believed themselves to be solar or lunar race Kshatriyas. I propose in this paper to place before you the considerations and arguments which substantiate these two positions.

It must be stated at the outset that nobody attaches any historical value even to the solar or lunar race tradition in the sense that some races were actually born from the sun or the moon. For nobody can believe that these orbs could have been the progenitors of human races. The tradition is, however, important in the sense that this belief is very ancient and goes back even to the Vedas and it shows that Aryan peoples came to India in Vedic times in two hordes which called themselves solar race people and lunar race people. The coming of two different hordes of Aryan peoples into India is shown even by linguistic differences still existing as expounded by Sir R. Grierson who to my mind was the first to point out the coming into India of two hordes of Aryans in ancient times. The addition of a third race not Aryan but Turanian in recent times, *i.e.*, in centuries later than the Christian era is supposed to be evidenced by the Agnikula tradition, and it is argued that these foreigners Sakas and Huns, Gujars and Mehers were incorporated into the Kshatriya caste already existing by the fictitious process of purification by fire. The question, therefore, is important whether the four clans Chauhan, Chalukya, Paramara and Pratihāra did represent themselves as Agnikulas in early times, and if not whether Chand Bardai, the writer of the Prithviraja Rāsā really represents them as other than solar and lunar race Kshatriyas. The answer to both questions is in the negative as I proceed to show.

That the Chauhans represented themselves in their records as solar race Kshatriyas is now admitted on all hands. The Harsha stone inscription dated V. E. 1030 or A. D. 952 (Ep. Ind. II. p. 119) shows distinctly that the Chāhamāṅgas were believed to be solar race Kshatriyas (सन्मुक्तायमुपागतो रघुकुले सूचकवर्ती स्वयम्). The Prithviraj Vijaya, a poem written by another poet in the court of Prithviraj himself as shown by Mr. Harbilas Sarada of Ajmere, distinctly calls the Chauhans as solar race Kshatriyas (*e. g.*, he ruled over the heads of kings like his ancestor the sun) and Harbilas further says that an inscription of Visaldeo IV (A.D. 1153-63) also states the same. The Hamir Mahākāvya gives the same extraction (Hamir being a noted Chauhan king after Prithviraj and the Kāvya being composed after 1400 A.D.) and gives a different story from that of the Rāsā. It says that once Brahmadeva or the creator wished to perform a sacrifice and as he was revolving

this idea in his mind the lotus in his hand fell. The place where it fell on the earth became the Pushkar or lotus lake and there a sacrifice was performed and for its protection the sun gave a powerful warrior, *viz.*, the first Chāhamāna. This story brings the Pushkar lake, the worship of Brahmā, who has his temple there alone in the whole of India, and the Chauhan kings who ruled this land, together in one legend. These inscriptions and stories bring out the fact that in the 10th to the 14th centuries, the Chāhamānas were believed to be solar race Kshatriyas. It may be noted that the Bijolia inscription of Samvat 1226 says that the first noted Chauhan king Sāmanta was born of a Brahmin of the Vatsa gotra ; but this does not contradict the solar race tradition, much less assign them a fire-origin (B. R. A. S. Vol. LV).

The case of the Pratihāra Rajputs is equally clear. The Gwalior inscription of Bhoja published by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar (Arch. S. R. 1903-4, p. 280) gives a detailed history of the line and states that the Pratihāras were descended from Lakshmaṇa, brother of Rama and were called Pratihāra because Lakshmaṇa was Rāma's Pratihāra or doorkeeper, or destroyer of enemies. Thus as early as 876 A.D., the date of this inscription, the Pratihāras were known as solar race Rājputs. Although the other inscriptions of the other Pratihāra imperial kings of Kanauj do not mention their race, yet the famous poet Rajaśekhara, who was patronised by the two kings Mahendrapāla and Mahipala describes them as Raghukula-tilaka or ornaments of the race of Raghu (an ancestor of Rāma). This poet belongs to the tenth century A.D. and it is clear that the Pratihāras were believed to be of the solar race still. There is an inscription in which like the Chāhamānas, these Pratihāras are said to be descended from a Brahmin Harischandra and a Kshatriya Pratihāra woman. But as said before, the race of these Kshatriyas does not change and what is more pertinent their birth from fire is not yet hinted, is in fact negated.<sup>1</sup>

Thirdly, we have the Chalukyas who are believed to be of the lunar race born from the handful of water in the hand of Drona Bhāradvāja who created the first Chalukya hero for the purpose of destroying his enemy the Drupada king. See the Kalachūri Haihaya inscription in Ep. Ind. Vol. I, page 253. Although this inscription is not dated its date has been assigned

1 Sir Vincent Smith admits this when he remarks (J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 247) "They are described as members of the Parihar race and of solar descent. The fire pit legend being unknown to the author of the inscription. The fire pit legend first appears in the Prithiraj Rasa of Chand who claims to be contemporary of Prithiraj (killed in 1183 A.D.) but may be considerably later."

as the end of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Thus the Chalukyas were looked upon as of the Bhāradvāja gotra and of the lunar race, unquestionably in 1000 A.D.

These three the Chāhamānas, the Pritihāras and the Chālukyas were thus in the 8th, 9th, 10th centuries considered to be of the solar and lunar race and no trace can be found of the tradition of their being born of fire. The fourth family the Paramāras were indeed looked upon as fire-born as appears from their Udepur Praśasti. But the story given there is entirely different from the story given by Chand. The story is the usual Puranic story, *viz.*, that Vasishtha's cow was taken away from him by king Viśvāmītra forcibly and Vasishṭha created the first Paramāra warrior to chastise Viśvāmītra and bring back his cow. The warrior did what was wanted of him and was greeted by Vasishṭha and given that name and his gotra was thence Vasishṭha. The story is again repeated in the Nagpur inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. II, p. 183. This story then even though it is not given in the earlier inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of the Paramāras, was current certainly in the 12th century, A.D. And although the Vaṃsa of the Paramāras is not distinctly given in these Praśastis they were probably looked upon as belonging to the solar race. The Paramāras are spread nearly over the whole of India and they are found in Mahārāshtra also. The Paṭwars among the Marathas have the same gotra *viz.*, Vasishṭha and are counted as Suryavaṃsis in their books (See their 96 Kulis).

The question then naturally arises, if the four clans, Chāhamāna and Chālukya, Paramāra and Pratihāra were looked upon and also looked upon themselves as solar or lunar race Kshatriya in the very days of Chand, *viz.*, the 12th century and in the earlier centuries also, how could he represent them as fire-born and assign a new race to them? Two answers are possible. As some have contended, the Prithviraj Rāsā by Chand is a spurious poem written four or five centuries later at a time when all inscriptions had been forgotten, under Mahomedan rule, by a poet who knew nothing of ancient times and gave free

<sup>1</sup> For instance the grant of Vākpatiraj (Ind. Ant. Vol. V, page 48) does not mention the Kunda Yajana birth of the first Paramāra but merely begins with Paramahatitāka &c. Mahārāj Krishnarāj. Similarly also another grant of the same Vākpatiraj (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV p. 159) both dated S. 1036 or A.D. 979. It is the later records of the Paramāras of S. 1287 and after, which mention the story and carry the ancestry back to one Dhūmarāj श्री वसिष्ठकुण्डयजना नलाभूत श्री धूमराज &c. The Pratāpaśīla Paramar (Ind. Ant. Vol. XLV) inscription has the following śloka. आनीतधेन्वे परनिर्जवेन मुनिः स्वर्गोत्रं परमारजातिम् । तस्मै पशुद्वतभूरिभाग्यं तं धूमराजं च चकार नाम्ना.

scope to his imagination. It is not possible to wholly subscribe to this theory which cannot explain the immense popularity and the almost sacred authority which the Rāsā has attained among the Rājputs. There may be many and extensive interpolations in the poem as there are in the original Mahābhārata, but these must be conceded a nucleus of the poem written by Chand, a contemporary poet and companion of Prithvirāj and the story of this fire sacrifice and the birth of the four heroes therefrom is probably part of the original poem, as it otherwise could not have gained acceptance by the Rājputs and the four clans themselves. We are, therefore, induced to accept the alternative explanation, *viz.*, that the Rāsā has been misunderstood on this point and that Chand in this story which is no doubt his invention, did not intend to put forth the theory that there was a third Vāṃsa or race of the Rājputs, *viz.*, the Agni Vāṃsa besides the two well-known legendary Vāṃsas, the solar and the lunar. I think the Rāsā if read carefully at this place does not really support the theory of a third Vāṃsa or Agnikula as I proceed to show.

Immediately after describing the rising of the Chāhamāna warrior, the poet goes on to describe how the four Kulas became prominent among the 36 Royal families and gives here the names of these thirty-six. The lines are fit to be quoted here (Samaya I, Rupaka 135).

रवि ससि जाधव वंस । ककुत्स्थ परमार सदावर ॥  
 चाहुवान चालुक । छंद सिलार आर्भायर ॥  
 दायमत्त मकवान । गरुड गोहिल गोहिलपुत ॥  
 चापोत्कट परिहार । राव राठोर रोसजुत ॥  
 देवरा टांक सैधष अनिग । यौतिक प्रतिहार दधिषट् ॥  
 कारटपाल कोटपाल हुल । हरितट गोर क्लाष मट ॥  
 धान्यपालक निकुंभवर । राजपाल कविनीस ॥  
 कालच्छुरके आदिदे । वरने बंस छतीस ॥

Now these verses have not been properly interpreted by either Tod or by Mohanlal Pandya who has recently brought out a critical edition of the Rāsā (1904). The first three *Ravi*, *Sasi*, and *Yadu* cannot according to my view be included in the list of the 36 families for reasons which I will presently adduce, but Tod even after including these three could only make out 30, see Tod's list at page 98 of Crooke's Edition and not 36, while Mr. Mohanlal has omitted *Garua*, *Rosajuta* and *Kavinisa* nor has he explained what these words mean. It will thus appear that it is necessary that *Ravi Sasi* and *Yadu*



have to be treated as distinct from the following and the word *Vaiṣṇa* which appears only here and not again till the end has also to be interpreted in a different manner.

But the following appears to me the most cogent reason why Ravi, Śaśi and Yadu have to be treated separately. These thirty-six family names, it is well-known, serve the purposes of gotra with the Rajputs from a very long time. That is to say these families form for purposes of marriage exogamous groups. The daughter of a Chauhan can not marry a Chauhan, such marriage being in their view sagotra marriage. The Rajputs still preserve the memory of their gotras; but these gotras strangely enough are not consulted for the purposes of marriage and sometimes though rarely sagotra marriages do take place among the Rajputs so far as actual gotra is concerned. Whether such marriages would be valid according to Hindu law which takes no cognisance of family names is a separate question which need not be considered here. But what I wish to point out is that the Rajputs consider the family name and not the gotra as the basis of marriage law among them and to marry outside the family is the most sacred thing with them. The family may be subdivided into as many Śākhas as may be but these septs or Śākhas still remember that they belong to a particular chief family enumerated among the traditional 36 royal families. For instance the Guhilots have many subdivisions or septs but all the septs know that they are Guhilots and a girl from any Guhilot sept will have to be given outside the Guhilot family sept, to a Chauhan or a Solankhi for instance. Now this characteristic of the 36 families does not apply to the Ravi, Śaśi and Yadu *Vaiṣṇas* and these have therefore to be excluded from their list. These are in fact *Vaiṣṇas* in the sense that they are the *primary races* and not *Vaiṣṇa* in the sense of family. The word *Vaiṣṇa* used by Chand after the first three names Ravi, Śaśi and Yadu has therefore, to be differently interpreted from the word used at the end. For a Ravi *Vaiṣṇi* or Solar Rajput is not prohibited from marrying a *Ravivaiṣṇi* girl, nor is a Chandra *Vaiṣṇi* debarred from marrying a *Chandravaiṣṇi*. The Guhilots are *Suryavaiṣṇi* and the *Kachhavāhas* are also solar race *Kshatriyas* and yet there is no objection to marriage relations taking place between them. This is so even from the most ancient times, for Rāma and Sita were both *Ravivaiṣṇis* and so were the Pandavas and Draupadi both *Chandravaiṣṇis*. Ravi and Śaśi, therefore, are not family names. Yadu has been separated from Chandra though it is a branch of the same *Vaiṣṇa* apparently for the same reason. The Yadu *Vaiṣṇis* have no objection

to marrying among themselves. They cannot, therefore, be treated as one family for purposes of marriage. The Jadejas and the Bhātis for instance are both Yadu Vamśis and have no objection to marry with each other. This reason shows clearly to my mind that Ravi, Śaśi and Yadu are Vamśas in the sense of races and the 36 Royal clans enumerated, after these, have to be assigned to these three Vamśas. Since Chand does not enumerate a fourth vamśa, viz., fire, and since the four supposed Agnikula clans Chauhan, Chalukya, Paramār and Pratihār are mentioned, three of them in the very first verse, it seems to me, that Chand did not intend by his story of Vasishṭha's sacrifice to show that there was a fourth race, viz., Agni in addition to the three recognised races, viz., Sun, Moon, and Yadu. In fact, he meant to say that four Rajput warriors from among the already existing clans came out of the sacrificial fire to assist in the work of dispelling the Rākshasas. They were not entirely newly created Rajputs; and hence they could not be assigned a new Vamśa. They indeed belonged to the old three vamśas, viz., Sun, Moon and Yadu as their inscriptions of that very time show. It is only thus we can reconcile Chand's story with the fact that these very four clans are assigned either to the solar or lunar Vamśas by inscriptions of Chand's own time and in centuries previous to him. He could not have contradicted the popular notion about the race of these four clans.

That Chand could not have represented the four clans as new creations is further proved by the fact that inscriptions of his day assign different gotras to them. Properly speaking if they were new creations, all should have been assigned to the same Vasishṭha gotra as indeed the Paramāras are assigned to that gotra by their inscriptions because they were created from the fire of Vasishṭha. But the gotras of the other three are entirely different. That of the Chāhamānas was Vatsa and of the Chalukyās was Bhāradvāja. (I have not been able to ascertain the gotra of the Pratihāras). If Paramāra, Chālukya and Chāhamāna were newly created Kshatriyas from the Kunda of Vasishṭha, they should indeed have all been of the same gotra. It seems, therefore, probable that Chand did not intend to represent them as new creations, but simply warriors of old families issuing out of his sacrificial fire.

Chand's verses seem to have been misunderstood in later times and it came to be believed that the four clans Chauhan and Chalukya, Paramāra and Pratihāra were Agnikulas, i.e., of a different race, entirely distinct from the thitherto well-known solar and lunar races and as centuries of Mahomedan

rule rolled on, ancient inscriptions and ancient traditions were forgotten. The Sanskrit records were rarely read and were mostly illegible and ununderstandable, while Chanda's Rāsā became the authority of the bards. There arose a second Chand, Surajmal Bhat of the kings of Bundikota who completed the mischief caused by a misinterpretation of this legend of Vasishtha's sacrifice invented by Chand. He composed a poem called Vamśa Bhāskara in glorification of the Chauhan clan to which his patron Ramsing of Bundikota belonged, made elaborate additions to the story, assigned even a date to the sacrifice of Vasishtha and the birth of the first Chauhan warrior, *viz.*, 3531 years before the end of the Dvāpara age, that is to say 6632 B.C. and gave a complete list of Chauhan kings from that date down to the date of his patron Ramsing (about 1700 A.D.). Nay what is more, he makes the matter clear by stating that there were five Vamśas or races for the Rajputs and not three; his verse is worth quoting on this point:—

मुजभव, मनुभव, अकंभव, शशिभव छत्रन वंस ।

है चक्रतिम शुचिभव हुव, पंचम प्रथित प्रसंस ॥

“Those born of the arm, of Manu, of the Sun and of the Moon are the four races of Kshatriyas, while that born of fire became the fifth famous race.” The fifth new race of fire-born Kshatriyas was thenceforward accepted by the royal family of Bundi, Kota and Sirohi who are Chauhans and by the other three clans also, *viz.*, the Chalukya, the Pratihara and the Paramar. Tod who wrote his history about a hundred years after this, and who had not in his days the ancient inscriptions of these clans before him naturally gave credence to the view of Surajmal Bhat accepted by even the four Rajput clans themselves and by his authority the myth of Agnikula received further support and its final stamp.

This myth of the Agnikulas has now been exploded by the ancient inscriptions of these races themselves as shown above and the myth to my mind owes its origin to a misconstruction of a verse of Chand Bardai who first related the story. I must, however, add that I do not lay stress on this second point. I am not well conversant with Hindi especially old Hindi, nor have I read the Rāsā of Chand Bardai carefully throughout. I hold from the verses above quoted that Chand himself did not intend to put forth a third race for the four Rajput clans; nor does he call them Agnikulas so far as I have ascertained. Particularly I have looked into the place where from Tod's

remark<sup>1</sup> it appeared that Chand must have used the word Agnikula. The verse which precedes the enumeration of the clans is as follows :—**बंस छतीस गनीजे भारी । चारकुलीकुल विन अधिकारी**  
(स. १ रूप ११४)

It is probable that the word Agnikula does not occur in the the Rāsā at all. And on this reasoning it may be seen that it is almost certain that Chand has been misunderstood. But what I would urge, before concluding, is that this point is not essential. Even if Chand himself put forth the idea of a third Vāṃsa the Agrivaṃsa for the four Rājput clans, it is his own imaginary story the emanation of a poet's brain which has no foundation in the records of the four clans themselves. The Agnikula myth stands exploded all the same, whether Chand has or has not put it forth, since the ancient records of the Chauhans and the Pratihāras describe them as solar race Kshatriyas, the records of the Chalukyas show them to be lunar, while though the Paramars are seen in their inscriptions to be born of the fire of Vasistha, the occasion is entirely different and they probably set themselves down as solar race Kshatriyas, their Rishi being Vasastha, the Purohita of the ancient solar race Kshatriyas, and the Pawars among the Marathas being still treated as solar race Kshatriyas. The Agnikula myth vanishing, the great support of the theory of the foreign extraction of the Rājputs also vanishes and European and native scholars will, I think, have to revise their views on this subject. It must be admitted that it is possible still to argue that foreign clans which were incorporated into the Hindu society might have affiliated themselves to the two ancient races, the solar and lunar, of the Kshatriyas without difficulty and might have taken some gotras haphazard to themselves or taken up the gotras of the Brahmin Purohitas whom they must have chosen in the beginning. This position is indeed tenable; and I shall try to examine this position in another paper when opportunity offers. But in this paper I think I have satisfactorily proved that the Agnikula myth stands exploded and hence, it may be pointed out, a strong support of the theory of the foreign extraction of the Rājputs disappears.

<sup>1</sup> The line quoted by Tod (Vol. III. p. 1444, Crooke's Edn.) is as follows :—'Of all the 36 royal races the Agrikula is greatest. The rest were born of women. These were created by Brahmins.' I have not been able to ascertain this quotation.

## ART. II.—THE PORTUGUESE HERITAGE TO THE EAST

OR

### *The Influence of Portuguese on the Languages of the East with especial reference to the Languages of the Bombay Presidency.*

Tradition assigns 1410 as the commencement of that era of exploration and discovery which under the guidance and the encouragement of the famous Henry of Portugal, the Navigator, was to render his country the foremost colonising power in Europe.

In 1510 King Emanuel I, surnamed the Fortunate, assumed as the result, especially, of the discovery of the sea route to India and all that it then implied, the title, 'Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of India, Ethiopia, Arabia and Persia.'

In 1910 another Emanuel and the second of that name had to seek safety in flight from his country and as an exile found refuge in the land of his country's ancient ally, England. History could scarcely provide a more telling illustration of tragic irony or of the instability of human institutions or glory.

Between the last two dates what dramas have not been acted on the world's boards and who will deny that in many of the acts and scenes the principal actors have been the Portuguese? Time was when Portugal, a ruler of the water and their powers, 'held the gorgeous East in fee and was the safeguard of the West'; to-day she is but a 'shade of what once was great,' but were all her 'proud historic deeds forgot,' the legacy she has left behind her, the rich treasure of her words to which almost fifty nations in the East alone are the heirs to-day would help to preserve alive her memory with esteem and gratitude.

Very many who are not acquainted with the past of this immense country will feel no little surprise to learn that from the middle of the 16th to as late as the 18th century, Portuguese was the *lingua franca* not only of India but practically of the whole of the East. Garcia d'Orta, the famous physician and naturalist, tells us that Husein, the heir apparent of Burhan

Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar, had learnt the Portuguese language from him and that they both carried on conversation through this medium.<sup>1</sup> This was somewhere about 1540. In 1663 a Portuguese priest put the following query to some French priests who were on their way from Surat to China, "On leaving Surat in what language will you make yourself understood? not in Portuguese, though that is most widely known, for you don't know it and have not learnt it. French and Latin are totally unknown to the people of these parts."<sup>2</sup> Charles Lockyer who published his 'An Account of the Trade in India,' in 1711, remarks: "The Portuguese may justly boast they have established a kind of *lingua franca* in all the sea-ports of India of great use to other Europeans who would find it difficult in many places to be well understood without it."<sup>3</sup> Captain Alexander Hamilton published his "New Account of the East Indies" sixteen years after Lockyer and he also testifies to the fact that "along the coast the Portuguese have left a vestige of their language, though much corrupted, yet it is the language that most Europeans learn first to qualify them for a general converse with one another, as well as with the different inhabitants of India."<sup>4</sup>

The principal impulse that gave a start to the early Portuguese voyages of exploration and discovery was the outcome of an ardent desire to spread their faith among the peoples of the new countries. They went out in quest not so much of spices as of Christians. Every flotilla of ships that left the Tagus for the East carried a batch of missionaries who were not only to minister to the needs of the European population but also to spread the gospel among the natives of the country. The early missionaries employed only Portuguese in their work of evangelisation; in fact in the first heat of the conquest of Goa so much were they seized with the frenzy of bringing in every one to their faith that not only did they not respect temples and other emblems of Hinduism but went to the length of even destroying the vernacular literature of the people from motives not unlike those that are said to have prompted the Caliph Omar to order the destruction of the famous library of Alexandria. Even as late as 1548 we read of the Bishop Fr. João de Albuquerque going about and collecting vernacular books from the Hindoo population with a view to putting an end to them and with them as he thought to the

1 Garcia d'Orta's Colloquies, Markham's Translation, col. No. 36, page 310.

2 P. Manuel Godinho *Relacao do Novo Caminho que fez por terra e mar vindo de India para Portugal*, cit. by Dr. Dalgado. Intro. Glossario, Vol. i., page xvii.

3 Cit. in Intro. Hobson-Jobson, page xvii.

4 Cit. in Intro. Hobson-Jobson, page xvii.

idolatrous worship of the people.<sup>1</sup> It was not before long however that the civil and ecclesiastical authorities (at this period it is difficult to distinguish the functions of the two) recognised that this spirit of intolerance would be fatal as much to their purpose of spreading the gospel as of carrying on the work of administration, and that for the political and commercial intercourse with the other states in India it was very necessary to promote the study of the vernaculars. The first Provincial Council of Goa which was held in 1567 recommends the necessity of explaining to that part of the indigenous population which had not come into their religious fold the Christian doctrines in the vernacular.<sup>2</sup> The Jesuits even more than the other religious orders applied themselves zealously to a study of the Indian languages. Francis Xavier certainly knew one or the other language of Southern India, most certainly Tamil then called by the Portuguese 'Malabar'; later on he wrote and spoke Malay; he spoke Chinese or some dialect of it, and we know that before his death he used to preach in Japanese.<sup>3</sup> We can well realise with what energy these early missionaries threw themselves into the task of mastering the languages of the East when we read of one of the companions of St. Francis Xavier, his name Henrique Henriques, known also as the Apostle of Comorin, having already at this early period written an excellent grammar and vocabulary of Tamil in which language he had also composed a large number of other works.<sup>4</sup> Fr. Henriques was only one of a number of earnest religious men who at this time were devoting their energies to master the people's languages; quite a large number of grammars and dictionaries and vocabularies of Konkani are known to have been prepared at this period; one of these deserves especial mention, for it was the work of Thomas Stephens of whom we can with certainty say that he was the first Englishman to come and settle in India and to write in an Indian tongue. Fr. Stephens wrote in Portuguese a grammar of the Konkani language, its original title is '*Arte de Lingua Canarim*'; but even more remarkable than this, is, that he produced a Catechism of the Christian doctrine in the form of a dialogue in Konkani. His claim to be remembered as the greatest English poet in a foreign language rests on his '*Discurso sobre a vida de Jesu-Christo Nosso Salvador ao Mundo dividido em dous Tratados, pelo Padre Thomaz Estevao. Inglez, da Companhia de Jesu.*' (A discourse on the life of Christ,

1 J. H. Cunha Rivara, *Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concanim*, Nova-Goa, page 14.

2 *Ibid.*, page 14.

3 A. R. Gonsalves Vianna, in *Oriente Portugez*, vol. v., page 351.

4 J. H. Cunha Rivara, *op. cit.*; page 21.

the Saviour of the World, divided in two parts by Fr. Thomas Stephens, an Englishman, of the Society of Jesus). This work is commonly known as the 'Purana' and may well be said to be the Konkani *Paradise Lost and Regained* in one poem.<sup>1</sup> In 1548 Francis Xavier and his five Jesuit companions took over the charge of the seminary of the Holy Faith in Goa which had been opened some five years earlier; this institution was converted into the famous Jesuit College of St. Paul in which were educated "in letters and good customs boys of all the Eastern nations." Here were to be met with "Canarins, the Decanis of the North, Malabarians, Singalese, Bengalese, young men from Pegu, the Malay Peninsula and Java, Chinese and Abyssinians."<sup>2</sup> A veritable anthropological collection! Some working knowledge of the languages of these diverse races on the part of their teachers must be presumed if the pupils were to benefit from their instructions. It goes without saying that the object with which the youths of these distant and diverse countries were trained was, that on the completion of their studies they might carry the gospel into their respective homelands. The zeal for the cause of religion which showed itself at the height of the Portuguese power in the East did not last long and towards the close of the 16th century we find that a spirit of relaxation was to be found as much among the servants of the Crown as among the members of the religious orders. Notwithstanding the repeated recommendations and decrees of the Archbishops and the Councils of Goa, we read of continual complaints that the churches in Goa were manned by religious who were not acquainted with the language of the people;<sup>3</sup> in the spheres both of civil and religious administration, devotion to duty had given place to worldly and selfish ambition and love of ease, which have never been known to be nurses of that patient labour and study which the acquisition of any new tongue demands.

It is usual to speak of language like trade following the flag, though in some cases notably that of the East India Company it was the flag that followed trade; with regard to the spread of the Portuguese language through the length and breadth of this peninsula and diverse other parts of Asia we are very safe in saying that it was the cross that preceded the language; it was not trade so much, not even the diplomatic intercourse of the Portuguese with Indian rulers that helped the diffusion of their language as the pro-seletizing efforts of the early missionaries. Politics and trade did play a part and no

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, page 83 and J. Saldanha "The First Anglo-Indian and other Essays."

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Gerson da Cunha, *Journal B. B. R. A. Society*, vol. xvii, page 182.

<sup>3</sup> J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *op. cit.*, page 28 et seq.



unimportant one either, but not as great as the other. It is obvious that the missionaries of the Roman communion whose activities radiated from Goa, the capital of the Portuguese Eastern Empire, should have carried with them everywhere they went the influence of the Portuguese language and civilisation, but what strikes one as a fact worthy of note and of uncommon interest is that Lutheran missionaries of the South should have prepared themselves for their work of evangelisation by first learning Portuguese. "The early Protestant missionaries, Ziegenbalg, Clarke, Kiernander, Ringletaube, and others about a hundred years ago employed it as the medium of intercourse with the natives until they learned the vernaculars."<sup>1</sup> Da Cunha also quotes Le Bas from his '*Life of Bishop Middleton*.' "The Portuguese language may perhaps be considered as one favourable medium for the diffusion of the true religion throughout the maritime provinces of the East." The Protestant missionaries are reported to have occasionally preached in Portuguese.<sup>2</sup> The reason for this is not far to seek; wherever the Portuguese had founded settlements in the East and had carried on the work of the propagation of their faith, there grew up a nucleus of Indian Christians who together with their former religion had shed their ancient usages and social customs, their Hindu names and style of dress and even in the matter of language aspired to identify themselves with their patrons; again there were numerous intermarriages between the Portuguese and Indians from which was born a Euro-Asiatic stock which, as is usual, with all mixed races felt never so happy as when in habits of life, manners and customs it could assimilate itself to its European progenitor. We find evidence for the above considerations in the very startling fact of a whole people like the indigenous inhabitants of Bombay and the other islands around it, of Salsete, Bassein and of Chaul, on their being received into Christianity, repudiating their own vernacular and adopting a corrupt form of Portuguese as their mother-tongue. These now call themselves East-Indians, though they were spoken of as '*Norteiros*' (Northerners) by the Portuguese with reference to their homes being to the North of Goa, the geographic centre of their Eastern activities. What happened in Bombay, Bassein and other parts on the West coast happened also in other parts of India and of the East as a whole and it is the opinion of Dr. Dalgado that Portuguese in its pure or corrupt form was spoken throughout India, in Malasia, Pegu, Burma, Siam, Tonquin, Cochinchina, Gombroon in Persia, Basra and even in Mecca;

<sup>1</sup> Dr. G. da Cunha op. cit. page 181.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. S. R. Dalgado's *Dialecto Indo-Português de Ceilão*, page xxiii.

and it was spoken not only by the Portuguese and their descendants or the Christian converts but by Hindus, Mahomedans, Jews, Malays, and by the Europeans of other nationalities.<sup>1</sup> It requires no great perspicacity to realise that it was employed by the non-Christians and the non-Portuguese Europeans because Portugal had acquired a virtual monopoly of the foreign trade of the country and had a lead of over a century over the other European nations in its connexion with the East; its language had therefore ample time to settle down as the principal vehicle for trade and politics and other activities; it occupied practically the same position that English does to-day; it may be, that it was even more diffused over parts of Asia excluding India, than English is at present.

As we have said, it is true, language follows the flag but seldom do we see it survive the overthrow of the flag. Long before the English had done so, the Dutch overthrew the Portuguese supremacy in the East and they took possession of quite a large number of their settlements, the most important of which was Ceylon. After intermittent attacks on this island which began as early as 1602 they were finally successful in expelling the Portuguese from their last foothold in the place. Jaffna, in 1656 and from then to 1796 when they lost the island to the English they were in undisputed possession of it. During this period of 140 years which is as long as that during which the Portuguese held sway over it, the Dutch goaded on by religious bigotry against Catholicism did not scruple to use the most drastic methods not only to extirpate the religion of the former rulers but even their language and every trace of their influence and civilisation; decrees were issued prohibiting the use of any language in the settlement other than Dutch and the native vernacular; Dutch was the only language taught in the schools and through the medium of Dutch; slaves who would not learn the language of the new conquerors had their heads shaved and their masters were punished; but all this was to no purpose; all these hateful measures if they had any effect, it was, to strengthen the loyalty of the people towards the language of their former rulers. Sir Emerson Tennant whose book on Ceylon (1860) is a classic sums up the situation briefly and does not omit to draw a moral from it.<sup>2</sup> He writes:—"Already the language of the Dutch which they sought to extend by penal enactments has ceased to be spoken even by their descendants, whilst a corrupted Portuguese is to the present day the vernacular of the lower classes in every

<sup>1</sup> Dr. S. R. Dalgado's *Vocabulario*, page xx.

<sup>2</sup> Sir James Emerson Tennant, 'An Account of the Island of Ceylon,' cit. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, art. Ceylon.

town of importance. As the practical and sordid government of the Netherlands only recognised the interest of the native population in so far as they were essential to uphold their trading monopolies, their memory was recalled by no agreeable associations; whilst the Portuguese who in spite of their cruelties were identified with the people by the bond of a common faith, excited a feeling of admiration by the boldness of their conflicts with the Kandyans, and the chivalrous though ineffectual defence of their beleagured fortresses. The Dutch and their proceedings have almost ceased to be remembered by the lowland Singalese; but the chiefs of the South and West perpetuate with pride the honorific title Don accorded to them by their first European conquerors, and still prefix to their ancient patronymics the sonorous Christian names of the Portuguese." Sir Emerson finds reason in the bond of a common faith and in the chivalrous courage of the Portuguese to explain why their language has survived their overthrow by the Dutch; even after over a century of English rule with its work of administration and education carried on in English, "low Portuguese" enjoys a currency at the present time in Ceylon. '*The Bible of Every Land*' quoted by Dr. Dalgado suggests a further explanation. It says: "The Indo-Portuguese language is more or less understood by all classes in the Island of Ceylon and along the whole of the coast of India; its extreme simplicity of construction and the ease of acquiring it has led to its being adopted extensively as the vehicle of communication." The bond of a common faith, the courage and chivalry of the Portuguese and even the extreme simplicity of the language and the ease of acquiring it, do not by themselves, in our opinion, explain the staunch devotion to the speech of a people whose star in the East had completely set; again it must be remembered that 'low-Portuguese' was the dialect spoken as much by the Portuguese eurasians as by the Dutch descendants or burghers, and these latter did certainly not as a body profess Roman Catholicism; like their Lutheran colleagues in the South of India the Protestant missions in Ceylon, we are told, employed Portuguese for preaching and propaganda work.<sup>1</sup> What then was it that made the people cherish the memory and the language of their one-time European masters? to a large extent the religious tie and to some extent the other facts which have been suggested above but as important as any of these, if not more so, was the doctrine of social and political equality which the Portuguese preached to the peoples of the East and which they never shirked carrying out in practice.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. S. R. Dalgado's *Indo-Português de Ceilão*, page xxiii.

We have a living proof of their sincerity in respect of this principle in their not disdaining to intermarry with the people of the land wherein they settled. It was the deliberate and openly avowed object of the generous and lofty-souled early Portuguese rulers to give to the natives of their Eastern dominions the same benefits and privileges in respect of religious needs, social status or political rights in the possession of which they justly prided themselves. Even at the present day one of the most abiding as it certainly is, one of the most glorious ties that exist between Portugal and her colonies is the recognition not only in legal statutes but one which has been translated into every day practice of the social and political equality without any restriction whatsoever between themselves and their colonials, be they Hindoos, Chinese or Africans. It must be confessed that this remains as yet a desideratum with regard to the richer and more flourishing possessions of other powers. The Portuguese never looked upon their dominions as *points d'appui* for commercial or other exploitation ; far from it, their settlements were to them so many patches of Portugal sown abroad for her glory in different climes and among different peoples and colours and races but withal not on that account less Portuguese in heart and spirit. It is this same feeling which accounts for the fact that a Portuguese born in India or Africa of European parents does not disdain to call himself an Indian or an African. To the East which had known and felt the distance that had separated the ruling classes from the ruled the new outlook was a veritable revelation ; to be given, and the lowliest among them the same privileges and rights as the conquerors, and, at the same time to realise that the masters did not deem it below their dignity to identify themselves with their subjects, must have acted as an eye-opener which was bound to affect the very depths of their nature.

History like life is full of paradoxes ; we have a counterpart of the Dutch intolerance in Ceylon in the early bigotry of the Portuguese in Goa ; both failed to achieve their purpose ; all the Dutch penal enactments could not eliminate the Portuguese influence from Ceylon and all the Portuguese persecution of the Hindus of Goa, the burning of their temples and their books did not make them give up the use of their vernacular. We have the paradoxical phenomena of whole Christian populations along the coast of India, those of Cochin, Negapatam, Calcutta, Bombay, Salsette, Bassein, Chaul, of Ceylon, and of many other parts of Asia giving up their mother tongue and succumbing to the seductions of the language of Camoens and Albuquerque, and on the other hand, the inhabitants of Goa, the capital of their

Eastern dominions refusing in spite of civil and ecclesiastical threats to adopt the language of their conquerors as their own; to this day Konkani which some philologists believe is the same as the now extinct Saraswati of Tirhoot is the vernacular of the people of Goa.

We have said that Portuguese was the language of diplomacy in negotiating with the Indian rulers ; as a consequence of this it might be presumed that some scholars attached to the Indian courts would think it desirable to acquire a correct and even a literary knowledge of the language. In the lists of Portuguese manuscripts in the British Museum compiled by Frederico Francisco de La Figanière and published in 1853 is mentioned *Dastan Masih*, that is 'The History of Christ' translated into Persian from a Portuguese work of Fr. Jeronymo Xavier, the nephew of St. Francis Xavier; this translation was made by Abdul Senarim Kafen of Lahore in 1617.<sup>1</sup> This fact lends support to our assumption and leads us to conclude that there must have been individuals who either as the result of official requirements or of literary and linguistic tastes were in the habit of acquiring a knowledge of Portuguese and that one of them at any rate had studied it well enough to be able to translate works from it into another language. The Italian traveller Pietro Della Valle was a member of the party of João Fernandes Leitão who was sent on an embassy from Goa to the Court of Venctapa Naique, the Ruler of South Kanara ; he mentions one Vitola Sinay who was Venctapa's representative for many years in Goa as having acted as an interpreter on this occasion and as having "spoken to the Portuguese ambassador and the Indian ruler alternately."<sup>2</sup> This was in November 1623. The Portuguese representative at the Court of the Peshwa in Poona in 1788 was one Narayana Sinay Dumo and as is but natural, correspondence between him and his government was carried on in Portuguese<sup>3</sup>. All this goes to show that there were non-Christians who owing to the exigencies of their service acquired a knowledge of the official language of the government of Goa. Again there were Moors whom trade brought to India and some of them if not all could speak either Castilian or Portuguese. Vasco de Gama's party on the occasion of its first landing in Calicut is reported to have been accosted by a Moor from Tunis much to their astonishment with the words 'Al Diablo ! que te doy ! Quiente trouxe ca' (The Devil take

1 J. A. Ismael Gracias, *Uma Dona Portuguesa na Corte do Grão Mogol*, Nova Goa, 1907, page 196.

2 J. A. Ismael Gracias, *A Índia em 1623-1624*, Oriente Português, Nova-Goa, vol. 1., page 305.

3 J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *A Conjuraçáo em Goa*, Nova-Goa, 1875; page 34.

you! whoever brought you here).<sup>1</sup> Garcia da Orta also mentions a very rich Moor, a native of Tripoli in Barbary, who could talk Portuguese. He met him at Cambay and helped to cure his son of a fever.<sup>2</sup>

We have said that Portuguese was the language of diplomacy in India and it was employed not only by the Portuguese but also by the representatives of other European powers. Clive, the founder of the British Empire in India, used it as his only means of communication with the Indian princes.<sup>3</sup>

The language of Camoens with the aid of which it was possible for one to make himself understood from Guzerat to Comorin and from Ormuz to Malacca and even China has yielded place to the language of Shakespeare, it is no longer the *lingua franca* of the East, its dialects some of them like that of the Indo-Portuguese of Negapatam are already extinct, others like that spoken by the Portuguese descendants in Calcutta are in *articulo mortis*, while it may well be that yet others like the Portuguese dialect of the East-Indians in Bombay, Bassein, etc., which is slowly but steadily giving place to English shall have after the lapse of ages entirely disappeared. But though Portuguese is no longer to-day the currency of the East and the radius of its old circulation has been considerably reduced, it has left behind not a few tokens to testify to the influence which both itself and its nation exercised over a large part of the East in the past. In fifty languages and dialects of Asia are these tokens to be met with; many of them have gone through such a process of attrition that the impression of the effigy they bore has been well nigh obliterated and the task of tracing them back to the mint from which they were originally issued is no easy one. Dr. Gerson da Cunha in concluding his series on *Indo-Portuguese Numismatics* remarks: 'Of the once vast dominion of the Portuguese in the East all monuments whether edifices or archives are rapidly disappearing. The only documents that will longer defy the action of time are coins.' But when coins too shall have perished then the verbal tokens which have enriched the languages of the East shall still continue to exist and stand as witnesses to the Portuguese domination and influence of these parts in the past.

We have said that Goa was the capital of the Portuguese dominions in the East and the centre from which radiated all their activities; we have also referred to the fact that it resolutely

1 Jose Augusto Alves Rocadas, *Portugal perante o Mundo, Oriente Portuguez*, vol. I, page 65.

2 Garcia da Orta *op cit.*, page 310.

3 *Cit. in da Cunha's Indo-Portuguese Numismatics, Art. III, page 72, in Journal B. B. R. A. S., vol. xvi.*

set its face against accepting Portuguese as its vernacular, but the rule of over four hundred years had perforce to leave some impress on the language of the people; in fact, Konkani, the mother tongue of the Goans is indebted more than any other Indian language for a very large number of Portuguese words and this is quite natural in view of the close religious, social and administrative ties that have existed between these two peoples.

The area which is comprehended under the name of Goa has on one of its confines the Mahratti and on the other the Canarese speaking populations. Mahratti was also the language spoken by the Christian inhabitants of Bombay, Bassein, Salsette, Chaul, Thana before they adopted Portuguese as their vernacular and also by the people who lived on the outskirts of these settlements, and, the Portuguese influence on Mahratti must in a great measure have proceeded from these respective foci of their activities. There were quite a large number of Goan officers who spoke Portuguese serving in the Mahratta army and there used to be missionaries in Poona to minister to the religious needs of these as of other Christians who were settled there, and, it might well be that some of the words made their way into Mahratti through their agency.

From the earliest times the people of Goa were in trade relation with the Ghauts, especially with cities like Belgaum, Khanapur, etc., where Canarese is the vernacular; this fact combined with the contiguity of Konkani and Kanara and the existence of Portuguese missionary settlements in the latter district must have been favourable to linguistic intercourse.

Guzerat had from a very early date come into contact with the Portuguese; it is not generally known that it was a Guzerati Mohammedan of Cambay, Davane, his name, who met Vasco de Gama's fleet on the Mocambique coast and furnished the great navigator with detailed information regarding the riches of his country, the vast possibilities for trade it offered and the power of its sovereign.<sup>1</sup> Surat, Broach and Cambay were not unknown to Portuguese shipping: what is more, Damaun and Diu, the only two landmarks of their former influence in these parts which still belong to them have Guzerati for their vernacular: the influx of Portuguese words into Guzerati cannot therefore be a matter for surprise.

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1 Lendas da India, cit. by Jeronymo Quadros in 'Portugalem Guzerato' Oriente Portuguez vol, viii, page 26.

Hindustani or Urdu too, thanks to its wonderful powers of absorption, has found place for not a few Portuguese words. The Government of Goa especially during the reigns of Akbar and his successors, had relations of an intimate nature with the Mogul Court; many European and Portuguese families were settled at Agra in Akbar's reign, and missionaries and diplomatic representatives used to pass to and for between Goa and Delhi<sup>1</sup>; this may in some measure explain the influence of Portuguese on Hindustani.

From a detailed examination of the words that have been taken over into all the four languages, viz., Mahratti, Guzerati, Canarese and Hindustani we shall see how the same vocable has not in every case been introduced into all the four languages; some that have been borrowed by one or more have not been by another. It is obvious that the names of the flora and the fauna which the Portuguese introduced into this country from their possessions in other parts of the world principally South America, parts of Africa and even other places in Asia were adopted by almost all the Indian languages. Many articles which were in use among Europeans were introduced for the first time into India and other parts of Asia and the names of these were borrowed by the people when they learnt to appreciate their usefulness; it is quite conceivable that among those who did not know or find any use for a particular object, its name does not figure in their language. As an instance *armario*, *mesa*, *sabão*, *bacia*, *tabaco* and many others have under different forms been taken over not only in the four languages we have referred to above but practically in all the Indian languages and dialects. Among other words introduced were terms ecclesiastical; the currency of these is for the most part among the Indian Christians, principally those who were the converts of Portuguese missionary enterprise. Some few expressions like *igreja* and *natal* have however under various forms been taken over into several of the Indian languages. Portuguese nautical terms are to be found in all the four languages we have mentioned above but they are appropriated principally by the Hindustani spoken, by the lascars or khalasis and therefore known as 'lascari-Hindustani.' It is obvious that the activity of the Portuguese in the Indian seas should have furnished to the indigenous sea-faring class many terms in respect of their art; these terms have however undergone such transformation that it requires great perspicacity to be able to discover their original forms. Who would

<sup>1</sup> J. A. Ismael Gracias, *Uma Dona Portuguesa na corte do Grão Mogol*, Nova-Goa, 1907, page 196.



at once be able to identify the *ariya* or *ala* of the Indian *khalasi* with the Portuguese *arrear* (to lower) and *alar* (to hoist)? Many English nautical terms are similarly being absorbed by the same class at the present time; we all know that *tun stun* which one hears as a word of command from the bridge of the ferry boats in Bombay is no other than 'turn astern' only much disguised. Then we have the names of instruments of war and firearms for which many languages are indebted to the Portuguese; *bomba* (a cannon ball) became in Hindustani *bam ka gula* and *pistola* and *cartuchos* are found with slight modifications in all the four languages.

But the largest number of words that were absorbed have reference to domestic and social life and they are useful in helping us to estimate at its proper value the part that Portugal played in unfolding the West to the East; terms like *alfinete* (pin), *achar* (pickle), *biscoito* (biscuit), *camisa* (shirt), *estirar* (to iron clothes), *sabão* (soap), *sorte* (lottery) and several others belong to this class.

The Portuguese have not been known to be indifferent to the joys of good living and they seem to have been responsible for introducing many a term attesting to their skill in confectionery and preserve-making like *achar*, *apa*, *pão*, *biscoito*; they certainly were the first to introduce the European culinary art into India; their influence in the sphere of clothing and dress is not inconsiderable, *alfinete*, *botão*, *camisa*, *walha*, *saiá*, are some of the words in this domain that we owe to them; a few professional names are undoubtedly of Portuguese origin, *aya* from Portuguese 'aia' (dry-nurse) *karnail* is the port. 'coronel' (colonel), *kaptan* from 'capitão' (captain), *padre*, and *mestari* or *mistri* from 'padre' (priest) and *mestre* (master) are some of these. We have already referred to the wealth of new names that India owes to the Portuguese in the domain of natural history; to mention only a few of them, 'abobora' (*cucurbita pepo*, gourd) gives to Mahratti *bhoplá* with all its figurative compounds such as *bhomplá-suti*, a slovenly workman and *bhompla-devatá* a tomboy, a hoyden; it is believed that both the plant and its name were introduced into the Konkan by the Portuguese. 'Ananás' the plant and its name were likewise brought by them to India from America; *kobi* or *gobi*, *popaya* or *papaya*, *tambuku* or *tamaku*, are other names that attest to their Portuguese originals, *couve* (cabbage), *papaia*, and *tabaco* (tobacco). It does not want much discernment to recognise in the *aphus* which is so sedulously hawked in the streets of Bombay the 'afonsa' (mango) of the Portuguese.

Commerce owes terms like *lilam* or *nilam*; *gudamv* or *godam* to 'leilão (auction-sale) and *gudão* (store-house); the former is a Portuguese word but the latter was first imported by them into their own language from the Malay Peninsula where its original exists as 'gadong or gadong' and then given to India.

We shall now proceed to make out a list of the words that have been taken into all the four languages, Mahratti, Guzerati, Canarese and Hindustani and show what transformations they have undergone in their passage to each of the said languages.

*Ananás* (pine-apple) is in Mahr. *ananás*, in Can. *ananásu*, in Guz. *anenas* or *annas* and in Hind. *ananás*.

*Armário* (a cup-board or a ward-robe) in Mahr. and Guz. have assumed the form 'armári' and in Can. and Hind. *almári*; in Can. the form 'almaru' is also known.

*Arrátel* (a pound avoirdupois) Mahr. Guz. Hind. *ratal*; Can. *ratalu*. The vernacular is *xêr*. The Portuguese themselves derived the word from the Arabic 'raṭl or ṛṭl.'

*Bacia* (a dinner plate; a dish), this is no doubt the original of 'basi' in all the four languages; the vernacular is 'bāsan.'

*Batata* (potato) Mah. Guz. and Can. 'batātá'; the vernacular terms also the Hind. is 'alú' from the Sanskrit. What we call the sweet potato (*convolvulus batatas*) became known many years in Europe before the potato (*solanum tuberosum*) and the latter has robbed the former of its name. The sweet potato was introduced into India by the Portuguese.

*Biscoito* (biscuit); in all the four languages we find the form 'biskut'; in the early part of their connexion with India we find references to the Portuguese having made it here.

*Bomba* (water pump), in Mah. Guz. and Hind. 'Bamb' in Can. 'bāmbu.'

*Buraco* (hole); it is curious that Mah. and Guz. should have derived from it 'burákh' and Can. 'biráku, biriku,' and more curious still that the Hind 'surakh' with a different origin should have the same meaning.

*Chaves* (key) has become in Mah. *tsāvi*, in Guz. and Can. *chāvi* and Hind. *chāvi*, *chābhi*. Here again it is

difficult to understand why the foreign term should have been preferred to the vernacular 'kili' and the Persian 'kunzi,' also in vogue.

*Couve* (cabbage) become in Mah. kôb, kobí, koí ; in Guz. kobí, and in Hind. we have the variants, kobi, gobi, gobhí.

*Camisa*, (shirt) is in Mah. and Guz. khamis, Can. kamísu and Hind. qamis and qamij.

*Cornel* (colonel) has become in Mah. and Guz. karnel, in Hind. karnail and Can. karnelu ; it is not impossible that in some of the languages the English 'colonel' may have been the original of the Indian word.

*Estirar* (to iron clothes) gives to Mah. istri (an iron) and istri karnem (to iron linen) ; the Guz. istri, astri, astari and the Hind. istri 'all have the same origin. This leads one to enquire whether starching and ironing was known to the people of India before the Portuguese came here, or whether it was introduced by them.

*Jogar* (to play cards or to play with dice) ; this is found in Mah. in the form jugar, jugari (gambler), in Guz. as jugar, jugaru, juvem and juo, in Hind. as juá and in Can. as jugaru. "Games of chance" says Dr. Dalgado, "was the social recreation in India from early Vedic times and drew the ire of moralists. Manu prohibited dice even as a pastime and sanctioned corporal punishment for the offender." To explain the adoption of the Port. term in the above four languages he presumes that the Portuguese and their descendants revived the game of dice which had long fallen into disuse. We know from the accounts of travellers how the Portuguese in India were passionately fond of gambling.

*Leilão* (auction sale) is in Mah. and Guz. lilám, nilám ; in Mah. there is also the form lilámb ; in Hind. it became nilám' and nilám and in Can. leylám, lilámu, yalám, and yélamu. There was evidently a good deal of auctioneering in Goa. Linschoten, the Dutch traveller, sketched from life a busy auction scene in the city in 1598 ; it was engraved by one Johannes a Dorre-chum and a print from this accompanies the traveller's work ; it is entitled 'O Leilão que se faz cade dia pela menha na Rua direita na Cidade de Goá' ; this picture, as nothing will, gives an idea of how busy the city must have been before its decline began.

*Mesa* (table) in Mah. and Guz. is mej, in Hind. mej and mez and in Can. meju.

*Mestre* (master) in Mah. mestari and mest, in Guz., mistri and mistari (mason), in Hind. mistri (a master craftsman, in Can. mestre (a carpenter, a mason). Molesworth remarks with regard to mestari and mestri in Mah. that "it is a designation of honor for a head-smith or carpenter or mason or armourer; also the man especially a Portuguese who makes up the bread in a bakery—applied often to a superintendent; generally applied further out of abounding courtesy to Portuguese servants especially cooks." By Portuguese he evidently means Goans.

*Padre* (priest) Mah. Guz. Hind. pādri; Can. padri and pādari.

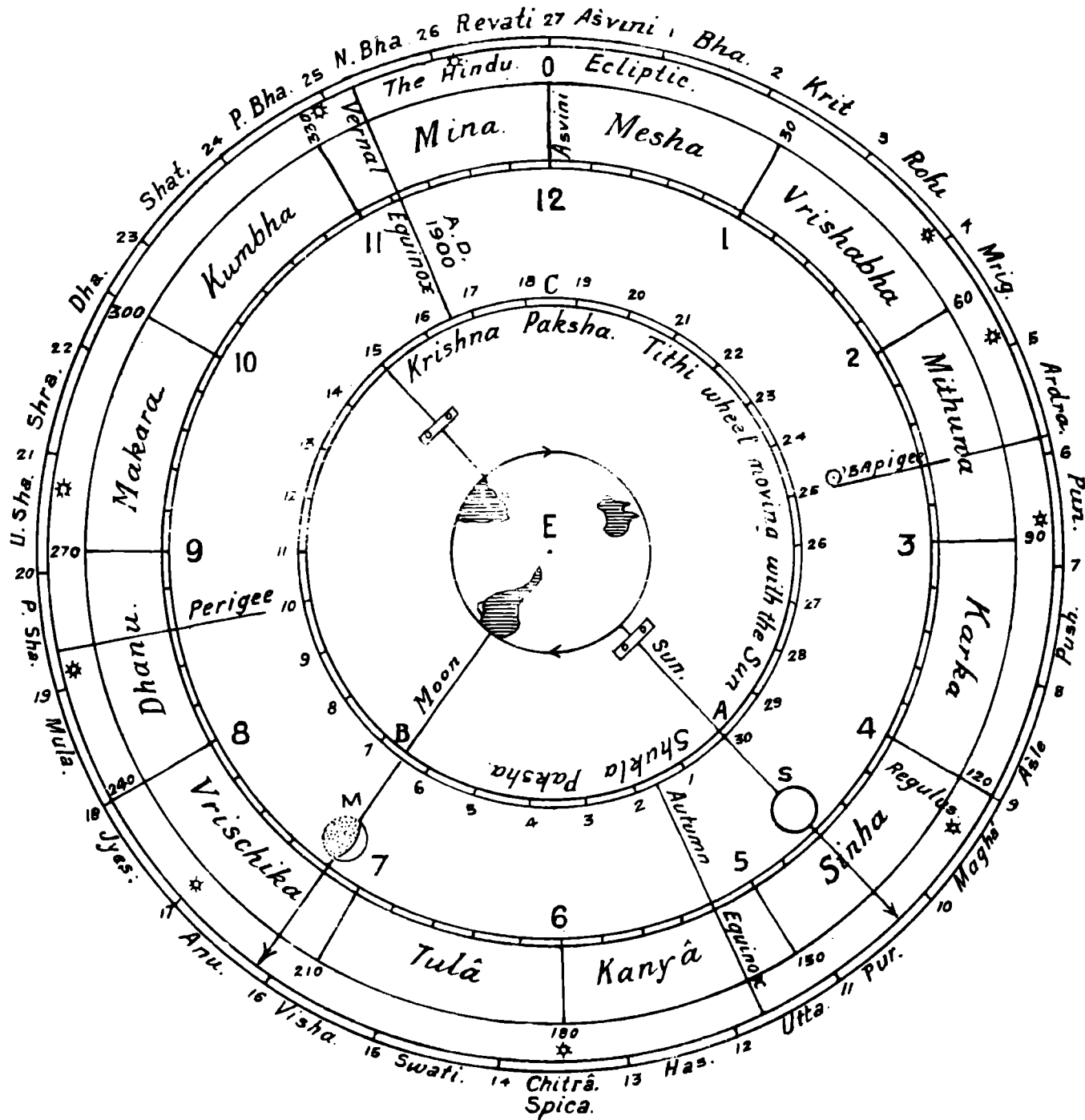
*Paga* (pay) has become pág and pagár in Mah. and in Guz. the latter form is used for the substantive, but 'to pay is pagár āpvo or karvo; the term is also used in Low-Hindustani though the proper word used in Northern India is 'talab.'

*Papaia* (*carica papaya*) is in Mah. popáy and popayá, in Guz. papaiá and the same in Hind; in Can. it is called 'parangi hannu,' i.e., Portuguese fruit, which attests to its foreign origin.

*Pera* (guava). This is a case where the vernacular term exists side by side with the foreign and both are in vogue. 'Pera' which really is the pear was the name given to the guava tree (*psidium guyava*) because of the resemblance of the fruit to the pears of Europe. In Mah. it has become 'peru' and is as much used as 'jamb' the vernacular term for it; in Guz. 'jam and jamphal' are more in vogue than 'per and perum' which forms however are also used. In Can. the fruit is known as 'perla hannu' and the tree as 'perla mara.' It is curious to note that the Hind. for guava 'amrut' is the same as the Persian for 'pear.' It is believed that the plant was most probably introduced from Mexico by the Portuguese.

*Pipa* (barrel) in Mah. has changed into 'pip and pimp'; in Guz. it is pip and in Hind. pípa; in Can. there are the forms pípe, pípai, pipavi.

Fig.1. The Celestial Clock.



*Sabão* (soap). This is a word that has been introduced into almost every conceivable language or dialect of the East and hence naturally leads one to enquire whether soap as we know it was in use before the arrival of the Portuguese; there is evidence to show that the people employed soap-nuts, the nuts of the "*sabindus trifoliatus*" in ancient India for washing clothes, but we cannot claim to know of any reference that points to the existence of the sort of composition that we call 'soap.' In Mah. we find the forms *sābu* and *sābun* and in Guz. *sābu*, Hind. *sābun*, *sāban* and in Can. *sābbu* and *sābūnu*.

*Tabaco* (tobacco). Tobacco was most probably introduced by the Portuguese into India. From a quotation in Hobson-Jobson it appears that it became known for the first time to the Moghul Court about the year 1604 and that thereafter the custom spread very rapidly in India. In Mah. we have the forms *tambāku* and *tamāku*; in Guz. *tambāku*, *tambākum* and *tamāku*; in Hindi, *tambāku* and *tamāku* and in Can. *tambaku*. The Portuguese term which is the name of the leaf in Mexico has been adopted in almost all Indian vernaculars; but it is surprising that it should not have been taken over into Konkani, the vernacular of Goa, which calls it by the generic name 'pan' (leaf) and to distinguish it from betel-leaf, 'khavunchem pan' (the eating leaf) at times speaks of it as 'odhchem pan' (the smokers' leaf).

*Varanda* (verandah). Mah. has *varand*, *varūndā* and *varandi*; Guz., *varandó* Hind. *barāndā* and Can. *varāndā*. This is a word the origin of which has been the subject of much controversy. Some derive it from the Sanskrit '*varaṇḍa*' but against this view is the fact that this term has never yet been found in any known Sanskrit work or manuscript up to the present time; there are others who think that the Persian '*baramada*' from *bar*=from above, and *amada*=coming, and therefore equivalent to coming from above or a projection, is the origin of the word. The third view is that it is the Port. *varanda*; it is found used by Port. writers and especially travellers to the East as early as the last decade of the 15th century; those that use it do not give any explanation of the term which they would have done had they borrowed it from the East as was their invariable prac-

tice. Dr. Dalgado has most carefully and minutely examined the evidence for and against the Port. origin of the word and he comes to a conclusion which agrees with Yule and Burnell's that such of the Indian languages as have adopted it owe it to the Portuguese. Dr. Murray derives the English word from the Port.

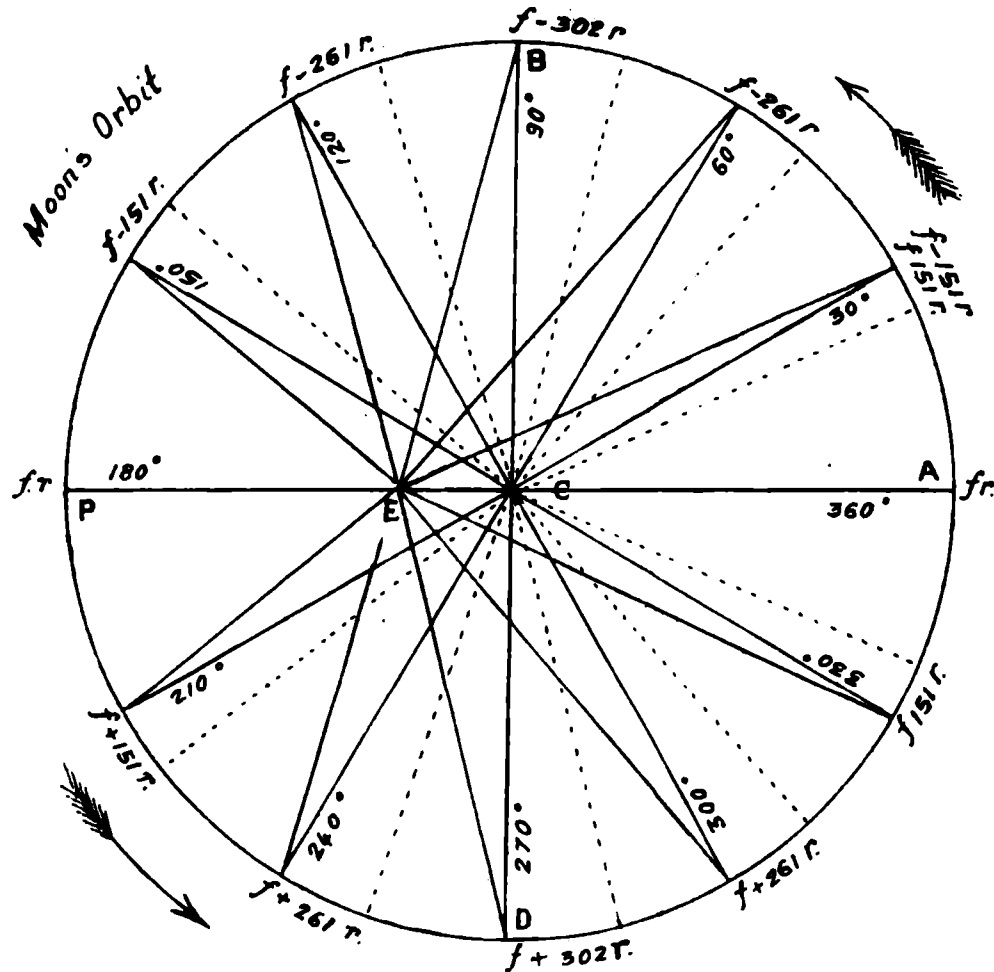
We shall now proceed to give a list of words which have been taken over by one or more of the four languages we have mentioned but not by all of them.

<i>Portuguese.</i>	<i>Mahratti.</i>	<i>Guzerati.</i>	<i>Canarese.</i>	<i>Hindustani.</i>
Abòbora (a gourd)	bhoplá, bhomplá	..	..	..
Acafelar (to plaster)	..	kaphlád	..	..
Acafrão (saffron)	..	jāphran	..	..
Achar (pickle)	āchár (vern. lonchem).	achar	..	achár
Afonsa (mango)	aphós	āphus	..	..
Aia (ayah)	āyá	āyá	..	..
Alfinete (pin)	..	..	..	ālphín
Ata ( <i>anona squamosa</i> )	..	..	..	át, átá
Balde (bucket)	bāldi	bāldi	..	bāldí & bālti
Balsamo (balsam)	..	..	..	balsán
Banco (bench)	bánk	bánk	..	bánk
Barça, (a big bark)	..	bārkas	..	..
Barqueta (a vessel)	barkatá	..	..	..
Barquinha (a small boat)	barkin	..	..	..
Batel (a boat used in Western India).	batelá	bateló	..	..
Beringela (brinjal)	..	..	..	berinjal (vern. baigan).
Bilimbim ( <i>Averrhoa bilimbí</i> )	bilimbí & bimblá (bimblem, fruit)	..	..	bilambu
Boia (life-buoy)	..	bôyu and bôyum	..	..
Boiãõ (porcelain jar)	..	..	..	boyam



<i>Portuguese.</i>	<i>Mahratti.</i>	<i>Guzerati.</i>	<i>Canurese.</i>	<i>Hindustani.</i>
Bomba (cannon ball)	..			bam'ká gulá
Botão (button)	butāvém (vern. gundi)			bótám.
Bucha (cork)	búz	búch	..	búch
Cabaia (tunic)	kabáy	..	..	..
Cafre (negro)	..	..	kāphrī	..
Caju ( <i>onicardium occi-</i> <i>dentale</i> )	kázú	káju & kájum	..	..
Calafate (a caulker)	..	..	..	kālpātti & kala- patiya.
Camara ( a room)	..	..	..	kāmara, kamera and kam'ra.
Campo (a plain)	kampú (field of battle.)	..		..
Capitão (captain)	..	kaptán and kapattán.		kaptán
Cartucho (cartridge)	..	kártus	..	kártús
Casa (button-hole)	kaj (vern. birdem)	gája	..	..
C-roilas (sleeping pant)	..	survál, suravála	..	..
Chapeo (hat)	chepém (a mili- tary hat or cap)	..	..	..
Colera (cholera)	..	kokeró		..
Contrato (contract)	kontrát	..		..

Fig.2. Illustrating Moon's Movement in her Orbit.



Cotonia (a silk and cotton fabric)	kutni	..	..	..
Cunha (wedge)	..	..	..	kuniyañ, kunya
Custar (to cost, suffer)	kust honem (to be grieved).	..	..	..
Damasco (damask)	humás	dhumas and dumas	damasu	
Doce (sweets)	..	..	dôse (cake)	
Escritório (a writing desk)	..	iskotarô	..	
Espada (sword)	..	..	..	ispát
Esponja (sponge)	..	..	spanju	ispanj and isfanj.
Falto (wanting)	pháltu (extra)	pháltu (extra)	..	pháltu (extra)
Fama (report)	..	phám' (remembrance)	..	..
Fita (ribbon)	phit and phint	phit and phint	..	fitá, phitá
Fazendeiro (a landowner)	phajindar (vern. malkar).	..	..	..
Fidalgo (fidalgo)	phidálkhôr	..	..	..
Forma (mould)	..	pharmô, phárm	..	farmá
Fragata (frigate)	phargad	..	..	..
Gamela (a shallow vessel from which soldiers ate their food in common.)	gamel (a mason's mortar basin)	..	..	..
Granada (grenade)	garnál (rocket)	..	..	garnal
Gudão (godown)	gudámv	..	gaḍangu	godám'
Hospital (hospital)	..	..	áspatri	..
Igreja (church)	..	..	..	girjá

<i>Portuguese.</i>	<i>Mahratti.</i>	<i>Guzerati.</i>	<i>Canarese.</i>	<i>Hindustani.</i>
Ingles (the English)	ingleji	angrêx and angrejî	..	angrezî
Lanterna (lantern)	..	..	lantaru	..
Linguisa (sausage)	..	..	..	langûcha (vern. kulma)
Louvado (an expert; arbitrator)	lavad (vern. panchât-kâr)	lavád	..	..
Martelo (carpenter's mallet)	..	..	..	mârtil, mârtoł, martaul,
Mastro (mast)	..	..	..	mastul
Mestiço (a mestico)	..	..	..	mastisa
Natal (Christmas)	nâtál & natâlem	nâtal	..	..
Paga (salary)	pág. pagár,	pagár	..	pagár
Pagina (page of a book)	..	pásum	..	..
Palangana (a big flat dish)	..	..	pingani	..
Pão (bread)	..	pámu, páum	..	pav-rotí
Papuses (slippers)	..	..	papôsu	..
Passear (to walk)	pasár (to walk up and down.)	..	..	..
Pedreiro (a quarryman)	pidrêl (vern. gaundi)	..	..	..
Pena (quill)	pên	pen (sisápên, is lead pencil)	..	..
Peru (turkey)	..	..	..	peru

Picão (mason's pick)	pikámv	..	..	..
☞ Pires (saucer)	..	..	..	pirich (vern. thali)
Pistola (pistol)	pistol, pistúl,	pistol,	pistúlu,	pistol, pistaul
Prancha (builder's scaffolding)	parānchi (vern. māla)	paranch	..	parānchá (a raft)
Prato (dish)	parát	..	..	parat, parati
Preso (arrested)	..	parej (parej karvum=to arrest)	..	..
Prova (proof)	puráv, purāva	purāvo	..	..
Provar (to prove)	..	purvar (purvar karvum.)	..	..
Rabeca (rebeck or fiddle)	rabak, rabáb	..	rabaku	..
Reccibo (receipt)	..	rasid	rasidi, raxídu	rasid
Resma (ream)	rejim	..	rejmu	..
Renda (hire or rent)	..	rent	..	..
Rial (money ; unit of Port. currency)	..	res	..	..
Ripa (thin strips of timber used for roofing)	ríp	ríp	..	..
Ronda (patrol)	..	ron'	..	..
Saia (skirt)	..	..	..	sāyá
Salada (salad)	..	..	saládu	salata, and salitih
Sapato (shoes)	..	sapát	..	sepát
Sofa (sofa)	..	..	..	sufa
Sorte (a lottery ticket)	soḍtí	sortí, surti	sódti	shartí
Tesouraria (a safe)	..	tijori	..	..
Toalha (towel)	..	tuvál	..	tauliyá

<i>Portuguese.</i>	<i>Mahratti.</i>	<i>Guzeratti.</i>	<i>Canarese.</i>	<i>Hindustani.</i>
Toronja (pumelo)	turanj, toranjan,	turanj	..	turanj
Tronco (lock-up)	turung	turang (turang- adhikari=gaoler)	..	..
Tumor (swelling caused by contusion)	tumbar	..	..	..
Vara (yard-measure)	..	vár ..	váru	..
Verruma (brace or auger)	..	..	..	barmá
Vinho de alhos (a dish; Anglo-Indian vindalo)	..	..	..	bindálú
Visagra (hinge)	bijagrem, bijogri	majāgarem, aja- garum & misja- garum.	bijāgri	..

Some of the words in our list like *achar*, *arratel*, *limão*, *gudão* are etymologically of Eastern origin; *achar* is Persian, *rail* or *rill* which is the original of 'arratel' is Arabic; the Arabic *leimun* is responsible for the Port. *limão* and as we have already said 'gudão' is a corruption of the Malay *gudang* or *godong*; but when we set them down as Portuguese terms what we mean is, that the Portuguese had appropriated them either during their secular connexion with the Moors in Europe or during their activities in the East and that it was through their agency they were introduced into the Indian languages.

It remains for me now to acknowledge my great and grateful debt to, Monsignor Dr. S. Rodolfo Dalgado's *Influência do Vocabulário Português em Línguas Asiáticas (abrangendo cerca de cinquenta idiomas)*, 1912" (The Influence of Portuguese on Asiatic Languages almost fifty in number). The student who wishes to study from a scientific and philological standpoint the process by which the gradual transplantation of the exotic words on Asiatic soil was effected, will find the introduction to this great work of absorbing interest. The book which is published by the University Press, Coimbra, and brought out under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences, Lisbon, is in Portuguese, a language unknown to the large majority of scholars in India; I am sure that on this very account a few brief remarks on the character of this work as well as on the career and achievements of the indefatigable orientalist and philologist, its author, will not be out of place.

Monsignor Dr. Dalgado is a native of India, being born in Assagão, Goa, in 1855; he studied for Holy Orders and was ordained priest from the Seminary of Rachol, Goa; he subsequently went to Rome and joined the famous University of St. Apolinarius; here he received the Doctorate in Canon and Roman Law; not much after he passed the examination for the Degree of Doctor in Divinity and was created a Monsignor by the then reigning Pope Leo XIII. In 1884 he returned to Goa and worked for several years, both there and in the missions, occupying important ecclesiastical positions; in quick succession he was the Vicar-General of Ceylon, Bengal and ultimately of Canara. In 1895 he returned to Portugal and at the request and at the cost of the Portuguese Government brought out a Dictionary of the Portuguese-Cancani Languages. In 1907 he was appointed a Professor of Sanskrit which he had found time to study during his missionary labours in India. In 1911 he was elected a member of the Lisbon Academy of

Science; and in 1917 the degree of Doctor of Literature was conferred upon him. The following is a list of his published works :—

*Concani-Portuguese Dictionary*, Bombay, 1913, 562 pages.

*Hitopadesa* or *Useful Instruction*, being a translation into Portuguese from the Sanskrit original. Lisbon 1897, 292 pages.

*The Indo-Portuguese Dialect of Ceylon*. Lisbon 1900, 262 pages.

*The Indo-Portuguese Dialect of Goa*. Oporto 1900.

*The Indo-Portuguese Dialect of Damun*. Lisbon 1905.

*The Portuguese-Concani Dictionary*, Lisbon 1905, 906 pages.

*The Indo-Portuguese Dialect of Bombay and its suburbs*, 1906.

*The Influence of Portuguese on Asiatic Languages*, etc, 1913.

*Contributions towards Luso-Oriental Lexicology*. 1916, 198 pages.

*The History of Nala and Dīmayanti*, translation, 1916, 155 pages.

*The Indo-Portuguese Dialect of Negapatam*, 1917.

*Gonzalves Viana and Portuguese Lexicology with regard to words of Asiatic-African origin*, 1917.

*The Glossary, Luso-Asiatic Vol. I*, 1919, pages, 534.

*The Glossary, Luso-Asiatic Vol. II*, 1921, pages, 580.

Dr. Dalgado's *opus magnum* is his *Glossario, Luso-Asiatico*, the second volume of which appeared only in April this year. It is the complement to the great work the *Vocabulario*, our indebtedness to which in the preparation of this paper we have already acknowledged. Whilst the *Vocabulario* treats of the influence of Portuguese on the languages of Asia the *Glossary* investigates into and finds abundant evidence of the influence of Asiatic languages on Portuguese and through it on other European languages. Dr. Dalgado's innate sense of modesty is evidently responsible for titles for his two most important works from which it would be difficult to realise the magnitude of the service he has rendered to scholarship. The *Vocabulario* has meant the patient wading through the



dictionaries and vocabularies of over fifty tongues and dialects, always on the keen look out to identify and bring back to the true fold the numerous Portuguese words which had found a home not only among well known peoples and countries such as the Mahratti, Guzerati, Canarese, Telugu, etc., speaking populations and in China, Japan, Persia, Arabia, Ceylon and other centres of ancient civilisations, but even such as had strayed into remote and little known tracts where are spoken Tibetan, Garo, Khasi, Batak, Balinese, Nicobarese, Teto Galoli Achinese and several other little known dialects.

Mr. Longworth Dames, the Vice-President of this Society, has very recently published a critical study of the *Glossario* in the Society's Journal in London. What Hobson-Jobson is to English, the Glossary is to Portuguese; no student of Indian or for that matter Eastern history can afford to ignore it; in the light of the investigations of the learned author many notions with regard to the origin and meaning of words and names will have to be revised and corrected. It will be possible to realise the monumental character of the work which must have been years in preparation when one notes that the bibliography covers over five hundred works, many of them running into several volumes; it includes practically every known work in Portuguese giving an account of or treating of the East and, as is well known the Portuguese chroniclers in the hey-day of their country's history were not few and far between; the author has gone through most of the available accounts of English, French, Dutch and Italian travellers to the East and citations from Chinese, Arabian and Persian sources are also occasionally met with in the book; the patience and industry with which every change that has taken place in a word during the process of its adoption into Portuguese has been registered in its chronological sequence, together with the relative citations from the various writers, is nothing short of the marvellous. To take only one instance, the Portuguese 'betele, betel, betle, betere, betre,' all variants of the Malayalam 'vetila' and the original of the English 'betel' (*piper betle*) have been traced right down from the year 1500 when the form 'betele,' first figures in an account of the voyages of Pedro Alvares Cabral to 1908 when he quotes Watt's *Commercial Products of India*; during this long survey which covers four centuries the orthographic forms of the word are not uniform and the author quotes 48 different passages of as many dates and from as many authors, the majority of whom are Portuguese, but there are others who wrote in Italian, French, Latin and English. As Mr. Longworth Dames observes Dr. Dalgado's Glossary is not only a Portuguese Hobson-

Jobson but something more besides because of the peculiar position which the Portuguese language occupies in its relation to the East, a relation very different from that of other European languages. The Portuguese were the first to give new terms to and likewise the first to borrow new terms from the East : quite a large number of these latter were adopted by the French and the English, but the way in which they at times transfigured the terms whilst taking them over into their respective languages provides some of the humour of philology. The Portuguese '*pau d' aguila*, the name of an aromatic wood, '*aguila*' being the Malayalum '*agil*,' which has nothing to do with 'eagle' became in English 'eagle wood' and in French '*bois d' aigle*' ; '*bicho-de-mar*, the literal meaning of which is a 'sea-slug' was converted into the meaningless 'beech de mer' in English, and in French into '*bêche de mer*' ; the Portuguese have all along displayed a fondness for giving a nasal termination to Indian words or place names ; they changed the Konkani '*morxi*' or '*modxi*' which means gastric derangement especially in the case of children, into '*mordexim*' and by a sort of euphemism employed it to denote the cholera morbus or as Fryer says 'a vomiting with a looseness' ; the transformation of '*morxi*' into '*mordexim*' is excusable but what will one say to the French conversion of the latter into '*mort-de-chien*,' and the English into '*mordisheen* and *mordechine*.'

The portly double columned edifice which was quaintly named Hobson-Jobson had been slowly upreared by the common interest and the joint labours of Yule and Burnell ; it is true that partly owing to the death of the latter in 1882 four years before their joint enterprise was presented to the world and partly owing to other reasons the larger part of the burden, in fact seven tenths of it, fell on the shoulders of Yule but even then it must have afforded him some relief to have received the benefit of suggestions, guidance, and above all encouragement which a work of such great proportions and sustained interest requires and which only a fellow collaborator can supply. Dr. Dalgado's has been a single handed fight against odds which might have awed any man, and when we know how precarious has been the state of his health, a fact to which he will not so much as even dimly refer to in the Preface to his work, and how during the time the book has been in preparation and in the press he has had to submit to two surgical operations on two different occasions which have resulted in the amputation of both his legs, our admiration for his achievement can only be boundless. The greater part of the book has been written in a invalid's chair ; in the midst of his physical desolation, his most constant companions have

been the Portuguese Chroniclers and the dictionaries of the languages of the East, which he loves so dearly. We have said that the Portuguese have played a role in Indian history so different from that of the other European nations that have been connected with it ; that they strove to bind in the closest bonds of affection and sympathy the East and the West and if a proof of the enduring qualities of this attachment were required one has only to enquire into the motives, apart from those of pure scholarship, that animated Dr. Dalgado in the conception and in the execution of a task so arduous and formidable. We shall quote his own words. "I have pursued the task with an ardent zeal and unflagging enthusiasm inspired above all by my deep-rooted devotion to Portugal and my thought of her glory."

It is an Indian, a son of Goa, who speaks thus of a land that held and holds sway over his country but which had the grace to give to him and his countrymen the privileges of superior culture, social and political equality and above all the light of Christianity. The equalitarian and fusionist doctrines of Portuguese colonial policy have come to be looked upon as a failure by many ; the true standard of estimating the success of colonial administration is in our opinion the affectionate memory and the grateful esteem of the rulers by the conquered indigenous population and tested by this standard the success of the Portuguese colonial policy has been a very great one. It is the earnest hope and desire of present day politics to see the East and West understand and met each other in a sort of fraternal hand-shake ; thanks to Portugal and her orientation this and even more has been accomplished by her within the sphere of her activities, for where could we find a better illustration of not only the brotherly sympathy but even of the fusion of the East and the West than in the person, the career and the achievement of Dr. Dalgado ?

A. X. SOARES.

P.S.—Since the above was written Monsignor Dr. Dalgado passed away in Lisbon on the 4th of April 1922.

ART. III.—*Vishnu's three Strides : the Measure  
of Vedic Chronology.*

I

THE WORLDS.

No language seems to be richer in its Grammar, lexicons, and etymological treatises than Sanskrit. Yet it seems to be poorer in its aids to decide the senses in which its words were used in ages past. Such is the case with Vedic words in general. We are apt to think that the Vedic words such as *Dyāvâprithivi*, *Samudra*, *Parvata*, *Vishnu*, *Vâmana*, *Padas*, *Purusha* and a huge list of other words, too numerous to mention here, are all used in the Vedas in almost the same sense in which they are now used and we are thus puzzled as to the real significance of a number of Vedic passages. It is really a puzzle to understand the mind of the Vedic priestly poets when they say that *Purusha* rose above the *earth* by ten *Angulas* and that the same *Purusha* rose up high by three *padas*, and that *Vishnu* in the form of a dwarf measured the *three worlds* with his three *pâdas* or foot-prints or strides, as usually translated. As the technical sense in which these and other words are used has long been forgotten, they are taken in their ordinary sense and the sentiments thus conveyed by them are passed for common-place or childish ideas. But should a Vedic poet rise from the dead and tell us that he used the word *Dyāvâprithivi* in the sense of the northern and southern *Ayanas* or movements of the sun ; that *Purusha* meant a gnomon, perhaps a human figure of gold, 12 or 120 *Angulas* high, used to ascertain the summer and winter solstices by measuring the shadow it cast on those days, and that in the locality in which the poets lived the *Purusha* cast a shadow of three *padas* (or 90 *Angulas*) more than the *Purusha* of 120 *Angulas*, *i.e.*, 210 *Angulas*, on the day of solstice, we could not but confess our guilt of sitting in judgment of those whom we had so long tried without understanding their language.

Such seems to be the feature of our erroneous judgment arrived at in our critical studies of the Vedas and I am quite aware of the serious error I might myself commit in attributing

to the Vedic poets that they perhaps never dreamt of. Still goaded on by the presumption that I discovered the real technical sense of a few Vedic words to settle the chronology of the Vedas, I make this endeavour, more alive to the consequence of failure than of success.

The three domains spoken of in the Vedas as Prithivi, Antarikshā, and Divah are the three astronomical divisions of the celestial sphere corresponding to the Spring, Summer, and Winter seasons, and the two worlds Dyāvāprithivi are the Uttarāyana, the sun's northern journey, and the Dakshināyana, the sun's southern journey. This view is confirmed by the following passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 8, 1, 1.)

“ The first day is for it this same terrestrial world, and the *spring season also is this terrestrial world* ; and the second day is what there is above this terrestrial world and below the air, and the summer season also is that part of it ; and the central day is its air, and the rainy and the autumn seasons also are its air ; and the fourth day is what is above the air, and below the sky, and the winter season also is that part of it ; and its fifth day is the sky, and the dewy season also is its sky : thus as to the deities. Then as to the body : the first day is its feet, and the spring season also is its feet and the second day is what is above the feet and below the waist, and the summer season also is that part of it and the central day is its waist, and the rainy and the autumn season also is that part of it ; the fourth day is what is above the waist and below the head, and the winter season also is that part of it ; and the fifth day is its head, and the dewy season also is its head : Thus *three worlds*, as well as the *year* and the sacrificer's self, pass into the Purushamedha for the obtainment and securing of everything ; for, indeed, these worlds are everything, and the *year* is everything, and the self is everything and the Purushamedha is everything.”

In the above passage the poet symbolically represents the year of 360 days by the five days' sacrifice, called Purushamedha or man's sacrifice. The year of 360 days is divided into five parts, (1) the spring (2) summer, (3) rainy, and autumn, (4) winter, and (5) dewy seasons, and those five divisions are symbolically represented by the 5 days of the Purushamedha. The human body is also divided into five parts, as enumerated in the passage, and those five parts are also identified with the five divisions of the year.

The Tāntric literature is full of these ideas :

The Saundaryalahari, for example, divides the body into six parts, and besides identifying those six parts with the five divisions of the celestial vault, distributes the days of the year among those five parts. In verse 9 the feet of the Goddess are identified with the earth, the waist with water, the navel with fire, the wind with the breast, and the part above the breast with the sky, and the middle of the brows with mind. In verse 14, the 360 days of the year are allotted to those five parts as follows :—

The earth .. .. .	56 days or kalâs
The water .. .. .	52 ..
The fire or summer .. .. .	62 ..
The wind .. .. .	54 ..
The sky .. .. .	72 ..
The mind .. .. .	64 ..

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360 days

That these kalâs or rays of the goddess are days, is clearly stated in the Bhairavayâmala quoted in the Commentary on the above verse. Bhâskara-râya, in his commentary on the Bhâvanopanishad (252), identified the goddess with 21,600 Svâsâs or breathings, so many breathings making a complete day, as stated in the Sûryasiddhânta and a number of Tânttric works :—

10 Svaras .. (Babylonian sor) .. ..	1 svâsa
6 Svâsas .. .. soss .. ..	1 vinâdi.
60 Vinâdis .. ..	1 nâdi.
60 Nâdis or 21,600 Svâsas .. .. ner .. ..	1 day.

The same idea is also clearly expressed in the Rigveda (I. 155 f 164 ; and X. 90) as follows :—

“ From his navel comes mid-air ; the sky was fashioned from his head ; the earth from his feet, and from his ear the regions ; thus they formed the worlds.” X. 90, 14.

“ He (Vishṇu) causeth, like a rounded wheel, ninety recurring revolutions with four names.” I. 155, 6.

Of these two passages, the first speaks of the creation of the three worlds, earth, air and sky from the feet, navel and the head of Vishṇu, corresponding to the autumn and spring, summer with rains, and the winter. In the second passage, the usual order is changed. The year is divided into four divisions of ninety days each, each day being called a Vritta or Circle.

In addition to these three or four divisions of the year, two divisions of the year as *Dyāvâprithivi* is frequently spoken of in the Vedâs. The *Taittiriya Samhita* (VII, 5, 7) says for example, "For six months (as they go) hence, the Brahman's *Sâman* should be the victorious chant. The victorious chant is the holy power; for the world of heaven is as it were opposite from hence. When they come thence the Brâhman's *Sâman* for six months should be."

From this passage it is clear that the heavenly world (*div*) means six months and the earthly world (*prithivi*) which is opposite to it is also the other six months of the year. The other endearing terms applied to those two worlds are mother and father. This is proved by the following passage of the *Rigveda* (I. 164, 12) :—

"They call him in the farther half of heaven the father five footed, of twelve forms, wealthy in watery store."

"Beneath the upper realm above this lower, bearing her calf at the foot, the cow hath risen. Witherward, to what place hath she departed? Where calved she? Not amid this herd of cattle." (I. 164, 17.)

"Who, that the father of this calf discerneth beneath the upper realm, above the lower, showing himself a sage, may here declare it?" (I. 164, 18.)

The meaning of the above verses is this :—

The lower half, *i.e.*, the half from summer solstice to winter solstice, is the mother; and the other upper half, *i.e.*, the half from winter solstice to summer solstice called *Uttarâyana* is the father. The mother and father come together at the summer solstice and the winter solstice. The mother becomes pregnant and brings forth her calf, the new year on the summer solstice which is above the lower realm and beneath the upper realm, as stated in the above verses. Now the poet asks himself saying: "where does the old year personified as cow go after presenting her calf, the new year, and how did the father, the old year, come to wed her in the lower realm beneath the upper." That the summer solstice is the termination or head of the *Purusha* or father, is clearly stated in the following passage of the *Rigveda* (I. 164, 7) :—

"Let him who knoweth presently declare it, this lovely bird's securely founded station.

Forth from his head the cows draw milk, and wearing his vesture with their foot have drunk the water."

Evidently the milk referred to here is the water of the mid-summer rains. The reason for personifying the years and days of the year as cows, calves or bulls is not far to seek. The poet seems to have been led to this metaphor on the analogy of a calf or new year's day marrying its own cow mother, the old year, to bring forth another calf in its turn. Be the reason what it may, it is clear that they called the days cows and the winters solstice a bull. As the calf is stated to be brought forth *beneath* the upper world and *above* the lower world, it is manifestly evident that the mid-summer was the commencement of the year and mid-winter the middle. The sacrificial year, on the other hand began with winter solstice as stated in the Vedānga Jyotisha.

Each of the two worlds, the earth and the sky, is divided into three minor worlds called earth, air, and sky, and one of their characteristics pointing out their arrival and departure is thus stated in the following passage of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (III 10, 4) :—

“ Give me the heaven ; give me the air or atmosphere ; give me the earth, give me earth, give me the air, and give me the heaven ; expand with the day and contract with the night ; expand with night and contract with the day ; increase desire and contract desire.”

The order of the enumeration should be particularly noticed here : (1) heaven, air, earth ; earth, air, and heaven. This shows that the sacrificial year began in mid winter and passed through winter, spring, summer, autumn in the middle, and autumn in the other half, then air, and first half of winter terminating with the winter solstice. After winter solstice the days begin to get longer and longer and nights shorter and shorter until they become equal at the vernal equinox ; and after that the days become longer than nights till at the summer solstice the day becomes the longest and the night becomes the shortest. Again onwards the days contract and the nights expand till they become equal at the autumnal equinox, after which the nights become longer than days till at the winter solstice the night becomes the longest. This is what is meant by the expansion and contraction of days and nights spoken of in the passage.

The division of a year into six worlds, *i.e.*, half a year into three worlds, is still more clearly set forth in the following passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (I. 5) :—

“ He who desires heaven should use two Anushtubhs. There are sixty-four syllables in two anushtubhs. Each of these



three worlds (earth, air and sky) contains (three) twenty-one places, one rising above the other (just as the steps of a ladder). By twenty-one steps he ascends to each of these worlds severally; by taking the sixty-fourth step he stands firm in the celestial world. He who having such knowledge uses two anusthtubhs gains a footing in the celestial world."

This is enjoined in connection with Svishtakrit offerings made in Dikshaniya sacrifice. The verses recited while making the offering may be in any meter, but the sacrificer desirous of reaching the heavenly world is asked to recite two verses in the Anushtubh meter. The reason for the selection of this particular meter is explained in the above passage. The distance of the heavenly world from the terrestrial is three times thrice twenty-one, i.e.,  $3 \times 63 = 189$  and the last step of heavenly world is the 64th. This implies that the same three worlds in descending order will contain  $3 \times 63 = 189$  steps, making a total of 378 steps. The god of the first step of the heavenly world is Agni and the god of the last step of the heavenly world is Vishnu. This is what is meant by the statement made in the beginning of the Aitareya Brâhmana that 'Agni has the lowest and Vishnu the highest place among the gods. Here the number 378 denotes the days of a cyclic year with 360 ordinary days and 18 intercalary days. As usual with the Vedic poets the author of the Aitareya has placed nine out of the 18 intercalary days before and the remaining nine after the central day called Vishuvan. Since we know that the Savana year of the Vedic poets was a year of 360 days and that the solar year was of 366 days, the cyclic year with 18 intercalary days must necessarily be a third year. This is borne out by the following passages of the Nidâna Sûtra (V 12):—

"Who knows that Parivatsara in which no solar month, or lunar month, or even the Nakshatra month remain without completion. In that year which consists of 378 days neither the solar, nor the lunar or the Nakshatra month remains without being completed. In that year the sun goes to the south for 27 periods of seven days each and to the north for a similar period. The sacrificer should insert 9 days before the central day and nine days after the central day in the Sambharya months, i.e., the sixth and the seventh months."

The beginning of the year with Dakshinâyana deserves particular notice. Accordingly the central day is the winter solstice day. The number of intercalary days is 18, of which nine is added before and nine after the central day. The word Vishuvan for the central day does not mean

equinoctial day, as it does in modern works of astronomy. Hence it goes without saying that the year observed consisted of 360 days and that it was adjusted with the solar year of 366 days by adding to the former 18 days in every third year, with the object of terminating the three months, the solar months of  $30\frac{1}{2}$  days, the lunar of  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days and the Nakshatra month of  $27\frac{1}{2}$  days at the same time. Now 3 solar years of 366 days each contain  $3 \times 366 = 1098$  days. Dividing this by  $30\frac{1}{2}$ , the number of days in each solar month as stated in the Nidâna Sûtra, we have  $1098 \div 61\frac{1}{2} = 36$  full solar months.

Similarly dividing the same by  $29\frac{1}{2}$ , the number of days in each lunar month, as stated in the same sutra, we have  $1098 \div 59\frac{1}{2} = 37, 13/59$ .

Likewise dividing the same by  $27\frac{1}{2}$ , the number of days in one sidereal revolution of the moon, we have  $1098 \div 27\frac{1}{2} = 40, 7/4$ .

It is therefore clear that the Vedic poets had a cycle of three Savana years with 18 intercalary days added at the rate of nine days before and nine days after the central day called Vishuvan, The two halves of the year were called earth and heaven, each containing 27 periods of 7 days, as clearly stated in the Nidâna Sûtra. The Agnishtoma sacrifice seems to have been a cyclic sacrifice performed once in every cycle of three years.

The following verses of the Atharva Veda (VI. 55) furnish additional proof of the connection of the worlds and the three year cycles :—

“Of all the many god-frequented pathways that traverse realms between the earth and heaven,

Consign me, all ye gods, to that which leadeth to perfect and inviolable safety.

Maintain us in well being summer, winter, dew-time, and spring, autumn and rainy season.

Give us our share of cattle and of children. May we enjoy your unassailed protection.

Pay to the *year* your lofty adoration, to the *first year* the *second* and the *present*.

May we abide in the auspicious favour and gracious love of these who claim our worship.”

Griffith and other translators of the Vedâs have taken this to refer to a cycle of three lunar years. But as stated in clear

terms in the Nidāna Sūtra, it is a cycle of three civil-solar years. What deserves particular attention in these verses is the beginning of the year with summer, the goal of the earth and heaven in winter.

It is now clear that the three earths and the three realms of light spoken of in Rig. I. 102, 9, 105, 5 : 109, 9 ; VI., 44, 23, and the three-wheeled chariot in X. 85, 14, seem to refer to the same cycle of three years. I have already pointed out that the two worlds called heaven and earth (dyāvāprithivi) and father and mother are the two Ayanas, the northern and the southern, both making together a year. The cow, the mother, is also said to bring forth a new calf every year, between the two worlds. In the same hymn (I. 164, 7), the poet speaks of three mothers and three fathers bringing forth a single child. This also seems to refer to the cycle of three years. The verse runs as follows :—

Bearing three mothers and three fathers, single he stood erect : they never make him weary.

The three-wheeled chariot of the Ásvins to carry the sun's daughters for her marriage (Rig. I. 34, 5 ; X. 85, 14) seems also to allude to the cycle of three years, inasmuch as the 6th verse of the same hymn speaks of three heavens, three earths and three water-worlds. Three lucid regions, the threefold Amrit, and the chariot with the evenfold reins (VI. 44, 23-24) ; the three earths and three heavens resting on Varuṇa (VII. 87, 5) ; the thrice-seven close-pressed ridges and the thrice-sixty Maruts spoken of (in VII. 85, 2 and 8), can all find a satisfactory explanation on the hypothesis of the cycle of three years. The number, 7, 21, and 63 are, as already pointed out, the week of 7 days, three weeks of 7 days and 9 weeks of 7 days. It is probable that since the number of days of every third year was divisible by 7, the division of the year into periods of 7 days each was for the first time applied only to the intercalary year before applying it to all years, whether ordinary or intercalary.

Whether the cycle served the purpose for which it was designed is another question. It is enough to know that it is a cycle of three years. The six days above the Savana year of 360 days are termed Atirātras and are so stated in the Sūryaprajñapti (pp. 218-220). It is also known to all Vedic Scholars that the Asvamedha sacrifice lasted for three years, that is, for one cycle of 3 years, whatever might be the interval between any two Asvamedhas. It appears that the eighteen

victims offered in the horse sacrifice represented these 18 intercalary days. Accordingly the Tait. Brâhmaṇa (II. 9,1) says :—

“Prajâpati created the horse sacrifice ; that after creation quitted him. He then tied it with the 18 victims. Then he obtained it. Having obtained it, he enclosed it with the eighteen ; thereby he established the sacrifice on a firm basis. The eighteen are the symbol of the year ; for the year also contains eighteen : the twelve months, the five seasons and the year itself eighteenth.”

Again in III. 9, 6 the same Brâhmaṇa refers to the cycle of three years in the following passage :—

“Three are the worlds : From these worlds he drives him the horse). Again they go round thrice. This amounts to six ; for six are the season . . . then they (the worlds) move nine times.”

All that is meant in the above passage is this :—

There are six worlds, three in one half of the year and three in the other half or Ayana. Each world moves once a year making one season. Hence one movement of all these worlds must necessarily make one year with its expansion of days and contraction of nights and expansion of nights and contraction of days, as stated in the same Brâhmaṇa (III. 10, 4, 9.) Hence the movements must mean three years when, each world moving thrice, the total number of movements of the three worlds put together amounts to nine.

If, still, there is any doubt about the observance by the Vedic poets of a cycle of three civil years of 360 days each with eighteen intercalary days, the following passage from the Satapatha Brâhmaṇa (X. 5, 4, 5) will remove it :—

“Now that seven hundred and twenty bricks there are (in the fire-altar), they are three hundred and sixty Yajusmati bricks ; and what thirty-six there are in addition, they are the thirteenth intercalary month.”

Evidently the author of this passage identifies the 720 of the seven hundred and fifty-six bricks of the altar<sup>1</sup> with the 360 days and 360 nights of the year and the remaining thirty-six bricks, with the days intercalated to the year. It is easy

<sup>1</sup> The altar being identical with the year, the 720 bricks represent the days and nights of the year, Eggeing. Trans. of Sat. Br. Part. IV. p. 333

to understand that the author meant a cycle of six-civil-solar years, when the civil or Savana year of 360 days will fall short of six solar years of 366 days each by 36 days. Evidently this is the same thing in adding 18 days to every third civil year in order to adjust it with the solar year of 366 days.

Professors Macdonell and Keith are of opinion that though there are evident references to the Devâyana or Uttarâyana and the Pitrayana or Dakshinâyana in the Vedas, the limits of the Ayanas are not known and that there are only doubtful references to the solstice in the Rigveda.<sup>1</sup> But it must be borne in mind that the Ayanas would not be spoken of, unless their limits, the two solstices, were known. Nor does it seem to have been so difficult a task to understand the beginning and the close of the Ayanas. One of the striking features of the Ayanas is, as clearly stated in the passage of the Taittiriya Brâhmaṇa quoted above, the elongation and contraction of days and nights in the Uttarâyana and contraction and elongation of days and nights in the Dakshinâyana. Another important feature is that the shadow cast by a gnomon on the day of summer solstice is the longest in the northern latitudes. These two seem to be the striking features availed of by the Vedic poets to determine their solstices. The Sûryaprajnapti of the Jainas relies upon them as unfailing guides. According to the latter the day in mid-summer measures 18 muhûrtas or 14 hours and 24' with a shadow of 24 angulas in length ; and that of winter solstice 12 muhûrtas with a shadow of 48 angulas. Evidently a day of 14 hours 24' occurs only about the latitude of 30 degrees and not below and certainly not in the Magadha (latitude 24°), the place where Mahâvîra, the author of the Sûryaprajnapti, lived.

It appears therefore that it was a traditional account relating to earlier times and higher latitudes where the Vedic poets, the ancestors of both the Jainas and the Brâhmins, lived. We cannot expect the Vedic poets, especially those of Rigveda, to tell us the length of the day or night in hours and minutes, in Muhûrtas and Nâdis. For it does not seem to have been known to them. Even assuming that it was known to them, there was no instrument to precisely measure those divisions. The use of the shadow of a gnomon in measuring the muhûrtas is a complicated business beyond the capacity of the Vedic poets. It is not so simple a process as the determination of the solstices by observing the shortest and longest shadows of definite length cast by a gnomon of a fixed length. Nor even

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<sup>1</sup> Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 467.

does the water clock referred to both in the Vedângajyotisha and the Arthasâstra of Kautilya seem to have been known. The one contrivance which the poets seem to have made use of to ascertain the important day division was the recitation of the Vedic hymns. As already pointed out, the utterance of 216,000 syllables measured a day. That is  $216,000/60=3,600$  syllables measure a Nâdika of 24 minutes. According to Varâhamihira's Panchasidhântika (p. 82) a Nâdika is measured by the recitation of 60 verses of 60 syllables each, i.e., 3,600 syllables. The syllables of one set of seven metres used in the Vedas amount to 252. They take nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  minutes to recite.

That the Vedic poets used the metres to determine the day or night time, is clearly stated in the following passage of the Nidâna sûtra (IX. 8) :

“In the Agnishtoma sacrifice the twelve stotras or sets of verses chanted leave three muhûrtas or 6 Nâdikas unmeasured.” From this it is clear that each set of a stotra measured a muhûrta. Accordingly it may be presumed that the Agnishtoma day measured only 12 muhûrtas, since only 12 stotras are used to measure the time of that sacrifice; the Ukthya day with fifteen stotras was a day of 15 muhûrtas and that shodasi day was measured by a set of 16 stotras corresponding to its 16 or more muhûrtas. Anyhow, it is probable that twelve being the least, the shortest day or night of the Vedic poets measured only 12 muhûrtas; and this question requires elaborate investigation.

Another important feature of the solstitial days seems to be the length of the shadow cast by a gnomon or Purusha as it is termed in the astronomical works of the Hindus. In almost all of the astronomical works and especially the Sûryaprajnapti of Mahâvira it is stated that the lowest shadow cast by a Purusha or gnomon of 12 angulas in height is 2 pâda or 24 Angulas and that during the six months from the summer solstice in Sravaṇa the shadow grows longer by 4 Angulas each month, measuring 48 Angulas or 4 Pâdas on the day of Winter solstice in the month of Mâgha. We are not, however, told precisely whether they measured the midday shadow or the shadow at any other time. The commentator on the Sûryaprajnapti says that the shadow cast by a gnomon or any other thing either in the morning or in the evening was the shadow meant by the author of the Sûryaprajnapti. But according to the Panchasiddhântikâ and other later astronomical works, it is the midday shadow that is always used in astronomical

calculations. It is more than probable that the poet astronomers of the Vedic age made use of the midday shadow in their astronomical considerations.

As will be seen, the Vedic poets seem to have called their gnomon Vâmana or dwarf and its shadow Vâmana's or Vishṇu's foot-prints.

I now proceed to quote the Vedic passages where Vishṇu's strides are spoken of as measuring three worlds.

## SECTION II.

### VISHṆU'S STRIDES.

1. Through all this world strode Vishṇu ; thrice his foot he planted and the whole was gathered in his foot-step's dust. Rig. I. 22, 17.

The station indicated by the third step is invisible, because it is far away, to the equator.

(Vishṇu) who verily alone upholds the three-fold—the earth, the heaven, and all living creatures. Rig. I. 154, 4.

With three Pâdas he went up ; his (first) Pâda has again been here. Thence he strode out to every side—what eats not and what eats. Rig. X. 90, 2 and 4.

Step widely Vishṇu ; give us broad space for dwelling in."

" Fire is to be kindled by the navel of Vishṇu . . . . . ;

It is twelve angulas (pradesa) only ; for so much is the navel of Vishṇu." Kâthaka S. XX, 7.

The Vedic literature abounds in passages referring to the strides of Vishṇu and for want of space only a few, selected here and there, are quoted here. In all these passages Vishṇu or Purusha is always mentioned with his three strides or foot-prints. The word Purusha is still a technical name given to the gnomon in all the astronomical works of the Hindus. Hence it is inferred that Purusha is probably a gnomon bearing the name of Vishṇu, the sun. The custom of making a line of shadow in the sacrificial hall, as stated in the following passage of the Atharva Veda (XIII. I, 57), supports this inference. The passage runs as follows :—

" Thou, who, between the fire and me, passeth across the line of shadow (chhâya), thy root, I swear : never more mayest thou cover the shadow on the ground."

If the three worlds, earth, air, and sky meant to the Vedic poets three divisions of the year from summer solstice to winter solstice in ascending order, and also the other three divisions of the other half in descending or reverse order, as clearly stated in the Tait. Brâhmaṇa quoted above, there is no reason to doubt that by the measure of these worlds in terms of *Purusha's* or Vishnu's *pâdas*, or *padas* the poets must have occasionally meant varying lengths of the *Purusha's* or *Gnomon's* shadow in those three worlds. It is an astronomical fact that the shadow of a gnomon on a given day and in a particular place or latitude is a fixed quantity. I venture to believe that this fact was known to the Rigvedic poets and that they ascertained the beginning and close of their two or three or six worlds by means of the *Purusha's* shadow. The name of the gnomon in all Sanskrit astronomical works is *Purusha*, a word which also means Vishnu. What else can we expect the poets to mean when they say in arithmetical numbers that *Purusha* measured the earth with all its creatures with one *Pâda* (*pâdo' sya visvâ bhûtâni*) and that he rose more than three *Pâdas* high in the sphere of the sky (*tri pâdûrdhavamudaitpurushah*)? At the very beginning of the *Purushsûkta* hymn (Rig. X. 85) the poets say that their wonderful *Purusha* covered the entire earth and stood up by *ten angulas*.

When so saying, they must be taken to be either childish bordering on lunacy or admirably learned and keen in observing astronomical facts and figures in the dark epoch in which they lived. I prefer to take the latter view, inasmuch as the measures of the shadow in *pâdas*, as given in the *Purushasûkta* and other hymns, admirably determines the two solstices for the latitudes of 36 degrees, which formed one of their earliest homes on their way towards the Interior of India. In order to work out these problems and verify the figures, it is necessary that we should know the exact height of the *Purusha* and the length of the *pâda*. In our modern astronomical works *Purusha* is invariably taken to be of 12 *angulas* in height and *pâda* or *pada*, its synonym, is also taken to be of 12 *angulas* in length. But in the *Srautasûtras*, *Purusha* means a pole of 120 *angulas* and *Pâda* a quarter of any measure<sup>1</sup> or 30 *angulas* in this case. Taking the latter measures, we may work out the sum and see whether the figures hold good for the latitude of 36 degrees or any other latitude. Now the statement of the *Purushasûkta* is that *Purusha* measured the

<sup>1</sup> Bodhayana's *Sulba* and Kapardi Swami's Commentary on Âpastamba *Sulba*, *patala* II and III. There seems to be a *Purusha* of 96 *angulas* in height.



earth, *i.e.*, summer solstice with one pāda or 30 angulas and the sky, *i.e.*, the winter solstice with three pādas or 90 angulas more than his own height. That is how I explain the word Ūrdhva in tripādūrdhavamudaitapurushah. Now the tangent of the angle subtending the arc forming the zenith distance of the sun is  $30/120 = \frac{1}{4} = .25$  where 30 is the length of the shadow and 120 is the gnomon.  $\tan z = .25$ . Hence  $z$  is 14 degrees from Trigonometrical tables. This added to 24 degrees, the measure of the sun's declination on the day of summer solstice, gives 38 degrees for the latitude.

Similarly for the winter solstice, Tangent of the zenith distance is  $90 + 120/120 = 7/4$ . Hence from the Sūryasiddhānta tables the corresponding arc or angle is  $60^\circ$ . Deducting from this the measure of the sun's declination (as the sun is in the southern hemisphere), we have  $60^\circ - 24 = 36^\circ$ .

It is also stated that Purusha measured the atmosphere or the rainy season (not the equinox, vernal or autumnal) by two pādas or 60 angulas. The zenith distance of the sun corresponding to the shadow of 60 angulas is about 27, *i.e.*, when the sun is about 90 above the equator. This perhaps marks the time of aparapaksha, the latter half of the month Bhādra-pada when the Pitris are worshipped.

The difference of  $2^\circ$  in the latitude as measured by the length of the shadow on the summer solstice may be due to various causes. Difficulty in placing the gnomon exactly in the meridian circle, error in reading the length of the shadow, measuring the shadow before or after true midday, unevenness of the surface, etc., these and other causes introduce no small error in the shadow-measure. Notwithstanding these unavoidable errors, the continued observation of the measures of the shadow and those of the length of day for 9 or 8 days before the solstitial day would not fail to apprise the poets of the arrival of the expected day. The other measures of Vishnu's strides referred to in the Vedas, such as 10 angulas, prādesa or 12 angulas, three pādas, 4 padas, etc., may probably relate to the determination of other auspicious occasions of the year. Any how the shortest shadow and the longest day of 18 muhūrtas appear to have been the derminants of the summer solstice while the longest shadow and the shortest day of 12 muhūrtas, *i.e.*, the Agnishtoma day with twelve stotras corresponding to the 12 muhūrtas, indicated the arrival of the winter solstice. There is reference made in the Nidāna sūtra<sup>1</sup> to

1 Nidana II. 13 and IX. 8:

a day and a night of 15 muhūrtas each and also to a day of 12 muhūrtas. These considerations incline me to believe that the Vedic poets divided the year into two halves termed the earth and heaven, also called mother and father and that the longest day and shortest shadow enabled them to find out the extreme limit of the Uttarâyana and the shortest day and longest shadow the close of the Dakshinâyana.

Now this Purusha is also called by various names such as Vishṇu, Tripada, Aja, Ekapada, Nârâyana or Naranârâyana, Nara being the name of Arjuna or Phalgunâ. Now if Vishṇu's feet measured the shadow and thereby determined the winter solstice in the middle of the year, we might take it for granted that the head of the year lay on the midsummer day when the rains began from the month of Purusha and the goddess Sûryâ, the daughter of the sun was married to the moon. From the legend recorded in the Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa and Taitt. Aranyaka, we learn that Vishṇu's head once lay at the Magha star and was cut off by the springing of the bow, which he held in his hand resting his head on one of the extremities of that bow bent with the string. Accordingly the feet must lie at the fourteenth star from the Magha. The 14th star is Satabhishak. Hence the feet must be on that star. But from the name; Aja, Ekapada, given to the Pûrvâbhâdrapada, it appears that the feet lay at the beginning of the 15th star. This is not, however, a serious error, considering the age when this observation was made. Or we may take the beginning of the Pûrvaphâlguni as the place of the head when the beginning of the Pûrvâbhâdrapada was the place of the feet. Owing to the precession of the equinox the solstitial point preceded from the beginning of the Pûrvaphâlguni through Magha to the end of Āslesha, in the course of about 1,200 years. Hence the summer solstice, the place of *Prithivi* (the beginning Dakshinâyana) took its place at the end of Āslesha instead of Magha, carrying the head of Vishṇu to that new place. This was a wonderful and rather astonishing phenomenon to the trained observers of the heavens, who were habituated to observe the head of Vishṇu in the constellation of Magha for about 1,000 years under the unmistakable test of the gnomon and the stotras. Hence the Vedic poets frequently say that Vishṇu's head was cut off and blown away from the constellation of Magha, its usual resting place.

“ But, indeed, Vishṇu was unable to control that love of glory of his ; and so even now every one cannot control that love of glory of his. Taking his bow, together with three arrows he stepped forth. He stood, resting his head on the end of

the bow. Not daring to attack him the gods eat themselves down all around him. Then the ants said:—'What would you give to him who would gnaw the bowstring?' 'We would give him the constant enjoyment of food, and he would *find water* in the desert.' 'So be it,' they said. Having gone unto him, they gnawed his bowstring. When it was cut, the ends of the bow, springing round, cut off Vishnu's head. It fell with the sound 'Ghrin;' and on falling it became yonder sun; and the rest of his body lay stretched out towards the east."

"And Makha, indeed, is the same as Vishnu. Hence Indra became Makhavat (possessed of Makha), since Makhavat is he who is mystically called Maghavat, for the gods love the mystic. (Sat. Br. XIV. 1, 1, 13).

From this passage it is clear Makha and Magha (star) were considered identical and that Makha (Magha, the star) was the head of the sacrifice on the earth's place, *i.e.*, at the beginning of the Dakshinâyana and that after Vishnu's head disappeared from that place and the head of the year receded back owing to the precession of the solstitial colure as noticed both by observation of the stars and the characteristic marks the longest day and the shortest shadow, the poet astronomers performed a pravargya rite through the period of intercalary days. This corroborates what Prof. Jacobi has said regarding the beginning of the Hindu year once in summer solstice in Magha or Pūrva Phalguni earlier still.<sup>1</sup> He quotes verses from the Rigveda (X. 85,13) and the Atharvaveda (XIV. 1. 13) in support of his view. Both the verses though varying in the reading of the word of Magha, are of the same purport and run as follows:—

"In Magha the kine are killed, and in Phalguni the marriage (of Sūryâ) is held."

Considering this passage along with another Rigvedic passage (VII. 103, 9) implying the beginning of the year in the midsummer the Prof. concluded saying as follows:—

"Now the vernal equinox was in Krittikâ and the summer solstice was in Magha (about 2500 B.C). The statement of the Jyotisha as to the position of the colures is much later and it corresponds to the fourteenth or fifteenth century B.C. and shows a repeated fixing of the colures. That, however, is less important for us now, the chief point is that the Vedic texts, properly so called, contain a determination of the colure

1 Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXIII. p. 154, 1895.

which was evidently correct for them and was only corrected in the Jyotisha, a determination that leads us to at least the beginning of the three thousand years B.C. Considerably older than this, even, is the position of the colures, which we may refer for the Rigveda, a position, which, as our table shows, corresponded to reality about 4,500 B.C."

The tables appended to by him are as follows :—

	Draconis	3.0	magnitude	4 38	polar dist.	4700	B.C.
a	"	3.3	"	0 6	"	2 780	"
k	"	3.3	"	4. 44	"	1 290	"
B	Ursae Minoris						
a	"	2.0	"	6 28	"	1 080	"
	"	2.0	"	0 28	"	2 100	A.D.

Mr. Bal Gangadharā Tilak also has come to the same conclusion in his Orion. By finding references in the Vedas and the meaning of the worlds, the couple of Dvāvâprithivi, and the removal of Vishnu's head from the constellation, Magha, I have come to the same conclusion. This is not an accidental coincidence ; and it is hoped that the followers of the late Prof. Max Muller will change their cherished theories of 1,500 B. C. fixed for the beginning of the Vedic literature and accept its beginning at the traditional commencement of the Kaliyuga in 3,100 B.C. Though the rate of precession of the colure might not be known to the early Hindus, they knew at least the shifting once in every thousand years (in round numbers). For the first time its shifting from the Magha was, as seen above, noticed in the Brâhmaṇas. Next its location in the middle of Aslesha is found recorded in the Vedânga Jyotisha.<sup>1</sup> Later on in 550 B.C. situation of the summer solstice at the close of the Pushya is recorded in the Sūryaprajnapti of the Jainas. Still later in the latter part of the sixth century A.D. it is said to have been passing through the beginning of the Punarvasu in the Panchasiddhantika of Varâhâmihira. This shows a continued observation of the situation and shifting of the colures a number of times in the course of 3600 years.

<sup>1</sup> Vedanga Jyotisha about the solstice in the middle of Alesaha.

## ART. IV.—Vedic basis of Hindu Law.

(P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M.)

From the most ancient times the Vedas have been looked upon as a source of *dharmā*. Gautama says 'The Veda is the source of *dharmā* (sacred law) and the tradition and the practice of those that know it (Veda).'<sup>1</sup> Āpastamba also says 'The authority (for the *dharmas*) is the agreement of those that know the sacred law (*dharmā*) and the Vedas.'<sup>2</sup> The Manusmṛti lays down five different sources of *dharmā*. 'The whole Veda is the (foremost) source of sacred law (*dharmā*) and (next) the tradition and the practice of those who know it (the Veda); and (further) the customs of virtuous men and self-satisfaction.'<sup>3</sup> Similarly Yājñavalkya declares 'Revelation, tradition, the customs of good men, what is agreeable to one's self and desire born of due deliberation—this is traditionally recognised as the source of Dharma.'<sup>4</sup> The Dharmasūtras and later works on Hindu Law often quote Vedic passages in support of the rules laid down by them. For example, Āpastamba<sup>5</sup> quotes two passages from the Taittiriya Saṁhitā on the rights of sons to a partition of the property held by their father. 'The Śruti declares that Manu divided his wealth among his sons without (making any) difference.' "Now the Veda also declares in favour of one (eldest son) alone in the words 'therefore they distinguish (or establish) the eldest by wealth.'" The Baudhāyanadharmasūtra (II. 2. 3-2 and 5) refers to the same two passages of the Taittiriya Saṁhitā.

- 1 'वेदो धर्ममूलम् । तद्विदां च स्मृतिशीले ' गौतमधर्मसूत्र I. 1-2.
- 2 ' धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणं वेदाश्च ' आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र I. 1. 1. 2
- 3 वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलं स्मृतिशीले च तद्विद्वान् । आचारश्चैव साधूनामात्मन-  
स्तुष्टिरेव च ॥ मनुस्मृति II. 6.
- 4 श्रुतिः स्मृतिः सदाचारः स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः । सम्यक्सङ्कल्पजः कामो  
धर्ममूलानिषं स्मृतम् ॥ याज्ञ. I. 7.
- 5 मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यवज्जदित्वविशेषेण श्रूयते । अथापि तस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं  
धनेन निरवसाद्यन्तीत्येकवक्ष्यते । आप. धर्मसूत्र II. 6. 14. 11—

12. The first passage occurs in the story of नाभानेद्विष्ट (तैत्तिरीयसंहिता  
III. 1. 9. 4—5) and the second in तै. सं. II. 5. 2. 7.

When it is said that the Vedas are the source of *dharmā*, it is not meant that the Vedas lay down positive precepts or injunctions (*vidhis*) on points of Hindu Law as later works like the *Manusmṛti* or the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* do. All that is meant is that the Vedas contain incidental references to matters that are of interest to students of Hindu Law, that they take certain facts as well-known and make use of them for various purposes. The information that is contained in the Vedas on matters of Hindu Law is in the nature of what are known as *arthavādas* in the *Mīmāṃsā* system. As *arthavādas* form a syntactical unity with the positive injunctions (*vidhis*) laid down in the Vedas, they are authoritative. They indicate with sufficient clearness what the state of things then was. If one were to collect together the scattered Vedic texts on such topics of Hindu Law as marriage, adoption, joint family, partition, inheritance, Stridhan, one would find that the information is of considerable importance and is not quite meagre as one is apt to suppose. The conclusion would irresistibly force itself upon us that the foundations of the Hindu Law are deeply laid in the Vedic age itself, that the peculiar characteristics that distinguish the Hindu Law of modern times from other systems of law, had their germ in the Vedic period and that later Hindu jurists were not wrong when they relied upon the Veda as the first source of *dharmā*. In the following pages an attempt is made to bring together Vedic passages that bear more or less on different points of Hindu Law. It is not intended to discuss Vedic society in general or to give an account of Vedic manners and customs. No claim is made that these pages contain an exhaustive exploration of every possible avenue of information to be gathered from a study of the Vedic literature on Hindu Law.

The commentaries of Sāyana and other Indian scholars and the editions, translations and indexes prepared by such Western scholars as Dr. Haug, Prof. Bühler, Prof. Macdonell and Prof. Keith have been of great help in writing the following pages. For facilitating the work of printing, Vedic accents have been omitted.

As marriage is the foundation of family life, we shall first of all describe what the Vedic literature has to say thereon. Yājñavalkya<sup>1</sup> lays down that a *dvija* should marry a girl, who is younger than himself, who is not his *sapinda*, who is free from disease, has a brother and who is not sprung from a family

1 अनन्यपूर्विकां कान्तामसपिण्डां यधीयसीम् । अरोगिणीं भ्रातृमतीमसमा-  
नार्थगात्रजाम् ॥ याज्ञ० I. 52-53.

the *gotra* and *pravara* of which are the same as his. Similarly Vasishṭha<sup>1</sup> says : " It is declared in the Veda ' a maiden who has no brother comes back to the male ancestors (of her own family); returning she becomes their son." These words of the Vasishṭhadharmasūtra evidently are based upon a verse of the Ṛgveda.<sup>2</sup> ' As a (woman) without a brother comes back to (her) male (relations), like one who ascends the assembly post for obtaining the wealth (of her husband), like a wife, gaily attired and anxious to meet her husband, like a smiling damsel, the dawn unmasks objects (or her beauty).' Similarly in another passage of the Ṛgveda<sup>3</sup> we read ' Roaming about like young women without brothers, like women of evil conduct hating their husbands, (they) being wicked), unrighteous and untruthful, have created (for themselves) this deep place (hell).' This verse seems to suggest that brotherless girls went astray, probably because no one was willing to marry them. In the Atharvaveda<sup>4</sup> we read ' You women that go, veins, with red garments, like brotherless sisters, let them stand still, with their splendour gone.' The foregoing passages lead one to infer that even in the remotest Vedic age it was difficult, if not quite impossible, to secure husbands for brotherless girls. In a passage of the Ṛgveda reference is made to a maiden growing old in her parents' house.<sup>5</sup> ' Like (a woman) growing old in her parents' house, I pray to thee as Bhaga from the seat common to all. Grant knowledge, mete out and bring it near ; give us the share wherewith thou greatest beings.' This bar against marrying a brotherless

- 1 विज्ञायते अभ्रातृका पुंसः पितृन्-योति प्रतीचीन् गच्छति पुत्रत्वम् ।  
वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र XVII. 16.
- 2 अभ्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतीचीं गर्ताऋगिव सनये धनानाम् । जायेव पत्य उद्यती  
सुवासा उषा हस्तेव नि रिपीति अत्सः ॥ ऋग्वेद I. 124. 7; vide  
Nirukt. III. 5.
- 3 अभ्रातरो न योषणो व्यन्तः पतिरिपो न जनयो दुर्वाः । पापासः सन्तो  
अनुता असत्या इवं पद्मजनता गभीरम् ॥ ऋ. IV. 5. 5.
- 4 अमूर्या यन्ति योषितो हिरा लोहितवाससः । अभ्रातर इव जामयस्तिष्ठन्तु  
हतवर्चसः ॥ अथर्ववेद I. 17. 1 (Pandit). It is to be noted that  
Yaska reads जामयः for योषितः, योषाः for जामयः, सर्वा  
for हिराः, तिष्ठन्ति for तिष्ठन्तु, and हतवर्चसः for हतवर्चसः  
(निरुक्त III. 4.). The passage as quoted in the Nirukta reads no  
doubt better than the current Atharvan text.
- 5 अमाङ्गुलि पित्रोः सत्या सती समानावा सर्वसस्त्वामिधे भगम् । कृधि  
प्रकृतमुप मास्या भर रुद्धि भागं तन्वो येन मामहः ॥ ऋ. II. 17. 7.

maiden seems to have been due to the fear that such a girl might be an appointed daughter (*putrikā*) and that her son would offer *pinḍas* to his maternal grandfather and not to his paternal ancestors.

This custom of *putrikā* is, according to the Nirukta, alluded to in a verse of the Ṛgveda, the meaning of which is extremely obscure. 'The bearer (father) desiring (continuity of his line) looks upon the daughter's (son) as his grandson (son's son); knowing this he honours the ray of righteousness; where the father, seeking the husband of his daughter, has a happy mind.'<sup>1</sup>

As to the prohibition grounded on the sameness of *gotra*, Vedic Literature does not yield clear and definite results. Long before the times of the Dharmasutras<sup>2</sup> it was firmly established that a girl was not to be married to a *sagotra* or to one who was connected by blood with the mother (of the girl or bridegroom within certain degrees). It is not too much to suppose that the same restrictions prevailed in the Vedic age. A passage of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa is relied upon by Professors Macdonell and Keith for establishing that marriage within the third or fourth degree on either side was recognised and that marriage with the daughter of the paternal uncle was allowed in those days.<sup>3</sup> This appears to be a startling proposition. The passage of the Śatapatha<sup>4</sup> is: "Thus the separation (of the eater and the eaten) is effected in one and the same act; and hence from one and the same man spring both the enjoyer (the husband) and the enjoyed (the wife); for now kinsfolk live sporting and rejoicing together, saying 'in the fourth (or) third man (*i.e.*, generation) we unite.' And this is so in accordance with that (separation of the spoons)."

<sup>1</sup> शासद्ब्रह्मिर्ब्रह्मिर्ब्रह्मं गाह्विर्द्वौ ऋतस्य वीथिति सपर्यन् । पिता यत्र ब्रुहिस्तु  
सैकसृञ्जन् स क्षम्येन मनसा दधन्वे ॥ ऋग्वेद III. 31. 1.

This is explained in the निरुक्त (III. 4). *Vide* below p. 73 for the three views about this verse. Oldenberg is of opinion that in this verse 'ब्रह्मि' means simply 'fire' and the verse alludes to the generation of fire in the sky and in the *arania*.

<sup>2</sup> Note आ. ध. सू. II. 5. 11. 15-16 सगोत्राय ब्रुहितारं न प्रयच्छेत् ।  
मातुश्च योनिसम्बन्धेभ्यः ।'; गौ. ध. सू. IV. 2-5.

<sup>3</sup> Vedic Index Vol. I., p. 236, under *Gotra*.

<sup>4</sup> 'समान एव कर्मन् व्याक्रियते तस्मात्समानादेव पुरुषादत्ता आयाश्च  
जायेते इदं हि चतुर्थे पुरुषे तृतीये संगच्छामहे इति वि वेवं इन्धियमाना  
आस्या आसते । एतस्मात्तु तन् ।' शतपथ I. 8. 3. 6; S. B. E. Vol. XII  
p. 238.



This passage is no doubt expressed in general words. But if it is silent as to the prohibition of marrying a sagotra (*e.g.*, a paternal uncle's daughter), it is equally silent on the point of expressly allowing such marriages. Hence this passage must be interpreted in accordance with the prevailing usage as vouched for by the Dharmasūtras. Professors Macdonell and Keith would admit that the Dharmasūtras are not separated from the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa by more than a few centuries. It is extremely difficult to believe that in a few centuries a usage like the one supposed by the two learned Professors died out and became prohibited from one end of the country to the other. Is it too much to suggest that the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa also is referring in the above quoted passage to the practice of marrying one's maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter? The Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra<sup>1</sup> mentions marriage with a maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter as one of the customs peculiar to the south. At least it is significant that it never occurred to the authors of the Dharmasūtras that a marriage with a Sagotra was ever recognised even in the remote ages. Writers like Apastamba mention such practices as *Niyoga* as prevalent in former ages and condemn them.<sup>2</sup> The Dharmasūtra writers never pass over the plain significance of Vedic passages, but only try to explain them away as practices of bygone ages. The Samskāramayūkha tells us that eminent authors like Someśvara and Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa rely upon two Vedic passages in support of the practice of marrying one's maternal uncle's daughter.<sup>3</sup> 'Even<sup>4</sup> in our womb, god Tvashṭṛ, the vivifier, shaping all forms, creator, made consorts. None violates his holy ordinances; that we are his the heaven and the earth acknowledge.' The first half has been explained by Sāyaṇa as 'Tvashṭṛ made us consorts in the womb.' The other passage is 'Come, O Indra, by fine paths to this our sacrifice and partake of your portion. They have offered (lit. left) the fat mixed with ghee, that is thy portion, as the maternal uncle's daughter or paternal uncle's

1 S. B. E. Vol. XIV. p. 146 (Baudhāyana I. 1.2.3).

2 Āpastambadharmasūtra II. 10. 27. 2-7 (S. B. E. Vol II., p. 164).

3 संस्कारमयूख (p. 79) printed at the Gujarat Press. It must be admitted that the first passage does not distinctly refer to marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter.

4 गर्भे नु नो जनिता इम्पती कर्देवस्त्वहा सविता विश्वरूपः । नकिरस्य  
प्र भिनन्ति व्रतानि वेद नावस्य पृथिवी उत द्यौः ॥ ऋग्वेद. X.

10.5. This is addressed by यमी to यम.

daughter (is one's lot in marriage).’ This makes it highly probable that the passage of the Satapathabrāhmaṇa also refers to the marriage of the maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter.<sup>1</sup>

Coming to the forms of marriage, we know that in the Gautama-dharmasūtra,<sup>2</sup> in the Manusmṛti (III. 21) and other works eight forms of marriage are enumerated and described. The Āpastambadharmasūtra (II.5. 11. 17-20 and II. 5. 12. 1-2; S. B. E. Vol. II, pp. 126-127) mentions only six, omitting Prājāpatya and Paisācha. The Vasishṭhadharmasūtra (I. 28-35) describes only six, viz., Brāhma, Daiva, Ārsha, Gāndharva, Kshātra and Mānusha. The last two correspond to Rākshasa and Āsura. The Vedic literature makes it quite clear that the Brāhma was the most approved of all the forms from the remotest Vedic ages. Rigveda X. 85 is a very interesting Sūkta as regards marriage. There are several verses in that Sūkta which speak of the girl as a gift for the performance of religious duties as is done in the Dharmasūtras and other later works. ‘Soma<sup>3</sup> gave (this woman) to Gandharva; Gandharva gave (her) to Agni; then Agni gave her, wealth and sons to me.’<sup>4</sup> ‘I take thy hand for love (or prosperity) so that you may grow old with me, thy husband; the gods, Bhaga, Aryamā, Savitṛ, and Pūshan gave thee to me for being a householder.’ These and other verses indicate that the idea underlying the Brāhma form (i.e., that the girl is given away to the husband) was there even in the remotest past. Next to the Brāhma form probably came the Āsura in frequency. There are frequent

1 आयाहन्नि पथिभिरिक्कितेभिर्यज्ञमिमं नो भागधेयं जुषस्व । त्सां जहुर्मानुस्येव योषा भागस्ते पैतृष्वसेयी वपामिव ॥ This occurs among the खैलिकानि सूक्तानि (Aufrecht' Rgveda Vol. II., p. 672 where he reads त्सां जुहुः for त्सां जहुः). The निरुक्तपरिशिष्ट quotes this verse (reading जुहुः for जहुः). अपरार्क on याज्ञ. I. 53 quotes this verse with a variation and takes it as prohibiting marriage with the paternal aunt's daughter. The last line is read as ‘त्सां जहुर्मानुस्येव ते तव भागः पैतृष्वसेयमिपामिवौषः’.

2 गौ. ध. सू. IV. 6-13.

3 सोमो ददद्गन्धर्वाय गन्धर्वो दददमये । रयिं च पुत्रांश्चाशरभिर्मत्स्यमथो इमाम् ॥ ऋग्वेद. X. 85. 41.

4 गृणामि ते सोमगस्त्राय हस्तं मया पत्या जरदष्टिर्यथासः । भगो अर्थमा सत्रिता पुरन्धिर्मह्यं त्वानुगार्हपत्याय देवाः ॥ ऋग्वेद. X. 85-36.

allusions to the purchase of girls. 'Oh,<sup>1</sup> Indra and Agni, I have heard you (two) to be greater donors than an ugly (undesirable) husband or brother-in-law (bride's brother).' The Nirukta while explaining this verse says<sup>2</sup> "the southern people apply the word 'vijāmātā' to the husband of a woman that is purchased; what is meant by the word is a bridegroom that is deficient (and not endowed well in all respects)." The Vasishṭha-dharmasūtra<sup>3</sup> says "The Veda declares it to be a purchase 'therefore a hundred (probably cows or Nishkas) should be given to the father of the girl, besides a chariot' and in the chāturmāsya it is declared 'she who, being bought by her husband, roams about with others (commits sin).' The latter passage occurs, as Bühler points out, with slight variations in the Maitrāyaṇīyasamhitā<sup>4</sup> (I. 10.11). These references establish that the Āsura form of marriage was also in vogue. This is not the place to discuss the question as to the marriageable age of girls. But there are passages even in the Rgveda pointing to the Gandharva form of marriage or to Svayamvara. 'When<sup>5</sup> a bride is fine-looking and well adorned, she seeks by herself her friend from among men.' The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says 'Prajāpati wished to give his daughter Sūryā-Sāvitrī to king Soma. All the gods came as suitors for her (for her hand); he (Prajāpati) fixed as marriage present for her this thousand that they call the Āsvina (śastra).<sup>6</sup> The story

- 1 अश्वं हि भूरिशवचरा वां विजामातुरुत वा पा स्यालात् । ऋग्वेद  
I. 109. 2.
- 2 'विजामातेति शश्वहाकिपाजाः क्रीतापतिमाचक्षतेऽसुसमाप्त इव वरोऽ  
भिप्रेतः' निरुक्त. VI. 9.
- 3 तस्माद्गृहितमतेऽधिरथं शतं देयमितिह क्रयो विज्ञायते । या पत्युः क्रीता  
सत्यथान्वैश्च चरतीति ह चानुर्मास्येषु । वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र. 1.36-37;  
S. B. E. Vol. XIV., p. 7 ; note आप. ध. सू. II. 6.13. 12 'विवाहे  
गृहितमते शानं काम्यं धर्मार्थं भूयते तस्माद्गृहितमतेऽधिरथं शतं  
देयं तन्मिथुय्य कुर्यादिति । तस्यां क्रयशब्दः संस्तुतिमात्रं धर्माद्धि  
सम्बन्धः'.
- 4 अनृतं वा एषा करोति या पत्युः क्रीता. &c. The पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र  
VI. 1-15. (क्रयस्य धर्ममात्रत्वम्) refers to this passage.
- 5 भद्रा वधूर्भवति यत्सुपेशाः स्वयं सा मित्र वनुते जने चित् ॥ ऋग्वेद  
X. 27.12.
- 6 'प्रजापतिर्वै सोमाय राज्ञे गृहितं प्रायच्छस्सूर्यो सावित्रीम् । तस्यै सर्वे  
देवा वरा आगच्छंस्तस्या एतस्सहस्रं बहनुमन्वाकरोद् यदेतदाग्नि-  
मित्याचक्षते ।' ऐ. ब्रा. IV. 7.

of Śyāvāśva narrated in the Bṛhaddevatā<sup>1</sup> and based on Ṛgveda V. 61 hints at the Daiva form of marriage in which the girl was given to a priest officiating at a sacrifice. It is true that in the Bṛhaddevatā, it is Archanānas Ātreya who officiated as priest and asked for his son Śyāvāśva the hand of the daughter of king Rathavīti.

Though monogamy was the rule, polygamy was not quite unknown. Ṛgveda X. 145 (which occurs also as Atharvaveda III, 18) is an interesting Sūkta, which contains a charm for weaning the husband away from a co-wife. The word *Sapatnī* occurs very frequently in the Ṛgveda.<sup>2</sup> The Taittiriya-saṁhitā<sup>3</sup> (VI. 6. 4. 3) gives a dogmatic explanation of polygamy 'That on one sacrificial post he passes round two girdles, therefore one man secures two wives; that he does not pass one girdle round two posts, therefore one wife does not obtain two husbands.' Similarly in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa<sup>4</sup> we read 'therefore one man has many wives; but one wife has not many husbands at the same time.' King Hariśchandra had, according to the same Brāhmaṇa, a hundred wives.<sup>5</sup> The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa similarly says 'whence even a single man has many wives.'<sup>6</sup> The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa speaks of four wives as attending a king, the consecrated queen, the favourite wife, the discarded wife, and the Pālāgali.<sup>7</sup> Polyga-

1 See बृहदेवता V. 50 ff. (Macdonell). मनुस्मृति I. III. 29. यज्ञे तु वितते सम्यगृत्विजे कर्म कुर्वते । अलङ्कृत्य सुताशानं धर्मै देवं प्रचक्षते ॥

Compare 'यज्ञे च विततेऽपश्यद् राजपुत्रीं यथास्विनीम् । स्तुषामे राजपुत्री स्यादिति तस्य मनीऽभवत् ॥ इयावाश्वस्य च तस्यां सक्तमासीत्तदा मनः । संयुज्यस्व मया राजभिति वाज्यं च सोमवीत् ॥ बृहदेवता. V. 54-55.

2 e.g., Ṛgveda III. 1.10; III. 6.4; X. 159.6 ( समञ्जेषामिमा अहं सपत्नीरभिभूवरी । यथाहमस्य वीरस्य विराजानि जनस्य च ॥ ).

3 यद्देकस्मिन्पुत्रे द्वे रक्षणे परिच्ययति तस्मादेको द्वे जाये विन्दते । यज्ञैकां रक्षानां द्वयोर्युपयोः परिच्ययति तस्मान्नैका द्वौ पत्नी विन्दते ।

4 तस्मादेकस्य बह्व्यो जाया भवन्ति नैकस्यै बहवः सहपतयः । ऐ. ब्रा. III. 23; see also III. 47.

5 हरिश्चन्द्रो ह वैधस ऐक्ष्वाको राजाऽपुत्र आस । तस्य ह शतं जाया बभूवुस्तासु पुत्रं न लेभे । ऐ. ब्रा. VII. 13.

6 S. B. E. Vol. 43, p. 230.

7 अतस्मो जाया उपहृता भवन्ति मृष्टिषी वावाता परिवृक्ता पालागली ' शतपथ. XIII. 4. 1.8; S. B. E. Vol. 44, p. 349.

my was not necessarily confined to kings and nobles. We learn from the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*<sup>1</sup> that the sage Yājñavalkya had two wives, Maitreyī, who was fond of the philosophy of Brahma, and Kātyāyani, who had only the motives and thoughts of ordinary women, and that when the sage wanted to pass over into the order of *Sannyāsins* he offered to effect a separation between them (by dividing his belongings between them).

Some of the *Dharmasūtras*<sup>2</sup> and the *Smṛtis* of Manu and Yājñavalkya enumerate twelve kinds of sons. Apart from secular motives, spiritual benefit was supposed to result from the birth of a son. So even in the earliest fragments of the Vedic literature a son is very eagerly sought for. A poet of the *R̥gveda* exclaims<sup>3</sup> 'As the wealth (son) of another (who is unconnected with a person) is to be avoided, so may we be masters of our own wealth (of a son of the body); Oh, Agni, the child of another cannot be (one's) offspring, do not spoil the paths of him who is ignorant. Another (person) born from another's loins, though very pleasing, should not be taken, should not be even thought of (as to be taken in adoption). Then he goes back to the same house (whence he came); may a vigorous, victorious son come to us.' Yāska cites these verses in favour of the view that a child belongs to the begetter.<sup>4</sup> In another place we read 'may we attain

1 'अथ ह याज्ञवल्क्यस्य द्वे भार्ये बभूवतु मैत्रेयी च कात्यायनी च तयोर्है मैत्रेयी ब्रह्मवादिनी बभूव स्त्रीप्रज्ञैव तर्हि कात्यायन्यथ ह याज्ञवल्क्योऽन्यद्वृत्तमुपाकरिष्यन् मैत्रेयीति होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः प्रव्रजिष्यन्वा अरेऽहमस्मात्स्थानास्मि हन्त तेऽनया कात्यायन्यान्तं करवाणीति ॥' *बृहश०* IV. 5. 1-2. The words मैत्रेयीति होवाच...करवाणीति (except उद्यास्यन् for प्रव्रजिष्यन्) occur at *बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्* II. 4. 1.

2 *Vasishṭha Dharmasūtra* 17. 12; *Manu IX*, 159-160; *Yājñavalkya II*. 128-132.

3 परिषदां स्वरणस्य रेवणो नित्यस्य रायः पतयः स्याम । न शेषो अग्ने अन्यजातमस्त्यश्चेतानस्य मा पथो वि बुधः ॥ महि प्रभायारणः सुशोवी-  
ऽन्योर्द्वौ मनसा मन्नवा उ । अधा विशोकः पुनरिस्त एत्या नो वाङ्मभीषाळेतु नःय ॥ *ऋग्वेद*. VII. 5. 7-8.

4 तद्यथा जनयितुः प्रजैवमर्थयि ऋक्षा उदाहरिष्यामः । निरुक्त. III. 1-3; compare उत्पादयितुं पुत्र इति ह ब्राह्मणम् । आप. ध. सूत्र. II. 6. 13. 6.

immortality through offspring'.<sup>1</sup> The *Taittirīyasamhitā*<sup>2</sup> propounds the well-known theory of the three debts. 'A Brāhmaṇa on birth is born with a threefold debt, of studentship to the *ṛshis*, of sacrifice to the gods, of offspring to the Pitṛs.' In the interesting story of Sunahṣepa<sup>3</sup> there is perhaps the finest eulogy of a son and the benefits to be derived from the birth of a son. 'The father pays back a debt in the son and reaches immortality, if he beholds the face of a living son that is born to him. He who has no son has no world (the other world); this (even) the beasts know.' These passages are quite sufficient to show the importance of the *aurasa* son. The *putrikā* has already been mentioned above when dealing with the marriage of brotherless maidens. Yāska clearly states that she becomes the son of her father.<sup>4</sup> The *Kshetraja* son due to the practice of *Niyoga* (which was forbidden by writers like Āpastamba<sup>5</sup> and Manu) is often referred to even in the earliest Vedic literature. 'What (sacrificer) invites you (*Aśvins*) in his house to a bed as a widow does a brother-in-law or a young damsel her lover.'<sup>6</sup> This is not the place to discuss the vexed question how far widow remarriage was allowed in the Vedic ages. Two verses in the *R̥gveda* (X. 18. 7-8) have very often been relied upon for establishing the prevalence of widow-remarriage. They do not however clearly refer to the practice of the remarriage of widows, but to the peculiar custom of levirate. Passages like the following are of doubtful import, because the word 'punarbhū,' according to the usage of later *Smṛti* writers, has several meanings and does not

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- 1 'प्रजाभिर्मे असृतस्वमइयाम्' ऋग्वेद. V. 4.10 quoted in वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र 17.3.
  - 2 'जायमानो वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्यः' तै. सं. VI. 3. 10-5. The शतपथब्राह्मण contains a similar passage (I. 7. 21.) 'ऋण ह वै जायते योऽस्ति । स जायमान एव देवेभ्य ऋषिभ्यः पितृभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यः.'
  - 3 'ऋणमस्मिन्संनयत्यसृतत्वं च गच्छति । पिता पुत्रस्य जातस्य पश्ये-  
चेज्जीवती मुसम् ॥ ..... नापुत्रस्य लोकोस्तीति तत्सर्वं पशवो  
विदुः । ऐ. ब्रा. VII. 13.
  - 4 इति भ्रातृकाया उपवसनप्रतिषेधः प्रत्यक्षः पितृश्च पुत्रभावः' निरुक्त III. 5.
  - 5 आप. ध. सू. II. 10. 27. 2-7; मनुस्मृति. IX. 64-68.
  - 6 को वां शत्रुणा विधवेव देवरं मर्यं न योषा कृणुते सधस्य भा ॥ ऋग्वेद X. 40. 2.

necessarily mean 'a remarried widow' (*vide* Nārada on Stripunṣayoga verses 45-48). 'Whatever woman, having first gained a husband, afterwards gains another later on, (if) they give a goat with five rice dishes, they will not be separated. The later husband has the same world with his remarried wife, who gives a goat with five rice dishes and with the light of gifts.'<sup>1</sup> But this very passage makes it clear that to a 'punarbhū' (in whatever sense the word may have been used) attached some sort of sin and opprobrium which had to be removed by sacrifices. The word 'Kānina' occurs in the Atharvaveda (V. 58) and 'Kumārīputra' (which the commentator Mahīdhara explains as 'kānina') occurs in the Vājasaneyasaṁhitā (30, 6). The verses from the Ṛgveda (VII. 5. 7-8) quoted above refer to sons of others being adopted as one's own. The fact that Viśvāmitra adopted Śunaḥśeṣa as his son, though he had a hundred sons already, shows that adoption was recognised apart from the restrictions that obtained later on.<sup>2</sup> The story of Śunaḥśeṣa in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 3) indicates that in rare cases the father could sell his son.<sup>3</sup> This suggests that sons bought (Kṛita) were not unknown. The Nirukta<sup>4</sup> remarks that women could be gifted away, bought and abandoned (but not men) and cites the opinion of some sages that even men could be so dealt with as illustrated by the story of Śunaḥśeṣa. The Vasishṭhadharma-sūtra says<sup>5</sup> 'the father and mother have power to give, to sell and to abandon their son.' It is supposed by some that the Gūdhaja or Gūdhotpanna son is referred to in the following passage "Oh Ādityas, who uphold the moral law, who are (ever) active, keep away from me sin as a woman giving birth (to a child) in secret (does)."<sup>6</sup> In the Taittirīyasamhitā

1 या पूर्वे पतिं वित्त्वाथान्यं विन्दतेऽपरम् । पञ्चौदनं च तावज्जं ददाती न वि योषतः ॥ समानलोको भवति पुनर्भुवाऽपरः पतिः । योऽजं पञ्चौदनं दक्षिणाऽद्योतिषं ददाति ॥ अथर्ववेद. IX. 5. 27-28.

2 Vasishṭhadharmasūtra 17. 31-32 refers to the story of शुनःशेष as an illustration of the son bought.

3 *Vide* दसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र (17. 34-35) which says that शुनःशेष was a स्वयंरक्त son of विन्धामिन्.

4 स्त्रीणां शानविक्रयातिसर्गा विद्यन्ते न पुंसः पुंसोपीत्येके शौनःशेष दर्शान् । निरुक्त. III. 4.

5 तस्य प्रदानविक्रयव्यागेषु मातापितरौ प्रभवतः । दसिष्ठ ध. सू. 15. 2.

6 धृतव्रता आदित्या इषिरा आरे मत्कर्त रहसूरिवागः । ऋग्वेद II. 29. 1.

we come across the story of Atri who seems to have given an only son in adoption to Aurva. 'Atri gave (his) offspring to Aurva who was desirous of a son. He (Atri), having become empty (by giving away his son), thought himself to be without strength, weak and worn out (lit. stale). He (Atri) saw this chatūrātra (four night rite); he made preparations for it and sacrificed with it. Then he had four sons born to him, a good Hotṛ, a good Udgātṛ, a good Adhvaryu and a good Sabheya (skilful speaker in an assembly).'<sup>1</sup>

It is extremely difficult to define what the father's position as head of the family was and what his rights and responsibilities were. In the Ṛgveda and the other Vedic *Saṁhitās* we frequently meet with the word 'grhapā' or 'grhapati' (lord of the house). From such examples as that of Śunahśepa one may infer that a father sometimes exercised absolute authority over life and limb in his household. But it seems that these are exceptions, though their echoes are heard even in the later epic literature. We saw above that Yāska and Vasishṭha say that the father and mother have power to give, sell or abandon their children. We find that the *Manusmṛti*<sup>2</sup> and the *Mahābhārata* speak of the wife, the slave and the son as being without wealth and that their acquisitions belong to the husband, master and father respectively. But as against this there came into operation other competing principles (apart from natural love and affection). The son was looked upon as the father himself born again<sup>3</sup> and the

- 1 अत्रिरद्वैतैर्वाय प्रजां पुत्रकामाय स रिरिचानोऽन्यत निर्वायः क्षियिलो यातयामा स एतं चतुरात्रमपश्यत्तमाहरत्तेनायजत ततो वै तस्य चत्वारो वीरा आजायन्त सुहोता सुज्ञाता स्वर्ध्वयुः सुसभेयः' तै. सं. VII. 1. 8. 1. One fails to understand how Prof. Keith (Harvard series Vol. 19, p. 564) translates 'she deemed herself empty &c.' unless it is a printer's error.
- 2 भार्या पुत्रश्च दासश्च त्रय मवाधनाः स्मृताः । यत्ते समधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्य तज्जनम् ॥ मनु. VIII. 416 and महाभारत उद्योग. 33. 64 'त्रय एवाधना राजन्भार्या दासस्तथा सुतः । यत्ते ..... तज्जनम् ॥' मनु. seems to be quoted by शबर on VI. 1. 12. एवं च स्मरति-भार्या दासश्च पुत्रश्च निर्धनाः सर्व एव ते; compare नारद 8. 41.
- 3 तज्जाया जाया भवति यदस्वां जायते पुनः । ऐ. ब्रा. VII. 13; compare 'the father is the same as the son and the son is the same as the father' दासपथब्रा. XII. 4. 3. 1. and S. B. E. Vol. 44, p. 187. Note the verse styled a *rik* by Yāska (Nirukta III. 4) अज्जनादज्जनात्सम्भवति हृदयादाधि जायते । आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासि स जीव शरदः दासम् ॥ "Thou art indeed (my own) self styled son; thou art born from the heart; thou art indeed (my own) self styled son; may you live for a hundred years." The *मानवगुह्यसूत्र* says that this verse was to be muttered over the one's head after the father returned from a journey (I. 18. 1).



son became of great importance to the father on account of the spiritual benefits (referred to above) conferred by him. It seems therefore that the father's absolute power over his sons, if it existed at all universally, came to be gradually restricted. There is an interesting discussion in the *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra*<sup>1</sup> whether in the *Viśvajit* sacrifice (where the sacrificer has to make a gift of all he has) a man is to give away his own father, son, or wife and the orthodox conclusion established is that only one's wealth (over which one has absolute power) is to be given away and not one's kith and kin. Although the son thus emancipated himself from the absolute control of the head of the family, it is not clear whether during the Vedic age he acquired in ancestral property those rights by birth which the later *Smṛti* texts give him. From the very fact that a father could give away all the property in a sacrifice (as *e.g.*, in the *Viśvajit*) one may be tempted to infer that the son's right of ownership by birth was not recognised and that sons could not control their fathers in the absolute disposal of property at least for religious purposes. Even in later times the father was given large powers of disposal over ancestral property for spiritual purposes.<sup>2</sup> How and when the son's ownership by birth in ancestral property came to be recognised, it is almost impossible to say. Dr. Jolly<sup>3</sup> thinks that this theory of the son's ownership by birth is opposed to what the *Gautama-dharmasūtra*<sup>4</sup> says 'A (man becomes) owner by *riktha*, purchase, partition, seizure or finding' and that the words quoted in the *Mitāksharā*<sup>5</sup> " 'by his very birth, he (the son acquires ownership over wealth' so say the *Āchāryas* " were fabricated by *Vijñāneśvara* or his predecessors. It has to be remembered that the *Sūtra* of *Gautama* occurs casually when the subject matter for discussion is the rights of the finder of goods or treasure trove. The *Sūtra* enumerates some sources of ownership. The meaning of the word '*riktha*' occurring in the *Sūtra* cannot be ascertained with precision. That word

1 स्वदाने सर्वमन्विशेषात् । यस्य वा प्रभुः स्यादितरस्याशक्यत्वात् । पूर्वमी.  
VI. 7. 1-2.

2 *Vide* मिताक्षरा 'तस्मात्पैत्रिके पैतामहे च द्वये जन्मनैव स्वत्वम् । तथापि  
पितुरावश्यकेषु धर्मकृत्येषु वाचनिकेषु प्रसादानकुटुम्बभरणपद्विमोक्षा-  
दिषु स्थावरव्यतिरिक्तद्रव्यविनियोगे स्वातन्त्र्यमिति स्थितम्.'

3 See Tagore Law Lectures, p. 110 (1883 A.D.)

4 गौ. ध. सू. X. 39.

5 उत्पत्त्यैवार्थम्वामिस्त्वं लभेतेत्याचार्या इति गौतमवचनात् । मिताक्षरा  
on दाज्ञ० II. 114.

occurs even in the R̥gveda. 'A son of the body does not give the *riktha* to his sister.'<sup>1</sup> The word literally means 'what is left behind.' Therefore it means 'what the father leaves when he dies.' (i.e., paternal wealth). This word is explained by the Mitāksharā as 'apratibandha dāya' (unobstructed heritage). This explanation involves the son's right of ownership by birth and opposes ownership by *riktha* to ownership arising by partition (i.e., *Sapratibandha dāya*).<sup>2</sup> It was not necessary for Vijñānesvara to fabricate any text, when he could achieve his object by means of interpretation. Besides it is not to be supposed that Vijñānesvara was the first to propound the view that sons have rights in ancestral property by birth. He could rely on the verse of Yājñvalkyā which declares the equal ownership of father and son in ancestral property.<sup>3</sup> Long before Vijñānesvara wrote Medhātithi and Viśvarūpa had elaborated the same theory as the one supported by the Mitāksharā.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Jolly had not probably noticed the fact that Medhātithi quotes<sup>5</sup> almost the same words which the Mitāksharā quotes as Gautama's and which Dr. Jolly rather lightly declared were fabricated by Vijñānesvara or his predecessors. It would appear that the theory of the son's ownership by birth in ancestral property was a natural outcome of the two principles, viz., that the son is the father himself reborn and that a son has to perform the *Śrāddhas* from which the father and other ancestors were to derive spiritual benefit. Whatever the origin of the theory may be, it must be admitted that the Vedic literature does not shed any direct or convincing light thereon.

The Taittiriyaśāṁhitā makes it clear that a father could (or should) distribute his wealth among his sons during his lifetime. "Manu divided his property among his sons. He excluded from a share Nābhānedishṭha, who was in the stage of studenthood. He came and said 'how, did you exclude me from a share?' He (Manu) replied 'I have not excluded

1 'न जामये सान्यो रिक्थमारैक्' ऋग्वेद. III. 31. 2.

2 See *Bai Parson v. Bai Somli*, I. L. R., 36 Bom. 424, at pp 428-433 for a lucid exposition of this.

भूर्या पितामहोपात्ता निबन्धो द्रव्यमेव च । तत्र स्यात्सकृदं स्वाम्यं पितुः  
पुत्रस्य चोभयोः ॥ याज्ञ० II. 121.

4 Note the words of मेधातिथि on मनु. IX. 209 (वेदिकं तु०. &c.)  
'स्वस्वपूर्वकत्वाद्भिभागस्य.'

6 'उत्पन्नो वार्यस्वाम्यमित्याचार्या इति' मेधातिथि on मनु. IX. 156.

you from your share. These Angirases are performing a *Sattra* ; they do not know the heavenly world ; declare this Brāhmaṇa to them ; they, when going to the heavenly world, will give thee their cattle that belong to them.”<sup>1</sup> In the Aitareyabrāhmaṇa<sup>2</sup> the same story occurs with slight variations. ‘Brothers excluded Nābhānedishṭha, son of Manu, who was in the stage of studenthood, from his share (in the paternal wealth). He came to them and said ‘what did you assign to me as my share?’ They said ‘(ask) this very judge and adjudicator’ (their father).’ Therefore it is that sons speak of the father as the judge and adjudicator. He came to his father and said ‘father, did they assign thee to me(as my share)?’ The father said to him ‘do not pay regard to that, my son. These Angirases are performing a *Sattra* to attain heaven.’”

In the R̥gveda we read<sup>3</sup> ‘(Oh Agni), men worship you in many places in various ways ; they take wealth (from you) as from an aged father.’ The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa says<sup>4</sup> ‘In early life sons subsist on the father ; in later life the father subsists on his sons.’ These passages establish that the father during his life-time could divide his wealth among his sons. It is not clear from these passages whether the division was equal among all the sons. There are other passages which show that the eldest son either took the whole of his father’s wealth (according to the rule of primogeniture) or at least the largest and best portion of it. The Taittirīyasamhitā says<sup>5</sup> “the expounders of *Brahma* say ‘what is the deity of the Paurṇamāsa rite?’ He should reply ‘(the paurṇamāsa rite) has Prajāpati as the deity ; by means of it he firmly established

<sup>1</sup> मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजत्स नाभानेदिष्टं ब्रह्मचर्यं वसन्तं निरभजत्स  
भागच्छस्वोऽन्नवात् कथा मा निरभागिति न स्वा निरभाक्षमित्यन्नवी-  
रञ्जितस इमे सत्रमासते ते सुवर्गे लोकं न प्रजानन्ति तेभ्य इदं ब्राह्मणं  
ब्रूहि ते सुवर्गे लोकं यन्तो य एषां पशवस्तांस्ते दारयन्तीति’ तै. सं.  
III. 1. 9. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> Vide ऐ. ब्रा. V. 14. This story is explanatory of the somewhat obscure  
verses of the ऋग्वेद (X. 61).

<sup>3</sup> वि स्वा नरः पुरुचा सपर्यन् पितुर्न जित्रोर्वि वेदो भरन्त । ऋग्वेद  
I. 70. 10.

<sup>4</sup> द्युत्पथ XII(2). 3. 4. (S. B. E. Vol. 44, p. 157).

<sup>5</sup> ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति किं देवस्यं पौर्णमासमिति प्राजापत्यामिति ब्रूयान्ते-  
नेन्द्रं उद्वेष्टं पुत्रं निरवासाययसिति तस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं धनेन निरवासाय-  
यन्ति’ तै. सं. II. 5. 2. 7.

his eldest son Indra.' Therefore (people) establish their eldest son with wealth." In the *Āitareya-brāhmaṇa*<sup>1</sup> we find that the eldest son was the leader and entitled to special privileges. He (Indra) said to *Brīhaspati* "perform for me the *Dvādaśāha* (rite). He (*Brīhaspati*) made him (Indra) perform (the rite). Thereupon the gods acknowledged his right to primogeniture and leadership." These passages furnish proof that alongside of the fact that the father could divide his property among his sons, there was a custom (not necessarily universal) that the eldest succeeded to the best part of the patrimony. This is the '*uddhāravibhāga*' to which reference is made by *Āpastamba* and other *Sūtra* writers and by *Manu*<sup>2</sup> and *Yājñavalkya*. *Āpastamba*<sup>3</sup> condemns the practice of allowing the eldest to take the whole as prohibited by the *Śāstras* and treatises like the *Mitāksharā* say that it is not allowed in the *Kaliyuga*.

To exclude a person from a share when he is entitled to it is severely condemned in the *Āitareyabrāhmaṇa*.<sup>4</sup> 'He who deprives a person entitled to a share of his share, him he (who is deprived) punishes. If he does not punish him (who deprives) then (he punishes) his son or grandson; but he does punish him.' This passage is frequently quoted in such later digests as the *Sarasvatīvilāsa*<sup>5</sup> and the *Vyavahāramayūkha*.<sup>6</sup>

The *Gautama-dharmasūtra*<sup>7</sup> lays down that sons separating from their father against his wish are not worthy to be invited to officiate at a *śrāddha*. This shows that partition took place in ancient times as a matter of fact during the life-time of the father even against his will, but that such a step was looked down upon and censured.

Under the modern Hindu Law as administered by the courts, women are not allowed to succeed, except when they are specially mentioned as heirs in the standard works. Therefore

1 सोम्रवीद्वृहस्पतिं याजय मा द्वादशाहेनेति तमयाजयन्ता वै तस्मै ज्यैष्ठ्याय श्रेष्ठपायातिष्ठन्त । ऐ. ब्रा. IV. 25.

2 मनु. IX. 112. ff; याज्ञ० II, 114.

3 See भाष. ध. सूत्र. II. 6. 14'10; S. B. E. II., p. 134.

4 यो वै भागिनं भागान्नुदते चयते वै न स यदि वै न चयतेऽथ पुत्रमथ पौत्रं चयते स्वैर्धनमिति । ऐ. ब्रा. II. 7.

5 सरस्वतीविलास para. 781 (Foulkes).

6 व्यवहारमयूख p. 49 (Mandlik), where it is quoted as *Gautama's*.

7 गौ. ध. सू. 15. 18. 'पित्रा वाक्रामेन विभक्तान्.'

in all provinces except Bombay and Madras only five females, viz., the widow, the daughter, the mother, the paternal grandmother and the paternal great-grand-mother, succeed as heirs. It is to be seen how far this exclusion of females from inheritance is authorised by Vedic texts. When a man died leaving sons and daughters the R̥gveda appears to state distinctly that a son excludes his sister from taking the paternal estate.<sup>1</sup> 'A son born of the body does not give the paternal wealth to (his) sister; he makes her the receptacle for the seed of him who accepts her (i.e. of her husband); if mothers give birth to offspring, one (the son) is the author of good deeds (i.e., of continuing the line) and the other (the daughter) is only decked (and given away to another in marriage).' Yāska commenting on this verse remarks that it is cited in support of the view<sup>2</sup> that the sister is excluded from taking the paternal wealth and that some Āchāryas interpret this verse as forbidding the giving of the larger portion of the paternal wealth to the *putrikā* in cases where a son is born after the daughter is made a *putrikā*. There is a similar conflict of views about the meaning of the verse quoted above on p. 60 (R̥gveda III 31.1). Yāska says<sup>3</sup> that some cite it as an authority for the view that daughters share the paternal wealth (along with the sons), while others rely upon it for the view that only sons take the heritage (to the exclusion of daughters). There is a third view that the verse in question only refers to a brotherless daughter's position (that she becomes a *putrikā* and that she herself and her son inherit). Those who hold the first view support their position, according to Yāska, as follows<sup>4</sup>:—Children of both sexes take the heritage without any distinction. This has been declared by a ṛk and by a Śloka. The ṛk is 'thou springest from my

1 न जामये तान्त्री रिक्थमारैक्चकार गर्भं सनितुर्निधानम् । यदी मातरौ जनयन्त वद्विमन्यः कर्ता सुकृतीरन्य ऋन्धन् ॥ ऋग्वेद. III. 31. 2.

2 अथैतां जाम्या रिक्थप्रतिषेध उदाहरन्ति उद्येष्टं पुत्रिकाया इत्येके । निरुक्त III. 3. Compare मनु० IX. 134. पुत्रिकायां कृतायां तु यदि पुत्रीऽनुजायते । समस्तत्र विभागः स्याज्ज्येष्ठता नास्ति हि स्त्रियाः ॥ Durga takes the last words to mean that the larger portion of the wealth is to be given to the *putrikā* (where a son or sons are born after a daughter is made *putrikā*) and the rest is to be divided among the sons and the other daughters do not get anything.

3 अथैतां दुहितृवायाद्य उदाहरन्ति पुत्रवायाद्य इत्येके (शासद्वह्निरिति) । निरुक्त III. 4. Then later on अभ्राटिमतीवाद इत्यपरम् ।

4 अविशेषेण मिथुनाः पुत्रा इत्यादा इति । तदेतदृक्भाकाभ्यामभ्युक्तम् । अङ्ग ... वात् ॥ इति ॥

several limbs, &c.' (*vide* p. 68 n. 3 above). The Śloka<sup>1</sup> is 'without distinction children of both sexes take the heritage according to Law; at the beginning of creation Manu, the son of Brahmā, declared this.' The second view relies upon two Vedic passages,<sup>2</sup> viz.: "It is declared (in the Veda) 'therefore the male is entitled to the heritage and the female is not so entitled' and 'therefore (people) discard the daughter when born and not the male (child).'<sup>3</sup> Roth thought that the whole of this discussion in the Nirukta was irrelevant and therefore was an interpolation. But Bühler<sup>3</sup> rightly says that Roth is wrong in foisting his own 19th century notions of relevancy on an author who lived several centuries before the Christian era. It is to be noted that the passage from the Taittirīya-saṃhitā quoted by Yāska above has been taken by scholars like Zimmer and Delbrück as establishing that the Vedic Indians practised the exposure of female children.<sup>4</sup> It is unfortunate and highly reprehensible that very often many Western scholars cannot avoid the temptation of making out that things in ancient India were worse than what they are now there or elsewhere and also of attributing vices and usages to Indians on flimsy or doubtful evidence and of bringing down the age of many Indian works (particularly Brahmanic). If one simply looks at the context, it is difficult to see how those learned scholars misinterpreted the passage. The passage runs:<sup>5</sup> 'They go to the *avabhṛitha* (the final sacrificial bath); they keep aside the pots and take up the vessels for Vāyu; therefore (they) discard (do not greet the advent of) the daughter when born, (but) (they) take up (greet) the son (when born).'

Another passage of the Taittirīya-saṃhitā has been very largely relied upon by later writers of digests (Nibandhas) on *dharma* as an authority for excluding females in general from

1 अविशेषेण पुत्राणां दायो भवति धर्मतः । मिथुनानां विसर्गादौ मनुः

स्वायम्भुवोऽब्रवीन् ॥ It is to be noted that Yāska calls this verse a भौक्तिक as distinguished from a *rk*. So according to him this verse was not a Vedic text but only a *रश्नुति* text.

2 तस्मात् पुमान् दायोऽदायादा स्त्रीति विज्ञायते । तस्मात्स्त्रियं जातां परास्यन्ति न पुमांसामिति । निरुक्त III. 4. The first passage cannot be traced; but the second is तै. सं. VI. 5. 10. 3 with some variations.

3 See Introduction to Manusmṛti, p. LXI foot-note (S. B. E. Vol. 25).

4 For references see Vedic Index I., p. 487.

5 अवब्रूथमवव्यन्ति परा स्थानीरस्यन्ति उदायव्यानि हरन्ति तस्मात्स्त्रियं जातां परास्यन्त्युत्पुमांसं हरन्ति । तै. सं. VI. 5. 10. 3.

inheritance. 'Soma could not stand being drawn for women ; making ghee the bolt (they) struck it ; (they) took it when it became destitute of vigour (*indriya*) ; therefore women being destitute of strength, take no portion and speak more weakly than even a wretched (low) man.' It will be seen that this passage occurs in the ritual of the Soma offering and should naturally mean that women are not entitled to a portion of the Soma offerings.<sup>1</sup> In the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra<sup>2</sup> (II. 2. 3. 46) reliance is placed on this passage in speaking of the perpetual dependence of women on father, husband or son. The Manu-smṛti seems to have in view this passage and another quoted above ( p. 63 n. 4 ) when it says ' the rule of *dharma* is that the *Saṃskāras* (such as *jātakarma*) in the case of females are not to be performed with (Vedic) *mantras* ; for it is established that they are devoid of strength and without (the knowledge of) *mantras* and are (as impure as) untruth.'<sup>3</sup> Later writers of commentaries and digests such as Haradatta,<sup>4</sup> the Sarasvatīvilāsa,<sup>5</sup> the Viramitrodaya<sup>6</sup> base their exclusion of women from inheritance on the above quoted passage of the Taittirīya-Sāṃhitā. Mādhavāchārya<sup>7</sup> in commenting upon the Taittirīya-

- 1 स सोमो नातिष्ठत स्त्रियो गृह्यमाणस्तं घृतं वज्रं कृत्वाऽग्रन् तं निरिन्द्रियं भूतमगृह्णन् तस्मास्त्रियो निरिन्द्रिया अशयाशीरपि पापायुंस उपस्तितरं वदन्ति । तै. सं. VI. 5. 8. 2.
- 2 S. B. E. Vol. 14, p. 231 ; ' निरिन्द्रिया इत्याद्यासाश्च स्त्रियो मता इति भुक्तिः'. बौधायन does not appear to quote the exact words of the तैत्तिरीयसंहिता but seems to have only summarised the Śruti text. Vide Bühler's note on the passage.
- 3 नास्ति स्त्रीणां क्रिया मन्त्रैरिति धर्मव्यवस्थितिः । निरिन्द्रिया ह्यमन्त्राश्च स्त्रियोऽनृतामिति स्थितिः ॥ मनु IX. 18 where मेधातिथि says ' इन्द्रियं वीर्यं धैर्यप्रज्ञाबलादि '
- 4 Vide हरदत्त on आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र II. 6. 14. 1 and गौ. ध. सू. 28. 21.
- 5 सरस्वतीविलास para. 21 and 336 ; in the latter it is explained that निरिन्द्रियाः means अल्पेन्द्रियाः and that therefore women are entitled to heritage but not when there are sons.
- 6 वीरमित्रोदय p. 673 (Jivanand's edition of व्यवहार portion).
- 7 ' तस्मात्सोमे स्त्रियः सामर्थ्यरहिता अपत्येषु शयभाजो न भवन्ति ; but see पराशरमाधवीय Vol. III. part 2, p. 536 " या च भुक्ति-तस्मात्स्त्रियो निरिन्द्रिया अशयाशाः-इति सा पालीवतमहे तत्पत्न्या अंशो नास्तिवैवंपरा । इन्द्रियशब्दस्य ' इन्द्रियं वै सोमपीयः ' इति सोमे प्रथोगदर्शनात्." अपराक (on याज्ञ. II. 136) says that the words do not absolutely prohibit the succession of women, but have reference to cases where male issue exists.

*Sāṃhitā* (I. 4. 27) quotes the passage ( p. 75 n. 1 above ) and explains it as meaning ' women are devoid of strength and do not partake of the heritage when there are offspring.' It is rather strange that Mādhava in his comment on the *Parāśara-smṛti* explains the same Vedic passage differently by saying that women have no share in the Soma drink. It is noteworthy that neither the *Mitāksharā* nor the *Mayūkha* rely upon this text in speaking of the rights of females to inheritance. The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* has a passage on this subject similar to that of the *Taittirīya Sāṃhitā* ' ghee is indeed a thunderbolt ; by this thunderbolt, viz., ghee, the gods smote the wives and unmanned them ; they (the wives), being smitten and unmanned, neither ruled over (owned or had ownership over) their selves nor did they rule over any heritage (*dāya*).'<sup>1</sup>

The exclusion of women from inheritance seems to have been complete in the early ages. *Āpastamba* does not mention the wife as an heir. *Haradatta* says that in the opinion of *Āpastamba* widows could not inherit at all, while according to *Gautama*<sup>2</sup> they took along with other *Sapinda*s. Even so late as the 11th century, *Dhāreśvara* seems to have denied to widows the right to inherit unless they submitted to *Niyoga* and also denied the right of a daughter to inherit unless she was a *putrikā*.<sup>3</sup>

The *Dharmasūtras*<sup>4</sup> speak of various grounds of exclusion from inheritance, such as lunacy, excommunication, entering a different order, blindness, incurable disease. In the *Nirukta* (II. 10-12) there is a story narrated of two brothers *Devāpi* and *Śantanu*, sons of *Ṛṣṭiṣheṇa* and descendants of *Kuru*,

1 ' वज्रो वा आज्यमेनेन वै देवा वज्जेणाज्येनाह्नजेव पत्नीर्निराक्षुर्वस्ता हता निरष्टा नात्मनश्चनैज्ञत न दायस्य च नैज्ञत' हतपथब्रा० IV. 4. 2. 13.; vide S. B. E. Vol. 26, p. 366.

2 Vide गौ. ध. सूत्र. 28. 21. ' पिण्डगोत्रर्षिसम्बन्धा रिक्तं भजरेन्स्त्री चानपत्यस्य.' विज्ञानेश्वर read स्त्री चानपत्यस्य. हरदत्त's gloss shows that he reads चानपत्यस्य.

3 Vide वीरमित्रोदय p. 633 ( Jivanand's edition of व्यवहार ) ' एतेषामन्योन्यविरुद्धवचनानां धरेश्वर इत्थं व्यवस्थामाह । विभक्ता-संस्तृभ्रातुरपुत्रस्य पत्नी यदि नियोगमङ्गीकुरुते तदैव पतिधनं लभते । अनियोगार्थिन्यां तु तस्यामविभक्तसंस्तृपत्नीवद्भरणमात्रमेव । ' For daughter vide p. 658 of the same.

4 गौतम 28. 23, 40 and 43; आपस्तम्ब 14. 1. 15; बौधायन. II. 3. 37-40; वासिष्ठ 17. 52-63.



of whom the younger crowned himself king and the elder Devāpi practised penance. In Śāntanu's kingdom it did not rain for twelve years. The Brāhmanas said to him 'you are guilty of sin, since passing over the eldest brother you got yourself crowned; therefore god does not send rain for you.' Śāntanu again and again offered the kingdom to Devāpi who said 'I shall be your *purohita* and make you offer a sacrifice.' The following is his (Devāpi's) hymn expressing a desire for rain. The Sūkta referred to is R̥gveda X. 98 and Yāska quotes verses 5 and 7 of the Sūkta. The Bṛhaddevatā gives this very story about the two brothers but adds one<sup>1</sup> important detail that the elder brother Devāpi suffered from a skin disease and so himself refused the kingdom. The verses from the R̥gveda quoted in the Nirukta are quite silent on the question why Devāpi was excluded from the throne and it is quite possible that the simple hymn was embellished by the setting of a story in later times. It is noteworthy that the Pūrva Mimāṃsā allows a person who is devoid of a limb to perform sacrifices, provided the defect is not incurable. Śābarasvāmin cites among those that are excluded from performing sacrifices persons blind from birth, a person that is deaf and one that is a cripple (*paṅgu*).<sup>2</sup>

In modern times, the guiding principle in settling questions of inheritance is Sapiṇḍa relationship. But there is a great divergence between the views of Vijñāneśvara and Jimūta-vāhana as to the meaning of *Sapiṇḍa*, the former taking it to mean 'those who are connected by particles of the same body,' while the latter takes it to mean 'those who are connected by the offering of a piṇḍa' (a ball of rice). It is to be seen what light Vedic literature throws on this question. The word 'piṇḍa' occurs in the R̥gveda<sup>3</sup> and seems to mean 'a part of the body.' 'There is only one that dissects the horse of Tvashṭṛ, there are two (day and night) that regulate him and (also) the season. Whatever (parts) of thy limbs I cut off according to season (or rule), those parts (made) into round masses I offer into fire.' Here it is clear that Piṇḍa is

<sup>1</sup> बृहदेवता VII. 156.—VIII. 6. 'स्वग्क्षी राजपुत्रश्च ऋषिषेण-  
सुतभिवत् ॥' VII. 156 and 'न राज्यमहमर्हामि स्वग्क्षोपपहसेन्द्रियः'  
VIII. 5.

<sup>2</sup> अङ्गहीनश्च तद्गर्मा उत्पत्तौ नित्यसंयोगान् । पूर्वमी. VI. 1. 41-42

<sup>3</sup> एकस्त्वदुरश्वस्या विशस्ता ह्य यन्तारा भवतस्तथ ऋतुः । या ते  
गात्राणामृतुथा कृणोमि ताता पिण्डानां प्रशुहीम्यमो ॥ ऋग्वेद  
I. 162. 19.

not used in the sense of 'ball of rice.' On the other hand there are several hymns in the R̥gveda that are concerned with the *pitrs*, Yama and the state after death. Two hymns (X. 14 and 15) are of particular importance in this connection. Some of the verses may be translated here. 'Mātali,<sup>1</sup> having grown strong with the Kavyas, Yama with Angirases, and Bṛhaspati with R̥kvas; whom the gods have made strong and who (made strong) the gods; some are gladdened by (the call) *svāhā*, others by Svadhā (offering to the dead).<sup>2</sup> 'Unite with the fathers, with Yama, with *ishṭāpūrta* (reward of sacrifices and good works) in the highest heaven; leaving sin (behind) go back to (thy) home; mayst thou, possessing lustre, be united with (thy) body' (or as Sāyana construes 'mayst thou be endowed with a lustrous body'). 'Let this salutation be made to-day to the Fathers, who have departed earlier and later.'<sup>3</sup> These passages show that from the remotest times the worship of ancestors flourished and offerings were made to them to invoke their blessings on their descendants. The word 'pitriyajña' occurs in the R̥gveda<sup>4</sup> "That flesh-eating (funeral) fire which entered your house, seeing this other fire (sacrificial), him the god, I carry (away) for the sacrifice to the Fathers. May he (sacrificial fire) secure in the highest place hot drink." In the Atharvaveda there are several interesting verses that shed light on the worship of deceased ancestors. 'Spread<sup>5</sup> thyself broad, with mighty greatness, thousand-limbed, in the world of merit (in heaven); Grandfathers, fathers, progeny, (remoter) descendants; I, who cook thee, am the fifteenth' This verse is addressed to boiled rice. It is interesting to note that it alludes to the counting of fifteen generations, including the person who offers the ball of rice (seven ancestors, seven descendants and the offerer as the 15th). 'In Vaiśvānara (fire) I offer this oblation, a thousandfold,

1 X. 14. 3. मातली कव्यैर्यमो अङ्गिःरोनिर्बृहस्पतिर्दकभिर्वावृधानः ।

यांश्च देवा वावृधुर्यं च देवान्स्वाहान्ये स्वधयान्ये मरन्ति ॥

2 X. 14. 8. सं गच्छस्व पितृभिः सं यमेनेष्टापूरतेन परमे व्योमन् ।

हिस्वावावद्यं पुनरस्तमेहि सं गच्छस्व तन्वा सुवर्चाः ॥

3 X. 15. 2. इदं पितृभ्यो नमो अस्त्वद्य ये पूर्वासी य उपरास ईदुः ।

4 यो अग्निः क्रव्यात्प्राविवेश वो गृहमिमं पश्यन्नितरं जातवेदसम् । तं हरामि  
पितृयज्ञाय देवं स घर्ममिन्वात्परमे सधस्ये ॥ ऋग्वेदं X. 16. 10.  
The same verse occurs in the अथर्ववेद XII. 2. 7. where we have  
नः for वः, कूरं for देवम् and इन्धाम् for इन्वान्.

5 उरुः प्रयस्य महता महिम्ना सहस्रपुष्टः स्रकृतस्य लोके । पितामहाः पितरः  
प्रजोपजाहं पक्ता पञ्चदशस्ते अस्मि । अथर्वं XI. 1. 19.

hundred-streamed spring; it supports (our) father and (our) grandfathers; it, being itself fat (or swelling), supports (our) great-grand-fathers.<sup>1</sup> There are numerous verses of similar import in the Atharvaveda.<sup>2</sup> In the Vājasaneyasambhitā<sup>3</sup> we read 'oh fathers! enjoy it, partake of it, each according to his share.' The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>4</sup> prescribes the daily sacrifice to the manes 'day by day one should offer with *svadhā* up to the cupful of water; thus he performs the sacrifice to the Fathers.' The foregoing passages leave no room for doubt that the worship of ancestors had become deep-rooted and that daily offerings to the Fathers were prescribed by the texts. It is, however, noteworthy that in all these Vedic texts, the word *śrāddha* never occurs. The words usually employed are *havis* and *svadhā*. It is only in the Gṛhya and Dharma Sūtras that the word *Śrāddha* is freely used. It is no doubt true that in the Kāthopanishad the word 'Śrāddhakāla' (time of Śrāddha) occurs.<sup>5</sup> But this passage represents the latest phase of Vedic Literature. Vedic Literature is silent upon the principle governing the rights of inheritance. The Dharmasūtras appear to favour the theory of spiritual benefit elaborated by Jīmūtavāhana. This is not the place to discuss the question in detail. The curious reader may consult the references given below.<sup>6</sup> Many of the passages from the Dharmasūtras are capable of being explained away on the theory of Vijñāneśvara, but one cannot help feeling on a careful study of the Dharmasūtras that the ancient sūtra writers saw an intimate connection between taking the inheritance and the offering of *Piṇdas* and laid little emphasis on mere relationship by blood.

1 वैश्वानरे हविरिहं जुहोमि साहस्रं शतधारमुत्सम् । स विभार्ति पितरं  
पितामहान् प्रपितामहान् विभार्ति पिन्वमानः ॥ अथर्ववेद० 18. 4. 35.

2 Compare अथर्ववेद० 18. 2. 49; 18. 3. 46.

3 'अत्र पितरो मास्यध्वं यथाभागमावृषायध्वम्' वा. सं. 11. 31.

4 शतपथब्राह्मण XI. 5. 6. 2; S. B. E. Vol. XLIV, p. 96.

5 य इमं परमं गुह्यं श्राद्धयेद्ब्रह्मसंसदि । प्रयतः श्राद्धकाले वा तद्दानन्त्याय  
कल्पते ॥ कठोपनिषद्. I. 3. 17.

6 गौ. ध. सूत्र. 28. 21. पिण्डगोत्रर्षिसम्बन्धा रिक्तं भजेरन् स्त्री  
चानपत्यस्य; गौ. ध. सूत्र. 14. 13. (पिण्डनिवृत्तिः सप्तमे पञ्चमे वा)  
and 20; आ. ध. सूत्र. II. 6. 14. 2. पुत्राभावे प्रत्यासन्नः सपिण्डः;  
आ. ध. II. 6. 15. 2-4; बौ. ध. I. 5. 11. 2. and 9; वासिष्ठ 4. 17-19;  
विष्णु 22. 5. 'सपिण्डता च पुरुषे सप्तमे विनिवर्तते; विष्णु  
15. 40. 'यश्चार्थहरः स पिण्डशायी.'

Vijñāneśvara,<sup>1</sup> in elaborating his theory about the meaning of 'sapinda' (on Yājñavalkya I. 52), relies upon three Vedic passages only in support of it. They are :— 'Indeed the (man) himself is born from himself ;' 'thou art born again (or reproduced) in the offspring ;' 'this body is made of six *kośās* (sheaths), three (are derived) from the father, three from the mother ; bones, muscles and marrow from the father ; the skin, flesh and blood from the mother.' The last passage is said to be taken from the Garbhopanishad, which is not one of the early Upanishads as the Chhāndogya, Bṛhadārānyaka or Kātha are. These passages do not, moreover, shed any light on the question of the governing principle in matters of succession. The Mitāksharā does not quote any Sūtra which clearly lays down that the order of succession is governed by nearness of blood relationship. It must however be pointed out that even in the earliest Vedic writings such words as *jñāti* and *bandhu*<sup>2</sup> which denote mere blood relationship and are so used even in the Dharmasūtras occur frequently enough. What is here emphasised is that there is hardly anything to show that blood relationship alone was the guiding principle in matters of succession in Vedic times.

The topic of 'Stridhan' is an interesting subject in modern Hindu Law. The wedding hymn in the R̥gveda (X. 85) contains two verses which suggest that gifts were sent with

1 अवश्यं चैकशरीरावयवान्त्रयेण सापिण्डघं वर्णनीयम् । 'आत्मा हि जज्ञ आत्मनः' इत्यादिश्रुतेः । तथा 'प्रजामनु प्रजायसे' इति च । ... तथा गर्भोपनिषदि 'एतन् पाट्कौशिकं शरीरं, त्रीणि पितृतस्त्रीणि मादृतः, अस्थिस्नायुमज्ज्ञानः पितृतः त्वङ्मांसरुधिराणि मादृतः' इति तत्र तत्रावयवान्वयप्रतिपादनात् । मिताक्षरा on या० I. 52. The first is taken from the ऐतरेयब्राह्मण (VII. 13.), the whole verse being शश्वत्पुत्रेण पितरो अस्यायन् बहुलं तमः । आत्मा हि जज्ञ आत्मनः स इरावस्यतितारिणी.' The second passage is तैत्तिरीय-ब्राह्मण I. 5. 5. 6.

2 ऋग्वेद VII. 55. 5 'सस्तु माता सस्तु पिता सस्तु श्वा सस्तु विद्वपतिः । ससन्तु सर्वे ज्ञातयः सस्त्वयमभितो जनः ॥ ऋग्वेद X. 85. 28 (for the ज्ञाति of the wife); ऋ. X. 66. 14; गौ. ध. सू. II. 44 and आ. I. 3. 10. 3 (for ज्ञाति); ऋग्वेद I. 113. 2 (for समानबन्धु); ऋ. V. 73. 4, VII. 72. 2; VII. 67. 9, &c; गौ. IV. 3 and 5 and VI. 3 (पितृबन्धु and मातृबन्धु), आ. ध. II. 5. 11. 17.

the bride to the bridegroom's house.<sup>1</sup> 'The bridal gifts of Sūryā, that Savitr sent off, have gone forth; in the Aghās (Māghā constellation) are struck the kine; in the Arjunīs (Pnālgunī constellations) is carried (the bridal gift).' The word 'vāhatu' that occurs here is explained by Sāyana as 'cows and other objects to be given for pleasing the girl to be married.' In another<sup>2</sup> verse we read 'For thee in the beginning they carried about Sūryā together with the bridal gifts; oh Agni! mayst thou give to us again the wife together with progeny.' In the Taittiriya-saṁhitā occurs the following passage 'the wife (of the sacrificer) holds on (to the cart); for the wife is mistress of the household gear.'<sup>3</sup> The word 'pāriṇahya' occurring in the above passage is found in the Mānsmṛti<sup>4</sup> 'he (the husband) should employ her in the collection and disbursement of his wealth, in cleaning, in (the fulfilment of) *dharma*, in cooking and in the supervision of utensils.' Medhātithi<sup>5</sup> in his comment on Manu (VIII, 416 cited above, 68 n. 2) quotes the passage of the Taittiriya-saṁhitā which was relied upon by some writers before him for the proposition that, in spite of what Manu says, women were absolute owners of at least one kind of property, *viz.*, 'pāriṇahya.' The Pūrvamīmāṃsā of Jaimini refers to the above quoted

- 1 सूर्याया वहतुः प्रागाःसविता यमवास्तजत् । अघासु हन्यन्ते गावी-  
र्जुन्योः पर्यह्यते ॥ ऋ. X. 85. 13. This is the same as अथर्ववेद  
14. 1. 13 where we have मघासु for अघासु and फल्गुनीषु व्युह्यते  
(the marriage takes place in फल्गुनी) for अर्जुन्योः पर्यह्यते.
- 2 नुभ्यमग्ने पर्यवहन् सूर्यां वहतुना सह । पुनः पतिभ्यो जायां वा अग्ने  
प्रजया सह ॥ ऋ. X. 85. 38. This is the same as अथर्ववेद 14. 2. 1  
where we read स नः पतिभ्यो for पुनः पतिभ्यः. Lanman renders  
वहतु by 'bridal car' (Harvard Series, Vol. VIII, p. 753). But it  
appears that Sāyana's interpretation suits the context much better  
*Vide* p. 63 n. 6 above.
- 3 तै. सं. VI. 2. 1. 1. 'परन्वन्वारभते पत्नी हि पारिणह्यस्वेषो.
- 4 अर्थस्य संग्रहे स्त्रीणां व्यये चैव नियोजयेत् । शौचे धर्मोऽनपक्व्यां च  
पारिणह्यस्य वक्षणे ॥ मनुस्मृति १. 11.
- 5 असति वा स्त्रीणां स्वाम्ये पत्न्यैवानुगमनं क्रियते पत्नी वै पारिणह्यस्वेषो  
इत्यदिभुतयो निरालम्बनाः स्युः । अत्रोच्यते । पारतन्त्र्यविधानमै-  
तत् । असत्यां भर्तृनुज्ञायां न स्त्रीभिः स्वातन्त्र्येण यत्र कश्चिद्वृत्तं  
विनियोक्तव्यम् । मेधा०

passage of the Taittirīya-samhitā for the proposition that women do own certain things.<sup>1</sup>

In the foregoing only such topics as are of great interest to students of modern Hindu Law have been taken for treatment. There are many other points falling within the scope of dharmaśāstra as conceived in ancient India, such as judicial procedure, crimes and their punishments, ordeals, on which Vedic Literature yields valuable information. Such topics have been here omitted for various reasons, but particularly from considerations of space.

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<sup>1</sup> 'स्ववत्तामपि वर्धयति' पू. मी. सू. VI. 1. 16. शबर's भाष्य  
quotes the words 'पत्नी वै पारिण्यस्येष्टे &c.'

ART V.—*Gleanings from the Bhāshya of Śābara and  
the Tantravārtika.*

BY

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(Read on 5th April, 1922).

The Bhāshya of Śābarasvāmin and the Tantravārtika of Kumārila are standard works on the Pūrvamīmāṃsā system. In addition to their intrinsic worth, these works shed very interesting light on numerous points bearing on the history and chronology of Sanskrit Literature. As Kumārilaḥṭṭa flourished about 750 A.D. and Śābara wrote not later than the 5th century A.D. and may well have lived several centuries earlier, their works are of paramount importance in several ways. In the following an humble attempt is made to bring together some of the numerous items of information that these works are replete with.

It appears from numerous passages of the Bhāshya of Śābara that he held in great reverence the author of the Vṛtti on the Sūtras of Jaimini. Śābara refers to him in some places as 'atra bhavān' or 'atra bhagavān.'<sup>1</sup> 'In some places Śābara uses the honorific plural when referring to the author of the Vṛtti.<sup>2</sup> In other cases Śābara refers to him only as 'Vṛtikārah' (in the singular).<sup>3</sup> Though Śābara looked with veneration on the Vṛtikāra, he often differs from the explanations of the Vṛtikāra and is careful to point out that he so differs.<sup>4</sup> Who the author of the Vṛtti referred to by Śābara

1 See भाष्य on जै. सू. II. 3. 16. (Vol. I. p. 184 of the B. I. edition) 'अत्र भगवानाचार्य इत्युदाहृत्य &c.; भाष्य on जै. सू. III. 1. 6. (Vol. I. p. 211) अत्रेदानीमत्रभवान् वृत्तिकारः परिनिश्चिकार्यः'

भाष्य on जै. VII. 1. 2. (Vol. II p. 70.) 'प्रतिपदारव्याने तु गौरवं परिहरद्भिः वृत्तिकारैः'

3 भाष्य on जै. सू. I. 1. 5; II. 1. 3. 2; VII. 2. 7; X. 4. 23, &c.

4 शबर explains at length how his interpretation of Sūtras I. 1. 3-5 differs from that of the Vṛtikāra; so also on VII. 2. 7, where शबर takes the word शास्त्र occurring in the Sūtra as meaning अतिदेशशास्त्र and वृत्तिकार takes it to mean 'गानशास्त्रं औक्थिक्यम्'. See also Vol. I. p. 127 where he criticizes वृत्तिकार's words describing the nature of Brāhmaṇa works.

was it is very difficult to say. One may be tempted to assert that he is the same as Baudhāyana who is said to have written a *Vṛtti* on the *Vedāntasūtras*. But there are no convincing arguments in favour of this hypothesis. Some writers are of opinion that Upavarsha was the author of the *Vṛtti* (*vide* Dr. Jha's thesis on the *Prābhākara* school, p. 113 and 179). But this does not seem to be probable. Śābara himself refers to the views of Upavarsha and styles him 'Bhagavān.'<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that this passage occurs in that portion of the *Bhāshya* of Śābara where he summarises the interpretation of the *Vṛttikāra* on *Sūtras* I. 1.3-5. The views of the *Vṛttikāra* are summarised on pp. 7-18 of the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition. So if Upavarsha was the author of the *Vṛtti* according to Śābara, there was no reason why his views should be separately mentioned by name. Besides wherever the *Vṛttikāra* is referred to by Śābara he is referred to only as *Vṛttikāra* and not by name. A similar view is ascribed to Upavarsha by Śāṅkarāchārya (*Vedāntasūtra* I. 3.28).<sup>2</sup> Śāṅkara also tells us that Upavarsha commented upon both the *Pūrva* and *Uttara Mīmāṃsā* (*Vedāntasūtra* III. 3.53). It seems that Kumārila refers to Upavarsha as *Mahābhāshyakāra*,<sup>3</sup> if we accept the explanation given by Someśvara in his *Nyāyasudhā*. It will be seen later on that Kumārila refers to Patañjali's work as *Bhāshya* and *Pātañjala*. From all these considerations it appears that Upavarsha was not the author of the *Vṛtti* referred to by Śābara. If this is so, the *Vṛttikāra* would be a very ancient writer, being earlier than Upavarsha, who was himself very much venerated by Śābara. Even if it were urged that the views of the *Vṛttikāra* summarised by Śābara (on I. 1. 5) do not extend to p. 18, as said above, the aforesaid conclusion would not be affected. The manner in which Upavarsha is referred to would show that he is not identical with the *Vṛtti-*

- 1 ' भय गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः । गकारौकारविसर्जनीया इति भगवानुपवर्षः ' ( Vol. I. p. 13 ).
- 2 ' वर्णा एव तु शब्द इति भगवानुपवर्षः '.
- 3 ' ततश्च तृतीयार्थासिद्धिरिति मत्वा महाभाष्यकारेणोक्तं तृतीयाया स्थाने द्वितीयेति ' तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 390 ( on II. 1. 12 ). The *Nyāyasūtra* of someśvara says on this ( *Chaukhamba series* p. 632 ) ' जुहोतिद्योगे कर्मणि द्वितीया-नुपपत्तेस्तृतीयार्थावशितोपवर्षेणोक्तं । व्याकरणे द्वितीयायास्तृतीयार्थावशित्वानभिधानाद्या परीष्टिर्निमित्तानां कर्तव्येऽप्युपादिता सा महाभाष्यकारेण न कर्तव्येति वर्णितेऽप्युपवर्षे महाभाष्यकारशब्दप्रयोगाच्चैवं व्याख्यातः । '



kāra Śabara says in one place that the Sūtrakāra pursues the same method as the Vṛttikāra.<sup>1</sup>

That there was a very long interval between Jaimini and Śabara follows from the fact that Śabara proposes several interpretations of the same Sūtra or Sūtras.<sup>2</sup> Śabara refers to the views of others (who were probably not identical with the Vṛttikāra or Upavarsha.).<sup>3</sup> He quotes verses (Kārikās) dealing with Mīmāṃsā,<sup>4</sup> often prefaced with the words 'there is a Śloka on this point' or 'they recite a Śloka on this point.'

It is interesting to see what attitude Śabara takes towards Pāṇini. He quotes Pāṇini with great reverence and styles him 'bhagavān.'<sup>5</sup> The Bhāshya of Śabara approaches the great commentary of Patañjali in style, which is simply, direct and forcible. Śabara not only looked upon Pāṇini with reverence, but also upon Kātyāyana, who also is styled 'bhagavān' by him. Śabara says that Kātyāyana laid down that the compound of the particle 'na' with a 'subanta' was 'nitya,' while Pāṇini laid down that it was optional and that Pāṇini's rule must be followed and not Kātyāyana's as the former lays down what is correct.<sup>6</sup> In another place he speaks of the rule that the word 'asti' may be understood in a sentence though not actually employed.<sup>7</sup> From these circumstances it is clear that even Kātyāyana preceded Śabara by a long period, to be measured by centuries.

- 1 सूत्रकारस्याप्यविशेषो वृत्तिकारेण | Vol. I. p. 538.
- 2 e. g. जै. IV. 3. 27-28; VIII. 1. 34 and 39; VIII. 3. 14-15; IX. 1. 1 and 34-35; IX. 2. 1-2 &c.
- 3 Compare अपर आह on VIII. 3. 29.
- 4 See Vol. I. pp. 137, 490, 527, 528, 529; Vol. II. pp. 11, 71, 452, 490 &c. It is to be noted that one of these quotations though called a śloka is an Āryā (p. 528).
- 5 'भगवतः पाणिनेर्वचनान् स्मृतिमनुमास्यामहे एमान् स्त्रियेति' Vol. I. p. 617  
'न चैष नियोगो वृत्तिपक्षे नित्यः समास इति विभाषां हि स्म भगवान् पाणिनिरधीते' Vol. II. p. 534.
- 6 'नित्यो ह्यस्य नशाब्दस्य सुबन्तसम्बन्धेन समास इति वार्तिककारो भगवान् कात्यायनो मन्यते स्म वाचनानर्थक्यं च स्वभावसिद्धत्वाक्षितिः । नेति भगवान्पाणिनिः । हि विभाषा-इति प्रकृत्येदृशं समासमुक्तवान् । सहाचित्वाच्च पाणिनेर्वचनं प्रमाणं, असहादिस्वाङ्गकार्याद्यनस्य' Vol. II. p. 623 on जै. X. 8. 4.
- 7 'अस्तित्त्वन्तीपरः प्रथमपुरुषेऽप्रयुज्यमानोऽप्यरतीति' Vol. II. p. 703 (महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 443.)

Passages from the Nirukta occur very frequently in the Bhāshya of Śabara.<sup>1</sup> A verse quoted in the Nirukta is quoted by Śabara and the latter points out that the particle 'eva' therein is joined to the wrong word.<sup>2</sup> A quotation from the Nirukta is cited as from a 'Śāstrakāra.'<sup>3</sup> A passage of the Bhāshya (vol. II p. 454) about the nature of the deity to whom sacrifices are offered agrees very closely in thought and expression with the discussion on the same topic in the Nirukta (chap. VII).

Śabara refers to Piṅgala as the author of a well-known work on metrics.<sup>4</sup> If it is correct to say that the views of Vṛttikāra on Jaimini I. 1. 3-5 are summarised at pp. 7-18 of the Bhāshya, then it would follow that Piṅgala's work was well known to the ancient Vṛttikāra.

Śabara appears to be referring to the extant Pāṇinīya Śikshā, when he says that the Śikshākāras lay down that Vāyu is transformed into word.<sup>5</sup> He quotes the well known verse occurring in the Śikshā (52) about the result of reciting a *mantra* in a faulty manner.<sup>6</sup>

Śabara makes numerous references to the Sūtra Literature on Śrauta, Grhya and Dharma. He mentions the Māsaka, Hāstika and Kauṇḍīnyaka as examples of Kalpasūtras (on I. 3-11). He tells us that the Holākā festival is celebrated by the Easterns, the Ahnīna-aibuka by the Southerners and

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- 1 ' Vide भाष्ये on अ. I. 2. 35 and 36 where we have remarks similar to those of the निरुक्त (I. 15.) on 'ओषधे प्रायस्वैनम' 'स्वधिते मैत्रं हितीः'. On p. 464 vol. II the words of the निरुक्त (II. 1) 'अथ हि स्वरसंस्कारौ प्रादेशिकेन गुणेनान्वितौ भवतः' occur..
  - 2 Vol II p. 644—the verse 'दमेव विद्याः शुचिप्रमत्तं &c.' (निरुक्त II. 4) is quoted and then the remark is made 'यं शुचिमेव विद्या इति वदितव्ये यमेव विद्याः शुचिमिति &c.'
  - 3 Vol. I. p. 13—the words 'पूर्वापरीभूतं भावमारव्यातेनाचष्टे (नि. I. 1.)
  - 4 ' तथा मकारेण अपिङ्गलस्य न सर्वगुरुस्त्रिकः प्रतीयेत पिङ्गलकृतिमननु-मन्यमानस्य वा Vol. I p. 16.
  - 5 ' तथा च शिक्षाकारा आहर्वायुरापद्यते शब्दतामिति ' Vol I. p. 31 on अ. I. 1. 22. Compare the words of the शिक्षा 'मारुतरनूरस्ति चरन् मन्त्रं जनयति स्वरम्'.
  - 6 ' ऊने च वाक्ये षोडशवपात् मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा.... पराधात्' Vol. II. p. 273.

Udvrishabha-yajña by the Northerns. His remarks on I. 3. 18 and 22-23 suggest that he identified the 'Dākṣiṇātyas' performing the 'Ahnīna-aibuka' with some dark-coloured, burly people with reddish eyes living in a country that had a black soil. He refers in general terms to Smṛtis and Dharmasāstras.<sup>1</sup> He seems to quote a passage from some work<sup>2</sup> on Dharma Sāstra about the duty of a Śūdra to serve men of the three higher castes. In numerous places he refers to topics dealt with in the Dharmasūtras,<sup>3</sup> such as the merit to be achieved from planting gardens or sinking wells, about the murder of an Ātreyi, about rising to receive an old man, about the rule that a student was to dine in a plate of bell-metal, about the occasions on which study was to be stopped. He says that the Smṛti passages laying down studenthood for forty-eight years are in conflict with the Vedic passage 'one who has a son born and whose hair are black should consecrate the fires.'<sup>4</sup> Śābara, when he speaks of Smṛtis laying down rules as to the circumstances in which a man could marry a second wife when the first was living seems to be quoting the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra.<sup>5</sup> In his Bhāshya (on Jaimini VI. 1.12) he quotes a verse from a Smṛti which is almost the same as Manusmṛti (IX. 416). In saying that 'madhu' (mead or wine) was forbidden to Brahmachārins, he quotes the Manu-smṛti with a slight change in the order of words.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 Vol. I p. 606. 'न चैते वेदमधीयते नापि स्मृतिशास्त्राणि.' Vol. II p. 138  
स्मृतिश्च नः प्रमाणं-तथा विग्रहवती वैवतामुपचरन्ति यमं इण्डहस्तमा-  
लिखन्ति।
- 2 Vol. I p. 746 (for धर्मशास्त्र) "शूद्रश्च न देव इत्यन्वादेशः । कुतः ।  
धर्मशास्त्रस्वात् । धर्मशास्त्रोपनस्वान्तस्व । एवमसौ वैवर्णिकाय उपनत  
इमं शुश्रूषमाणो धर्मेण सम्बन्धस्यते इति."
- 3 Vol. I. p. 500 (for आराम and तडाग) ; pp. 608 and 610 (for आत्रेयी-  
हत्या) ; p. 647 ( वृद्धवयाः प्रस्तुस्थेयः ) ; on XII. 2. 34. (for कांस्थ-  
भोजिस्व) ; Vol. II. p. 849 (about अनध्याय) .
- 4 Vide भाष्य on जै. I. 3. 3 ; compare गौतमधर्म II. 45-46, बौ. ध. 1. 2. 1  
and आप. ध. 1. 1. 2. 12.
- 5 Vol. I. p. 768. यथैव स्मृतिः 'धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च नातिचरितव्या' इति,  
'धर्मप्रज्ञासम्पन्ने द्वारे नान्यां कुर्यात्' इति च, एवमिदमपि स्मर्यत एव  
'अन्यतरापायेऽन्यां कुर्यात्' इति. Compare आप. ध. II. 5. 11. 12-13
- 6 Vol. II. p. 551 ब्रह्मचारिणां च मधु प्रतिषिध्यते 'मधु मांसं च वर्जयेत्'  
Compare मनु II. 177 'वर्जयेन्मधु मांसं च.'

On p. 4 (Vol. I) of the Bhāshya he speaks of Manu and others as laying down rules.

It is worthy of note that Śabara speaks of 'itihāsa' and 'purāṇas' as well-known works in which deities like Agni and others are described as residing in heaven.<sup>1</sup>

Śabara gives interesting geographical information here and there. He tells us that the Āndhras apply the word 'rājan' to a *kshatriya* who does not live by protecting countries or cities and that the word 'charu' is well known and used in the sense of 'sthāli' from the Himālayas to Cape Comorin.<sup>2</sup>

He lived at a time when 'rasāyanas' (elixirs) were supposed by some to prolong life for a thousand years.<sup>3</sup>

On I. 3. 10 he tells us that certain words like 'pika,' 'nema,' 'sata' and 'tāmarasa' were adopted into the Sanskrit Language from the language of non-Aryans and that the Mlechchhas were very clever in catching and bringing up birds.

Śabara quotes a highly poetical description of a river.<sup>4</sup> He quotes verses which seem to be taken from poetical works or probably from the Mahābhārata.<sup>5</sup>

The Bhāshya of Śabara contains frequent allusions to the tenets of the Buddhist philosophy. He speaks of the tenet (peculiar to the Yogāchāras) that there is no real object corresponding to the conceptions we entertain,<sup>6</sup> to the tenet

- 1 Vol. II. p. 454 का पुनरियं देवता नाम । एकं तावन्मत्तं या एता इतिहास-  
पुराणेषु अग्न्याद्याः संकीर्त्यन्ते नाकसवस्ता देवता इति ।
- 2 ननु च जनपदपुरपरिरक्षणवृत्तिमनुपजीवन्त्यपि क्षत्रिये राजसामान्याः  
प्रयुञ्जते प्रयोक्तारः । भाष्य on II. 3. 3 at p. 172; 'प्रसिद्धश्च स्थाल्यां  
चरुशब्द आ हिमवतः आ च कुमारीभ्यः प्रयुज्यमानौ वृष्टः' Vol. II.  
p. 326.
- 3 न रसायनानामेतस्सामर्थ्यं वृष्टं येन सहस्रसंवत्सरं जीवेयुः । Vol. I. p. 756.
- 4 Vol. I. p. 61. 'चक्रवाकस्तनी हंसवन्तावली काशवस्त्रा शैवालकोशी नदी.'
- 5 e. g. Vol. I. p. 33. 'नीलोत्पलवनेष्वद्य चरन्तश्चारुसंवाः । नीलकौशे-  
यसंवाताः प्रणश्यन्तीव काश्मबाः ॥' ; Vol. I. p. 567. 'ईजाना  
बहुभिर्यज्ञैर्ग्राहणा वेदपारगाः । शास्त्राणि चेष्यमाणं स्युः प्राप्तास्ते परमां  
गतिम् ॥' . This is again quoted on p. 237 of Vol. II, and the last half  
of it on p. 648, Vol. II. On p. 71, Vol. II. we have 'द्वितीयं हि महज्जाल-  
शुषिः संक्षिप्य चाग्नवति । इदं हि विदुषां लोके समासव्यासधारणम् ॥'-  
6 Vol. I. p. 8 ( which summarises the comment of the Vṛttikāra ), p. 19.

that all things are in an eternal flux and are momentary,<sup>1</sup> and to the five *skandhas* of which *Vijñāna* is one.<sup>2</sup> Many Western scholars have jumped to the conclusion that, on account of these references to *Vijñānavāda*, Śābara must be later than the fourth or fifth century A. D. But it is very dangerous to dogmatise, when almost the whole of the Buddhist Sanskrit Literature has perished. It is not impossible to find traces of the doctrines animadverted upon by Śābara in the earliest Pāli Literature. This is not, however, the place to elaborate that point.

Here and there Śābara gives curious information. He says it was believed that dogs observed a fast on the 14th day (*tīthi*) and hawks on the 8th (vol. I. p. 604), that one suffering from eye diseases should eat boiled *mudga* and that a dropsical patient should drink only milk (vol. II. p. 8.)

It will now be proper to deal with the *Tantravārtika* in the same way as Śābara's *Bhāshya* has been dealt with.

Kumārilabhaṭṭa is one of the most brilliant and acute writers of ancient India.

The following considerations will show that a very long period intervened between Śābara and Kumārila. As pointed out by Dr. Ganganātha Jhā,<sup>3</sup> Kumārila very often criticizes the interpretations of Śābara. Kumārila points out that Śābara did not comment upon certain Sūtras of Jaimini.<sup>4</sup> In the second of the two omissions of this sort, Kumārila makes very interesting observations, which show that numerous commentaries upon the Sūtras and on the *Bhāshya* existed in the days of Kumārila.<sup>5</sup> Some commentators said that the *Bhāshya-kāra* forgot to comment on them, others said that the comment

1 Vol. I. p. 9 and p. 31.

2 Vol. I. p. 20.

3 The *Prabhākara* school, p. 12. For a few more examples, see pp. 728, 817, 897, 1127, 1150.

4 p. 646 of सूत्र० 'अत्रान्तरे भाष्यकारस्य सूत्रं प्रभटं वाक्यासमयादिति.'

On p. 915 he says that the भाष्यकार omitted seven sūtras.

P. 915 अतः परं षट्सूत्राणि भाष्यकारेण न लिखितानि तत्र व्याख्यातारो विवदन्ते । केषिदाहुर्विस्मृतानि लिखितो ग्रन्थः प्रलीन इत्यपरे । फल्गुस्वाहुपेक्षितानीत्यन्धे । अनार्षेयस्वादिरथपरे । तथा च दिग्बभागश्च तद्वदिति निश्चिताधिकरणातिदेशः तद्दानन्तर्यामुपपद्यते इति । वृत्त्यन्तरकारैस्तु सर्वैर्व्याख्यातानि । सन्ति च जैमिनेरवंप्रकाराण्यप्यनत्यन्तसारभूतानि सूत्राणि । व्यवहृतातिदेशाश्च पानव्यापश्च तद्वदित्यादिष्वाश्रिताः ।

on these Sūtras in the Bhāshya was omitted by the scribes, some said that they were passed over in silence as they were of no importance, others said that they were not genuine productions of the sage (Jaimini). Kumārila further remarks that all the authors of other Vṛttis have commented upon them and that there are other Sūtras of Jaimini which are not of great substance (*i.e.*, which are more or less superfluous). In another place he finds fault with the Bhāshyakāra and the expounders (of the Bhāshya).<sup>1</sup> If we interpret another passage properly, it appears that, even before Kumārila wrote, there was another work styled a Vārtika on the Pūrvamimāṅsāsūtra.<sup>2</sup> Kumārila in several places refers to a Bhāshya on the Sūtra other than that of Śābara (*i.e.*, he styles the author bhāshyāntarakāra).<sup>3</sup> In all the three places where the author of this Bhāshya is referred to, he is criticized and condemned. In other places this author of another Bhāshya seems to have been referred to by the expression 'kechit,' according to the Nyāyasudhā and, if this explanation is right, the author of this second Bhāshya was later than Śābara (*vide* p. 311 of the Tantravārtika and the Nyāyasudhā p. 480). We saw above that, according to the Nyāyasudhā, Kumārila refers to the commentary of Upavarsha as Mahābhāshya. Kumārila in one place refers to 'Bhagavān Upavarsha' and quotes passages (or their purport) from his Bhāshya, after referring to the Vṛttikāra.<sup>4</sup> This strengthens the view advanced above that the Vṛttikāra and Upavarsha are not identical. He quotes Kārikās from other writers with the words 'Another says' (*e.g.*, p. 387 and p. 360).

Kumārila bhaṭṭa was not prevented by his reverence for ancient commentators from criticizing the Vṛttikāra.<sup>5</sup> In many other places he refers to the Vṛttikāra.<sup>6</sup>

1 P. 817. 'जातिरेव नु यज्जातं भाष्यकारेण वर्णितम् । व्याख्यादभिश्च तत्रैव-  
मृगासौ आत्यसम्भवान् ॥'. On p. 625 he gives the opinion of another  
वृत्ति.

2 P. 606 'सूत्रेष्वेव हि तस्सर्वं यद्वृत्तौ यच्च वार्तिके । सूत्रं योनिरिहार्यानां  
सर्वं सूत्रे प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ इति ये वदन्ति तान्मस्युच्यते.'

3 See p. 616, 625, 1008.

4 P. 607 on जै. II. 3. 16 'पदं सूत्रकारेण नोपात्तमिदं वृत्तिकारिणोऽस्यैत-  
त्प्रदर्शनार्थमेतद्वर्णयन्ति । तद्विद्मि भगवानुपवर्षः किलामिहोत्रे धेनु-  
दोहाधिकारिभ्युत्तमिदं वाक्यमुदाहृतवान् वत्समालभेतेति तत्र च पूर्व-  
वदेव त्रेधा संशयमुपन्यस्तवान् ।'

5 Pages 178 and 334.

6 *e.g.* p. 585.

Among the Sūtra writers he very frequently refers to the Kalpasūtrakārās. Among the authors and works on Kalpa mentioned by Kumārila are Baudhāyana, Vārāha, Māsaka, Āsvalāyāna, Bāijavāpi, Drāhyāyaṇiya, Lāṭiya, Kātyāyana, Āpastamba.<sup>1</sup> He tells us that the Laṭyāyana and Drāhyāyana Sūtras thought that the Māsaka Kalpasūtra was more weighty than even the Brāhmaṇa and so refer to it, and that certain Brāhmaṇas are of the nature of Kalpasūtras.<sup>2</sup>

The Tantravārtika contains numerous allusions to the Nirukta. Kumārila refers to the fourfold division of words, to the fact that certain roots are found among non-Āryans, while nouns derived from them are employed by the Āryas, to the principle that Nirukta is a complement of grammar, to the dictum that a Nairukta is to derive by relying upon similarity of letters.<sup>3</sup> He often quotes verses that are found in the Nirukta and refers to their explanation contained in that work.<sup>4</sup>

The Prātiśākhya and their subject matter are discussed in the Tantravārtika in a few places.<sup>5</sup>

In one place we meet with a reference to the Śikshā of Nārada.<sup>6</sup>

In the elaborate and vigorous Pūrvapaksha that is launched against grammar and its claim to be regarded as an authoritative Smṛti, Kumārila furnishes very valuable and interesting information on grammatical literature. Considerations of space would not allow any extensive examination. Only salient points will be set down in what follows. Even Pāṇini is charged with having sinned against his own rules and not having indicated the purpose for which he composed his ex-

1 Pages 161, 164, 174, 178, 211.

2 P. 164.

3 Pages 214 ( about नामारुधातोपसर्गानिपातश्चतुष्टय ), 146 ( शत्रुतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव वृष्टो विकारापञ्चमार्याः प्रयुञ्जते शत्रुमिति मृतशरीरानिधानान्=निरुक्त II. 2 ), p. 200 ( कास्त्वेऽपि व्याकरणस्यापिनिरुक्ते=निरुक्त I. 15 ), p. 214 ( नैरुक्तेरपि अक्षरवर्णसाम्योन्निरुक्तान्=निरुक्त II. 1 ).

4 P. 213 ( the verse यदधीतमविज्ञातं=निरुक्त I. 18 ), 215 ( अस्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि=निरुक्त XIII ). These two verses occur in the Mahābhāshya also ( Vol. I. pp. 2 and 3 ).

5 Pages 208, 289.

6 P. 199. तथा शिक्षायां नारदेन प्रत्युपे ब्रह्म चिन्तैवविति गाव्यादिषाब्दतुल्य एव प्रयुक्तः ।

tremely difficult work.<sup>1</sup> Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārtikas on Pāṇini, is styled Vākyakāra and faults are pointed out in his Vārtikas also.<sup>2</sup> Patañjali is mentioned by name and his Bhāshya is frequently quoted or referred to.<sup>3</sup> The first few pages of Patañjali's work dealing with the purposes served by a study of grammar come in for detailed or frequent reference or criticism.<sup>4</sup> It is pointed out that Patañjali himself, like his two illustrious predecessors, is guilty of grammatical lapses as in the 'Aviravikanyāya,' that the three great *munis* are in conflict with each other, that Patañjali for his own purposes meddles with the text of well-known verses like the one in the Śikshā (quoted in note 6p. 86 above).<sup>5</sup> It is to be noted that it has not been possible to find out a single passage in the Tantravārtika where Patañjali's great work is styled 'Mahābhāshya.' The only passage, so far found, where the word Mahābhāshya occurs in the Tantravārtika is explained by an erudite commentator like Somēśvara as intended to apply to the work of Upavarsha on the Pūrvamīmāṃsā. It appears from two passages that Kumārila knew commentaries (or a commentary) on the Mahābhāshya and appears to have quoted two verses therefrom.<sup>6</sup> A quotation

- 1 P. 201 finds fault with the Sūtra जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः (I. 4. 30) and तस्म योजको हेतुश्च (I. 4. 55), which latter violates the rule contained in दृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि (II. 2. 15). See p. 196 for the charge of the absence of any प्रयोजन out of धम, अर्थ, काम and मोक्ष.
- 2 P. 958 (for वाक्यकार and the वार्तिकः on अनभिहिते II. 3. 1) and p. 201 for criticism of वाग्लकः (कात्याय mentioned by name and styled वाक्य०)
- 3 P. 955 (for पातञ्जल), 217 (महाभाष्य Vol. I. p. 6), 958 (महाभाष्य Vol. I. p. 439-443.)
- 4 Vide pp. 203, 209, 211, 213.
- 5 P. 201 (अविरविकन्याय, for which see महाभाष्य Vol. III. p. 124), p. 195. 'परस्परं चाचार्या विगीतवचनाः स्थिताः । सूत्रवार्तिकभाष्येषु किं तत्राध्यवसीयताम् ॥'; p. 213 'वुष्टः शब्दः इत्यत्रापि बहुजन-प्रसिद्ध शिक्षाकारपठितमन्त्रपदोद्धारेण शब्दपदं प्रक्षिपता स्वपक्षानुरागो दर्शितः'
- 6 P. 207 'अपि च व्याकरणेनोहकरणमशक्यमेवेति मन्वानैटीकाकारैर-प्युक्तम् (and then two verses are quoted); p. 220 'तदनाश्रयणांस्तु सूत्रवार्तिकभाष्यकारवदेव पूर्वापरविरुद्धमभिधानैटीकाकारैरपि सुतरं व्याकरणस्याप्रत्ययितपुरुषप्रणीतत्वं दर्शितम्.'



from the Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari is cited without naming the work and the author's position is ridiculed by making a slight change in the words of the Vākyapadīya.<sup>1</sup> Several verses from the Vākyapadīya are quoted, as pointed out by Prof. Pathak in his learned paper in the J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 18, pp. 214-15.

It is noteworthy that according to the Tantravārtika there were fourteen or eighteen principal subjects of study for orthodox people.<sup>2</sup> In a lengthy passage he concisely describes the contents of the six Vedāngas, (Śikshā, Kalpa, Vyākaraṇa, Nirukta, Chandovichiti, Jyotisha), Itihāsaipurāṇa, Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, &c. (pp. 79-80.)

The Tantravārtika contains very valuable information about the contents of the Mahābhārata. Prof. Buhler, in collaboration with Dr. Kirste, has dealt with the subject in his lucid and masterly manner (in 'Indian Studies' No. II). It is therefore not desirable to go into any great detail on this point here. The work was styled Mahābhārata in his day and the Gītā formed an integral portion of it.<sup>3</sup> He refers to the Gandhāmādāna section, quotes a verse from the episode of Sāvitrī, speaks of the chapters on gifts, duties of kings and on Moksha, and gives a warning that the episodes (Upākhyānas) in the Mahābhārata have no independent purpose of their own and so should not be relied upon as matters of substance.<sup>4</sup> For other references the pages noted below may be consulted.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 P. 209 यद्यपि केनचिदुक्तम्-तत्त्वावबोधः शब्दानां नास्ति व्याकरणादृते-  
इति । ..... अत एव श्लोकस्योत्तरार्धे उक्तव्यम् 'तत्त्वावबोधः  
शब्दानां नास्ति श्रोत्रेन्द्रियादृते' इति. The half verse is वाक्यपदीय  
L 13.
- 2 P. 126. 'परिभितान्येव हि चतुर्विंशत्याष्टावक्ष वा विद्यास्थानानि धर्मप्रमाण-  
स्त्वेन शिष्टैः परिगृहीतानि तेषां वैशङ्कणीयाङ्गाष्टावक्षधर्मसंहितापुराण-  
शास्त्रशिक्षावण्डनीतिसंज्ञकानि.' It is remarkable that even in the  
Nirukta the word विद्यास्थान is applied to it along with व्याकरण.
- 3 P. 161. महत्त्वाङ्गारवत्त्वाच्च महाभारतमुच्यते । महा० आदि० L 274) :  
p. 380 तथाहि तेनैव ( द्वैपायनेनैव ) गीतादिषु अनेकप्रकारं सर्वगतत्वं  
वर्णितम्.'
- 4 P. 17. (गन्धमादन. वनपर्व chap. 143 ff.), 380 (अङ्गुष्ठमात्रं पुरुषं निश्चर्कष  
बलाद्यम् । = वनपर्व 296.17), p. 16 ( तत्रापि तु हानराजमोक्षधर्मादिषु  
केचिस्साक्षाद्विधयः &c' ).
- 5 P. 135 ( धृतराष्ट्रं in आश्चर्यपर्व=आश्रमवासिकपर्व 32-17), 136 ( about  
द्रौपदी ), 452 ( पञ्चन्द्रवाक्ये=आदिपर्व 107. 44-50).

In a long and very instructive passage he points out how the heroes of the Mahābhārata were charged with serious lapses from proper conduct and gives the instances of Nahusha (as Indra), Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana, Bhīṣma, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Yudhisṭhira, Vāsudeva, Arjuna.<sup>1</sup>

He refers to Vālmīki in the same breath with Dvaipāyana, thereby showing that the Rāmāyaṇa occupied the same position as the Mahābhārata in his days.<sup>2</sup> He refers to the abandonment of Sītā and the performance of a sacrifice by Rāma with a golden image of Sītā.<sup>3</sup>

The Tantravārtika stands in a peculiar relation to the Manusmṛti. On this and on other information to be gathered from the Tantravārtika about the Dharmasāstra Literature, the present writer has prepared a separate paper.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, it is not desirable to go over the same ground again.

The Tantravārtika contains very important references to the philosophical systems of its day. In one passage reference is made to the Sāṃkhya system dealing with Prakṛti and Puruṣas and to the Vaiśeṣika that postulates a personal God and atoms for the creation of the world.<sup>5</sup> In another passage we are told that the systems of the Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāncharātra, Pāsupata, Śākya, Nirgrantha, are not accepted by the followers of the Vedas, are veiled under cover of orthodoxy by taking over certain elements from the Vedic system (such as Ahimsā, truthfulness, restraint, charity, kindness), have for their objects the humouring of ordinary men, material gain, honour and notoriety, and are based on reasoning opposed to the Vedas.<sup>6</sup> The inclusion of the Pāncharātra among heterodox systems in the days of Kumārila is striking and supports Śaṅkara (a contemporary or junior of Kumārila) in his interpretation of the last four sūtras of the 2nd pāda of the 2nd chapter of the Vedāntasūtras. The Vaiśeṣikas are grouped with the Bauddhas and are said to be afraid of the Mīmāṃsakas.<sup>7</sup> A sūtra of the Nyāyasūtra of Akṣhapāda is partially quoted

1 See. pp. 127-138.

2 P. 16. 'वेदप्रस्थानाभ्यासेन हि बाल्मीकिद्वैपायनप्रभृतिभिस्तथैव स्ववाक्यानि प्रणीतानि.'

3 P. 134.

4 The paper was sent to the 2nd Orientalists' Conference at Calcutta held on 28th January 1922.

5 P. 81.

6 P. 114.

7 P. 169 'वया मीमांसकचस्ताः शाक्यवैशेषिकादयः । नित्य एवागमोऽस्माकमिच्छाद्युः शून्यचेतनम् ॥'.

by Kumārila.<sup>1</sup> The well-known nicknames given to Tārkikas, viz., 'pilupākavādins' and 'pitharapākavādins' are specifically mentioned by Kumārila.<sup>2</sup>

Āyurveda is mentioned as useful in the treatment of diseases.<sup>3</sup> Reference is made to a 'Sarpasiddhānta' which prescribed that plant as an antidote against poison which was gripped with its teeth by an ichneumon.<sup>4</sup> Reference too, is made to the work on elephants composed by the prince Pālakārya<sup>5</sup> and a technical name contained therein (*ubhābhya*=a stroke with both tusks.)

The Bauddhas come in for severe condemnation in the Tantravārtika. In one place we are told that some persons find delight in evil actions as the Śākya (Bauddha) does in running down the Vedas and Brāhmanas with bad reasoning.<sup>6</sup> It seems that there were people who tried to find authority in the Upanishads for the Buddhist doctrines of momentariness, of *vijñāna* (concepts) arising without any corresponding real external object, and of the absence of an (imperishable) soul.<sup>7</sup> In one place it is urged that those teachings of Buddha and the like, viz., the construction of *vihāras*, and parks, the practice of *vairāgya* and meditation, *ahiṃsā*, truthfulness, restraint, charity, kindness, which are not in conflict with the injunctions of the Veda, are authoritative.<sup>8</sup> Elsewhere it is said that the teachings of Buddha were imparted mostly to the fourth

- 1 P. 317 'नु च सहचरणस्थानादीन्यन्यान्यप्यक्षपादप्रभृतिभिर्गौणनि-  
मित्तान्युक्तानि.' This is न्यायसूत्र II. 2, 63.
- 2 P. 609 'येषां तावत्कार्यद्वय्याप्येव घटादीनि पश्यन्ते यथा पैडराणां  
तन्मतेनामेव एव । पैलूकानामपि तु परमाणुषु व्यभिचारः'
- 3 P. 204. 'आयुर्वेदे त्रिक्रिस्तासु प्रायेण विनियुज्यते ।
- 4 P. 133. 'यथा वा सर्पसिद्धान्ते नकुलो यां किलौषधिम् । इन्तैर्गृह्णाति  
तामाहः समस्तविषहारिणीम् ॥'. सर्पविद्या is mentioned even in the  
Upanishads, e. g., छांदोग्य 7. 1. 2.
- 5 P. 200. 'युगपद्बुभ्यां इन्ताभ्यां यः स उभाभ्य इति सर्वैः पालकार्यराज-  
पुत्रादिभिर्व्याकरणानपेक्षमेव प्रयुक्तम्.'
- 6 P. 129. 'कस्यश्चिज्जायते तुष्टिरशुभेऽपि हि कर्मणि । शाक्यस्येव कुहेतु-  
न्किर्वेदब्राह्मणदूषणे ॥'.
- 7 P. 81. 'विज्ञानमात्रक्षणेभङ्गनैरात्म्यादिवासानामप्युपनिषत्प्रभवत्वं विष-  
येष्वास्यन्तिकं रागं निवर्तयितुमित्युपपन्नं सर्वेषां प्रामाण्यम्.' Of course  
this is urged in the पूर्वपक्ष. See also p. 174 for the same three doctrines.
- 8 P. 124.

*varṇa* (i.e., the Śūdras) and people fallen from the caste system and excluded from the (study of) the Vedas and that it was the works of these (Buddha and others) that are spoken of by Manu as fit to be avoided.<sup>1</sup> Kumārila refers to the peculiar doctrine of the Ārhatas (Jaina) system that the soul has the same size as the body.<sup>2</sup>

Kumārila makes interesting observations on Draviḍa and Mlechchha dialects. He says that the Āryas when borrowing words from the Mlechchha languages try to dress them up by adding another (Āryan) word or letters (so as to suit the genius of the Sanskrit Language) or by cutting off a letter or letters.<sup>3</sup> He exemplifies this by citing instances from Draviḍa bhāshā, from which words ending in consonants are adopted by making them end in a vowel. The word 'chor' (from *Draviḍa bhāshā*) meaning 'boiled rice' is turned into 'chora,' the word 'atar' (a way) is changed into 'atara'; the word 'pāp' (a serpent) is transformed into 'pāpa'; the word 'māl' (truth) becomes 'mālā'; the word 'vair' (belly) assumes the garb of 'vaira.' If this is the case with regard to the Draviḍa languages and the like, there is no knowing what fanciful forms words from the Pārsī (Persian), Barbara, Yavana (Ionian or Greek) or Raumaka (Roman) languages will assume when taken over into the Āryan speech.<sup>4</sup> Kumārila tells us that the scriptures of the Bauddhas and Jainas are full of ungrammatical words, i.e., full of words in the Māgadhā, Dākṣhiṇātya languages and their *apabhraṃśas*.<sup>5</sup> He then gives certain examples, which

1 Pages 116-117.

2 P. 379. 'अथ शरीरपरिमित आर्हतपक्षेणाभ्युपगम्यते तत्रापि बहु अदृष्ट कल्पनीयम्.'

3 P. 157. The words mentioned here seem to be taken from the Malayali language.

4 P. 157.

5 P. 171. 'मागधशाक्षिणात्यतर्षभ्रंशप्रायासाधुशब्दनिबन्धना हि ते । मम विहि भिक्खवे कम्मवच्च इसी सवे । तथा उक्खित्ते लोडम्मि उब्बे अत्थि कारणं षडणे णत्थि कारणम् । अनुभवे कारणं इमे संकडा धर्मा संभवन्ति सकारणा अकारणा विणसन्ति । अनुत्पत्ति कारणमित्येवमाद्यः.' This passage as printed in the Benares edition is very corrupt and misleading. We must read कम्म वच्चइ, उक्खेवे for उब्बे, अत्थि उब्बवे &c. The passage in संस्कृत may run 'ममापि भिक्षवः कर्म वर्तते ..... । तथा उत्क्षिप्ते लोष्टे उक्खेये अस्ति कारणं पतने नास्ति कारणम् । अनुद्भवे कारणं इमे संस्कृता धर्मा सम्भवन्ति सकारणाः । अकारणा विनश्यन्ति । अनुत्पत्तिकारणम्.'

bear a close analogy to passages from Pāli works like the *Dhammapada* or the *suttas*. He further says that words like 'bhikkhave' are greater departures (*apabhrashṭa*) from the correct Sanskrit speech than even the current local tongues (*deśabhāshā*), which were well known as 'apabhrashṭa,' that in the Prākritis the accusative plural is seen to end in 'e,' but not the nominative or vocative plural, that in the Prākritis and Apabhraṁśas we find a (Sanskrit) 'ṛ' transformed into 'a' and the anusvāra in the word 'Samskrta' omitted and a conjunct 'k' for (sk), but (a Sanskrit) 't' was not transformed into 'd' (as in the above passage)<sup>1</sup>.

It is very interesting to note that Kumārila was familiar with the popular language of Lāṭa (the country about Surat and Broach). Commenting upon a passage from the *Rgveda* (in the *Pūrvapakṣa*) he says that in no other (Āryan) dialect than the speech of the Lāṭas is it possible to find the word 'vāra' for 'dvāra.'<sup>2</sup> The well-known Prākritis from very ancient times are the Mahārāshṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhi and Paisāch. Lāṭī was never a well-known Prakrit, though we have a Lāṭī speech mentioned by Daṇḍin along with the Śaurasenī and Gaudī (*Kāvya-darśa* I. 35). Kumārila is therefore not probably referring to any Prakrit dialect known from Prakrit grammars, but is referring to the speech current in Gujarat among common people. In another passage he seems to be referring to an enphemistic use of the word 'abhyañjana' current among the Lāṭas.<sup>3</sup> He refers to Valabhi and Pātaliputra in the same sentence.<sup>4</sup> In one place he refers to the works dealing with Kāvya and Nāṭaka, Prākrit Grammar, to Dvipadī (a musical composition) and Rāsakas.<sup>5</sup>

1 pp. 173-174.

2 p. 200. 'नापि द्वारशब्दस्य लाटभाषातोऽन्यत्र वारशब्द-  
सम्भवति'. This is said with reference to the word नीचिनवारं  
occurring in ऋग्वेद V. 85.3. Even now in Gujarathi we have वारपुं  
for a door.

3 p. 989. 'नास्या भ्रज्जमद्यादित्यभ्यञ्जनं वै स्त्रिया भ्रज्जमिति वाक्यशेषा-  
नुपगमनप्रतिषेधः । तथाहि लाटानामभ्यभ्यञ्जनपर्यायान्तरवाच्यलक्षण-  
नुपगमन प्रसिद्धम्.'

4 p. 617. Has the लाट्यायनश्रौतसूत्रं to do anything with लाटदेश ?

5 p. 205. 'काव्यनाटकलक्षणमाकृतव्याकरणद्विपदीरसकादिलक्षणन्यायेन  
संस्कृतकाव्योपयोगार्थं व्याकरणमाश्रीयते.'

The word 'āyuktaka' occurring in many Valabhi and other copperplate grants is used by Kumāṛila for a viceroy who, though not himself crowned as a king, is appointed to rule over a people<sup>1</sup> or a province.

From the *Tantravārtika* we learn that the *Purāṇas* were one of the fourteen principal subjects of study as laid down by the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* (I. 3). He tells us that they contained information on divisions of the earth, royal and other families, measures of time and distance and future occurrences.<sup>2</sup> He says that in the *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇas* the top of Meru is known as 'svarga'.<sup>3</sup> He tells us that in the *purāṇas* the Śākya are said to be the cause of confounding *dharma* in the *Kalāga*.<sup>4</sup> The *Itihāsa* and *purāṇa*, are joined together in several places (pp. 79, 126). The *Purāṇas* are spoken of as authoritative in matters of *dharma* and quotations are cited from them, some of which can be traced in the *Vishṇu* and *Mārkaṇḍeya*.

1 p. 588. 'न हि दीप्यमानेऽवग्न्यादिषु राजघट्टो विद्यते । न चानभिषिक्ते जनपदपरिपालनव्यापृतेऽप्यायुक्तके । ननु चायुक्तकस्य परप्रभुत्वाकारित्वाद्भृत्विज इव यजमानत्वं न राजत्वं भविष्यति ।

See *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XV. p. 187 for a Valabhi grant of गुप्त संवत् 252 (A. D. 571-72) for आयुक्तक and a long list of other officers; also I. A., vol. 16, p. 15, 24 (the Kauthem grant of विक्रमादित्य dated शके 930) for आयुक्तक (where, however, the word seems to designate an inferior officer).

2 p. 79.

3 p. 255.

4 p. 127.

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

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(Concluded from No. LXXII, Vol. XXV of the Journal.)

X.—Sultan Ahmad Shah III. (A. D. 1553-1560).

For seven years after the death of Mahmud the Martyr, the boy-king Ahmad III<sup>1</sup> was the nominal ruler of Gujarat, and coins were struck and the 'khutba' read in his name. The advent of a second minority, however, so far emboldened the grasping nobles that in 1554 they divided the kingdom among themselves, so that each of them became almost independent in the districts that came under his charge. But the partition brought no peace to the country. The restless ambition of the amirs, and their shifting combinations, revived the sad history of the first eight years of Mahmud III's reign, and served to hasten the disintegration of the kingdom. To add to the confusion, a number of Afghan adventurers came down to settle in Gujarat owing to the political revolutions in upper India consequent on the break-up of the Sur dynasty and the re-establishment of the house of Babur. The details of the civil wars of this reign form, perhaps, the most dreary portion of the history of the genial Sikandar; but neither the events nor the majority of the actors possess any permanent interest or importance. The careers of two of the nobles, viz., Itimād Khan and Saiyid Mubarak, deserve, however, more than a passing notice.

Itimad Khan, whose personal name was Abdul Karim, was originally a Hindu servant of Mahmud III. He embraced Islam and rose to favour until his master came to repose such entire confidence in him as to

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<sup>1</sup> In the genealogies of the Gujarat dynasty found in text-books on Indian History, this ruler is invariably described as Ahmad Shah II. But, in view of the fact that Sultan Qutb-ud-din (A.D. 1451-58) is distinctly given the title of Ahmad Shah in the legends on his coins, it appears more correct to designate the boy Sultan who was placed on the throne in 1553 as Ahmad Shah III. (See Geo. P. Taylor, *The Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat* J. B. B. A. S., 1933).

place the harem under his charge. After the murder of Mahmud and of the leading amirs of Gujarat by the villain Burhan, the court and the people turned instinctively for lead to Itimād Khan, and for the greater part of the next twenty years his power was at its height and his influence unchallenged. Twice during this period he played the rôle of "king-maker," and his invitation to Akbar in 1572 ushered in a new period in the history of Gujarat. As we have seen, it was at his suggestion that the boy Ahmad was selected to succeed Mahmud III, and during the whole of this reign he was regent, and in personal charge of the sovereign, whom he kept under the closest possible confinement at Ahmadabad, which became again the seat of government.

Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari was a man held in the highest esteem by his contemporaries as the head of the powerful order of the Bukhari Saiyids of Gujarat. His early career also belongs to the reign of Mahmud III. After the murder of that ruler his influence rivalled that of Itimād Khan, and it was at his auspicious hands that the grandees of Gujarat had the boy Ahmad formally installed on the throne in 1553. The author of the "Mirat-i-Sikandari" dwells at considerable length on the career and virtues of the Saiyid, partly because of the sanctity of his name, and also because the historian's father, Shaikh Muhammad *alias* Manjhu, took service under the Saiyid after the departure of Humayun from Gujarat, and was his trusted agent and adviser during the most eventful years of his career.

Of all the nobles of this reign, Saiyid Mubarak alone appears to have been actuated by a genuine desire to promote the good of the country, and to prevent civil strife by mediating between the warring factions. Though a spiritual leader, his ambition, and the circumstances in which he was placed, led him to play the foremost part in the politics of his time, and he maintained for the purpose a large army composed of Bukhari Saiyids and Afghans. Personally brave, he often led his army to battle donned in full mail armour. In the partition of the kingdom during this reign, the towns of Patan, Champaner and Cambay, as also the divisions of Kapadwanj, Baroda, Balasinor, Dholka, Gogha and Dhanduka fell to the share of the Saiyid. His headquarters were at Kapadwanj, but he appears to have had a partiality for Saiyidpur, a place in the vicinity of Mahmudabad, and about five miles from the village of Kanij, which he himself populated and made his residence.



The unprovoked jealousy of Itimād Khan brought about the death of Saiyid Mubarak about 1557. It appears that the young Sultan, unable to assert himself under the vigilant eye of the regent, left Ahmadabad secretly and took refuge with the Saiyid. About this time one Haji Khan, a famous Afghan noble of the Sur dynasty of Delhi, flying before the conquests of Humayun, came to Gujarat with a large force and 150 elephants. Itimād Khan concluded that, in anticipation of Haji Khan's arrival and co-operation, Saiyid Mubarak had invited Sultan Ahmad to his court in order to break the influence of the all-powerful minister. He, therefore, marched with an army from the capital, and, in a battle near Mahmudabad, the Saiyid, who was blind at the time, was defeated and slain.

The historian Sikandar, himself a spiritual follower of Saiyid Mubarak, expatiates with delight upon his master's miraculous powers. Thus the Saiyid used often to say that he would die a martyr on the field of battle, and the prophecy was fulfilled: for his death was brought about, not in pursuit of self-aggrandisement, but in fighting on behalf of his sovereign, who had come to him for help against his oppressors. He had also prescience of his end, for, on going out to his last battle, he took off his turban and wound it round the head of his grandson Saiyid Hamid, then twelve years old, with the words: "To-day is the day of my martyrdom; henceforth be this turban yours." Moreover, in the battle, Mubarak fell at the spot where during his life he had often expressed a desire to be buried. He also appears to have been a liberal patron of men of letters, and it was for him that Ārām, the Kashmirian, wrote his history called the *Tuhfat-us-Sādāt*.

In the immediate vicinity of Mahmudabad, near the village of Sojali, may still be seen the mausoleum of Saiyid Mubarak, which is perhaps the most beautiful of the provincial examples of the Indo-Saracenic style of architecture to be seen at Ahmadabad. 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."<sup>1</sup>

The Emperor Jahangir, who visited this mausoleum at the end of 1617, during his prolonged tour in Gujarat, says in his Memoirs: "On the bank of the Mahmudabad river is the tomb of Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari. He was one of the leading officers

<sup>1</sup> Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, pp. 244-45.

of Gujarat, and his son Saiyid Miran erected this monument to him. It has a very lofty cupola, and it must have cost more than two lakhs of rupees. None of the tombs of the Gujarat Sultans that I saw came up to one-tenth of it. Yet they were sovereigns, and Saiyid Miran was only a servant."<sup>1</sup>

As to the descendants of Saiyid Mubarak, we find that his son, Saiyid Miran, continued to play the same honourable and prominent part in politics as his father had done, and died in 1572. Miran's son was Saiyid Hamid, who, as a boy of twelve, and clad in steel armour, had fought on the side of his grandfather in the battle in which the latter was killed. Saiyid Hamid ultimately joined the Emperor Akbar, who, when he left Gujarat in 1573, took the Saiyid to Agra with all his family.

In 1553, Imad-ul-Mulk (Aslān Rumi) was appointed commander of the Foreign Legion, *i.e.*, the Turks, Persians and Habshis who were in the service of the Sultan, and during the next five years the rivalry between him and Itimad Khan was intense. His murder in 1558 by Khudawand Khan (ʿAḡāb Salmān) removed a formidable opponent from the path of the regent. Imad-ul-Mulk's son, Changhiz Khan, succeeded to his title and fiefs, and in 1560 he caused Rajab to be murdered in vengeance for his father. During the next reign, Changhiz Khan became, for a time, supreme at the capital.

One prominent feature of the declining days of the Gujarat kingdom was the rise to power and influence of several nobles of "Habshi" origin, who played no insignificant part in the civil wars of the time. Among these we may mention the names of Iktiyar-ul-Mulk, Jhujhār Khan, and Ulugh Khan.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Jahangir*, by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 436.

<sup>2</sup> These titles, it must be noted, were borne by more than one individual among the Habshi nobles. Thus, between 1553 and 1572, the title of Ulugh Khan was conferred successively on three different Amirs, *viz.*, (1) Mandal Dilawar Khan, who was appointed in 1553 Captain of the Bodyguard and put in command of the Arab battallions; (2) Yāqut Sēbit Khan Habshi, vazir of the former, who succeeded to Mandal's titles and commands; and (3) Shams-ud-Dawlah Muhammad, son of the last, who also inherited, in 1557, his father's title of Ulugh Khan and assumed his military commands. Hajji ad-Dabir, the historian, was in his service for seventeen years preceding the conquest by Akbar. Both Yāqut and Muhammad were buried at Sarkhej.

So also the title of Jhujhār Khan was borne by two Abyssinian commanders in Gujarat, *viz.*, (1) Bilal Habshi, who received the title in 1538, and was killed in a battle before Surat in 1559, and was buried at Sarkhej; and (2) Marjān Sultani Habshi, son of Bilal. He was the adopted brother of Yāqut Ulugh Khan, who, on his death, appointed him guardian to his son. Marjān was in 1573 trampled to death by an elephant under Akbar's orders, and was buried at Sarkhej. (Sir E. Denison Ross, Introduction to *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, Vol. II., pp. XIV, XVII and XVIII.)

The term *Habshi*, though generally applied to Abyssinians, no doubt includes other negro races of the African continent. When taken captives, they usually began life as slaves, and appear to have shown the same capacity, as did the Turks, to rise from slavery to the highest positions. The *Habshi* commanders who rose to fame in Gujarat in the 16th century were the prisoners or descendants of prisoners captured during the Muslim invasion of Abyssinia in 1527. Taken first to *Kamrān*, they were subsequently brought to Gujarat in 1531 by Mustafa bin Bahram, when the latter received orders from Constantinople to proceed at once to India to help Bahadur against the Portuguese. In the disorders that began with the accession of Mahmud III, the more able prisoners found a scope for rising to favour and prominence. Their rivalry with the local nobility, and with the leaders of other foreign mercenaries, brought about a state of dissension which enabled Akbar to conquer Gujarat almost without a blow in 1572-73.<sup>1</sup>

Twice during this reign, Sultan Mubarak Shah of Khandesh, himself closely related by blood to the Ahmad Shahi dynasty, led an army to the Gujarat frontier in order to take advantage of the distracted condition of that country. On the first occasion he was induced to abandon his designs upon the pious remonstrances of Saiyid Mubarak. But the second invasion was instigated by Itimad Khan himself, who had taken refuge at the court of Burhanpur when he found his power at Ahmadabad temporarily eclipsed. This time the invader could only be bought off by the surrender of the districts of Sultanpur and Nandurbar, which were thus alienated from the Gujarat Saltanat. In 1559 or 1560, in a quarrel between Changhiz Khan of Broach, and his father's murderer Rajab Salmāni, the oppressive governor of Surat, the former invited the help of the Portuguese, and, in return for the services of 500 of their men (who, it may be mentioned, were never supplied), surrendered to them the districts of Daman and Sanjan.<sup>2</sup> Thus two more districts were lost to the Gujarat kingdom in this unhappy reign. Changhiz Khan, on this occasion, took the fort of Surat and caused his rival to be slain.

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1 Sir E. Denison Ross, *ut sup*, pp. XXXIII, XXXIV.

2 According to Portuguese accounts, the *fort* of Daman had passed into their hands as early as 1534.

It is interesting to note that it was in this reign that Hajji ad-Dabir, the author of *The Arabic History of Gujarat*, first came to India from Mecca in 1555, and settled at Ahmadabad with his father<sup>1</sup>; and in 1558 we find him entering the service, as under-secretary, of Muhammad Ulugh Khan, a prominent Abyssinian noble and general at the Gujarat court. The historian's full name is Abdulla Muhammad bin Siraj-ud-din Omar, al-Makki, al-Asafi, Ulughkhani, but he tells us that he was generally known as Hajji ad-Dabir, a name given him by his first master Ulugh Khan. The credit of discovering the valuable manuscript of his history, written in Arabic in the author's own hand, belongs to Sir E. Denison Ross. The work, which was probably completed after 1605, remained unknown to the world for over 300 years, until it was found in the Library of the Calcutta Madrasah by Dr. Ross shortly after he was appointed as Principal of the institution. The value of the *Arabic History* as a first hand authority on the period of the Saltanat, and as complementary and corrective to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* written about the same time, can hardly be overestimated.<sup>2</sup>

A few months before the murder of Sultan Ahmad III, there perished by the hand of an assassin, and in the ancient capital of Gujarat, a man whose name is intimately and honourably associated with the second establishment of the House of Timur in India. In 1560, the great Bairam Khan, the trusted general of Humayun, and the tutor and protector of his son Akbar, after an ineffectual and half-hearted revolt against his young master, received permission to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Marching across Rajputana on his way to the coast, he arrived at Patan Anhilvad, where he halted for some days to rest himself. The town at this time swarmed with a large number of disorderly Afghans, in nominal subjection to Musa

1 The ancestors of Hajji ad-Dabir, the author of the *Arabic History of Gujarat*, had settled at Patan in Gujarat from northern India ever since Timur's invasion of Delhi in 1398. Their connection with the province, therefore, dates from the time of Zafar Khan, the founder of the Saltanat. In 1535, when war broke out between Humayun and Bahadur Shah, the latter sent away his harem and his treasures to Mecca in charge of his vazir Asaf Khan, who took with him as his *major domo* Siraj-ud-din, the father of the historian. It was in Mecca that Hajji ad-Dabir was born about 1539, and he first came to India in 1555 as stated in the text.

2 Sir E. Denison Ross, now the able Director of the School of Oriental Studies\* in London, has published in the Indian Texts Series (John Murray) two volumes of the Arabic text of this History, accompanied by valuable Introductions. The English translation of the work by this eminent scholar will be welcomed by all interested in the history of Gujarat.

Khan Fuladi, who received the distinguished visitor hospitably. The arrival of the great Protector, however, gave rise to tumults in the city, instigated by a man named Mubarak Khan Lohani, whose father had been inadvertently killed by Bairam in the battle of Macchiwārā (1553), and who was now determined to take his revenge.

During his stay at Patan, Bairam Khan entertained himself by visiting the beautiful lakes and gardens which then adorned the town. One day he went on a pleasure sail to an island-pavilion on the famous Sahasralinga Tank outside the city. As he left the boat on his return, and mounted his horse, this Afghan arrived with thirty or forty others, and stabbed him to death. Bairam's followers, distracted at the incident, took to flight. His bleeding body lay in the dust until some fakirs charitably buried it near the mausoleum of Shaikh Hissam ; but it was afterwards conveyed to the holy city of Mashhad and interred there. The ex-vazir, in spite of his long and distinguished public career, was not more than about thirty-six years of age at the time of his death.

After Bairam's death the assassins plundered his camp and his followers. His wife and his little son, Abdurrahim, then four years old, were protected by friends and brought with difficulty to Ahmadabad, and sent after some months to Delhi at the desire of Akbar. The boy came to be in time one of the greatest nobles of the court of this Emperor and of his son Jahangir.

We shall now describe the circumstances under which Sultan Ahmad came to an untimely end as the result of his own rash actions. He was now nineteen years of age, and naturally chafed at his utter dependence on his masterful vazir. But he was foolish and impetuous, and, "in the levity of youth," took but little pains to conceal his animosity. It is related that when in drink he used to draw his sword and to cut up plantain-trees, saying : "With this blow I sever the head of Itimad Khan." In this manner did the senseless young man give vent to his impotent rage, and play a perilous farce, repeating the names of all his nobles. He also now began to go out to hunt for several miles outside the city whenever he pleased and thus kept the minister in perpetual anxiety.

Itimad Khan saw this bid for independence, and the danger that threatened both his power and his life, and he decided to be beforehand in the matter. Prior to taking final action,

however, he assured himself of the treacherous intentions of his master by listening in concealment to a prearranged interview between a trusted lieutenant and the Sultan. As soon as the meeting was at an end, Itimad Khan presented himself, and at his orders Ahmad III was cut down, and his dead body thrown on the sands of the Sabarmati, close by the houses in the Bhadra. A contemporary writer,<sup>1</sup> who happened to arrive at Ahmadabad about this time, says that one morning the people found the Sultan without a head in a small water-course which flows near the city. The body was soon after removed and buried in the royal vault of the dynasty in the city.<sup>2</sup>

These were, in all probability, the circumstances under which the Sultan came by his end, for the details of his assassination, at the instigation of his autocratic minister, are given at length both in the "Sikandari" and the "Ahmadi." The statement made by Firishta, however, that the king met his death in a love-intrigue at night outside a nobleman's house, is not supported by any hitherto known authority. Be that as it may, the fate of the Sultan illustrates the utter disorder into which this once powerful Sultanate had fallen. Between Ahmad I, the founder of Ahmadabad, and Ahmad III, lying headless under its walls, how close the connection and how sad the contrast !

### XI.—Sultan Muzaffar Shah III (A. D. 1560-1573).

The throne was again vacant, but Itimad Khan was equal to the occasion, and played the rôle of "king-maker" with consummate ability. He produced a youth of twelve, named Nathū or Habib, and asserted on oath that he was the son of Sultan Mahmud III. The boy's mother, he explained, had been delivered to him by the Sultan to make her miscarry ; but, as five months of her pregnancy had passed, no abortion could take place, and the child had been brought forth and reared up in secret. The story was palpably a fabrication, but the nobles thought it best to accept the version, and the boy was proclaimed Sultan under the title of Muzaffar Shah (III). He was destined to be the last ruler of the dynasty.

1 Rafi-ud-din Shirazi, author of the *Tazkaratu-l-Muluk* (Bird's History of Gujarat, p. 283.)

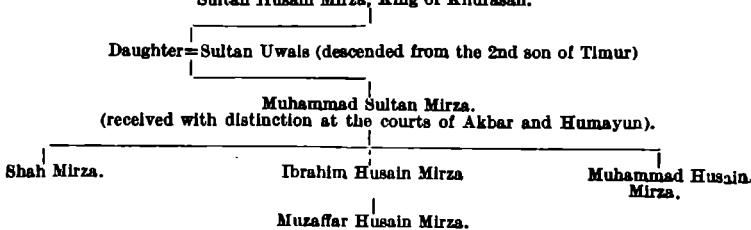
2 The year of Ahmad III's death, H. 968 (A. D. 1560) is represented by the numerical value of the words *maktul shud bigunah*, "he was killed innocent."

The advent of a third minority completed the fall of the Saltanat. Being of tender years, the Sultan was but a puppet-ruler, and the kingdom was again partitioned among the leading nobles. Itimad Khan retained the city of Ahmadabad, the port of Cambay and other places; the *Sarkār* of Patan was given to the Fuladi chiefs, Sher Khan and Musa Khan; the districts of Surat, Broach, Baroda and Champaner to Changhiz Khan, son of Imad-ul-Mulk Aslan Rumi; Junagadh or the country of Sorath to Tatar Khan Ghori; and Dhandhuka and Dholka were possessed by the Saiyids Miran and Hamid, the son and grandson of the late Saiyid Mubarak Bukhari.

After the foul murder of Ahmad III many of the nobles came to distrust Itimad Khan, and, with the consequent weakening of his authority, anarchy and warfare became worse than ever. To add to the confusion, a new and disturbing element appeared on the scene after 1566. The turbulent family of nobles, commonly called the "Mirzas,"<sup>1</sup> having raised an insurrection against the Emperor, and been driven out of Hindustan, came down in their flight to Gujarat, where they obtained refuge with Changhiz Khan at Broach. The distracted condition of the province offered them just the opportunity they wanted for adventure and power, and we shall describe later how they availed themselves of it, and played a prominent part in the last days of the Saltanat.

Soon after the accession of Muzaffar III, Itimad Khan saw that power was slipping out of his grasp, and he found himself unable to hold his own against his enemies on the field of battle. His army suffered successive reverses, alternately from Sher Khan in the north and Changhiz Khan in the south, with the result that he was constrained to leave Ahmadabad with the Sultan and take up his residence at Modāsā.

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to give a collective name to these troublesome descendants of Sultan Husain of Khurasan, who are generally referred to by Abu-l-Fazl and other Indian historians as "the Mirzas." Hajji ad-Dabir calls them *awlad Mirza Muhammad Timur Sultan*. For our purpose the family tree may be given as follows:—



From about 1566 to 1568 the supreme power at the capital was in the hands of Changhiz Khan, and Changhiz Khan to him all the great nobles now came to supreme in Ah- offer allegiance and service. Among these madabad. were Saiyids Miran and Hamid, and Shaikh Manjhu. There came also more distinguished men who themselves aspired to royalty, such as the "Mirzas" (already mentioned) and Bāz Bahadur—the accomplished ex-king of Malwa, the husband of Rupmati, and one of the most celebrated singers of India at the time. In 1568, when his power was at its height, Changhiz Khan was basely assassinated at Ahmadabad by Marjān Jhujhār Khan and another Abyssinian noble, both of whom he had raised to his intimate friendship. As the historian says, "The sun of Changhiz Khan's state set in a moment and the steed of his rule turned its head towards oblivion." We are told that he had a right royal presence and a most generous heart. Nor was his administration of the city unworthy of commendation. As far as it was possible in those rough times, he maintained justice with rigour and gave the people protection against the license of his soldiery. Sikandar says, "This humble person (the writer) has seen with his own eyes the army of Changhiz Khan encamped near the Kankaria Tank in the midst of cultivated fields with a crop of *jawari* standing on them. Many of his horsemen had pitched their horses just on the borders of these fields. The army remained encamped there for eleven days, yet nobody had the presumption to break a single 'jawar' stalk or leaf and throw it before his horse."<sup>1</sup>

After Changhiz Khan's death the country to the south of the capital fell an easy prey to the ambitious "Mirzas"—Ibrahim Husain, Muhammad Husain, and Shah Mirza. They laid siege to Broach, and took it after an obstinate defence of the place by Rustam Khan Rumi, the lieutenant of the late Changhiz Khan. Soon after, they took the castle of Surat, and captured Baroda and Champaner. In fact, they made themselves rulers of the whole country from the south of the Mahi to the borders of Khandesh, and maintained their authority with the help of a small number of Mughal followers. In 1568, after Changhiz Khan had been murdered, Itimad Khan returned to Ahmadabad with the Sultan and resumed his former authority. This lasted for four years more and ended only with the extinction of the kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> Fazlullah, "Mirat-i-Sikandari," p. 296.



According to the *Tarikh-i-Sorath*, it was probably in 1570 that Satrasāl (Satāji) bin Vibhāji, the feudatory Jam of Nawānagar in Kathiavad, received permission from the Gujarat Sultan to coin money, with the stipulation that the coins should be called Mahmudis and the Sultan's name should also appear on them. The following interesting particulars are given in connection with this incident. "On a certain occasion, the Jam presented a rupee to the Sultan with the newly-struck silver coin as *nazranah*, and said, 'In the same way as the dignity of Rajas is augmented by giving their daughters to his majesty the Sultan, so I wed my *kumvari* (maiden) to this rupee, in the hope that her honour will increase.' The Sultan, pleased with the conceit, issued the permission for coining this money, and ordered it to be called *kumvari* in the Gujarati language. And by the mispronunciation of the vulgar it is now called Kori."<sup>1</sup> This designation, as being in homely Gujarati, has at the present day quite superseded the Persian name of Mahmudi. These silver Koris were for many centuries minted by the rulers of the Nawānagar, Junagadh, and Porbandar states, and have ceased to be issued only within the last few years.<sup>2</sup>

In 1572 Saiyid Miran died. His had been a restraining influence, and, after his death, the flames of dissension again broke out in Gujarat, and "rose so high as to envelop and consume all." Sher Khan advanced from Patan and laid siege to Ahmadabad with a view to expel Itimad Khan. Sultan Muzaffar, thinking the balance of power was on the side of Sher Khan, left the protection of his minister and went over to the enemy. Itimad Khan had again to face one of the most formidable crisis in his career. But he was not yet at the end of his resources, and for the third time he decided to play the part of 'king-maker.' He sent urgent messages to the Mirzas at Baroda and Broach, reminding them of their royal descent, and promising to hand over to them the government after the Afghans under Sher Khan had been repulsed from the gates. Ibrahim Husain Mirza came up to the capital by forced marches in response to the request. But, while inviting the Mirzas, Itimad Khan

1 Burgess' trans. of the *Tarikh-i-Sorath*, pp. 246-247.

2 100 Nawānagar koris, known as Jēnshahis, equal 28-4-4 Imperial rupees.

100 Junagadh koris, known as Diwanshahis, equal 27-2-2 Imperial rupees.

100 Porbandar koris, known as Rēnāshahis, equal 31-7-11 Imperial rupees.

(*Kathiawad Gazetteer*, pp. 201, 202).

had taken a step that was destined to have the most momentous consequences: for he also wrote to the Emperor Akbar, describing to him the political confusion in Gujarat, and entreating him to annex the kingdom to his empire if he wished to prevent it from falling into the grasp of the Mirzas.

It is at this period that we have the first notice of Mir Abu Turab, one of the most influential of the nobles of Gujarat, to whom was entrusted the delicate task of carrying on the negotiations between Itimad Khan and the Emperor. He is especially interesting to us as the author of a small work on the history of Gujarat, which narrates the events of the last days of the Saltanat, and the details of Akbar's acquisition and government of the country upto 1584.<sup>1</sup> Mir Abu Turab Vali belonged to the family of the Salami Saiyids of Shiraz, and his grandfather, Saiyid Shah Mir, was a scholar of great renown, who had established himself at Muhammadabad-Champaner in Gujarat during the reign of Mahmud Begada.<sup>2</sup>

## XII.—Akbar's Conquest of Gujarat, 1572-73.

With its busy marts and extensive maritime enterprize, Gujarat was on all accounts regarded at this period as the richest kingdom in India, and to a sovereign, 'consumed,' as Akbar was, 'by ambition of Empire,' the opportunity of adding so delectable a province to his dominions must have appeared irresistible. Moreover, Gujarat had for nine months, in 1535, been part of the empire of Humayun, and its recovery might be speciously urged as a filial duty. After sending an advance force of 10,000 horse under a trusted officer, Akbar left Fathpur Sikri in July, 1572, and traversing Rajputana by easy stages, arrived after four months at Patan. Such was the terror of his name, or the dissensions and complete want of unity among the Gujarat nobles, that the kingdom surrendered without a conflict. Sultan Muzaffar was discovered hiding in a cornfield, brought before the Emperor, and sent as a prisoner to Agra. Itimad Khan and other leading nobles appeared in the imperial camp near the town of Kadi and made

<sup>1</sup> The Persian text of Abu Turab's brief History has been edited by Sir E. Denison Ross, and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

<sup>2</sup> The name "Salami Saiyids" is explained as follows. One of the ancestors of the family had visited the tomb of the Prophet. When coming to the sacred spot, he said the customary *Salām*, when a heavenly voice returned the greeting. The family of Abu Turab had for long been attached to the *Salsalah-i-Maghrabiyah*, or Maghrabi (Western) Sect, the "lamp" of which was the saintly Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, (Blochmann, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I. p. 507 (No. 315).

their submission to the Emperor, who gave them a gracious reception.<sup>1</sup> Akbar soon after reached Ahmadabad, where coins were struck and the 'khutba' read in his name.

The Emperor next proceeded to Cambay, the commercial emporium of his new conquest, where he gazed on the sea for the first time and had a sail on its waters. But the calm that had so far attended his arrival in Gujarat was deceptive.<sup>2</sup> The irrepressible Mirzas, his distant cousins, who had established themselves at Champaner, at Broach, at Surat, and other centres, had no intention of surrendering their power without a blow. At Baroda he received the news that Ibrahim Husain Mirza, who had been biding his time, had broken out into open rebellion at Broach, and was on his march to Agra to raise disturbances in Hindustan.

Akbar's spirit was thoroughly up at this information. Though the major portion of his forces had  
 Battle of Sarnāl. been sent to attack Surat, he set out in pursuit of the Mirza in hot haste, accompanied by a bodyguard of not more than 200 men at the highest computation. At Sarnāl, on the Mahi, five miles east of Thāsra, he overtook the enemy and, in spite of tremendous odds, routed them in a short sharp scuffle. It was a tourney rather than a battle, and the imperial band covered itself with glory. The Emperor took the foremost part in the fight, with that perfect disregard of life which characterised him in battle. By him stood his valiant brother-in-law Raja Bhagvandas of Amber, the latter's brother Bhupat, and adoptive son Raja Mān Singh. In recognition of his devoted services on this occasion, Bhagvandas received, later on, the distinction, never before bestowed upon a Hindu, of being allowed to use a banner and a kettledrum. Ibrahim Husain Mirza escaped and fled to the Punjab, where he died a wounded prisoner soon after.<sup>3</sup>

1 At this time, when the majority of the nobles submitted to Akbar, and Itimad was given nominally the viceroyalty of Gujarat, the Habshi commanders Muhammad Ulugh Khan and Marjān Jhujhār Khan were kept in captivity: 'Ulugh Khan being placed in care of Mān Singh and Jhujhār of Bhagvandas. The latter was soon after trampled to death by Akbar's orders for the murder of Changhiz Khan.

2 After Akbar's departure for Cambay, some of the Gujarat nobles began to waver in their loyalty to him, and Ikhtiyar-i-Mulk, the commander of the Habshi guards, became a rebel. At this time, the amirs who were attached to Akbar, took Itimad Khan and several grandees to the Emperor, apparently charging them with treason. Itimad thus fell into disgrace and was handed over to Shahbaz Khan as prisoner. He was released in 1575 and taken into favour.

3 His wife, Gulrukh Begum, a daughter of Kamran Mirza, on receiving the news, fled with her young son Muzaffar from Surat to the Deccan. Her return to Gujarat in 1577, and the revolt of her son against the viceroy Vazir Khan, will be related later (p. 130).

Surat was the chief stronghold of the Mirzas, and to its reduction Akbar next turned his attention. Capture of Surat. In spite of its rather formidable castle, the city capitulated, early in 1573, after a short siege.<sup>1</sup> During the investment, the Emperor came into contact with the Portuguese power, with which he had perhaps become acquainted during his trip to Cambay. That Akbar would be anxious to keep on friendly terms with these aggressive foreigners may be readily understood. The Portuguese naval squadron was in the Tapti at this time under its Viceroy, and Akbar could hardly afford to neglect or insult its presence. He was, moreover, at this period, still attached to the orthodox faith, and friendship with the Portuguese would enable him to secure a safe conduct for the pilgrims who embarked for Mecca at various places on the coast of Western India. The viceroy's envoys were, therefore, graciously received, and some treaty satisfactory to both parties was concluded.<sup>2</sup>

An incident that occurred at or near Surat, illustrative of Akbar's personal courage as well as of the gross intemperance in which he often indulged, has been, strangely enough, recorded by his panegyrist Abu-l Fazl. The drunken freak has been thus described: "One night there was a select drinking party, and the talk turned upon the disregard for life shown by the heroes of Hindustan. It was said that two Rajput rivals would run from opposite sides against a double-headed spear, or two spears, held by third parties, so that the points would transfix both of the rivals and come out at their backs. Akbar, who could not pretend to have a rival, announced, to the horror of his fellow-revellers, that he would fight his sword. He fixed the hilt into the wall, and was about to transfix himself by rushing against the point, when Raja Mān Singh 'with the foot of fidelity' kicked down the sword, and in doing so cut his sovereign's hand. Akbar promptly knocked down Man Singh and squeezed him hard. Saiyid Muzaffar, one of the merry party, was obliged to go so far as to twist Akbar's

1 While Akbar was engaged at Surat, he had left Aziz Koka with a garrison at Ahmadabad, ordering Qutb-ud-din to join him with the Malwa contingent. Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza, thereupon, united their troops with those of Sher Khan Fulad and besieged Patan. Aziz marched against them and defeated them in a pitched battle (1573). Muhammad Husain Mirza then withdrew to the Deccan, only to return as soon as Akbar's back was turned on Gujarat.

2 In Surat Akbar found a beautiful cannon, which had come to this port in the Turkish fleet that was wrecked on the Gujarat coast in the stormy season of 1554. This gun, called Suleman, in honour of the Turkish Emperor Suleman I (1520-1566), was of so exquisite a model that Akbar ordered it to be taken to Agra. But as there were no means at hand for transporting it, the gun was allowed to remain at Surat (Bird's *Gujarat*, p. 322 and n; also Bonba; Lit. Soc. Transactions, Vol. II, 10).

injured finger, in order to make him loosen his hold on the throat of Man Singh, whom he would have choked in his rage. The opportune wrench opened Akbar's wound, but that soon healed. Akbar must have been shockingly drunk."<sup>1</sup>

As all resistance in Gujarat now appeared to be at an end, Akbar thought his conquest complete, and started on his return journey to his capital in April, 1573, leaving behind him his favourite foster-brother Mirza Aziz Koka, the Khan-i-Āzam, as governor to administer the province with the help of some of the leading nobles. The Emperor reached Sikri in June. But two months had not passed before despatches from Gujarat arrived to inform him that the province was in a flame under the lead of Muhammad Husain Mirza and the aged Ikhtiyaru-l-Mulk, the commander of the Habshis, and that the governor found the rebels too strong for him. Though Akbar had disbanded his army, and dismissed the nobles to their jagirs, he decided to lose not a moment to return in order to re-assert his authority.

The second expedition to Gujarat has been rightly described as "the quickest campaign on record." On August 23, 1573, Akbar rode out of his capital, accompanied by a small retinue of trusted nobles, and mounted on swift she-camels. Dashing across Rajputana with lightning rapidity, and passing through Ajmer, Sojat, Jhalor, Disa, Patan, and Balisnā, he arrived before Ahmadabad, covering the distance of 600 miles in the wonderful space of nine days. At Balisnā he reviewed his small force which did not exceed more than 3,000 horse, while the enemy was supposed to number at least 20,000 men. No help was to be expected from the Khān-i-Āzam and his army, as they had been effectually shut up within the walls of the capital. The Gujarat insurgents were taken by surprise when the beat of the kettledrums proclaimed the presence of the Emperor. "Impossible!" exclaimed Muhammad Husain Mirza to some of the Mughal officers who were investigating the fords of the Sabarmati: "It is only fourteen days since one of my spies saw him at Agra; how can he be here now? Where are the elephants which always travel with him?" Whatever the explanation, the fact could not be denied.

Akbar decided to give battle immediately, notwithstanding the advice of his generals who counselled some delay till the

<sup>1</sup> V. A. Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, p. 114.

garrison from the city should join them. He divided his forces into three divisions: centre, right and left. The command of the centre was given to Abdurrahim Khan, the son of Akbar's great general and Protector Bairam Khan, who had been murdered at Patan. This young noble, who was now sixteen years of age, had been carefully trained by Akbar's orders, and was now given an opportunity to win laurels for himself, of course under the guidance of older and abler generals. Akbar put himself at the head of a hundred picked cuirassiers to be ready to turn the balance of battle wherever danger threatened. To put an end to any indecision among his troops, he was among the first to spur his horse into and across the Sabarmati and to join battle with the enemy.

The battle of Ahmadabad that followed (September 2, 1573) was short and decisive. Muhammad Husain Mirza directed Ikhtiyaru-l-Mulk to take 5,000 horse and prevent Aziz Koka from sallying out of the city. His right and left were supported by the Abyssinians and Afghans, and in the centre, under Shah Mirza, were ranged Badakhshis and men of Transoxiana, of whom Abū-l-Fazl says that "the very marrow of their bones seemed nourished by habitual sedition." Victory turned on the side of the Emperor, and Muhammad Husain Mirza was wounded and taken prisoner. Among the captives was one Shah Madad, who was identified as the person who had killed Bhūpat, the brother of Raja Bhagvandas, in the two hours' fierce tilting at Sarnāl in the preceding campaign. Akbar transfixed him with a spear, and so avenged the wrong done to his Rajput brother-in-law.

After the victory the royal troops dispersed in search of well-earned rest, and Akbar also laid himself down on a carpet spread on the bank of the river to enjoy some repose after the exertions of the past few days. Suddenly, a great confusion arose, owing to the unexpected approach of Ikhtiyaru-l-Mulk, who had advanced with his army to retrieve the disaster. Such was the alarm, that a drummer, who was near Akbar, was rendered motionless by terror, until the Emperor brought him to his senses by a prick with his spear. But the bowmen soon rallied, and caused such panic among the rebels that "the royal troops pulled the arrows out of the quivers of the fugitives and used them against the enemy." Ikhtiyar Khan lost both battle and life. During the engagement the captive Muhammad Husain Mirza was put to death with the tacit consent of the Emperor. His brother Shah Mirza became a homeless wanderer.

It appeared that Akbar was at last freed from his lawless and turbulent relatives. He had a pyramid made of the skulls of his slaughtered enemies, of whom there were over two thousand. After the fighting was over, Mirza Aziz Koka with his officers came from the city to the battlefield and was greeted with enthusiasm. The Emperor made a ceremonial entry into Ahmadabad, and after staying there for a few days to make administrative arrangements, turned his face to the north.<sup>1</sup>

The return journey to the capital was accomplished in three weeks, and he was back in Sikri within forty-three days from the date he had marched out. Mounted on his war-horse, spear in hand, and preceded by his bodyguard with their lances adorned with golden apples, Akbar made his triumphant entry into Sikri, to which he now gave the prefix of 'Fathpur'—the 'City of Victory'—to commemorate his success. The second expedition to Gujarat was altogether a fine performance. It must be remembered that the Emperor was at this time in the prime of life, being in his thirty-first year, and in the full enjoyment of his extraordinary physical powers.

The Gujarat Saltanat was now at an end. That it had long outlived its utility will be readily admitted. End of the Gujarat Saltanat. The judgment on the last thirty-seven years of its existence is written large in the chaotic condition of the province during that period. Nor could it have abdicated in favour of a more worthy successor; for the Mughal sway was at least a guarantee for peace and order. But let us not forget that for a century and a half the Sultans of Gujarat had held a commanding place among the powers of Hindustan, and they have left behind them memorials of their greatness in the architectural monuments at their capital, which still command our unstinted admiration after the lapse of more than four centuries.

One hundred and seventy years after the first Muzaffar had proclaimed his independence at Patan Anhilvad, the kingdom of Gujarat was again re-united to the Empire of Delhi. With the exception of one formidable revolt, during which Muzaffar III,

<sup>1</sup> In the arrangements made by Akbar, (1) Khan Aziz Koka was appointed viceroy (Subadar) in charge of the province, and raised to the rank of Five Thousand. The city, the suburbs and the pargana of Ahmadabad, with Peltad and other districts were assigned as his jagir; (2) Broach and the country about it was given to his brother Qutbu-d-din Muhammad Khan; (3) Naurang Khan, the son of Qutbu-d-din, obtained Baroda; (4) Dholka and Dhanduka were bestowed on Salyid Hamid Khan Bukhari; (5) Mir Muhammad Kilan, uncle of Aziz Koka, received the sarkar of Patan

having escaped from his captivity, recovered his throne for a short space (1583-84), the conquest of Gujarat effected by Akbar in 1573 was final, and the province remained under the charge of Mughal viceroys until it passed into the grasp of the Marathas about the middle of the eighteenth century.

The story of Sultan Muaffar III's chequered career after his captivity in 1572 still remains to be told, but its details belong to the Imperial period of the history of Gujarat and will be treated there. In 1578 he eluded the vigilance of the royal servants, and fled to Gujarat, where in 1583 he raised a formidable rebellion against the authority of the Mughal viceroy, and for six months reigned again as Sultan. Defeated and driven from his capital, for nearly ten years he offered a stubborn resistance and was pursued from place to place—on the mainland and in Kathiavad and Cutch—until, hounded like a wild beast, he put an end to his life by cutting his throat near the little town of Dhrol in the Nawānagar state (1593). Thus miserably perished the unfortunate Muzaffar, last but not least of the Sultans of Gujarat.

### XIII.—Political organisation and the revenues and resources of Gujarat under the Saltanat.

Our account of the political history of Gujarat during the period of the Saltanat may be appropriately brought to a close by a survey of the extent and divisions of the kingdom, its administrative organisation, and its economic characteristics. Some valuable statistical information about the revenues of the province is also supplied to us by Ali Muhammad Khan, the Imperial Diwan or revenue minister of Gujarat, in his well-known work, the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, written between 1748-62 in the middle of the eighteenth century.

#### I.—EXTENT OF THE KINGDOM AND ITS DIVISIONS.

At the height of the prosperity of the kingdom, and as the result of the expansion during the latter part of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the Sultans of Ahmadabad held sway over no less than twenty-five *sarkars* or districts. These may be enumerated as under :—

1. In the north and north-east : Jodhpur, Jhālor, Nāgor, Sirohi, Dungarpur and Bansvada, all now in Rajputana.



2. In the central plain : Pātan, Ahmadabad, Baroda, Broach, Surat, Godhra, Champaner, Sunth and Nandod (the last two now in Rewa Kantha).
3. In the west : Sorath (Junagadh), Nawānagar, and Cutch.
4. In the east and south-east: Nandurbar, now in Khandesh; Mulher (Baglan), now in Nasik ; and Rāmnagar (Dharapur), now in Surat.
5. In the south : Daman, Bassein, Bombay and Dandā-Rājāpuri (Janjira).

These ample domains, with their revenues and resources, enabled the rulers of Gujarat to appear, for a time, as the equals of the Delhi sovereigns, and gave them a primacy among the independent Muslim states of Hindustan and the Deccan. But during the period of misrule that lasted from about 1530 to 1573 the extent of the kingdom was reduced, and the western parts of Khandesh and the north of the Konkan ceased to acknowledge allegiance to the rulers of Ahmadabad.

## 2.—ADMINISTRATIVE AND MILITARY ORGANISATION.

If we consider the form of government under the Saltanat we find that, as at present, Gujarat was divided politically into two main parts, *viz.*, (1) the territories under the feudatory princes, and (2) the districts directly governed by the central authority.

The territories under the feudatory princes included those out-lying Hindu principalities in Rajputana, Gujarat. Kathiavad and the mainland, whose rulers had, some time or other during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, been compelled to submit to the superior military strength of the Sultans of Ahmadabad. The vanquished princes were allowed to retain their titles of Raja, Rawal, Jam or Rao, in recognition of their semi-independent authority. They were, however, all subject to the payment of tribute in the form of military service or of money : the amount to be paid depending, not on the value of their territory, but on the terms granted to them when after their defeat they agreed to become feudatories of the Sultans. But it would be an error to suppose that this tribute was paid willingly or with regularity, for the warlike Rajput princes of Gujarat, whose claims dated from a time far anterior to the Musalman conquest, supported with impatience the yoke of their conquerors. The tribute had, therefore, not infrequently to be extorted by the pressure

of an armed force, and the expedition undertaken for the purpose, generally headed by the king in person, came to be known as *mulkgiri*, i.e., the land-seizing or the tribute-collecting circuit. The internal administration of the feudatory states remained unaffected by the circumstance of their paying tribute, and justice was administered and the revenue collected in more or less the same way as was done under the ancient rulers of Anhilvad.

We turn now to the much more extensive territory which was under the direct authority of the Sultans.

2. Directly governed territory These districts were governed in one of two ways, (a) they were either set apart as crown or *khālsā* lands and managed by paid officials, or (b) they were assigned to nobles as *jāgirs* in return for supplying a certain contingent of troops. We shall briefly describe the administrative arrangements that prevailed in these two classes.

The crown or *khālsā* districts were, as we have just remarked, administered directly by officers appointed and paid by the state. Their chief duties were to preserve the peace and collect the revenue. For the maintenance of order each district-governor had a body of soldiers from the headquarters of the army at Ahmadabad placed under his command. In addition to these regular troops, there were in each district certain fortified outposts called *thānās*, in charge of officers called *thānādārs*, which were garrisoned by bodies of local soldiery. For fiscal purposes each district or *sarkar* had a number of sub-divisions called *mahāls* or *parganahs*, under the charge of paid officials called *tahsildārs*, who realised, with the help of the village headmen, the state share of the harvest. These headmen arranged for the distribution of the payments among the co-sharing bodies of the village or the separate individual holdings as the case might be.

With the district governor was associated an account officer. That each might serve as a check on the other, Sultan Ahmad I made it a rule that when the governor was selected from among the royal slaves the accountant should be a free man, and *vice versa*. The practice of collecting the revenue directly from the cultivators was maintained up to the reign of Bahadur, when, in order to meet the needs of paying an increasing military force, the pernicious system of farming out the revenues to contractors was adopted. This, though it considerably increased the revenues, ultimately resulted in mutiny and confusion throughout the kingdom.

The management of the assigned lands, which formed the greater part of the directly governed districts, will now be considered. These territories were given as fiefs or *jagirs* to nobles to be administered by them, subject only to the obligation of supplying a fixed number of troops. The holders of the *jagirs* were allowed to appropriate the land revenue, which, if the *jagir* had been crown land, would have gone to the Sultan's treasury. Though, in theory, lands given as *jagirs* were strictly resumable on the death of the original grantee, in practice they tended to become hereditary. In its essential features, then, this *jagir* system was the same that is familiar to all students of Indian administration during the Mughal period. With the collection of the revenue, the whole management of the district was entrusted to the noble to whom the district was assigned, care being taken to see that he did not exercise any powers not vested in the governors in charge of the crown domains. As long as the central power was strong, precautions were also taken to see that the holder of the *jagir* did not rack-rent his district, or appropriate to himself more than the pay of his troops. It appears, however, that when, in the time of Bahadur, the practice of revenue farming was introduced in the *khālsā* territories, it was adopted by the military chiefs in their lands also, and continued up to 1573.

After the accession of the boy-Sultan Mahmad III in 1536, the decline of the central power began, and the nobles became free from all check or control in the management of their lands. So powerful did they become in the increasing anarchy that overwhelmed the kingdom, that on two occasions, in 1554 and 1572, they did not scruple to distribute among themselves the entire area of the province.

Mention must be made in this place of the superior class of Hindu landholders whose estates were scattered throughout the directly governed districts of the kingdom. These favoured holders of land would, in a Rajput state, have been designated as *garāsīs*, but they are described as *zamindars* by the Musalman historians. In order to pacify this important class, and to attach it to the new dynasty, Sultan Ahmad I, as early as 1420, re-granted to them, in hereditary possession, a one-fourth share of their former village-lands, on condition of their paying tribute and performing certain military service. The portion thus set apart came henceforth to be known as *wānlā* or *share*, and the remainder, retained as state land, was called *talpat*. This arrangement was honourably maintained by successive

rulers right up to 1545. In this year an attempt was made by the weak and incapable Sultan Mahmud III to revoke the rights enjoyed for over a century and to annex these shares, and the Hindu zamindars were evicted from their ancestral estates. The action provoked immediately a rebellion, which was put down with sanguinary cruelty. From this time the disaffection of the superior landowners became general and continued upto the extinction of the Saltanat. In the re-organisation of the province in 1583, Akbar restored the *wāntā* estates to the Hindu territorial aristocracy.

The armies employed by the Gujarat Sultans and their nobles were essentially mercenary bodies, composed, not only of Afghans, but of Muslim adventurers from all parts of the Islamic world, who found Gujarat a "happy hunting ground" from the end of the 13th to the end of the 17th century. They thus comprised, besides Afghans, Arabs (known as Maharas and Yāfis), Persians, Turks, Habshis, and even some Portuguese. Upto the death of Bahadur in 1537, the central authority had complete control over the army and its leaders; but, after this time, the military chiefs began to grow all-powerful and reduced the Sultan's authority to a shadow. The number of the army also declined considerably in the latter half of the 16th century. Hajji ad-Dabir tells us that whereas in 1511, at the death of Mahmud Begada, the royal army numbered one lakh, in 1572 there were not more than 12,000 horsemen. These are classified, according to their nationality, into 4,000 Afghans, 700 Habshis, 300 Turks, 400 Bahlims, 600 Ghuris, 500 Mughals, 500 Bukhara Saiyids, and 5,000 others.<sup>1</sup>

The recall of the vazir Asaf Khan from Mecca in 1548 by Sultan Mahmud III was due to his being regarded as the one man who could re-organise the mercenary troops and bring order out of the confusion arising from the independence and insubordination of the foreign nobles.<sup>2</sup> At his suggestion a bodyguard of 12,000 of the foreign legions was formed for the

1 *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, Vol. II, *Int.*, p. XXXII.

2 In 1535, Bahadur, flying before Humayun's advance, had sent his harem and his treasures to Mecca in charge of Asaf Khan. Though this noble had been absent from Gujarat for twelve years, he had left behind him such a high reputation for integrity and administrative ability, that he was recalled in 1548 to save the declining fortunes of the monarchy. To enable him to prepare for his journey to India, a messenger was sent with a hundred *sundas* of Sarkhej Indigo—at that time a *sunda* was worth two hundred gold pieces in Mecca as its importation had been stopped by the Portuguese. Asaf Khan bought a ship with the proceeds of the sale of the Indigo, and set sail for India, leaving Sraaj-ud-din, the father of Hajji-ad-Dabir, in charge of his family and household (*Arabic Hist. of Gujarat*, *ut sup.*, p. XXV).

personal safety of the Sultan and the enforcement of his authority. This and other disciplinary measures taken were crowned with success. But the murder of Mahmud III and Asaf Khan in 1553 again plunged the country into anarchy, and revived the independence of the nobles, whose quarrels ended only with the invasion of Akbar.

### 3.—REVENUE RESOURCES.

The statistical information supplied to us by the historian Ali Muhammad Khan, in the introductory chapter to his *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, testifies that the annual revenues of the Sultans of Gujarat were amply sufficient for the needs of a great and flourishing monarchy. We are told that, at the time of the last Sultan Muzaffar III, the territorial revenue from the directly governed districts, including both the crown lands and the lands assigned as jagirs, amounted annually to no less than 5 crores and 84 lakhs of rupees (Rs. 5,84,00,000). Besides this, a nearly equivalent amount, viz., 5 crores and 62 lakhs (Rs. 5,62,00,000), used to be received, up to the time of the Sultan Bahadur, from customs dues at the ports, and from the tribute paid by the kings of the Deccan, i.e., the rulers of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golkonda, Birar and Burhanpur. In the decline of the kingdom after Bahadur's death, this tribute ceased to be received, and the customs revenue also went down considerably owing to the control over several of the ports passing into the hands of the Portuguese.<sup>1</sup>

Of the 5 crores and 84 lakhs received as revenue from the directly governed districts, we are informed that the lands specially set apart as crown-domains yielded to the Sultan an income of 90 lakhs of Rupees. The rest of the amount must, therefore, have been received by the nobles, who held the jagirs or assigned lands, for the support of their dignity and the maintenance of the cavalry contingents which they were under obligation to supply.<sup>2</sup>

1 Early in the sixteenth century (1509) the trade of Ahmadabad began to suffer at the hands of the Portuguese. But it was not till 1537 that, settled at Diu as lords of the sea, the foreigners secured the greater parts of the profits that formerly enriched the merchants and Sultans of Ahmadabad.

2 Thus nearly five crores of rupees per annum were appropriated by the nobles in possession of jagirs. From the details given in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* we find that the cavalry contingents furnished by the nobles varied from 4,000 horse to 25,000 horse, and the lands assigned to them were estimated to yield yearly revenues ranging from 16 lakhs to one crore and 62 lakhs of rupees. The highest figures are represented by the jagirs of Rustom Khan and Changhiz Khan, sons of Imadu-l-Mulk, and comprised the sarkars of Broach, Surat, Baroda, Nanded and Champaner; the lowest by the jagirs of Salyids Miran and Hamid, son and grandson of Salyid Mubarak Bukhari, and comprised the parganah or mahal of Dholka.

The military establishment of the last Sultan, and of Itimad Khan and other nobles who belonged to the court, was maintained out of the 90 lakhs above mentioned. The details of this revenue are interesting as indicating the municipal and other taxes levied by the Sultans in addition to the land revenue.

1. Income derived from taxes in the city of Ahmadabad and its environs. This included the returns from cultivated lands in the vicinity of the capital; profits from the mint; judicial fines; dues from the <i>pān</i> and slave markets; dues on the sale of gum-lac, opium, silk, gold and silver thread; octroi and similar collections at the gates, etc. . . . .	Rs. 15,50,000
2. Land revenue from the <i>pargana</i> hs reserved for the crown and the court nobles. . . . .	„ 40,50,000
3. Customs duties at the flourishing ports of Gujarat. Five of these, <i>viz.</i> , Broach, Surat, Goghā, Gandhār and Rānder produced 20 lakhs; and the ports in the <i>sarkar</i> of Sorath, <i>viz.</i> , Diu, Porbandar, Mahuva, Somnath Patan, Mangrol and several others, in all eighteen, gave 14 lakhs. . . . .	„ 34,00,000
Total amount . . . . .	Rs. 90,00,000

Apart from this income from the crown domains received by the sovereign, we may well assume that the greater part of the five crores and sixty-two lakhs derived from tribute and from customs would also go to the king. It is clear, then, that the wealth and prosperity of the Gujarat rulers was based, not so much on the land revenue from the interior districts of their province—noted though they were for their fertility, but on the large number of flourishing sea-ports enriched by foreign trade and manufactures. So Sikandar bin Bahlol, Sultan of Delhi (A.D. 1488-1518), is reported to have said, “The magnificence of the kings of Delhi consists of wheat and barley, whilst that of the king of Gujarat, who has eighty-four ports under him, has its foundation on coral and pearls.”

The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* enumerates these eighty-four *bandars* (ports and marts) which constituted as many “mahāls” of the kingdom. Twenty-three of these have been indicated above in the survey of the crown revenue under Muzaffar III. The remain-

ing sixty-one are described as ports "frequented by the Europeans and the Arabs," and their names show that only about half of these were located in the kingdom of Gujarat. The rest belonged, geographically and politically, to countries with which Gujarat had only relations of trade, and we find them scattered over the Persian Gulf, the coasts of Baluchistan and Arabia, the Red Sea, Burma, and the Straits Settlements. They were thus far beyond the Sultans' jurisdiction, and their inclusion in the list of the Gujarat *bandars* may be attributed to the fact that import dues were levied on goods coming thence into the Gujarat ports.

#### 4.—ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS.

"The country of Gujarat," says Ali Muhammad Khan, "is known to the experienced and the wise as one of the finest provinces of Hindustan, and its superiority over other countries has been frequently repeated by the tongues of travellers. If all the excellencies of the province were to be described, a distinct volume would be required." This enviable reputation, which the country has maintained in every succeeding age, was primarily based on the fact that from the dawn of history Gujarat has been the emporium of the sea-borne commerce of all Hindustan. But it was not less due to the high reputation for fertility which its soil enjoyed for many centuries; to the natural resources of the province; and to the skill in various handicrafts displayed by an intelligent and industrious population.

Pre-eminent among these handicrafts was the manufacture of all kinds of fine cloths, which were unsurpassed in texture or colour by those of any other country. Another was the manufacture of paper, which was in great demand all over India as being of great purity and whiteness, and superior to that produced in Kashmir or Daulatabad. Salt was manufactured at all places on the sea-coast, at Cambay, and near Viramgam, being rough and black at some places and white like lumps of refined sugar at others. The swords of Sirohi, and the arrows made from the excellent arrow-reeds which the country produced, were renowned throughout Hindustan. The agate and cornelian deposits of Cambay were worked into rosaries, rings, cups, and handles for knives and daggers.

The forests of Gujarat yielded large quantities of teakwood which was used in constructing the ceilings and pillars of dwelling houses and in the building of ships. The *shisam* or Indian blackwood, which resembles ebony, was employed for making

bullock carriages and other things. The hilly country of Idar supplied from its quarries large quantities of hard limestone or calcareous sandstone which was used in the construction of mausoleums, temples, mosques, and palaces. The lime burnt from this stone, which when plastered and polished resembled a looking glass, was carried in the reign of Shah Jahan from Gujarat to Delhi when the royal palaces in the citadel of Shahjahanabad were built.

Elephants of a large size were, during our period, hunted in the mountainous districts of Rajpipla and Dohad. Cutch produced a breed of horses which for long rivalled in speed, figure, strength and action the steeds imported from Arabia or Iraq. Lovers of horseflesh cannot but regret that, in very recent times, considerable deterioration has been noticed in the Cutch breed, owing probably to admixture with other types. The Gujarat oxen were noted for their white colour, size and handsome appearance.<sup>1</sup> The rarest and most valuable falcons were procurable in the country.

The abundance of umbrageous trees, many of them fruit-bearing, was a characteristic feature of Gujarat landscape ever since the time of Mahmud Begada. The high road from Pātan to Baroda in particular, covering the distance of nearly a hundred *kos*, or 150 miles, was throughout dotted with mango, khirmi, and other trees. Besides these, the country yielded a plentiful harvest of such fruits as gourds, guāvas and water-melons.

The people of Gujarat, the Musalman historians inform us, were not unworthy of these natural surroundings. Those in the towns, both men and women, especially in Vadnagar and Sorath (Kathiavad), are described as "witty and graceful and pleasant to talk to." A local proverb is quoted which runs, "What is to be said of those Gujaratis of the rosy cheek; but that great beauty is their heritage of the Lord?"<sup>2</sup> The vigorous Rajput blood in a considerable section of the population, and the high civilisation which the people of the province had developed owing to their contact with Western

<sup>1</sup> Abu-l-Fazl informs us that the cattle of Gujarat were considered to be the finest in India, and that a yoke of them was sometimes worth 100 mohurs. The best Gujarat oxen even exceeded swift horses in speed, for they could travel 120 miles in 24 hours. Akbar once bought a pair of cows for two lakhs of *dāms* or 5,000 Rupees. (Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 149). We learn from the same authority that Gujarat produced the best breed of camels, though Ajmer bred the swiftest and Thatha in Sind the best for burden. (*Ibid.*, p. 143.)

<sup>2</sup> Bayley's History of Gujarat, p. 1 n.



countries from times immemorial, are sufficient to account for the physical and intellectual excellencies indicated by these praises, which appear to be almost unconsciously extorted from the pen of bigoted chroniclers who had generally but little sympathy with the subject population.

#### XIV—First years of Imperial rule in Gujarat, A.D. 1573-77.

The imperial period of the history of Gujarat, *i.e.*, the period during which it remained a province of the Mughal Empire, extends over one hundred and eighty-five years, from 1573 to 1758, the year in which the city of Ahmadabad was finally taken by the Marathas. This long period, like that of the Saltanat, contains two sub-divisions; one lasting from 1573 to 1700, a term, on the whole, of good government; the other, from 1700 to 1758, a time of disorder and misrule as the result of the increasing disintegration of the Empire.

The conquest of Gujarat by Akbar was followed by its administrative reorganisation to suit the changed political conditions. The country was now constituted a province or *Suba* of the Empire, and was placed in charge of a viceroy, who in later times came to be known as the *Subadar*. Officially designated at this period as the *Nāzim* and the *Sipāhsātār* (commander-in-chief), he was the representative of the Emperor, and his duty was to maintain peace and order in the province and to help the smooth and successful collection of revenue. Mirza Aziz Koka was continued as the first Nazim of Gujarat, an honour which was conferred on him thrice again during his life—in 1590, 1600 and 1609.

Next in rank after the subadar or viceroy was the provincial Diwan or Finance Minister, an officer directly appointed by and responsible to the imperial diwan or vazir at Delhi. In many respects the diwan was the rival of the Subadar, and the two were expected to keep a strict and jealous watch over each other. The diwan was expected to increase the cultivation, and to supervise the work of the collectors of revenue, who were appointed by him, and who were called *amins* and *tahsildars*. Twice every month he was to report to the High Diwan the occurrences of the suba with a statement of the cash balance with him. He was to keep a sharp watch over the treasury, check the extortions and peculations of the *amins* or officers, and see that no forbidden cess (*ābwāb*) was exacted from the ryot.

For executive purposes, the province continued to be divided into a number of districts or sarkars, each governed by an officer, now called the Faujdār or commandant, whose duty it was to assist the subadar in the maintenance of peace and the discharge of executive functions in general. As his name implies, the faujdār was essentially the commander of a military force stationed in the district to put down rebels, disperse robber-gangs, and overawe recalcitrant villagers who were disposed to defy the revenue authorities. Subordinate to the faujdārs were the thanādārs, who were in charge of outposts or smaller areas within a faujdari.

It was not the policy of Akbar to introduce a new form of government, and, apart from the creation of the necessary posts of the subadar and the diwan, the existing political arrangements were retained and perfected. As during the Saltanat, the province was still divided for administrative purposes into feudatory Gujarat and districts directly administered by persons appointed by the court at Agra or by the viceroy. These, in their turn, were either crown domains governed by paid officials who were known as faujdars, or territories assigned as jagirs to military chiefs in payment of their contingent of troops.

With these preliminary remarks we shall proceed to review the history of Gujarat during the opening years of its incorporation with the Mughal Empire. When Akbar made his triumphant entry into Ahmadabad in 1573, he had sanctioned the continuance of the *waqf* villages in Gujarat which were dedicated under the Sultans to the sacred shrines of Islam in Arabia. Shaikh Abdu-n-Nabi, the *Sadr-i-Sudūr* of the empire,<sup>1</sup> who was probably present at the time in Gujarat, appointed Saiyid Hamid as *amir* or administrator of these *waqfs* or religious endowments. The latter, in turn, selected Hajji ad-Dabir, the future author of the *Arabic History of Gujarat*, for the duty of carrying the money to the holy places for distribution, on a pay of 200 mahmudis a month. The Hajji proceeded in 1574 to Mecca in company with the other *waqf*

<sup>1</sup> The dignity of the office of *Sadr-i-Sudūr* has always been rated very high though no English title can indicate its varied functions. The holder ranked as the fourth official in the empire, and was the head of all the law officers. He was also "the highest ecclesiastical officer, exercising the powers of a Chief Inquisitor, even to the infliction of capital penalty, and enjoying the privilege of granting lands for ecclesiastical or benevolent purposes without the necessity of obtaining royal sanction. His reading of the *Khuba* in the name of a new sovereign legalized the accession." (V. A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 358).

officials, and returned to India in 1576. From this date up to 1605 the historian was in the service of various nobles in Khandesh and in the Deccan. In 1605 he left India for Mecca, where he probably wrote his book.<sup>1</sup>

Though the local historians are silent about the event, we learn from the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* that in 1574-75 the province suffered severely from both famine and pestilence. The calamity lasted for nearly six months, prices rose to an extreme height, and horses and cows were reduced to feeding on the bark of trees. The nature of the epidemic is not described; but "the inhabitants, rich and poor, fled from the country and were scattered abroad."<sup>2</sup>

The viceroyalty of Aziz Koka lasted from the end of 1573 to 1575, and the most important event of his tenure of office was the arrival of Raja Todar Mall in Gujarat. The first task before every conqueror in India has always been the settlement of the land revenue; and soon after he reached Agra, Akbar sent Todar Mall to the newly annexed province to survey the land and fix the assessment which had fallen into great confusion in the political anarchy that preceded the extinction of the kingdom. The famous finance minister of the Empire was engaged on this task for six months, and it appears that all the essential features of his later and more famous 'settlement' in Northern India were anticipated by him in Gujarat during 1574-75. For the first time in the history of the Mughal revenue system, we find the state undertaking a systematic measurement of the land as a preliminary to the fixing of the assessment. But the survey, in the short period devoted to it, could not extend over the whole area of the suba, and only 64 out of the 184 parganas, in which the province was divided under Akbar, were measured. About two-thirds of the area surveyed was found to be cultivated or fit for cultivation, the remainder being abandoned as waste land. In the parganas that were thus measured, the assessment was determined with reference to the area and the quality of the land. In the remaining mahāls the state share of the produce was fixed by the actual division of the grain heaps at harvest time, or by the official selection of a portion of each

<sup>1</sup> *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, Ed. by Sir E. Denison Ross, Vol. II, Int., pp. XXIX to XXXI.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot and Dowson's "History of India as told by its own Historians," Vol. V. p. 384.

field while the crop was still standing. Payment in either money or kind was permitted, preference being given to cash payments, and the value of the grain was converted into money at the market price. The assessment was fixed to run for a period of ten years.

The recall of Mirza Aziz Koka from Gujarat in 1575-  
 Recall of Aziz Koka. synchronised with the promulgation of the famous imperial order known as the *dāgh* or "the branding regulation." It was the adoption of a regular system of branding government horses in order to prevent fraud and false musters of cavalry by the mansabdārs.<sup>1</sup> The order was, however, frustrated by the sullen opposition of the nobles whose perquisites were threatened by it. Aziz Koka, being Akbar's favourite foster-brother, and the greatest of the nobles, was summoned to court and asked to be the first to put the regulation into effect, and "by commencing this practice leave no room for others to cavil." But Aziz showed himself so starkly hostile to the measure that Akbar was compelled to deprive him of his rank for a time and to confine him to his garden-house at Agra.<sup>2</sup>

The lofty gateway of the Great Mosque at Fathpur-Sikri, known as the *Būland Darwaza*, completed in 1575, is believed to have been erected by Akbar to commemorate his conquest of Gujarat two years earlier, though definite evidence to support this hypothesis is wanting.

After the return of Aziz Koka, the high office of viceroy was conferred on young Mirza Abdurrahim Khan.  
 Abdurrahim Khan Viceroy, (1575-77). The emperor, who had a great regard for the young man, appears to have missed no opportunity to raise him to responsible posts at an early age. We have already noted his presence at the battle of Ahmadabad in 1573, and we now find him in the ranks of the mansabdārs of four thousand. But as he was

1 "False musters were an evil from which the Moghul army suffered even in its most palmy days. Nobles would lend each other the men to make up their quota, or needy idlers from the bazaars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that came to hand and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers."—W. Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 45.

2 The histories of the period testify to the affection that subsisted between Akbar and his foster-brother Aziz Koka. They were both of about the same age and were brought up together. Aziz's mother, Ji Ji Anaga, was Akbar's favourite nurse. Though often offended by his boldness, Akbar would but rarely punish him. He used to say, "Between me and Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross" (*Vide Blochmann Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 325).

only twenty years old, and this was his first public post, he was instructed to follow in all matters the advice of Vazir Khan, who was sent with him as his *naib* or deputy. An experienced Hindu officer named Prāgdās was at the same time appointed to the post of diwan or collector-general.

The work of bringing the powerful Hindu rajas of continental Gujarat under subjection to the Mughal power was now taken in hand. In 1576, an army sent under Tarson Khan, the commandant of Patan, captured the fort of Sirohi. Similarly, the ruler of Rajpipla was overawed by an army stationed near Nandod. Rav Nārandas of Idar, whose Rathor ancestors had been with no small effort reduced by the early Sultans to allegiance, gave more trouble. But when he was pursued into his native mountain defiles by the imperial troops, and his capital taken, he submitted. He was succeeded on the throne by his eldest son, Viram Dev, a favourite hero of bardic tradition.

Two stories, illustrative of the valour of the Idar rulers, and characteristic of the times, may be given from the *Ras Mala*. Viram Dev, happening to pass through Halvad<sup>1</sup> in Kathiavad, observed that though there were a large number of shrines in memory of humble women who had become *satis*, there were no cenotaphs of *satis* from the royal house. On enquiry, the chief informed him that none of his family had ever become a *sati*. "What! has no one of your family married a true Rajputni!" exclaimed Viram Dev, and gave the chief his sister in marriage; and the sister of Idar at her husband's death followed him through the flames. On another occasion, Viram Dev, when hard pressed in his country by a Muslim army under a prince of the empire, went to the latter's headquarters, accompanied by only one horseman, and asked for an interview without revealing his rank. He was shown into an upper room where the prince was seated. While engaged in conversation, he noticed a cat that had seized a pigeon drop with it from the roof, and falling uppermost escape alive, while the pigeon was killed. Viram Dev's decision was quickly made. Suddenly taking the prince by the throat, he sprang with him from the window, and the prince was killed, while the Rav who fell on him was safe. He quickly mounted his horse and escaped, while the Mughal army, disconcerted at the loss of its leader, retired from his dominions.

<sup>1</sup> Halvad was once the capital of the Dhrangadra State. It contains a wonder number of *sati* memorial-stones and temples.

Akbar having been informed that the administration of Gujarat did not prosper under the rule of Vazir Khan, sent Raja Todar Mall a second time, in 1577, to bring the province into order. The great finance minister was also an able commander and diplomatist, and his nationality helped much to bring the Rajput princes of Gujarat into submission to the Emperor. On his way south he was waited upon by the Raja of Sirohi, and an agreement was made by which the latter was to serve the viceroy of Gujarat with two thousand cavalry. Similarly, near Surat, the ruler of Ramnagar (Dharampur) came to pay his respects, and agreed to serve with one thousand horse. Later on, during his return journey, Todar Mall received a visit from the chief of Dungarpur, who gave his allegiance. All these princes were presented with honorary dresses of honour, and admitted into various grades of mansabdārs of the Empire.

During his second stay in Gujarat, Todar Mall helped materially to break the insurrection against the imperial government which was fomented once again, and for the last time, by a member of the obstreperous Mirza family. We have seen that, after his defeat at Sarnāl near Thāsra in 1572, Ibrahim Husain Mirza had fled to the Punjab. His wife, Gulrukh Begum, who was then at Surat, which was invested by Akbar's generals, fled with her young son Muzaffar Husain to the Deccan. In 1576, both mother and son returned to Gujarat, and under the instigation of an ambitious retainer, named Mihr Ali Gulabi, gathered an army of adventurers and challenged the authority of the viceroy. Troops sent by the latter under Bāz Bāhādur and the diwan Pragdas were defeated by the rebel forces. In this crisis Vazir Khan wrote for help to Raja Todar Mall, who was at Pātan, and the latter at once marched to Ahmadabad. In a pitched battle near Dholka the combined imperial troops defeated the rebels. It is interesting to note that, in the Mirza's army, several women, dressed in men's clothes, were employed as archers, and were among the prisoners taken by the victors. After this victory Todar Mall returned to the north. Before long, the Mirza again became active and laid siege to the capital. His followers had applied the scaling ladders, and were about to make a general assault, when their commander Mihr Ali was killed by a cannon ball. Muzaffar, thereupon, lost heart and fled to Khandesh, where he was taken prisoner and sent to the Emperor. With him ended the last rebellion of the Mirzas. In spite

of all the trouble which this family had given him, Akbar forgave them often in remembrance of their royal descent and their blood relationship with him. Thus, later on, in 1591, he gave Muzaffar Husain his eldest daughter, the Sultan Khanum, in marriage; and the Mirza's sister, Nur-u-nisā, was married to Prince Salim. Gulrukh Begum was still alive in 1614 when she was visited on her sick bed by Jahangir at Ajmer.

### XV.—Viceroyalty of Shihabu-d-din Ahmad Khan (1577-83.)

At the end of 1577, Vazir Khan was recalled from Gujarat owing to his unsatisfactory administration, and a noble of far higher abilities and reputation, Shihabu-d-din Ahmad Khan, (Shihāb Khan), governor of Malwa, was appointed to the viceroyalty, and retained the post for the next six years. Itimad Khan at this time pressed his claims to the office on the strength of his local influence and the services rendered to Akbar in 1572, but he was put off. The erstwhile "king-maker" had since 1575 been taken back into favour and released from his confinement. He was now at court with the rank of one thousand horse, and was entrusted with the superintendence of the imperial jewels and ornaments.<sup>1</sup>

The restoration of public order in Gujarat, and the friendly relations which Akbar had established with the Portuguese power at the time of the siege of Surat in 1573, revived the practice of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. In 1575, a party of Begums, consisting of Gulbadan Banu, Akbar's aunt, and ten other distinguished ladies of the court, started from Agra and arrived at Surat on the way to Mecca.<sup>2</sup> The Emperor had taken elaborate precautions to secure their safety during their long journey to the coast, but the Portuguese at that port did not prove so amenable to his wishes as had been

<sup>1</sup> Itimad Khan, who is given the cognomen of "Gujarati" by imperial writers, appears to have been distrusted by the nobles at court who did not entertain any high opinion of his abilities. "In Abu-l-Fazl's opinion Gujaratis are made up of cowardice, deceit, several good qualities, and meanness and Itimad was the very type of a Gujarati." (Blochmann, *Ain*, Vol. I p. 387.)

<sup>2</sup> Gulbadan Begum (literally, Princess Rose-Body), the sister of Humayun and paternal aunt of Akbar, was a very devout Muslim, and had long been prevented from attaining her desire of making a pilgrimage to Mecca by the insecurity of the roads. Among the ladies who accompanied her was Salma Sultan Begum, once Bairam's widow, who had subsequently married Akbar, and borne to him Prince Murad. For the names of the other Begums, see Blochmann, *Ain*, p. 441 (No. 146).

expected. The ladies were detained for about a year, and it was only after ceding to them the town of Bulsar, near Daman, that Gulbadan Begum and her party were able to secure the necessary passes guaranteeing them against molestation on the voyage.

In 1578 the royal ladies returned from their Hajj, and Shihab Khan, the viceroy, was ordered to assist them on their journey to the capital. We learn from the *Akbarnama* that Gulbadan Begum on her return, being no longer dependent on the hated Christians, ordered the imperial officers to retake Bulsar, but they were repulsed in the attempt. About the same time a party of young men, belonging to a Portuguese fleet lying in the Tapti, who had landed at Surat, were attacked, and nine of them taken prisoners and subsequently executed on refusing to become converts to Islam. These obscure acts of retaliation on both sides appear to have been of frequent occurrence. The Portuguese claimed to be masters of the sea and refused to allow any Mughal ship to proceed to Mecca or elsewhere without a permit from their agents at Diu or Daman. Such dependence was naturally mortifying to an Emperor of Akbar's might and to his officers, but in the absence of a navy the Mughals could only give vent to their animosity by land attacks on the coast settlements of the Portuguese. The fact was that neither power was in a position to touch the other.

Akbar's policy towards the Portuguese at this time has been rightly designated as "tortuous and perfidious." Early in 1580, at the very time when the three Christian fathers from Goa, constituting the First Jesuit Mission, were on their way to Agra, at the special invitation of the Emperor, to propound to him the principles of their religion, Akbar had organised an army, under his foster-brother Qutb-ud-din Khan, to capture the European ports in his dominions.<sup>1</sup> The imperial officers in Gujarat and Malwa were also instructed to co-operate with this general in the enterprise. In pursuance of this policy of open hostility, an army of 15,000 horse was assembled and the territory of Daman was cruelly ravaged. Two years later, in 1582, an attack was made on Daman itself, but it was gallantly repulsed by the Portuguese army and navy. When Father

<sup>1</sup> Qutb-ud-din was the son of Jiji Anaga, Akbar's nurse, and brother of Mirza Aziz Koka—both being thus foster-brothers to Akbar. He was a mansabdar of five thousand and at one time honoured by Akbar by being appointed atalliq to Prince Salim. Since the conquest of Gujarat his jagir was at Broach. We shall refer later to his defeat and tragic death at the hands of Sultan Muzaffar in 1583 (See p. 149).



Aquaviva and others complained to Akbar about these acts, the Emperor denied all knowledge of the same, declared that Qutb-ud-din, as a senior official, had acted on his own initiative, and professed regret that hostilities had broken out. But when he sent orders to recall the troops from Daman, his commands were immediately obeyed.

Though Akbar concealed at this period his animosity against the Portuguese, the existence of whose settlements at Diu, Daman, Tarapur, Bassein, Mahim, and other places on the western coast, he regarded as an offence, he later on openly avowed his designs in conversation with his intimates. When, in the last years of his reign, he entered upon his wars in the Deccan, he did so partly with the intention of using his expected conquests as a foothold for an assault in force on Goa and the European settlements on the coast. His friendly missions to that city, while ostensibly for the purpose of acquiring religious knowledge, had also behind them a sinister political object, and were utilised for the purposes of espionage.

Akbar had up to this period kept up the practice of appointing a trusted noble of the court to lead the caravan of pilgrims proceeding annually from Mecca. In 1577, Mir Abu Turāb was sent as *Mir Hajj*, or Chief of the Pilgrims' Caravan, in charge of a large party of Begums and courtiers; and Itimad Khan was also permitted to accompany the party. It is said that the Emperor entrusted five lakhs of rupees and ten thousand khilāts (dresses of honour) to Abu Turāb to be distributed among the attendants and visitors at the holy place. In 1579 Abu Turāb returned to India bringing with him from the temple of Mecca a massive stone alleged to bear the sacred impression of the Prophet's foot (*Qadam-i-Rasul*). The date of his return, A. H. 987, is contained in the chronogram *Khair ul aqdam*, i.e., "the best of footprints." After being landed at Surat, the stone was conveyed on an elephant with great ceremony, and accompanied by seven or eight hundred people, to Agra. The party, according to instructions given, halted at a distance of four miles from the capital, when Akbar went out with all the nobles and the ladies of the palace to receive the precious relic. He carried the stone a hundred feet on his own shoulder, and the ministers, judges and grandeens were ordered to follow his example, and to convey it by turns, until it was brought into the town with great *éclat*. The stone was kept for a year contiguous to the palace, where the people flocked to make a pilgrimage. It

was subsequently, by the Emperor's wish, placed in the house of Abu Turab.

Akbar's sincerity in this somewhat elaborate demonstration is very much open to question. It is hardly to be expected that his respect for the supposed footprints of the Prophet was genuine at a time when he was publicly rejecting some of the most essential principles and rituals associated with the religion of Muhammad. In this very year (1579) he had introduced the startling innovation of displacing the regular preacher at the chief mosque in Fathpur-Sikri, and had recited the *Khutba* himself, with the introduction in it of the ambiguous phrase "Allahu Akbar." This was followed, within a few months, by the famous "Infallibility" Decree of September, 1579, by which Akbar, in his capacity of the Imam-i-Adil, was to be solemnly recognised as superior to any other interpreter of Muslim law. We are, therefore, led to the conclusion that this display of respect for the supposed relic was the result of a policy of calculated hypocrisy to allay the widespread resentment which his innovations had aroused among his subjects. Abu Turab being *graciously* permitted to keep the stone in his house indicates what importance Akbar really attached to the relic. Abu-l-Fazl tells us that Akbar looked upon the whole affair as a "pious farce" intended to appease public criticism. Sensible people must have smiled at the unworthy subterfuge which Akbar condescended to practise.

When Mir Abu Turab left Agra for Gujarat in 1580, he was given the permission, readily enough we may imagine, of taking the stone with him, so that he may erect a mosque over it in his own country, which was, as it were, the gateway of the holy Mecca. The stone was conveyed to the suburb of Asāwal, near Ahmadabad, and deposited in a mosque that was built during the next six years for its reception. The place became the resort of pilgrims from all parts for a long time after this. Many years later, when Asawal became desolate owing to the incursions of the Marathas, the heirs of Abu Turab brought the sacred relic into the city. Its present location is quite uncertain.

As will be seen later, when Itimad Khan was appointed viceroy of Gujarat in 1583, Abu Turab was raised to the dignity of amin of the Suba. He died at Ahmadabad in 1594 or 1596 and was buried in the same city. His tomb, which

is a fine example of the local style of architecture in its best form, and which was built by himself, may still be seen near the city about half a mile outside of the Jamālpur gate.

In 1578, Shihabu-d-din Ahmad Khan carried out, under direct orders from the Emperor, an important administrative measure by which the area included under the Subā of Gujarat was considerably reduced. Several of the districts were now re-annexed to the original provinces from which the vigour of the Sultans had wrested them. Thus the sarkars of Jodhpur, Jhalor, and Nagor were united to the Suba of Ajmer, and Mulher and Nandurbar to Khandesh. The districts of Daman, Bassein and Bombay had already passed into the possession of the "hat-wearing" Portuguese; and that of Dandā-Rājpurī was in the hands of the Nizam Shahi rulers of Ahmadnagar. Thus, out of the twenty-five sarkars that once belonged to Gujarat, only sixteen were settled as belonging to the Subā under Akbar.

Six of these 16 districts, viz., Sirohi, Dungarpur and Bansvada (all three now in Rajputana), Cutch, Sunth Districts included under the Suba, (in Rewa Kānthā), and Ramnagar (Dharmpur), belonged to feudatory Gujarat. Their rulers only paid tribute, and they were not the revenue assessment of the diwans of the province. The remaining ten, then, formed the area directly administered either as crown-lands or jagirs. As the revenue of the sarkar of Surat had been separately allotted to the *mitsaddi* or customs officer of that port,<sup>1</sup> only nine districts belonged to the diwani or revenue administration of the Suba. They were Patan, Ahmadabad, Baroda, Broach, Nandod, Champaner, Godhra, Sorath (Junagadh) and Nawānagar. These were divided into 184 Mahāls or parganahs.<sup>2</sup>

This reduction in the area comprised under the Suba of Gujarat appears to have been accompanied by a more than corresponding decline in the state revenue. While, in 1572, under the Akbar.

1 The sarkar of Surat was of sufficient consequence to induce Akbar to appoint two distinct officers for its administration. Of these, one was a military officer, who, with the title of *Kiledār*, commanded the castle and the river. The other was a civil officer, who, with the title of *Mutsaddi*, or revenue writer, administered the district and had charge of the city and the collection of the customs revenue. The *Mutsaddi* was not subordinate to the Diwan at Ahmadabad, but held direct from the court at Delhi.

2 Of these 184 sub-divisions, only 64 were included in Todar Mall's survey in 1574-75. Godhra in the east, the Kathiavad peninsula, and a large portion of the central area on the mainland were excluded from the survey. So also were, of course, the six tributary districts.

last of the Sultans, the territorial revenue alone amounted to five crores and eighty-four lakhs of rupees, we find that the *M̄rat-i-Ahmadi* gives the total revenue of the Suba under Akbar at very nearly two crores of rupees, i.e., slightly more than a third of what was formerly collected. This decrease may be attributed partly to Akbar's moderation in the state demand, and partly to a decline in the prosperity of the province. Of the two crores mentioned above, 52 lakhs, or a little over one-fourth, was sent to the private treasury of the Emperor (*Khālsāh-i-sharifāh*), and was appropriated for his personal use. The remaining amount was expended in the administration of the province, including the jagirs of the nāzim and the nobles.

During Shihab Khan's rule there came to him Fateh Khan Shirwani, the commander of the army of Amin Khan Ghori of Junagadh, offering to capture for him that fort. A body of 4,000 troops was sent under Mirza Khan, the viceroy's brother, to help the renegade. Amin Khan obtained help from the Jam of Nawānagar, and offered a stubborn resistance. As Fateh Khan died at this juncture, Mirza Khan had to abandon his designs on Junagadh. He laid siege to Mangrol, and was subsequently defeated by the forces of Amin Khan and the Jam at Kodinār, where he was himself wounded and escaped with difficulty to Ahmadabad.

In 1583 Shihab Khan was summoned to court and relieved of his office. Under his capable administration Gujarat had enjoyed a brief spell of repose from lawlessness and disorder. He built fortifications at Modasa and a great many other places where the people were disaffected, and stationed parties of cavalry to overawe them. He was also a revenue expert, having been for a time Finance Minister of the Empire in 1568, and continued the work effected by Todar Mall by remeasuring more correctly the lands of the province. On the eve of his departure from Gujarat, however, he caused the parties of cavalry to be withdrawn from nearly eighty posts at which they had been stationed, with the result that, as soon as the troops had left, the kolis and garasias destroyed several fortifications and excited disturbances.

After Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan's recall, the claims of Itimad Khan could no longer be denied and he was appointed to the distinguished post of viceroy of Gujarat in 1583. Already before his first conquest of Gujarat in 1572, the

Emperor had held out expectations to him that he would obtain the government of the country after it had been reduced. But Itimad's vacillating conduct had led to his disgrace and confinement in 1573. After his restoration to favour, he had made unsuccessful representations at the time of Shihab Khan's appointment as viceroy in 1577. When, therefore, in 1583, Itimad reminded Akbar of the promise made eleven years before, the latter had in honour to grant his desire, in spite of the opposition of the imperial advisers who asserted that Itimad Khan had not the capacity to settle the country.

With Itimad Khan was associated, in the new administration, Mir Abu Turab, who was made amin of the Suba. He was much trusted by the Emperor, as he had been the first of the Gujarat nobles to pay his respects to Akbar on his march in 1572, and had since then distinguished himself by his fidelity to his new master. Another officer was Abu-l-Kasim who was sent as diwan or collector-general. A third and much more important colleague was Khwājā Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, a valiant and intrepid soldier, who was appointed Bakhshi or paymaster, and who is well known to us as the distinguished author of the history known as the "Tabakāt-i-Akbari," which still remains one of the principal sources of our information for the reign of Akbar.<sup>1</sup>

The arrival of Itimad Khan at Ahmadabad was the signal for the commencement of a formidable revolt, headed by the Sultan Muzaffar III, which led to the temporary subversion of Mughal authority in Gujarat, and plunged the country into confusion and anarchy. The history of this revolt will be related in the last chapter.

## XVI—Parsi and Jain Missions from Gujarat to the Court of Akbar.

During the years between 1575 and 1582 Akbar's many-sided activity was principally devoted to fundamental religious issues and to the comparative study of religions. His doubts about the correctness of Islam gradually developed until they ended in the total rejection of the religion of Muhammad, and the

<sup>1</sup> The *Tabakat-i-Akbari* ("Annals of Akbar"), also known as the *Tarikh-i-Nizami*, or "Nizam's History," is a history of India coming down to the year 1593-94. The author held the high office of First Bakhshi or Paymaster-General under Akbar, and died at Lahore in 1594. The book is a dry narrative of external events.

establishment of a new faith, which "combined the principal features of Hinduism with the fireworship of the Parsis." He began in 1575 by summoning to the *Ibadat Khana*, or House of Worship, at Fathpur-Sikri, Muslim theologians of every school to carry on discussions on various points of dogma and ritual. Finding but little rational satisfaction from their arguments, and probably disgusted with the heat and unseemly wrangling between opposing sections of the Muslim doctors, Akbar invited to his court Brahmans, Parsis, Christians, Jains, and selected men of all the principal religions, to expound to him the principles and practices of their faith. From Gujarat came the representatives of Zoroastrianism and Jainism, and we shall relate in some detail the part played by them at the Mughal court, and the influence which they exercised on the development of Akbar's religious policy.

When, in 1573, during the siege of Surat, Akbar was encamped in the suburb of Kankrā Khāri, he had made Dastur Meherji Rana's visit to Akbar. the acquaintance of Dastur Meherji Rana, a leading Pārsi priest from Navsari, who explained to him the principles of the religion of Zoroaster. It is not very certain whether the accomplished Dastur accompanied Akbar to Agra on his return march from Gujarat in 1573. But it is established on conclusive evidence that he was the head of the Parsi priests from Navsari who came to Fathpur-Sikri during 1578-9 and took part in the religious discussions there. Akbar's partial conversion to Zoroastrianism must, therefore, be put to the credit of the eloquence and learning of this Parsi scholar, the tradition of whose visit to Akbar's court is recorded in reliable works and manuscripts written during the 17th and 18th centuries.<sup>1</sup>

The extent to which the mission of the Navsari Parsis succeeded in its object may be seen from the account given by Mulla Abdu! Akbar adopts Zoroastrian rites. Qadir Badaoni, whose well-known history, the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, is of special value for the religious views of Akbar. The Mulla was, moreover, a bigoted Musliman, bitterly hostile to the Emperor's heretical opinions, and had this mission failed in its intent, he would not have hesitated to say so. According to Badaoni, then, the "fireworshippers" proved to His Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines, and impressed him so favourably that

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<sup>1</sup> The leading work on the subject is the learned and authoritative treatise by Dr. Jivanjee J. Modi, entitled, *The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherjee Rana.* (J. B. B. R. A. S.).

he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the Parsis. Akbar also issued orders to Abu-l-Fazl to make arrangements that the sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings, for "fire was one of the manifestations of God, and a ray of his rays." We are further informed that, from the new year's day of the twenty-fifth year of his reign (1580), Akbar openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations, and the courtiers were ordered to rise when the candles and the lamps were lighted in the palace.<sup>1</sup>

The influence of the teaching of Dastur Meherji Rana and his colleagues may again be seen when, Akbar introduced the Parsi calendar. four years later, in 1584, Akbar introduced the Ilahi Era in his empire, and substituted, in the place of the Hijri months, the names of the twelve months of the Parsi calendar, beginning with Farwardin and ending with Aspandārmad. At the same time, fourteen specially Zoroastrian festivals were introduced which supplanted the usual Muslim holidays. A later writer informs us that Akbar even put on the sacred shirt and girdle (*sudreh* and *kusti*) which every Parsi is enjoined to wear under his clothes. Though Akbar also appeared in public with the Hindu mark on his forehead, and had jewelled *rākhis* tied round his wrists by Brahmans; and though, at the same time, he showed public reverence to the Bible and adopted the use of Christian emblems, there is much truth in the conclusion drawn by Blochmann that "Akbar though a Sūfi in his heart, was a Parsi by his rites."

Mr. Vincent A. Smith, in his interesting work, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, thus sums up the influence of the Parsi religion in the evolution of the Emperor's religious ideas :

"Akbar probably found more personal satisfaction in Zoroastrianism, the religion of the Parsees, than in any other of the numerous religions examined by him so critically in his odd, detached manner. The close connection with Persia, always maintained by his family, and his manifest preference for Iranian rather than Mogul (Uzbek and Chagatāi) officers, predisposed him to look with a favourable eye on the creed and religious philosophy of Iran . . . . But he stopped without ever reaching the point of definitely becoming a Zoroastrian."

<sup>1</sup> Extracts from Badaoni, as translated by Blochmann, in *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. p 184.

Akbar's reverence for the sun and worship of fire was, however, not due solely to Zoroastrian influences. Hindu influences support sun and fire-worship. Raja Birbal, one of his most cherished friends, was devoted to the cult of the sun, and impressed upon him the fact that this luminary was the primary origin of everything, for on it depended the lives of men, the illumination of the universe, and the ripening of grain, fruits and vegetables. Hence people, during prayer, should face towards the place where he rises, instead of turning to the quarter where he sets. Similarly, Akbar had, from his youth, been accustomed to celebrate the *Hom*, a kind of fire-worship, owing to his affection towards the Hindu princesses of his harem. The Parsi propaganda was thus supported indirectly by other influences.<sup>1</sup>

When Meherji Rana returned, probably in 1579, to his native town, Akbar bestowed upon him, as a special mark of his favour, two hundred *bighas* of land in the district of Navsari as *madad-i-maūsh*, or subsistence allowance. Such grants differed from jagirs or *tūyūls* in the fact that they were hereditary, while the latter were conferred for a specified period on mansabdars in lieu of salary. Meherji Rana died in 1591. Four years after that event, in 1595, Akbar granted to his son, Dastur Kaikobad, a *farman*, continuing to him the grant made to his father, together with 100 *bighas* more. A later *farmān*, issued in 1603, transferred the estate of Dastur Kaikobad from one *pargana* of the *sarkār* of Surat to another, probably because the Dastur was subjected to vexations or encroachments by some powerful jagirdar in the original locality. All these original *farmans*, which bear the imperial seals, are still in existence.

To mark their appreciation of the signal services rendered to the Zoroastrian religion at the Mughal court by Dastur Meherji Rana, the Parsi priests of Navsari formally acknowledged him, soon after his return, as their head. Moreover, we learn from an authentic Zend manuscript, more than two hundred years old, that the Dastur's name was commemorated in Parsi

<sup>1</sup> Tennyson, in his well-known poem "Akbar's Dream," represents the Emperor as complaining that, because he worshipped the sun, people thought him to be a Zoroastrian;

"The sun, the sun! they rail  
At me, the Zoroastrian. Let the Sun,  
Who heats our earth to yield us grain and fruit,  
And laughs upon thy field as well as mine,  
And warms the blood of Shiah and Sunnee,  
Symbol the Eternal!"



prayers as that of a departed worthy who had been an honoured benefactor of his community.

Gujarat, and especially the western peninsula, had been for centuries the stronghold of Jainism in India. Mission of Hiravijaya Suri to Akbar's Court. As the Emperor wished to initiate himself into the mysteries and ritual of the Jain religion, and as he had heard of the learning and virtues of Hiravijaya Suri, then the most distinguished exponent of that religion, he gave orders to Shihab Khan in 1582 to send him to court. In response to the summons, the Suri came to Ahmadabad to pay his respects to the viceroys, and decided, in the interests of his faith, to accept the imperial invitation. As the principles of his religion forbade the use of a conveyance of any kind, the saint carried out on foot the long journey from Gujarat to Fathpur-Sikri. He was received with great pageantry by the Emperor, who had much talk with him on religion and philosophy. After a year's residence both at Sikri and Agra, the monk, who was granted the title of Jagat-guru, or world-teacher, returned in 1584 to Gujarat. The impression which the teaching of Hiravijaya Suri made on Akbar, and its subsequent influence on his public actions, have led to his being credited by Jain writers with the honour of having converted the Emperor to Jainism. In 1583, Akbar renounced the practice of hunting, restricted fishing, and prohibited the killing of animals on many specified days on pain of capital punishment. Four years later, he issued written orders confirming the abolition of the *Jizya* tax, and restricting to still narrower limits the destruction of animal life, thus following the policy adopted eighteen hundred years before him by the great Buddhist Emperor Asoka.

The visit of Hiravijaya Suri to the imperial court, and the generous concessions made by Akbar, are commemorated in a famous Sanskrit inscription of great length carved on the walls of the temple of Adisvara on the sacred hill of Satrunjaya near Pālitānā in Kathiavad,—the shrine having been consecrated by the Suri in 1590. The ascetic starved himself to death, in the approved manner of his order, in 1592, and a *stupā* or memorial dome was erected on the spot where his body was cremated at the sea-town of Unā, near Diu, in Kathiavad.

After the departure of the Suri from the court in 1584, his work was continued by his colleague Bhānuchandra Upādhyaya who had accompanied him from Gujarat. In 1593, another Jain monk, by name Siddhichandra, visited Akbar at Lahore, received a title of honour, and was granted control over the

holy places of his faith. At the same time the tax on pilgrims to Satrunjaya was abolished.<sup>1</sup>

The position to which Akbar was gradually led, as the result of his theological discussions, is sufficiently known to all students of his history. Akbar evolves the "Din Ilahi." However much he might approve of the principles, or admire the ritual, of the Parsis or the Jains or the Christians, he could not bring himself to accept frankly any one of these religions as his own. He long cherished the idea of evolving a new religion, which was "to prove to be a synthesis of all the warring creeds and capable of uniting the discordant elements of his vast Empire in one harmonious whole."<sup>2</sup> In 1582, when he felt his throne secure from domestic revolt or external aggression, he proclaimed his famous *Din* or *Tauhid Ilahi*, the cardinal principle of which was the assertion of his personal supremacy over things spiritual as well as temporal—the claim to be acknowledged as both Pope and Emperor. Up to this year Akbar had kept professedly within the limits of Islam, and had continued to perform occasional acts of conformity for political reasons. The proclamation of the new religion was the establishment of a creed hostile to and irreconcilable with that of Muhammad, and meant the "total rejection" of the fundamental principles of Islam, except the great doctrine of the unity of God. Akbar was henceforth an apostate from the religion of the Prophet.

From the official account of the *Din Ilahi* given by Abu-l-Fazl, it may be seen that the central feature of the initiation ceremony, which was performed by Akbar personally, and of the ordinances laid down for members of the new faith, was the practical deification of the Emperor. The disciples must be ready to sacrifice to him life, property, honour, and religion, as their vows required. The *sijdah*, or prostration, hitherto reserved only for divine worship, was declared to be the due of the sovereign. At the initiation, the novice was given the *Shast* or ring, upon which was engraved "the Great Name" and the Emperor's symbolical motto, "*Allahu Akbar*," which may mean either 'God is great,' or 'Akbar is God.' It was thus evidently but the old story, familiar enough to students of Roman history, of the apotheosis of the Emperor. Blochmann's conclusion is probably well warranted that "Akbar, starting

<sup>1</sup> The account of the Jain missions to the Court of Akbar is based on an article by "C" entitled "Hiravijaya Suri, or the Jainas at the Court of Akbar, in *Jaina-Shasana*, Benares, 1910 (Vira Sam. 2437 pp. 113-128)

<sup>2</sup> Vincent A. Smith *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, p. 162.

from the idea of the divine right of kings, gradually came to look upon himself as the *mujtahid* of the age, then as the prophet of God and God's vicegerent on earth, and lastly as a deity.<sup>1</sup>

The better to accomplish his purpose, Akbar, in 1584, instituted a new era, to which also he gave the name of *Ilāhi*, or 'divine.' The imperial *farman* or decree, establishing this era throughout his dominions, gives this order: "Let the gates of felicity and rejoicing be opened by dating the Ilahi era from the day of the year corresponding to the first of the king's reign."<sup>2</sup> Instructions were sent to all the provinces for the use of the new era on coins, almanacs, astronomical books, and public records of all kinds.

The coinage of Akbar, whether issued from the imperial mint of Agra, or from the provincial mint at Ahmadabad, is interesting for the light it sheds on the development of Akbar's character and ambition that has been briefly traced above. The description of these coins may best be given in the words of a distinguished numismatist of Gujarat, Dr. Geo. P. Taylor, late President of the Numismatic Society of India.<sup>3</sup>

"After his abandonment of the Transoxine style of coin, the currency of Akbar's reign falls into two distinct sections. His earlier rupees bore, along with Akbar's name, the surname (laqab) Jalāl-ud-din, 'glory of the faith,' and the title Bādshāh Ghāzi, 'victorious emperor'; while the reverse contained in its central area the kalima, or Muslim creed, and in the margins the names of the four Khalifas, with or without their distinctive "virtues," the righteousness of Abū Bakr, the justice of Omar, the modesty of Othmān, and the learning of Ali. But after twenty-nine years of his reign had elapsed, nearly the whole coinage underwent a change, in which was plainly evidenced the desire, long entertained by Akbar, to break with Islām and set up a religion of his own fashioning.

1 Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 166 n. *Mujtahid* means an infallible authority in matters of religion.

2 Bird's *History of Gujarat*, p. 387. On pages 382-389 of this work will be found the full copy of the imperial *farman* for the establishment of the Ilahi era addressed to the officials of the province of Gujarat. In this respect Ali Muhammad Khan's *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* is a veritable mine of accurate information based upon authentic state papers.

3 The paragraphs that follow are quoted from Dr. Geo. P. Taylor's paper, "On some Coins illustrating the History of Gujarat," published in the "Gujarat College Magazine," January, 1919, pp. 81-83.

" In 1584 Akbar issued the *farman* establishing the Ilāhi era throughout his dominions. Henceforth the Hijri year, reckoned from the time of Muhammad's flight from Makka, was banished Akbar's coins, and in its place was entered the Divine Year, counted from Akbar's accession to the throne. Moreover, though, in accordance with Muhammad's express injunction at the Farewell Pilgrimage (March, A.D. 632), the Muslim year had for well nigh a millenium (A.H. 991) been held to consist of twelve lunar months, Akbar still further emphasised his revolt from Islam by assigning to each year of his new-fangled era twelve solar months, and adopting for them the names employed in the calendar of the Persian fire-worshippers. Hence it is that on many of the coins of this period are recorded both the Ilāhi year and the solar month of the date of issue.

" But the chief innovation on the legends of these coins was the abandonment of the *kalima*, or Muhammadan creed, with the associated names of the four Khalifas, and the substitution of a creed of his own framing. Though very short, it was ambiguous as to its reading and interpretation. Being never stamped with vowel-marks, its first two words may be interpreted either as " God is the greatest," or as " Akbar is God." As with many another creed before and since, much controversy has arisen regarding the meaning originally intended: but Mr. Rodger's contention, that by these coins Akbar really did purpose to convey to the minds of his subjects that his person, no less than his era, were divine, seems practically established from a coin described in the " Numismatic Chronicle " (Vol. XVI., 3rd Series, pp. 155-162) by Dr. White King of the Indian Civil Service.<sup>1</sup> This coin, a square quarter-rupee, struck at Ahmadābād in A.H. 987, A.D. 1579-80, reads not Allāhu Akbar, " God is most great," but, with order inverted, Akbar Allah, " Akbar is God." His whole creed is comprised in the words:—

Akbar Allāh, jalla jalaluhu.

*Akbar is God, glorified be his glory.*

Many a silver rupee, with this brief creed engraven on its obverse, its reverse bearing the name of mint-town and the date, both year and month, in the Divine Era, can still be picked up in the bazars; and surely a few annas

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1. L. White King and W. Vost: ' Some Novelties in Moghal Coins,' p. 7.

are well spent in purchasing some of these coins, so strikingly illustrative of the strange phases through which the erratic mind of Akbar passed after the royal heretic had once departed from the fold of Islam.”

### XVII—Rebellion of Sultan Muzaffar III in Gujarat, 1583-93.

The story of the Saltanat has been told; that of the last chequered and eventful years of Sultan Muzaffar III still remains to be related. We have already seen how, at the end of 1572, at the first arrival of Akbar in Gujarat, he surrendered himself to the Emperor in the neighbourhood of Kadi. He was placed in honourable durance, away from the province, and kept in charge of various nobles till 1578, when he contrived to evade surveillance, and took refuge, first, with the Hindu zamindar of Rajpipla, and later, with one Loma Khuman, a Kathi chief in the village of Kherdi<sup>1</sup> in the Sorath division of Kathiavad. Here he lived for some years in comparative obscurity, little noticed or cared for by Akbar's officers, and awaited some favourable opportunity for regaining his throne.

Shihab Khan had, during his viceroyalty, with difficulty kept under control a body of some seven or eight thousand turbulent Mughal troopers, who had once been the retainers of the infamous Mirzas, but who had reluctantly entered into the service of the subadars of the province. When, in 1583, Akbar recalled Shihab Khan, and entrusted the government of Gujarat to Itimad Khan, these refractory soldiers offered to serve under the latter provided they were given better terms. The new viceroy, who appears to have received special instructions to dismiss the whole troop, told them to look out for themselves. They forthwith offered their services to Muzaffar, and invited him to head a revolt which would give them ample opportunity of plunder. The formidable insurrection that was thus brought about plunged Gujarat—both the mainland and the peninsula—into another ten years of bloodshed and disorder, and, for a time, shook to its foundations the newly established imperial power.

Itimad Khan had hardly taken charge of his government when news arrived that Muzaffar and the malcontents, with 3,000 Kathi horse, were in full march on the capital. Mir Abu Turab and Nizam-ud-din

<sup>1</sup> Kherdi is a village in the Rajkot state about eight miles to the east of that town.

were at once despatched to Shihab Khan, the retiring viceroy, who was still in the suburb of Usmanpur on the opposite bank of the Sabarmati, to request him to delay his march to the north, and to return with his followers to help the imperial cause. But the latter, who was disgusted at his recall, declared that he had given over charge of his province and had nothing more to do with it. Soon news came of the arrival of the rebels at Dholka, whereupon Itimad Khan, exhibiting an incompetence that is hardly credible, took the false step of leaving the capital in order to persuade the ex-viceroy to come to some arrangement. Nothing could have suited the rebels better. The road being clear, Muzaffar entered Ahmadabad through an unrepaired breach in the city-wall near the Raikhad gate, and the wealthy and populous city, "filled with gold, jewels and fine cloths" was given over to plunder.

Meanwhile, Itimad Khan had joined Shihab Khan at Kadi, and had accepted the terms on which alone Imperialists de- and had accepted the terms on which alone feated at Khan- the latter would condescend to help him, pur Gate. *viz.*, that he was to be re-entrusted with the government of the province. After this, the imperial confederates retraced their steps to Ahmadabad, and on the way received the intelligence of the loss of the capital. It was decided to push on, and either give battle to the enemy or invest the city. Their unfitness for either enterprise might be readily seen from the fact that Shihab Khan allowed his followers to carry their wives, children and baggage along on the march, instead of leaving them behind in a place of security. The ex-viceroy was also confident that the rebel Mughals, who had so long been in his service, and whom he had always treated well, would desert Muzaffar on hearing of his return, and hasten to his standard. But he had miscalculated his influence. On news of the arrival of the imperialists at Usmanpur, on the right bank of the river, the rebels, with Muzaffar at their head, issued out of the Khanpur Gate to give them battle, and the whole population of Ahmadabad turned out to a man to witness the fight. The result was quickly decided. The imperial forces, which were busy pitching their tents and arranging for their families, were taken almost by surprise, and, in spite of the brave efforts of Shihab Khan, were completely routed. During and after the battle large numbers deserted to Muzaffar, and the confederates retreated to Patan, leaving their elephants, their baggage, their wives and daughters as booty in the hands of the enemy.

It is not easy to explain this complete discomfiture of the  
Reflections on imperialists, especially when we reflect that  
his disaster. they were led by men of the reputation of

Shihab Khan and Itimad Khan. The reason, however, must be found in the fact that the people of Gujarat were still attached to the hereditary dynasty of the Sultans, as is amply seen from the defections that took place during the battle just mentioned, and also subsequently, as we shall have occasion to relate. In the absence of a powerful Mughal army of occupation, and owing to the revolt of the eight thousand troopers who instigated Muzaffar, the two imperial generals found themselves outmatched and helpless. Itimad Khan also appears to have been destitute of even average military abilities, for we cannot otherwise explain his conduct in deserting, in search of help, a city so well fortified against attack as Ahmadabad was. As for Shihab Khan, though he fought gallantly and risked his life lightly at the battle, his co-operation could not have been very cordial in view of the fact that he was smarting under the injustice of an undeserved recall by the Emperor. In the period of depression and ill-disguised retreat that followed the battle of the Khanpur Gate, the zeal, courage and resourcefulness of Nizam-ud-din, the historian, the bakshi of Itimad Khan, stands out conspicuously, for he did not despair of success, and became, till the arrival of help from Agra the rallying centre for the adherents of the Mughal cause. His influence alone restrained the two viceroys from pursuing their retreat further north to Jhalor.

Sultan Muzaffar thus returned victorious to Ahmadabad, Muzaffar III's where, after an interval of eleven years, he second reign, 1583- seated himself once again on the throne of 84. Gujarat. He visited the Jami mosque, accompanied by several of the rebel chiefs, and caused the *khutba* to be read in his name. He also conferred on his allies high titles of nobility, and jagirs and salaries befitting their rank. Moreover, in token of his new-found sovereignty, he issued from the Ahmadabad mint coins struck in his own name, bearing the Hijri year 991 (A.D. 1583-84). These coins are of special interest to numismatists, and we shall give below an account of them by the late Dr. Geo. P. Taylor, the leading authority on the coins of Gujarat during the Saltanat, whose monograph on the subject has been more than once referred to in the course of this history. In a paper contributed to the *Gujarat College Magazine* at Ahmadabad—the city in which he spent forty years of his life as a missionary, Dr. Taylor says :

Dr. Taylor  
on the last  
coins of  
Muzaffar.

“It is surprising to find how many coins serve to illustrate history, and in what various ways. Look, for instance, at the last coins of the Gujarat Saltanat, those of Muzaffar III. We find them ranging year by year from A.H. 968

to 980, or A.D. 1560-1573—then comes a sudden break; but once again, after an interval of eleven years, his name reappears on a remarkable rupee of A. H. 991. What is all this but simply the numismatic record of the chequered career of the last Sultan? He reigned continuously with power unbroken from his accession in A. H. 968 till Akbar's subjugation of Gujarat in A. H. 980. Deported at the time to Agra, and subsequently imprisoned, he managed in A.H. 991, A.D. 1583, to escape, and, raising once more the banner of independence, to defeat the imperial generals. For six months he held possession of the throne thus regained, and during that brief interval re-issued coins struck in his own name.

"Naturally the coins struck during the six months of Muzaffar's restoration to the throne are much in request by collectors. They are very rare, but it has been my good fortune to pick up more than one in the local bazār. It differs remarkably from the ordinary silver coins of his earlier issues. Those were each of about 110 grains weight, this is of 170; and, as in its weight so also in its legend, it strikingly resembles that Mughal type of coin adopted by Akbar shortly after his accession. The design, indeed, is clearly modelled after that of the rupee with which Muzaffar had become familiar during his enforced detention in North India. On the obverse within two linear squares, separated by dots, is the legend

Sultan Muzaffar Shāh, son of Mahmūd Shāh

and the date 991, while the lower margin bears the mint-name Ahmadabad. The other margins are illegible. On the reverse, within similar squares, is the Kalima:

There is no God but Allāh, and Muhammad is the Prophet of Allāh:

while *its* margins seem to contain the names of the Four Khalifas with their distinctive attributes. Indeed, having regard to this reverse alone, the coin is almost indistinguishable from those of the Mughal Emperors. Thus, just as in his history Muzaffar Shāh himself, so in its legends this coin of his, forms a most interesting link between the two periods when first the Sultans of Ahmadabad, and next the Badshahs of Delhi, held sway over Gujarat."<sup>1</sup>

The next step of Muzaffar was to follow up his success at the capital by securing to his side the cities

The Sultan recovers Baroda, Broach and Cambay.

and districts of the north and the south. The infamous Sher Khan Fuladi, who had earned for himself an evil reputation ten

<sup>1</sup> "On some coins illustrating the history of Gujarat," by the Rev. Geo. P. Taylor, M.A., D. D., (Gujarat College Magazine, Vol. IV, No. 2, January, 1919, pp. 79-81).



years before, now came to join him from Junagadh, and was sent with a considerable force to attack Patan, of which city he had been governor under the Saltanat. But his forces were twice repulsed, near Mehsana and Patan, by the intrepid valour of Nizam-ud-din, who was sent out to lead the imperial forces. The Sultan was, however, more successful in the south, where the principal imperial officer was Qutb-ud-din, an able and faithful general, who had advanced by forced marches from the Khandesh frontier to Baroda, and on whose help and co-operation the defeated confederates in the north were counting in their retreat at Patan. Marching from Ahmadabad with a large force, Muzaffar invested Baroda with 20,000 men and a train of artillery. The siege lasted twenty days, and would have been further prolonged but for treachery on the part of Qutb-ud-din's officers, many of whom were in correspondence with the Sultan, and by whom the fortress was delivered over to the besiegers. Qutb-ud-din was invited by Muzaffar to a peace conference on promise of safe conduct, but was made prisoner and treacherously put to death—an action by which the Sultan has stained his character and done much to forfeit our sympathy. Soon after, the fort of Broach was surrendered to Muzaffar by partisans within the walls.<sup>1</sup> Already before he left the capital for Baroda, news had reached him that the town and port of Cambay, with a large treasure, had been secured in his interest. These rapid successes then may be regarded as tantamount to the collapse of imperial authority in Gujarat, south of the Sabarmati.<sup>2</sup> It appeared as if Akbar's conquest of the province might prove nearly as short-lived as that of his father Humayun had been in the days of Bahadur.

News of the crisis in Gujarat reached Akbar when he was engaged in supervising the building of the fort of Allahabad (Ilahabad) at the sacred confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, and he lost no time in despatching an army. The noble selected for the reconquest of Gujarat was the young and brilliant Mirza Abdurrahim Khan, who had already

1 Qutb-ud-din Khan's family lived at Broach, and in the fort of this city Muzaffar confiscated the Khan's immense property amounting to 10 crores of rupees, as also 14 lakhs of imperial money.

2 Muzaffar's authority, however, did not extend south of Broach. He did not attempt the capture of Surat, and the freedom of this city from any share in Muzaffar's rebellion increased its prosperity. Had the Sultan succeeded in making his way to Surat, he would have found the Portuguese ready to help him. In 1589 the viceroy of Goa received orders from Europe to take advantage of the disturbances and seize Surat. (Bomb. Gazetteer, Surat and Broach p. 73 u.)

been in Gujarat as viceroy (1575-77). Though not more than twenty-seven years of age, he was now a finished soldier, and represented the highest culture of the age.<sup>1</sup> With him the Emperor associated older and more experienced Rajput and Muslim generals. At the same time, Akbar sent another contingent through Malwa and gave orders to all the imperial officers in that province to proceed to the relief of Gujarat. Abdurrahim Khan, halting at Patan for a day, resumed his forward march until he arrived at Sarkhej on the Sabarmati, six miles distant from Ahmadabad. Muzaffar had hurried from Broach, on news of the advance of the new viceroy, to save his capital which was undefended. The two armies engaged each other not far from Sarkhej, near the tomb of Shah Bhikan, the son of Saint Shah Alam. The odds were against the imperialists, but the charge of Abdurrahim's cavalry, supported by 100 elephants, finally decided the day in his favour (1584).<sup>2</sup> The victor made a ceremonious entry into the capital where he issued a proclamation of amnesty, and Muzaffar III's second sovereignty, which had lasted for a brief spell of five months, definitely came to an end.

The Sultan fled from the disastrous field of Sarkhej to Battle of Nan- Mahmudabad, and thence to Cambay, where he was able, by the help of his gold and his popularity, to rally some 12,000 men to his standard. Abdurrahim Khan started in pursuit, and ultimately engaged and defeated him in a second battle near Nandod in the Rajpipla hills. The Malwa contingent, which had joined the victor of Sarkhej at Baroda, took an active share in this victory. The author of the "Mirat-i-Sikandari" informs us that he was present at this battle with the Malwa troops. Muzaffar now abandoned the Rajpipla hills, and took refuge first at Idar and then in Kathiavad. Though broken and a fugitive, he was not finally beaten or captured till nine years later.

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<sup>1</sup> "His culture was the best of his age, for he wrote fluently Persian, Turki, Arabic, and Hindi. He was a poet, and, as such, known as Rahim, and he was accounted the Mæcenas of his day. In 1588 he presented to his sovereign a Persian translation, which still exists, of the celebrated Chaghtai Memoirs of Babur." (Count von Noer, "The Emperor Akbar," trans. by Mrs. Beveridge, Vol. II. p. 89).

<sup>2</sup> Abdurrahim Khan had only 10,000 troopers to oppose some 40,000 of Muzaffar's, and his officers advised him to delay the battle until the arrival of the Malwa contingent. But one Daulat Khan Lodi, his *Mir Samsher*, warned him not to spoil his laurels and claims to the Khan-Khananship by waiting for partners to share his glory. The advice prevailed, and the victory of Sarkhej essentially contributed to gain for its winner the coveted title.

Akbar was not slow in lavishing his rewards on the victors of Sarkhej and Nandod, who had recovered for him a province which had practically been lost. Mirza Abdurrahim Khan now received the title of Khan Khānān (the Chief of the Nobles), which had formerly been borne by his father, and which was the highest in the Mughal court. He was also raised to be a mansabdar of five thousand<sup>1</sup>. The services of his trusty lieutenant Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, the historian, were also suitably recognised. Shihab Khan, who distinguished himself in the recapture of Broach in 1584, was given that city as a fief. He was subsequently, in 1589, appointed again viceroy of Malwa<sup>2</sup>.

To commemorate his decisive victory near Sarkhej, the Khān Khānān erected a palace on the site of the battle, and laid out a magnificent garden with summer-houses, enclosing the whole area with a high wall about a mile and a half in circuit. The place came thenceforth to be variously known as Fateh Wadi or Jitbag, *i.e.*, "the Garden of Victory," and became for generations one of the chief ornaments of Ahmadabad. The beauties of the place are praised by every traveller in these parts during the century that followed. The Emperor Jahangir mentions it in his Memoirs, having visited it in 1617-18 during his prolonged stay in Gujarat. Eight years later, the English traveller Sir Thomas Herbert refers in his work to its spacious, shady retreats. The German traveller, John Albert de Mandelslo, who visited the place in 1638, is louder in praise of its charms than perhaps any other writer. He says :—

"It is the largest and most beautiful garden in all India because of its splendid buildings and abundance of fine fruits. Its site is one of the pleasantest in the world, on the border of a great tank, having on the water side many pavilions and a high wall on the side of Ahmadabad. The garden has many fruit trees, oranges, citrons, pomegranates, dates, almonds, mulberries, tamarinds, mangoes and cocoanuts, so closely planted that all walking in the garden is under most pleasing shade."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> After the final conquest of Gujarat, Abdurrahim, with lavish generosity, gave away all his personal property to the brave soldiers who had won his honours for him : even the costly inkstand, which he carried in his belt, was given to a soldier who came last and said he had not received anything.

<sup>2</sup> Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan died at Ujjain in 1591. Itmad Khan died at Patan in 1587.

<sup>3</sup> "Travels of John Albert de Mandelslo in the East Indies," in Olearius, "Voyages and Travels," (1662), p. 44.

More than a hundred years later, the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, writing about 1748-62, says that several of the buildings and remains belonging to the garden were still to be seen in his time. The village of Fateh Wadi alone now remains to remind the visitor of the historical associations of three centuries ago.

The reconquest of Gujarat could not be regarded by the new Khan Khānān as complete so long as Pursuit of Mu- Muzaffar was at large, able to raise fresh zaffar in Kathia- troops and to explore new channels of vad. opposition. But the task of hounding him down proved a most dangerous and protracted one and baffled the imperial generals for nearly a decade. Tracked from one friendly state to another, the Sultan stood like a wounded beast at bay, until, betrayed by his friends in 1593, he ended his unhappy life by suicide.

Those familiar with the geographical features of the Kathiavad peninsula will readily understand how secure a retreat this region offered to Muzaffar in his desperate struggle to escape the pursuit of the Mughal power. To this was added the political fact that the rulers of its two principal states, Junagadh and Nawanagar, were ready to seize every opportunity that offered of securing their independent existence against the authority of the imperial viceroys of Gujarat. The Sultan's gold, of which he had in plenty since his capture of Baroda, Broach and Cambay, was eagerly accepted by Amin Khan Ghori, the ruler of Junagadh,<sup>1</sup> and by Jam Satrasāl bin Vibhaji of Nawanagar; but both played a double game, and while harbouring and helping the Sultan, they remained in friendly communication with the Khan Khānān who had arrived in the peninsula in vain pursuit of the Pretender.<sup>2</sup> In 1587, Abdurrahim was summoned to court and left Gujarat where he had acquired a great reputation. But, though more than three years had elapsed since his victory at Sarkhej, the Sultan Muzaffar was still at large.

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1 Since the first partition of the Saltanat under Ahmad III, the Ghorian house of Junagadh had become semi-independent in Kathiavad. Amin Khan was the son of Tatar Khan Ghori who died between 1570 and 1575.

2 During these years, 1584-87, Muzaffar is found successively advancing on Morbi, raiding and plundering Radhanpur, taking shelter in the Barda hills, crossing the peninsula and the mainland to Danta in the Mahi Kantha, repulsed at Prantlji in a contemplated dash on Ahmadabad, a third time taking refuge in Rajpipla, and again returning to Kathiavad.

After an interval, in 1589-90, Akbar's foster brother, Mirza Aziz Koka, also known by his title of the Khan-i-Azam, was appointed to the government of Gujarat for a second time.

Aziz Koka viceroy  
—Battle of Bhuchar  
Mori, 1592.

In 1592, the new viceroy took the field in person and entered Kathiavad, determined to reduce the growing power of the Jam, whose troops were at the back of all Muzaffar's successes since 1584. At a place known to the natives as Bhuchar Mori, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Jadeja town of Dhrol, was fought the fourth and last important battle of the Rebellion. Aziz Koka found himself opposed to the combined armies of Sultan Muzaffar, Jam Satrasāl (Sataji) of Nawanager, Daulat Khan Ghori of Junagadh (the son of Amin Khan who was dead), and the famous Kathi free-lance Loma Khuman. It was a fierce engagement in which the Rajputs fought with all their ancient valour. Though one wing of the imperial army was routed, success ultimately fell to the arms of Aziz Koka; and Ajoji, the eldest son of the Jam, and Jasa his minister, were slain on the field of battle.<sup>1</sup> This signal victory put an end to the armed resistance of Muzaffar by finally compelling the rulers of Junagadh and Jamnagar to abandon his cause. The Jam fled to Junagadh and the viceroy advanced and plundered Nawanager. The victor subsequently took Gogha, Mangrol, Patan Somnath, and sixteen other ports without striking a blow. The next year, in 1593, Aziz completed his triumphs in the peninsula by the investment and capture of the fort of Junagadh. Daulat Khan Ghori had died of the wounds received at the battle of Bhuchar Mori, and his sons and brothers came and delivered over the keys to the Mughals. Nawanager was, however, restored to the Jam in appreciation of the help he had given during the operations against Junagadh.<sup>2</sup>

The unfortunate Sultan was now nearing his doom, for every possible effort was made by Aziz Koka to discover his retreat. News reached the viceroy that his quarry had taken refuge at Dwarka, at the western extremity of the peninsula, and a suitable force under trusted officers was

1 Bhuchar Mori is not the name of any town or village; but the two words mean "the resting place of Bhuchar's flock." The battle was fought about a mile from the town of Dhrol, and a detailed account of it is given in the *Tarikh-i-Sorath*, compiled about 1825 by Diwan Ranchhodji Amarji of Junagadh (vide Burgess' *trans.* pp. 249-51). So great was the loss sustained by Nawanager on this fatal field that since that day the word Bhuchar Mori has in Halar been almost synonymous with a massacre. (*Kathiawar Gazetteer*, p. 568).

2 From this time Mughal rule was firmly established in Kathiavad, and Junagadh became the seat of the Imperial *faujdar*s of Sorath, who ruled in subordination to the imperial viceroy at Ahmadabad.

sent in pursuit. They took Dwarka and established a mosque at the place. Flying before their approach, the Sultan escaped by sea to the fortified island of Bet, where he received honourable shelter at the hands of its pirate chief Sewa Wadhel, who sacrificed his life and property in fighting against the enemy while covering the flight of his guest. The Sultan in despair crossed the salty *rann* into Cutch, where he was given refuge by its ruler, Rav Bharmal (Bharo), in the neighbourhood of Bhuj.<sup>1</sup> When Aziz Koka was preparing to lead his forces to Cutch, the Rav sent to request that he would deliver up Muzaffar provided the parganah of Morbi, which had formerly belonged to his state, was given to him as a reward for his services. The viceroy gladly accepted the terms, and the party sent by him was guided to the Sultan's retreat by the Rav, who sent a messenger to inform his guest that Bharo had come to pay him a visit, and when the Sultan came out to meet his host, he was made a prisoner. Taking him under strict custody, the party started on their way to Morbi, and travelled all night. When they halted in the morning at the village of Dhrol, the Sultan retired behind a tree under some pretext, and drawing a razor, which he kept concealed on his person, cut his throat, and "delivered himself from the turmoil and buffets of this mean world" (1593). His head was sent to Akbar's court with Nizam-ud-din Bakhshi.

A characteristic story is related to show the contempt which the Emperor, though he profited by the act, entertained for the Rav, who was base enough to barter the person of his suppliant sovereign for the district of Morbi preferred him as a bribe. To mark his sense of the infamy of the Jadeja Bharmal and the honour of the pirate Wadhel, Akbar erected two *pāliyās* (memorial stones) at the gates of Delhi, issuing an edict that whoever passed that of the Wadhel should crown it with chaplets of flowers, while on that of the Jadeja the passer should bestow a blow with his slipper.<sup>2</sup>

1 The rulers of Cutch were, since the time of Mahmud Begada, feudatories of the Gujarat Sultans. Long after the extinction of the Saltanat, "they retained on their coins, along with their own names written in Devanagari, the name of Muzaffar (III) of Gujarat and the year 978 both in Persian characters. This type of coins continued to be struck until recent times but, as the years passed, the figures of the date and the letters of the Persian legend on the reverse became ever more and more degenerate." (Geo. P. Taylor, *Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat*, J. B. B. R. A. S. 1903). A Cutch Korl of this degenerate type, probably struck during the reign of Rayadhan I (A.D. 1662-1697), is given in the photographic plates accompanying Dr. Taylor's article.

2 Tod's "Western India," p. 438. We are told that the practice was not given up till Jam Desai (1718-1741), having by some service gained the royal favour, and being permitted to proffer any sult, asked that the *paliya* might be taken down, or, at least, relieved from insults which affected the honour of every Jadeja.

Muzaffar III was a boy when he was raised to the throne in 1560, and was still immature in years when, after nominal sovereignty and long tutelage under Itimad Khan, he surrendered to the Emperor Akbar in 1572. The twelve years of his first rule had thus offered him but little opportunity to develop a capacity for administration or a genius for battle. But, after 1583, he reveals himself to us as a man of bold resolution and great military energy, capable of attracting to himself and retaining the loyalty of his former subjects in a legitimate war for regaining his patrimony. The long years during which, on the mainland and in the strongholds of peninsular Gujarat, he baffled the forces of such eminent generals as the Khan Khānān and the Khan-i-Azam is enough evidence to show that the rulers and zamindars of Idar, Rajpipla and Kathiawad, once his tributary vassals, were attached to his cause, and stood by him as long as their own safety would permit them to do so. The murder of Qutb-ud-din at Baroda, after the Sultan had sworn on the Quran to spare his life, is certainly a blot on his character. But, granting this, his courage, perseverance and resourcefulness must needs command our admiration. We must admit that Muzaffar III was worthy of a better fate, even though we believe that the resuscitation of the effete Saltanat was incompatible with the establishment of peace and prosperity in Gujarat. The last of the Ahmad Shahi rulers might, with justice, claim to be a not unworthy successor of the great Sultans of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

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#### APPENDIX.

#### Note on the Epithet of " Begada " given to Sultan Mahmud I. (A.D. 1458-1511).

The author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* has offered two derivations of the word Begada, viz., (a) that the Sultan was so called from his conquest of the two forts of Junagadh and Champaner, and (b) that Begada is the name given in Gujarati to a bullock whose horns stretch out right and left 'like the arms of a person about to embrace,' and the term was applied to Mahmud because his moustaches were like those horns. Sikandar makes no attempt to decide between the two interpretations, but contents himself with the pious remark, "God alone knows what is true." We shall give below some arguments to prove that the latter of the two derivations.

points to the correct fact, and that the Sultan's surname is derived from the Gujarati word 'vegado', which means a bullock with peculiar up-turned horns. The former derivation must be rejected as untenable in spite of its popular acceptance.

The Bolognese traveller, Ludovico di Varthema, who visited Gujarat about the year 1506, during Mahmud I's lifetime, says: "The Sultan has mustachios under his nose so long that he ties them over his head as a woman would tie her tresses." Evidently, then, the prominent character of the immense hairy growth on the Sultan's upper lip, must have struck his people as resembling the turned-up horns of the Gujarat bull, and led them to dub their sovereign Mahmud Vegado, or, in a variant form, Begado. The process was somewhat similar to the origin of the moustache *à la Kaiser*.

Those who know Gujarati will readily understand the weak point in the hypothesis that the conquest of the two forts gave Mahmud the sobriquet of Begada. If that were so, his title would be written and pronounced as બેગડા, and not, as has always been done, બેગડો. Nowhere in Gujarati literature has the former expression been used to designate Mahmud I.

The Emperor Jahangir was in Ahmadabad during the year 1617-18, only six years after the composition of the *Mirat-i-Sakandari*. In his autobiographical memoirs he refers to his visit to Sarkhej, and to the tomb of Mahmud Begada, and says: "Bigara, in the language of the people of Gujarat, signifies 'turned-up moustache,' and Sultan Mahmud had a large turned-up moustache; on this account they call him Bigara."<sup>1</sup> Though the Emperor has tripped in the meaning of the Gujarati word from which 'Bigara' is derived, the most significant point in his remark is that, writing so early as 1617-18, he makes absolutely no reference to the "two-forts" theory.

The word 'vegado' (વેગડો) in the Gujarati language means a bull with peculiar horns turned upwards, and in this sense it is still used by the pastoral classes in Kathiavad. A bardic story related by A. K. Forbes in the *Ras Mala*<sup>2</sup> refers to a Bhil named Vegado, and the verse, which contains a pun on the Bhil's name, clearly indicates the true meaning of 'vegado' in common speech.<sup>3</sup> The word is also met with in Sāmal Bhatt's *Bhadra Bhamini*. We may mention here that 'vegado' is generally contrasted with 'bhilo' (બિલો),

1 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 429.

2 Bk. II, Chapt. V.

3 Vide Gujarati Edition of the *Ras Mala* by D. B. Ranchhodbhai, 1899, p. 613.



which means a 'hornless animal,' and the term is used in this sense in Gujarati literature and current speech.<sup>1</sup> It is scarcely necessary to add that the Gujarati 'vegado' is transformed in Urdu and Hindi into Begadā or Bigarā.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Vide *Ras Mala*, Gujarati Edition, p. 226.

2 The author is indebted to his friend Rao Bahadur K. H. Dhruva for pointing out to him the references to the word 'vegado' in the Gujarati edition of the *Ras Mala*.