JOURNAL

OF THE

BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

(New Series)

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VOLUME 15
1939

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
OCTOBER 1939

LONDON AGENT:
ARTHUR PROBSTHAIN
41, Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1

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THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FATIMID PROPAGANDA

By W. IVANOW

1. THE DĀ'I AND THE CAUSES OF HIS SUCCESSES.

The Bāṭinī (i.e. Ismaili) *dā'ī* already at an early date becomes a prominent figure in the annals of Islam.[1] As elusive and omnipresent as the 'Scarlet Pimpernel', as malicious, ruthlessly cruel, and unscrupulous in farfetched diabolical schemes as the leader of a criminal gang in any detective best seller, as superhumanly clever, brave, persevering, and daring as any detective hero of the best American cinema film,—the *dā'ī* appears as the chief 'villain of the plot', responsible for many failures and defeats which the corrupt and incapable Abbasid administration had to suffer. He was at the bottom of every political murder, of every uprising, every manifestation of popular discontent, as seen through official eyes, discussed in bazar rumours, and recorded by the authors of many historical works, who surrounded him with a halo of mystery, romance, and, above all, of the fame of extraordinary organizing talent. And such is the power of 'wide publicity', of advertisement, that by the mere fact of the continuous repetition this obviously exaggerated and mythical figure has for ever acquired

[1] It would be interesting if students of the history of Islam could definitely ascertain the first date at which this term is used. It would also be interesting to find out in how far the same term *dā'ī* was applied to the propagandists of other Shi'ite sects, especially the Ithna-'ashari. As is known, the Zaydīs freely used it. In the case of the Ismailis a great deal of confusion is inevitable due to their being always mixed up in the non-sectarian annals with the Qarmatians.

historic reality, completely obscuring the real Ismaili propagandist and teacher. Even now, with more developed sense of proportion and critical methods of research, this fictitious figure is often taken as true and real. Such eminent Orientalists as the late Prof. de Goeje and E. G. Browne may serve as good examples: they apparently accepted the story, and unreservedly believed in it.[1]

The difficulty of verifying this traditional version arises from the complete absence of impartial records, and also the great scarcity of information coming from the sectarian sources which, although not impartial, can to some extent help us to check the facts. Such information is only available about very few *dā'īs*: the one who laid the foundation of the Fatimid empire, Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh ash-Shī'ī, about Rāshidu'd-dīn Sinān, and,—very little,—about the Manṣūru'l-Yaman, or Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ. These, of course, were extraordinary men, giants as compared with the ordinary, rank and file, *dā'ī*. They appear first of all as born leaders, talented generals, men of iron will, of unflinching devotion and high religious enthusiasm, and yet broadminded, with plenty of common-sense, and strong creative intellect. They apparently had nothing in common with the 'classic' figure of the *dā'ī*, as it appears in general literature,[2]—a lurking preacher of sedition, atheism and looseness. We can firmly believe that these outstanding men did not represent a class entirely different from the ordinary *dā'ī*. It only was that their towering personalities presented on a gigantic scale the features which certainly existed, although on a much smaller scale, in the character of every one of their subordinates and less outstanding colleagues.

But if we disbelieve legend, and 'uncrown' the romantic figure of the *dā'ī*, we have to seek elsewhere for a reliable explanation for the indubitable historical fact of his extraordinary successes, almost bordering upon the miraculous. The immense success of the Ismaili propaganda, from the Atlantic to innermost Asia, is a fact which is beyond dispute. The solution of this problem obviously lies in the psychology of the masses under the Omayad, and later on the Abbasid rule. Continuous unrest, economical distress, and dissatisfaction with the conditions of life, laid enormous stress on the possibilities which in popular ideas would be offered by the theocratical organization of the state, on the lines of the Shi'ite ideal. This explains the astounding number of almost completely hopeless Shi'ite risings all over the Islamic world, which was full of Messianistic expectations, longing for the ruler, Imam, 'who will fill the earth with justice and equity just as much as it is filled with injustice and oppression of one by the other'.

[1] E. G. Browne's views are summed up in his well-known *Literary History of Persia* (Vol. I, pp. 391–415), where he endorses the similar views of de Goeje and Dozy (p. 394 sq.).

[2] So E. G. Browne visualized him from his observations of the Bahā'ī missionaries whom he met with in Persia. Cf. his *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 410.

It seems quite obvious therefore that the supernatural success of the *dā'īs* is nothing but illusion, the same aberration of the vision as the rapid movement of the landscape seen from the window of a rapidly moving train: not that the *dā'īs* were seducing the masses, but the masses were waiting for someone to organize the movement which already was widespread and general, and only required co-ordination of effort and linking together of the isolated groups.

We know quite well the peculiar mentality of the decaying and no longer popular régimes everywhere: to the last moment, when they are overthrown, and even after this, their heads and supporters can never understand and realize their own failure. They would continually and blindly believe that their subjects love, even worship them; that they are only too willing to sacrifice everything to please them. That their administration, even if not perfect, nevertheless is all that is wanted. And that if there are signs of discontent and opposition, this is the work of the enemies of the state, spies, conspirators, of those who sow sedition and trouble, seducing the poor simple people who otherwise would never be able to feel discontent, or complain on anything, without the incitement of such villains. No, they would be only too glad to obey their government, and believe in God according to the rules prescribed by the religion, approved and recommended by the state. How many terrible catastrophes and explosions, accompanied by enormous sufferings of millions, would have been avoided in history by timely realization, and doing the needful, on the part of those concerned. But usually all their energies become devoted to the extermination of the 'mischief mongers', while very little is done to alter the conditions of the masses in such a way as to paralyse the effect of the mischief makers from inside.

The Abbasids were no exception to this rule,—which perhaps is the only rule that knows no exceptions generally,—and persecuted all sorts of sectarians, especially the Shi'ites, attributing to them all kinds of fantastic schemes to uproot Islam and turn the people to atheism, or to the ancient religion of the Persians.[1] But this only could drive the popular discontent under ground, making

[1] Tremendous amount of speculation is found in the different works of some Orientalists about the 'typically Persian' nature of Ismailism, of its 'Persian' mentality, dogmas, etc. All this completely defies my comprehension. The exoteric doctrine of Ismailism is the strictest form of Islam, while its esoteric system is entirely built up from *Greek* elements. Surely, Islam itself, in its most orthodox form, contains many Christian, Jewish, Zoroastrian, and other elements; and they are not a wit more prominent in Ismailism, as it was under the Fatimids. The aberration of judgment is obviously based on the fact that before genuine Ismaili literature became accessible, the information offered by the anti-Ismaili authors was extremely misleading. It completely distorted the picture by withholding all mention of what Ismailism had in common with other Islamic schools, and by laying absurdly exaggerated stress on the few ill-understood, or deliberately perverted tenets calculated to serve as food for accusations.

it still more dangerous and subversive, because it not only remains beyond the control, but also out of the vision of the officials, and thus may at any time strike an unexpected blow.

With the ground prepared in this way, the Fatimid propaganda was able to achieve its wonderful successes mainly through one of its most peculiar features,—the complete decentralization of its agents. From the original Ismaili document, which is summarized in this paper, and which dates from the period at which the power of the Fatimids attained its culminating point, we can see how carefully the candidates for the post of *dā'ī* were selected, how high standard of ability was expected from them, and how difficult was it to satisfy the demands. The responsibilities of the *dā'ī* were tremendous, and the candidate had to possess exceptional talents to be fit for the duty. But once he was appointed, he was given full authority. It is really astonishing to see how independent was he expected to be in his work: the *dā'ī* was not encouraged to bother the Imam and the central government with trivial and routine matters. He had to use his own discretion, conforming with the general tendency and spirit of his mission. 'Just as when the husband deposits his sperm into the womb of his wife, and she conceives, he does not interfere with the development of the embryo, etc., but merely feeds and protects his wife, so the Imam, having sent his *dā'ī* to a certain community, does not interfere with his work, and only gives general directions and guidance to his people.' And the *dā'ī* takes the whole responsibility upon himself. 'If God asks the Imam to account for the welfare of the community, the Imam refers Him to the *dā'ī* in charge, who takes upon himself the whole responsibility for this.'

The results of this policy we can see from history: decentralization, coupled with the selection of the right type of men,—the virtue of princes, which the earlier Fatimids possessed, especially the great statesmen like Mahdī, Qā'im, and Mu'izz,—helped to build a great empire. It seems that the increase of centralization always indicates a certain distrust of rulers in their subjects. It is a fact that the most unpopular or even hated régimes always are the most centralized,—we have an ample opportunity to see this now for ourselves. And if the supreme ruler, especially semi-Divine, as the Ismaili Imam, instead of keeping himself far above the squabbles of his subjects, and the imperfect working of the administrative machine, himself takes up the drudgery of practical government, making himself directly responsible for all its wrongs,—as the last Fatimid caliph-Imam al-Āmir bi'l-lāh did,—then the play is finished, and the curtain falls. What invariably happens, is rapid decay, and final rot. This is why the Musta'lian community could survive the catastrophe only in remote Yaman, under the rule of an autonomous *dā'ī*.

Such were the two important causes which contributed to the success of the Fatimid propaganda, helping it to achieve its almost miraculous results. Instead of the ridiculous and childish pictures

drawn by the authors of the anti-Ismaili camp, we can easily visualize a far more convincing state of affairs. Suffering population, longing for peace, a change towards more normal and human conditions, dreaming about tho righteous ruler from the house of the Prophet, receives the *dā'ī*, a specially selected and trained man of outstanding abilities, strong character, an enthusiast in his devotion, ambitious, hard working, a man of wide education, of broad vision, acute and shrewd. It is difficult to believe the stories that such a man would drop from the sky. Surely, the ground was always prepared for him, in some way or other. And when he gets into a commanding position, and really knows his people, helping them, ruling them justly, etc., his success, and the success of his mission, are sure. This is apparently the typical course of the *dā'ī's* career; from such individual local successes, under the able supervision of a born ruler, the Fatimid empire was built.

2. The Dogma of the Ḥudūdu'd-dīn.

As mentioned above, Ismaili literature contains very few materials which would permit us to form an idea about the organization of the propaganda under the Fatimids. This is particularly sad, because rarely any Ismaili dogmatical or esoteric work omits to deal with a peculiar abstract theory of priesthood and its hierarchy, *ḥudūdu'd-dīn*, which was evolved and emphasized by the doctrine of Ismailism.

As is known, the Sunnite majority in Islam has at a fairly early date adopted the belief that the Prophet left for the guidance of his newly founded religious community the Coran (which was at that time not yet collected and codified), and his own example (which was only known in full to very few among his closest associates). The Shi'ites (and especially, later on, the Ismailis), tried to preserve the original theocratical system of the Islam state, as it was under the Prophet himself. In his absence they accepted as the supreme secular and religious head of Islam his lineal descendant,[1] the Imam, who was believed to be the repository of special and higher religious knowledge, which was his exclusive hereditary property, bequeathed by the Prophet to his, the Imam's, progenitor, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib; the latter was the closest associate, cousin, and son-in-law of the Founder of Islam, who treated him as his brother. This knowledge, both exoteric and esoteric, made the Imam the only person fully competent to interpret, explain, and apply the doctrine of the Coran and religious institutions to the requirements of daily life, in a correct way.

Thus the Imam not only had to inherit the Prophet's secular functions, as the head of the state, but also his most important

[1] Through his daughter Fāṭima, as is well-known. Although the Fatimids emphasized this point, many Shi'ite sects endowed 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib with much greater religious importance, so that they even followed the line of his descendants who were the children of 'Alī by his other wife, Ḥanafiyya.

religious function, the preaching of the Divine Revelation. For this reason the idea of religious teaching and preaching always was so strong in Ismailism that it outweighed many other sides in its system. Before the political successes of Ismailism detracted the attention of its enemies from its religious doctrine, the Ismailis usually were referred to under the name of the *Ta'limiyya*, i.e. 'the sect of teaching', *ta'lim*. And later on they themselves adopted the term *da'wat*, 'call', i.e. preaching, as the description of their religion.

The Imam, the theocratical ruler of Islam, and its Great Pontiff, supreme religious authority, as he should be, obviously could not impart his precious and all important knowledge to all his subjects personally. Therefore a new institution was brought into existence which was unknown to the earliest patriarchal phase of Islam,—the institute of priests, as intermediaries between the Imam and his subjects, and his accredited agents.

It is quite possible that this new development (as it can be traced in the earliest available sources), started from the same idea as in all other Islamic schools, i.e. from the functions of a religious teacher, *'ālim*; he, being versed in the difficult knowledge of the prescriptions of the religion and law, acted as the leader of congregational prayers, a teacher, and a judge. With gradual differentiation of the society and the advance of civilization, obviously more complex system became necessary, with an elaborate hierarchy of ranks, special duties assigned to each, etc.

But the most important difference which was introduced by Ismailism, as compared with Sunnism, was the idea of the *priest*, in approximately the same sense as it is in Christianity and some other religions.[1] As is known, Muslim *mulla* cannot be called a priest, in the real sense of the word, because he is not *ordained*. He acquires his position by virtue of his own learning, talents, piety, and by the consent of the congregation. This applies even to the great doctors, supreme authorities in legal matters, the *imāms* in the Sunnite sense. All of them are merely specialists or experts in religious matters, just as there are expert medical men, engineers, astronomers, etc.

The Ismaili *dā'ī*, i.e. accredited agent of the Imam, *is ordained*. In addition to the position of ordinary Islamic *mulla*, he has spiritual authority, commission, received either directly from the source of the religious authority, the Imam, or indirectly, through those who themselves received it from him, together with the right of transferring it to others. The sacrament which he is commissioned to perform is not only teaching, i.e. distributing the sacred wisdom of the Imams, but also accepting, on their behalf, the oath of allegiance of the followers.

[1] The author of *al-Mūjizatu'l-Kāfiya*, as may be seen further on, plainly compares the Ismaili *dā'ī* with the priests in the three main religions known to him,—Zoroastrian, Jewish, and Christian, although it is not clear to what extent he realizes the implications of such comparison.

This is quite different from the state of things in Sunnism, although it cannot be regarded as a heretical practice, *bid'a*, for the simple reason that it is respected and sanctified by Sunnism in its Sufic form. As many other ideas and institutions, this one has a complete parallel in the Sufic theory of the 'chains' of permissions, by which accredited spiritual teachers, *murshids*, receive their authority ultimately from the Prophet himself, through a long succession of similar commissioned priests. Just as the Sufic *murshid* without a genuine *ijāza*, *khirqa*, or other certificate of his commission, is an impostor, however pious and learned he may really be,[1] so the *dā'ī* is a *dā'ī* only in so far as he is commissioned by the Imam, in whose name he accepts the oath of allegiance from his converts.

The importance of this institution was apparently appreciated from the outset, in the conditions which accompanied the earliest history of the Ismaili movement. Not only did it permit of the unification and standardization of the dogmatical and other sides of the religion, but also provided a kind of an automatically working mechanism of propaganda, which could function even in the absence of the visible head, the Imam, who often had to live in the strictest disguise, being known only to a few amongst the most trusted devotees. This is why no effort was spared by the Ismaili dogmatists to build a sound foundation for this new institution, both from the arguments derived from the *ẓāhir*, i.e. the Coran and tradition, by the selection of appropriate quotations, etc., and in the *bāṭin*, or the symbolical and abstract theory of the religion, by philosophical speculations. Everything was mobilized for this purpose, and the tradition was established of attaching enormous importance to the theory.

From what apparently was the earliest scheme: Imam—*dā'ī*—ordinary initiated follower,—the theory grew into a complex, mystic and philosophic, symbolical system, based on the fundamental 'rhythm of the universe', observed in some coincidences of different numbers, their mystical values, etc. Childish as these speculations may appear to modern man, they appealed to the mentality of the time; profound mysteries were sincerely sought in them; and it is such material that constitutes the greatest secrets of the ancient Ismaili wisdom which was so zealously guarded from the profane eye.

There is, however, nothing original in these speculations, as all of them are derived from different mystical theories of Neo-Pythagoreans, from Neo-Platonism, and Plotinian philosophy, just as in the case of Sufic speculations, based on imperfect knowledge of the original systems, and their arbitrary amalgamation. As the matter of the most fundamental importance in the religious life,

[1] Obvious autodidact and self-made *murshids* had to declare that they had received their *khirqa* either from Khiḍr, or from a certain famous saint during their sleep, in a dream. This sort of pious fraud was apparently condoned by the public at the period of the gradual decline of Sufism, but was impossible during its flourishing early phase.

the hierarchy of the *ḥudūdu'd-dīn* had to be based on the same scheme as the physical universe, and the world of the spirit. The process of perfecting these parallels, and making them convincing to the student, chiefly occupied the philosophic thought of the sect ever since the philosophical interpretation of Islam was introduced.

The original simple and natural scheme was tremendously complicated. The hierarchy of the *ḥudūdu'd-dīn* had to comprise everything in the religious sphere. It begins with God, followed by the Prophet (*Nāṭiq*), *Asās* (or *Ṣāmit*, or *Waṣī*), *Imām*, and a large set of different ranks of *dā'īs*: *bāb*, *ḥujjat*,[1] three kinds of *dā'īs* in the narrower sense, two ranks of *ma'dhūn*, *mukāsir*, and *mustajīb*, each rank being treated as a 'cosmic category',—contrary to the practice, in which all these dignitaries more or less regularly were called *dā'īs*. Such an elaborate scheme was required to bring the hierarchy into agreement with the Ptolemian system of the universe which was universally accepted at the time. As is known, it taught that around the earth there are several concentric transparent spheres, each rotating under its own laws. The fixed stars, the sun and moon, and different planets were affixed to these, and moved together with the spheres. According to pre-Islamic speculations, the forces which produce the rotation of the spheres were associated with the different emanations of the Divine Source of Being. In these abstruse speculations the highest sphere was associated with God Himself, the next with the 'Logical Principle of the Universe', which is usually in a vague way called 'Universal Reason', and so on. Speculations with all these cosmic entities appeared as convincing and plausible to the people a thousand years ago as similar speculations about electrons, protons, neutrons, etc., appear to us now. Therefore it was 'quite scientifically' proved that the religious sphere, and its organization, fully coincides in its structure with the cosmos and the world of the Divine Spirit, *al-ḥudūdu's-samāwiyya* (or *aṭ-ṭabī'iyya*), and *al-ḥudūdu'l-'ulwiyya* (or *ar-rūḥāniyya*).

Such speculations again do not form an exclusive feature of Ismailism. Apparently there was a wide psychological demand for them, so that they even found their way, in a simplified form, into folklore, and became a part of the popular superstition of the Muslim masses, as the belief in *chihil-tan*, or the *rijālu'l-ghayb*, *abdāls*, etc. This theory of the invisible holy ascetics who tour the world, and guard its religious purity, is also built in the form of a hierarchy, which strikingly reminds the Ismaili scheme of the *ḥudūdu'd-dīn*.

Rarely a dogmatic or esoteric work in Ismailism omits this important subject. But apparently without a single exception these speculations are only speculations, abstruse and foggy, having

[1] I preserve this Persian way of pronunciation of this word, and *da'wat* instead of the Arabic *ḥujja* and *da'wa*, which are somewhat unfamiliar to readers in India and in Persia.

not the slightest connection with real life and real organization of the priestly apparatus of the Fatimids. Therefore, although it is impossible to pass over in silence such important and fundamental doctrine, directly connected with the organization of the *dā'īs* under the Fatimids, we are not in the least benefited by it in our efforts to reconstruct this detail of the history of Ismailism.

3. The Evolution of the Organization.

For the reasons mentioned above nothing but rare allusions in different works can be used for forming an idea about the *dā'ī*. Fortunately, there are in Ismaili literature a few works which, dealing with the ideal virtues of the ideal *dā'ī*, permit us to read between the lines something about the real conditions.

One of the greatest difficulties of this difficult subject is the great confusion in terms, used both in Ismaili and non-Ismaili works. The term *dā'ī* apparently came into general use as late as about the end of the IIIrd/IXth century, the period of the great expansion of the Fatimid propaganda. It means 'one who calls' (to the true religion, or to the true sovereign of the Muslim state, etc.). Apparently before this, when the functions of the Ismaili priests were more those of teachers rather than propagandists, they most probably were known under the name of *'ālim*, teacher, also used in other sects of Islam. Such terms as *ḥijāb* (Plural *ḥujub*), *naqīb*, etc., were also met with in the accounts of the real or supposed to be Qarmaṭians, and preserved at a much later period in the works of the Druzes, of Syrian Nizārīs, etc. The term *ḥijāb* most probably disappeared under the Fatimids when it was no longer required. At the earlier periods the term was applied to a specially reliable and devoted head priest, directing propaganda in a certain province, who, for the purpose of 'screening' the Imam, who always lived under threat from the vigorously searching Abbasid agents, would assume the title of the Imam and his name, to receive, on the latter's behalf, the oath of allegiance of the followers, while the real Imam would live in strict disguise, known only to the trusted few. With the installation of the Fatimids on the throne of their empire such necessity disappeared.

It is possible that the *ḥijāb* roughly corresponded with the *bāb*, or the *dā'ī-in-chief* of the Fatimid period. But it is not quite clear who the *naqīb* was,—was he the same as the *ḥujjat*, or the *bāb*? Or all three were the same?

In any case there is no doubt that the term *dā'ī* during the Fatimid period meant priests in general, particularly 'commissioned' ranks in the religious hierarchy.[1] The author of *al-Mūjizatu'l-*

[1] As may be seen further on, from the summary of *al-Mūjizatu'l-Kāfiya*, the idea of the 'commission', in its real sense, could apply only to the *dā'īs* occupying an independent position, residents in different smaller or larger dioceses. The lower ranks were simply employees in the *da'wa* service; in case of dissatisfaction with their work they could be dismissed by the *dā'ī*.

Kāfiya (see further on) plainly says in his discussions of the duties of the *dā'ī* that these apply not only to the *dā'ī* in the narrower, technical sense, but also to every rank in the hierarchy, 'because every rank acts as a *dā'ī* with regard to the rank immediately below him'. In quotations from the books of different authors who are well-known as the possessors of high ranks, of *ḥujjat*, etc., they are very often referred to simply as *sayyid-nā ad-dā'ī qaddasa'l-lāh sirra-hu*. The term of *dā'ī* is applied to the religious heads of huge provinces,—as the great Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh ash-Shī'ī, the founder of the Fatimid empire,—as equally to quite petty priests.

It is difficult to follow the evolution of the hierarchy. It appears that such terms as *ḥujjat* and *bāb* were introduced only at a fairly late period. Was there only one *bāb*, a sort of 'minister for religion' at the court of the Fatimids, or were there several *bābs*? Anyhow, in the honorific titles of some saints there appears the expression *bābu'l-abwāb*; this, however, apparently was not an official title.

There is little doubt that the *ḥujjat* was the chief *dā'ī* in the province or district, a sort of archbishop.[1] But everything beyond this seems doubtful: at the period of great successes of the Fatimid propaganda there were 24 *ḥujjats*, twelve 'of the day', and twelve 'of the night'.[2] It is not at all clear what were the differences in their duties. Moreover, there is yet another question. The *ḥujjat* was supposed to be the spiritual head of a *jazīra*. This expression originally means an island, but it is also applied to large provinces. The traditional geography mentions 'twelve' *jazīras* (although their names vary in different works). It appears that in the Ismaili sense of the Fatimid period this term was applied to what would better be described as 'religious colony', i.e. Ismaili community in a country which politically was not under the Fatimid sovereignty. Thus there were 12 *jazā'ir*; at the head of each stood a *ḥujjat*. But I so far have never been able to find the names of these *jazīras*. Apparently they did not coincide with the geographical *jazīras*, and all were lying outside of the political boundaries of the Fatimid empire. The only *jazīra* which is always mentioned by name in Ismaili literature, is the Yaman.[3] But, however

[1] It is really remarkable that in a work such as *al-Mūjizat al-Kāfiya*, specially dealing with these matters, there is not a single allusion to the duties of the *ḥujjat*, or the *dā'ī's* being under his control. The title *da'ī'd-du'āt*, now and then met with in some works, apparently was not an official title, and it is difficult to determine whether it was applied to the *ḥujjat*, or the *bāb*. The latter seems more probable.

[2] It is generally regarded by the Ismailis at present that the *ḥujjats* 'of the night' were superior to those 'of the day'. Personally I have not yet found anything about this in the works which I have had occasion to see, and no explanation of the implications of the title.

[3] Utilizing historical information about the distribution of the Ismailis, it is possible to think that in addition to the Yaman there were *jazīras* in Khorasan, Mawaraannahr, Badakhshan, Ray (with Isfahan), Kerman,

strange, its head priest apparently is never called *ḥujjat*,—from the time of the great founder of the Ismaili community there, in the end of the IIIrd/IXth c., the Manṣūru'l-Yaman, to the post-Fatimid time.

After the *ḥujjat* in the Fatimid hierarchy follows a set of three different *dā'īs*: the *dā'ī'l-balāgh*, *ad-dā'ī'l-muṭlaq*, *ad-dā'ī'l-maḥṣūr*. It is not at all clear what the differences in their functions were. The second probably connoted what the *dā'ī* should be according to the earliest ideas,—the head of a diocese. The third, obviously, was his deputy or assistant. But it is very difficult to find out what the first was: was he the priest specially in charge of the missionary activities, or had he some other functions?[1] It is also not clear whether all these ranks were functioning not only in the 'religious colonies', but also within the limits of the Fatimid state.

Again there not everything is clear about the lower ranks of the priesthood. Immediately below the *dā'ī* there were: two *ma'dhūns* and *mukāsir*. The *ma'dhūns* (i.e. the licenced ones), were the 'greater' (*akbar*), or *muṭlaq* (absolute), and 'smaller' (*aṣghar*), or *maḥṣūr* (limited).[2] They, as also *mukāsir* ('one who breaks the arguments of the opponents',—apparently in the disputes), were assistants of the *dā'ī*, in charge of different departments of his administrative machine. And it is interesting that in our principal source of information, *al-Mūjizatu'l-Kāfiya*, referred to above, the expression is often used: the *ma'dhūn* and *mu'min*. Thus obviously the term *mu'min* implies a separate rank of the priesthood. At a later date apparently the term *mu'min* was generally applied to Ismailis as opposed to all other *muslims*. But it is doubtful whether even *mustajīb*, i.e. initiated Ismaili, is here regarded as a *mu'min*.[3]

Khuzistan, 'Irāq, and India (Sind), i.e. nine altogether, excluding Syria, which for the most part was incorporated into the Fatimid empire. Nothing is known to me about the existence of similar *jazīras* in the Maghrib, or within the limits of the Byzantine empire.

[1] It seems that this rank appears only at the latest Fatimid period, and probably was quite an artificial title bestowed upon the more distinguished *dā'īs*.

[2] This also seems to be a shadowy rank, most probably invented, as that of the *dā'ī'l-balāgh*, to bring the hierarchy to the required mystical number.

[3] In this paper I have deliberately avoided the question as to the 'degrees of initiation', so inevitably described in every work dealing with Ismailism. From what I have seen of the genuine Ismaili works, I believe that the idea is simply based on a misunderstanding of the hierarchy of the priests, and that there really never was anything as a division of the Ismailis into strictly defined groups of progressive 'initiation', similar to that of the masons, etc. In reality, most probably, there were groups with different educational qualifications, as in every religious community: uninitiated, initiated, but not learned, well-educated, and experts. Although there are no clear indications, it seems that the title *mu'min*, referred to here, had much to do with this, and perhaps was applied to a *well-educated* (in religious sense) Ismaili, who was not regularly employed in the *da'wat* service, and

As mentioned above, Ismaili literature apparently has not preserved any works specially devoted to the technique of the organisation of the priesthood, and even incidental references seem to be exceedingly rare. Apparently nothing on this point can be found in the great religious encyclopædia of Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī, the exceptionally erudite theologian and philosopher of the beginning of the IVth/Xth century,—his *Kitābu'z-Zīna*.[1] This work apparently was intended for the public at large, and not only for the Ismailis; therefore it avoids such technical matters.

The works of his contemporary, Abū Ya'qūb as-Sijzī (d. in 331/942) usually are intended for the initial education of the members of the community in religious matters, and do not apparently touch on the subject.

Very interesting theoretical speculations on the ideal virtues of the *dā'ī* are contained in the treatise by the famous *qāḍī*, Abū Ḥanīfa an-Nu'mān (d. 363/974),[2] the author of the great legal code of Ismailism, the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām*. In his work *Kitābu'l-Himma fī ādāb atbā'i'l-A'imma*,[3] he deals, in the first half, with ethics in general, and especially the virtues which are expected from the Ismailis. In the second half of his book he explains the rules of conduct and etiquette prescribed to the followers of the Imams when they come in personal contact with their lords: how to stand before the Imam, how to sit in his presence, how to address him, etc. The last chapter of his book is devoted to the duties of the *dā'ī*: 'How the *dā'īs* of the Imams should act in their preaching in the Imams' favour.' It contains much interesting information, and a great portion of it is summed up further on.

An interesting document, although it does not deal with the organization of the *dā'īs*, may also be referred to in this connection, to serve as an excellent specimen of what was the doctrine preached by the *dā'īs* in reality. It is an epistle to the people of Ray (the ancient Rhagae, near Tehran), by a *dā'ī* Ḥasan, or Muḥsin, or Muḥassin b. Muḥammad al-Mahīdī (or Mahbudī, etc.),[4] written at the time of al-'Azīz bi'l-lāh. From the letter itself it appears that the author, coming to Ray for propaganda, was received as a heretic, and narrowly escaped death. His opuscule forms a really classic elementary exposition of Ismailism as it was preached in his time, written with extreme lucidity and conciseness. It is therefore included into his famous chrestomathy of standard Ismaili

had no official rank, although by his educational qualifications he was eligible for a fairly high post.

[1] Cf. W. Ivanow, *Guide to Ismaili Literature*, No. 18. The fact that the work was known to Ibn Nadīm, and is mentioned in his *Fihrist*, may indicate that it was quite popular in his time, and was not, anyhow, kept secret.

[2] On his biography and works cf. A. A. A. Fyzee's article in the J.R.A.S., 1934, pp. 1–32.

[3] Cf. W. Ivanow, *Guide*, No. 85. The original text of this work is being prepared for publication by Prof. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn of Cairo. Therefore in the translation given further on the original text is not edited.

[4] Cf. *Guide*, No. 110.

works, by Sayyid-nā Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir (d. 584/1188),[1] and later incorporated in the third volume of *al-Azhār*.[2]

The author who has left us the fullest information so far available,—Sayyid-nā Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm (or Muḥammad) an-Naysābūrī, apparently belongs to the first half of the Vth/XIth century. He composed the most interesting work, *ar-Risāla al-Mūjizatu'l-Kāfiya fī Shurūṭi'd-Da'wati'l-Hādiya*.[3] Only a portion of it, apparently the main part, is preserved, being incorporated into the much later work, by the third Yamanite *dā'ī*, Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 596/1199), his *Tuḥfatu'l-qulūb wa farjatu'l-makrūb* (which is described further on). The work of an-Naysābūrī is somewhat chaotic in arrangement. Therefore, further on, its contents are summed up, as closely to the original text as possible, in a re-arranged and systematized form.

To the same author belongs another interesting work, of more or less historical contents, dealing with the events which accompanied al-Mahdī's escape from Syria, and the beginning of his adventures which ultimately brought him to the throne. This work contains some valuable allusions to the *dā'īs* of that early time. It is the *Istitāru'l-Imām*, which was edited by me in the 'Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the Egyptian University', Cairo (1936/1939, Vol. IV, pp. 89–133. I am also preparing an English translation of this work).

Most probably when Ismaili literature of the Fatimid time is properly studied, many interesting references will be found scattered in different early works. But it seems that as early as the period immediately following the fall of the Fatimid empire no other works on the subject were known, as may be seen from the statement of the author of the *Tuḥfatu'l-qulūb*, in the concluding passages of his work. This certainly means that no other such work was known in the Yaman. But as everywhere outside this province Ismaili literature has perished, we have to be content with this.

The next work, in chronological sequence, dealing with the subject, is the *Tuḥfatu'l-qulūb wa farjatu'l-makrūb*, referred to above. It belongs to the post-Fatimid period, and was compiled by the third Yamanite *dā'ī*, Sayyid-nā Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 596/1199).[4]

The author's purpose, as explained in his preface, was to satisfy those of his friends who were interested to have reliable information about the history of the *dā'īs* in the Yaman. To this

[1] Cf. *Guide*, No. 195.

[2] Cf. *Guide*, No. 275: *Kitābu'l-Azhār wa malma'u'l-anwār*, by Ḥasan b. Nūḥ b. Yūsuf al-Bharūchī (d. 939/1533). The work is in seven volumes; the last three are exceedingly scarce.

[3] Cf. *Guide*, No. 113.

[4] Cf. *Guide*, No. 207. The work mentioned under a slightly different title as No. 208 is the same as the preceding. The fault lies with the author himself, because he gives its title in two different forms at the beginning and the end of the work.

subject the author devoted only twenty pages out of 240.[1] His information, anyhow, is extremely valuable, and all later works on the history of Ismailism are based on it. He deals with the story of how the administrative centre of the Musta'lian branch of the Ismailis was after the assassination of al-Āmir transferred to the Yaman. His narrative is very concise, even meagre; but, in the absence of anything else, even this is precious.

All other 220 pages out of 240 are occupied with the 'allied subjects'. Although compiling a treatise on such special subject, the learned Sayyid-nā cannot withstand the temptation of starting *ab ovo*, and giving a very simplified general account of Ismaili theology and theosophy. In the most boring way he starts with the doctrine of unity of God, creation, universe, prophets, Imamat, man and his soul, etc., etc. With all this, as he says himself, he had already dealt with in another work, *ar-Risāla al-Jawhara*, which apparently is not preserved. After this he continues his ruminations about the theory of the *ḥudūdu'd-dīn*, and ultimately inserts the text of *al-Mūjiza* of an-Naysābūrī. This, and the historical references about the *da'wat* in the Yaman, mentioned above, occupy roughly one-third of the work, and make it extremely valuable. There would be one more exceedingly valuable item in his book, namely his frequent controversial references to the '*ghulāt*', i.e. an extremist branch of the Ismailis, or generally Shi'ites. But in the most irritating manner of all the Ismaili controversialists, the author enlightens his reader about all sorts of nasty things attributed to these heretics, and their perversion of the original doctrine, but he deliberately remains silent on one point: the name of the sect. Who are they: Nizārīs? Druzes? Nuṣayrīs? or some other sect which exists no longer? Thus what would be priceless information, remains completely wasted.

Amongst the still later works, touching indirectly on the same matters, we may also mention the *Zahru'l-ma'ānī* by Sayyid-nā Idrīs, the 19th Yamanite *dā'ī* (832–872/1428–1468).[2] In his 19th chapter he deals with the *ḥudūd*, and the guidance which they impart to the community. This is still more boring than the ruminations of the preceding author. The account is filled with superstitious speculations, fantastic parallels, theosophical deductions, etc., quite depressing reading which invariably raises the question whether this could be written by the same man who wrote the well-known historical work, the *'Uyūnu'l-akhbār*, and if he really did, what can be the value of such a history for research?

This is all that may be considered in this paper. But however little it is, we must be grateful to those ancient authors who recorded these ideas, and those people who preserved their works.

[1] In my copy, of course. The number of pages is merely given for showing the proportions.

[2] Cf. *Guide*, No. 260.

4. Virtues of the Dā'ī according to al-Himma.

What the dā'īs of the Imams should do in their preaching?

The people who are the subject of this chapter first of all should take great care about the righteousness of their souls (*ṣalāḥ anfusi-him*), in the ways which we have already described in the preceding chapters. And not only this, but they must do this in all sincerity and without any reserve, abiding in such state of full self resignation, zealously guarding it. As the people whom they call to God and His Saints follow their example, and judge by what they see in the *dā'īs* about their religion, they must be particularly punctilious in the cultivation of piety, righteousness, fear of God, chastity, doing good, and abstaining from doing bad. This chapter more particularly deals with the (initiated) devotees, *mu'mins*, just as the preceding chapters equally apply to Muslims in general.

(The author refers to the words of Imam Ja'far, who called his followers to be 'silent *dā'īs*', i.e. the people whose example is a sufficiently eloquent advertisement of the superiority of their religion.) By acting righteously the *mu'min* increases the influence of his Imam. But every one must do the proper thing. He must do neither more nor less of what he is expected to do. The highest virtue of those who carry on propaganda in favour of the Saints of God (i.e. the Imams), their greatest work, and the highest attainment—is their own righteousness based on sincere devotion, self-control based on religious feeling, convincing preaching, soul healing admonitions.

The *dā'ī* must carefully study the ideas which he preaches, must personally know every member of his community, know their affairs, their aspirations. With this knowledge at his disposal he must gradually deliver his call to God and His Saints, in such a way as not to overtax the intelligence and the patience of his audience. When he has explained to his followers what he wanted to teach them, he must know how to handle them. He must learn to observe the people, recognize the state of their minds, their abilities, extent of their endurance. This is the most important knowledge needed by the *dā'ī* for the organization and training of his followers. Ignorance of such matters tremendously affects his work, and the community (*da'wat*) suffers from this.

Calamities befall those *dā'īs* who permit themselves to slacken their efforts in the discharge of their duties. The number of their defects grows as time goes on, and ultimately these become so numerous and far reaching that it would be too long to describe them.

The *dā'ī* must completely free himself from such defects; he must more than any one of his followers stick to the rules and principles which he preaches to others, strictly observing these under any circumstances. He must follow all such rules with perfect sincerity, always show unshakeable determination to abide by them. He must always be moderate in his needs, must possess

an active mind, sincere faith, broad vision, must know how to control his temper, and always resolutely to go ahead with his duties, heedless of whether this brings him profit and respect of people, or not. He must persevere in his work both when this enhances his importance, his reputation in the eyes of everybody, or, on the contrary, leads to his humiliation. The position, of course, is different in case he specially needs (for the success of his mission) to acquire high regard amongst those in authority, whose ideas and opinions in such matters he must not disregard. In such cases his real merits are not affected by the (apparent) efforts at self aggrandizement,—if he really needs to associate himself with such people, outwardly complying with the standards and ideals, accepted amongst them, of virtue and merit. This obviously cannot be regarded as his own and personal desire of seeking position and importance.

Association with the people in whose hands authority is concentrated in religious matters, and the respect which the *dā'ī* may acquire amongst them for his complying with their ideas of piety, etc., creates the atmosphere of friendliness and goodwill, which greatly facilitate the chances of this people's collaboration and of their becoming converted, when they see him making great progress in what they regard with esteem and respect.

Human nature is inclined to jealousy, and the majority of those who desire to acquire learning or piety start being prompted by the feelings of jealousy, or rivalry with their friends and associates: their primary aim is to acquire high status. Only later on, when they get into the spirit of their work, those amongst them who pray God attain real success and genuine taste in their task. This is why some one rightly said: by God! at first we do not study for the acquisition of learning for the sake of God; but gradually knowledge which we acquire works upon us in such a way that we ultimately turn to Him.

The *dā'ī* must inspire respect of himself amongst his converts; they must feel fear before him. He must strictly observe his own actions so as not to give any reason to them to treat him lightly, or lose respect to his orders. The more respect he inspires in them, the more spiritual advantage they derive from his instruction, and the more virtuous they become. But his imposing manners should be accompanied by a real attitude of goodwill, quiet dignity, kindness to everyone, inviting address and pleasant companionship. There must be no sign of pressing his importance upon any one, of haughtiness in his treatment of others. No, modesty in appearance, combined with dignity of thought, should be his usual attitude.

Imam Ja'far said: study in order to acquire learning, and to adorn yourself with it; cultivate dignity and goodwill; treat with respect those who teach you, and those whom you teach. Do not make your learning oppressive to anyone, and do not permit your vanity to destroy the effects of what is really good in you.

The same Imam also said: those who acquire learning merely for the purpose of opposing the learned, or teasing fools, or attracting the attention of the public and of showing their own superiority over others,—such people shall be punished after death, because religious leadership should belong only to those who really deserve it.

The *dā'ī* should inspire respect in others quite naturally, simply by his behaviour, without any special effort or attempts at pressing his own importance on others, without showing vanity. He must be sympathetic to the weak and those in inferior position, because by doing so he enhances his influence, makes his position firm, achieves his aims, and organizes his community, thus preparing his work to bear fruit. He must treat nicely those who do their best, giving them the position which they deserve according to their behaviour, never leaving them without his supervision. But he must punish those whose behaviour is not good, and of whose evil actions he comes to know.

Those *dā'īs* who have firmly established their authority, must train their followers in different disciplines. They must excommunicate the sinners, making all their followers to boycott them, speaking not a word to them, never approaching them, so that they should live in isolation amongst their own people, out of touch with them and their heads, until life becomes misery to them, and they would request the *dā'ī* to accept their repentence, and to re-admit them to their community after the necessary testing of their sincerity in whichever way he pleases. He may either punish or fine them in case he sees something wrong on their part in the course of time, after their re-admission.

The *dā'ī* tests some by giving them high posts, others by reverting them in their position. He may order some to be flayed alive, others to be executed in some other way for their mischief. He may test the loyalty of his nearest associates by ordering one to kill his own brother, or some other relative. Those who are sincerely devoted must do this, however hard such orders may be for those who receive such commands. And if they do not comply with the order, the *dā'ī* should excommunicate them. Those who sincerely obey such test orders, receive great blessing. The *dā'ī* should punish his followers for every error, leaving nothing neglected or overlooked. In this way he disciplines them....

Dā'īs and residents (*wulāt*) must make themselves acquainted with what is explained in this book. They should comply with these principles, and believe in them, not only ostensibly, in words, but sincerely, proving this by their acts, in their religious beliefs, and in their ideals ...

(Here follow different sayings attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and some other Imams, chiefly dealing with the question of the capital punishments, *ḥadd*, prescribed in the *sharī'at*).[1]

[1] In his account of the *dā'ī*'s virtues and duties the author, Qāḍī Nu'mān, as usual, carefully avoids touching on the matters connected with esoteric

5. The Dā'ī and his Duties according to al-Mūjiza.

As mentioned above, *al-Mūjizatu'l-Kāfiya*, by Sayyid-nā Aḥmad an-Naysābūrī, is the most detailed work available in Fatimid literature on the subject of *dā'ī*. It was composed, most probably, early in the fifth/eleventh century, and is known only from the extract incorporated in the later work, the *Tuḥfatu'l-qulūb*, by Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm, described above; from there it was repeated in the chrestomathy called *al-Azhār*. An abbreviated English translation of it was published about 1920 in a work devoted to the controversy between the progressive and the reactionary parties in the Indian Bohora community, supporting the views of the anti-Mullaji camp. Its title is: *Gulzare Daudi For The Bohras of India. A short note on the Bohras of India, their* 21 *Imams and* 51 *Dais, with their customs and tenets.* Compiled and Published by Mian Bhai Mulla Abdul Husain, B.A., K.H.M., P.C.S., Burhanpur. Printed (500 copies) at the 'Amarsinhji' P. Press, Ahmedabad. (No date, apparently 1920.)

The book is out of print long since. It is one of the numerous outcomes of the present flood of litigation within the sect which seems to be the principal form of the activities of its headquarters. The purpose of the work is controversy; the author is technically helpless, and the monstrous misprints, which adorn the book, make its use for references very difficult. In any case, the translation needs careful revision.

The language of *al-Mūjizatu'l-Kāfiya* shows that its author was in all probability a Persian, and this explains its business-like tone, and the simple and intelligent treatment of the subject. Arabs rarely can stand the temptation of sacrificing every thing to form: rhymed prose, stuffed with rare words, and stilted vague verbiage very often obscure what little originality is left in their ideas.

As it has already been mentioned above, the author uses the term *dā'ī* in a broad sense, as generally a member of the priestly hierarchy. As a proof of his having written his work under the Fatimids, he always refers to the Imam as *Amīru'l-mu'minīn*, the title which was only given to the caliphs. Great difficulty is presented to the translator by his rather confusing use of the terms *dīn* and *da'wat*. Sometimes they are obviously the same. Sometimes the first, *dīn*, means religion, piety, as it etymologically should; but occasionally it is difficult to translate it in any other way than the congregation, community, diocese, or even the religious interests and welfare of the Ismaili community. The term *da'wat* is used not only in the sense of preaching, religious instruction, but also in the sense of the *dā'ī-ship*, the profession of the *dā'ī*; some-

doctrine. This is the most prominent feature of all his works, and it is not yet clear what the reason was for this policy.

times, like *dīn*, it implies the Ismaili community in general, or a local 'diocese'.

The author describes the moral, religious, educational, personal, social, and other qualifications required from the ideal *dā'ī*, his duties towards the community, towards the Imam, his assistants; his methods of work, tactics with the outer world, etc. All this is arranged somewhat chaotically and contains many repetitions; there is no division into chapters. Therefore all his statements, except the numerous quotations from the Coran or of tradition, are here translated, either literally or freely, and re-arranged according to the subject with which they deal. Nothing is left out, except for the formula of the *'ahd*, or *mīthāq*, i.e. the oath of allegiance and a concise creed, which really belongs to the dogmatical side of the religion.[1]

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1. *The meaning of the words dā'ī and da'wat.*—The *da'wat* is God's own call of humanity to righteous ways of life as demonstrated by prophets,—*sunnatu'l-anbiyā'*. It is an explanation of the signs and indications of the will of God. Its aim is to call humanity to stick firmly to monotheism, and strive to enter the Abode of Salvation, *Dāru's-salām*, i.e. to build the ideal Divine theocratical state, the Church, which can never perish nor decay, which saves those who join and enter it, offering them shelter and protection from the injustice and oppression of the sinful world.

The title *dā'ī* is a great distinction. The Prophet himself applied this name to his own mission, and it can only be applied to 313 *rasūls*, or great Prophets, whom God has sent in the course of history to different nations to preach true religion. Ordinarily the *dā'ī* is the Ismaili priest, just as there are priests in Zoroastrianism, in Judaism, and in Christianity.[2]

The *da'wat*, which the *dā'ī* is commissioned to carry on, is the guidance of mankind by the *ilhām*, or inspiration, and *tawfīq* or Divine guidance (by the Imam) which the *dā'ī* broadcasts by persuasion and instruction in his preaching. The *da'wat* is concerned with and comprises all forms of religious life and thought. Therefore it is the most important thing in everyone's life, all other matters being only secondary.

2. *The position of the dā'ī in the community.*—Just as man cohabiting with his wife, deposits his sperm into her womb, and when she conceives, he does not in any way interfere with the development of the embryo, and the birth of the child, but only

[1] About this cf. W. Ivanow, *A Creed of the Fatimids* (Bombay, 1936), pp. 13–17.

[2] As already mentioned above, it is doubtful whether the author takes into consideration all the implications of this parallel. Most probably his parallel does not go beyond the fact that the *dā'īs* are the servants of religion in the same way as all other priests are servants of their respective religions. It is noteworthy, however, that he does not mention the Sunnite *mullas* in this connection.

protects and feeds his wife,—so the *dā'ī*, being commissioned by the Imam, is left to work autonomously in his diocese. The Imam only gives general guidance to his *dā'īs* and the Ismaili community as a whole; he is not to be bothered by references in routine work. The *da'wat*, as already Imam Ja'far expressed, is an extraordinarily difficult task, implying tremendous responsibilities which none can take but a great prophet, an angel of high rank, or a faithful whose heart and sincere devotion have been thoroughly tested.

(In view of such tremendous responsibilities only those candidates can be selected for this task who possess the necessary intellectual abilities, education, religious and moral qualities, political and social tact, and innate character and qualities of a leader.) This applies to all ranks of the hierarchy, from the *bāb* to the *mukāsir*, because every higher rank is the *dā'ī*, or teacher, of those below him.

For this reason the *dā'ī* must combine in himself all the ideal qualities and talents which may separately be found in the people of different professions and standing. He must possess the good qualities of an expert lawyer (*faqīh*), because he often has to act as a judge; he must possess tact (*ṣabr*), good theoretical education (*'ilm*), intelligence, psychological insight, honesty, high moral character, sound judgement, etc. He must possess the virtues of leaders, such as strong will, generosity, administrative talent, tact, tolerance. He must be in possession of high qualities of the priest, because he has to lead the esoteric prayer of his followers. He must be reproachlessly honest and reliable, because the most precious thing, the salvation of the souls of many people, is entrusted to him. He should be a real *mujāhid*, a warrior for the religious cause, in his heart, ready to sacrifice his life and everything for the religion. He must have the virtue of the physician, who delicately and patiently treats the sick, because he himself has to heal sick souls. Similarly, he has to possess the virtues of an agriculturist, of a shepherd, of the captain of a ship, of a merchant, etc.,—developing in himself the good qualities required in different professions.

3. *The dā'ī's learning and education.*—The *dā'ī* must be well-educated, so that he may carry the light of religious knowledge to his followers. With regard to the Ismaili religion he must be well conversant both with the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin* subjects. His learning must be sufficiently wide so that he could not be placed at an awkward position by any question put to him by his pupils.[1] The *ẓāhir* subjects are: *fiqh*, or jurisprudence; *ḥadīth*, *akhbār*, *riwāyāt*, *isnāds*, i.e. all branches of tradition; the Coran, its *tafsīr*, or philological interpretation, and *ta'wīl*, or allegorical meaning; theory of preaching, arguing, religious stories; and the art of con-

[1] As just mentioned above, the author refers to all ranks of the *dā'īs*, i.e. religious functionaries, equally, 'from *bāb* to *mukāsir*'. Thus it is very interesting that he demands from the ideal *dā'ī* good knowledge of the *bāṭin*, making not the slightest allusion to the 'degrees of initiation', which should be the limits assigned to every rank.

troversy and dialectics (*jadal* and *kalām*). He must be acquainted with the teachings of different sects, heretics, zindiqs, dahrites, etc.[1]

His equipment with regard to the *bāṭin* subjects must include the knowledge of everything that pertains to the physical (*maḥsūs*) world, i.e. cosmogony, physics, branches of natural history, etc. And also disciplines dealing with abstract matters, such as philosophy, logic, etc. To this must be added profound learning in *ta'wīl* matters, in *āfāq wa anfus* (i.e. parallelism of the universe with human organism), *al-ḥudūdu'l-'ulwiyya*, or philosophy of emanations, and generally *al-'ilmu'r-rūḥānī*, spiritual subjects, or religious philosophy.

He must also know the biographies of the Imams, and have some idea about the activities of the former (famous) *dā'īs*.

Generally speaking, he must be encyclopædically educated, so that not to be lost at any question. He must be able to write well, and to be able to operate correctly with abstractions. At the same time, he must have good knowledge of things belonging to secular education, *adab*, because only theological learning (*'ilm*), not accompanied by *adab*, deprives the man of the necessary polish, *rawnaq*, which evokes admiration, and attracts people.

The *dā'ī* generally must be a man of high intellectual culture, capable of handling the subjects connected with spiritual life and experience. He must be a man fond of learning and learned conversation. He must associate himself with the people who can carry it on. He must patronise learning and students, always showing respect and courtesy to the learned, *ahlu'l-'ilm*, even if they are poor, and shabbily dressed.

4. *Moral and religious virtues of the dā'ī.*—The *dā'ī* must be a strict monotheist. This means that he should never attach so much importance to anything that it should interfere with his discharge of his duties to God. His faith must be unshakeable. He must be a man of sincere and profound devotion (*'ābid*), offering his usual and esoteric (*ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*) prayers to God.[2] He must not be the man who only preaches religion, but also the man who sincerely follows the principles which he teaches. An ignorant, impious, or insincere man cannot be a *dā'ī*. He must firmly know what is right and what is wrong, and make his followers also to know this.

On no account should he make for himself exceptions from the rules which are laid by the Imams for ordinary followers of the religion. In his behaviour and religious life he must be an example to others, so that to him may be applied what Imam Ja'far said about 'silent *dā'īs*', i.e. those people who by the mere behaviour

[1] This is exactly the scope of the religious encyclopædia of Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī, the *Kitābu'z-Zīna*, referred to above. For this reason it may well be regarded as a manual in the *ẓāhir* for the *dā'īs*.

[2] Apparently these 'exoteric and esoteric prayers' are what in other, especially later works, are styled *al-'ibādatu'l-'amaliyya* and *al-'ibādatu'l-'ilmiyya*. These expressions, however, do not appear in this work at all.

in life make their religion so attractive to others that they begin to feel the desire to join it.

There are several religious virtues which the *dā'ī* should possess: *taqwā*, or fear of God, or conscience, honesty before one self. It should be the basic tone of the whole of his life and activity, religious and private, of his knowledge, faith, and actions; it should be inseparable from the fundamental commandments of the Coran. This sense must be cultivated by careful study of religion. But this should not remain as some sort of theoretical knowledge, because it is worthless if it is not always and systematically applied to life.

Self-discipline, *as-siyāsatu'l-khāṣṣa*, is also extremely important. Before educating and disciplining others, the *dā'ī* should himself possess the necessary mental and religious discipline, i.e. mastery over his own emotions and desires of doing what is condemned by religion, restraining himself from what is regarded as bad habits or actions, undesirable passions, or lust.[1] Restraining himself from these, he must, at the same time, cultivate positive or laudable qualities, such as punctiliousness in the obligatory forms of religious worship (*farā'iḍ*), mastering his evil passions. He must cultivate that spirit of gratitude to the Creator for the most precious gift granted by Him to man,—life, and the possibility to behold His greatness. By sustained effort at self-training the *dā'ī* should develop that clean and balanced mentality which should by itself impress his subordinates and pupils, and make them to covet it, in the same way as the words of Imam Ja'far about 'silent *dā'īs*' imply. He must know it firmly that none can rule others (properly) who cannot rule himself, and that one must master himself before others will follow and obey him.

Self-discipline and conscience have the greatest importance in religious life, in the mastering of both the formal side of the religion, *ẓāhir*, and its spirit, inner meaning, *bāṭin*. They give man that fundamental sense of the idea of God being above all, all-important and overpowering everything else, making impossible *shirk*, i.e. regarding anything as of equal importance with it, or attributing disproportionate importance to some aspects of the idea of Deity, on the lines on which one thinks about His creations.

The same two qualities make one obey sincerely those in the religious organization, who are placed above him, or to be modest and friendly with those of equal standing.

Devotion, *dīn*, or sincere attachement to the religion which he preaches, unshakeable faith in its teaching, without any reserve or

[1] As is known, Ismailism completely rejects ascetic practices, mortification of flesh, celibacy, and all other similar ideas. It professes that the body must be as sound as the soul: the former is the riding animal of the latter. If one weakens his *markab*, while travelling in this world, he would not be able to cross the desert of human life, and may perish before he reaches his destination. Therefore the self-discipline which is referred to here is simply what may be in a more modern term called 'building up character'.

doubt, must be a fundamental quality of the *dā'ī*, just as sound learning, and punctiliousness in formal worship. But at the same time the *dā'ī* must be an intelligent and shrewd man of sound and critical reason, *'aqīl kāmilu'l-'aql*. Learning in a fool often becomes a dangerous and destructive thing.

In addition to the complying with the recognized expressions of piety, *wara'*, the *dā'ī* must be a man of strictly moral life (*'iffa*). He must be a man of sympathetic attitude to others (*shafqa*), merciful and condescending to human weaknesses. Man is normally inclined to mischief and disobedience, and God punishes him for this. But the *dā'ī* must not be rigidly formal and pitiless. He must be friendly and helpful to his followers and subordinates. He must especially keep away from haughtiness, arrogance, swollen-headedness with those who are in his charge. He must be modest and accessible, must have the sense of shame (*ḥayā'*), which is one of the chief qualities of a religious man, keeping him away from committing unfair things, which offend religion, and ruin the congregation.

He must always be honest with his followers, as otherwise he would lose all credit in their eyes, and nobody would trust him. And he must be particular to keep sacredly his word. Piety is nothing without *wafā*, i.e. faithfulness to one's promise or oath. The community is ruined by nothing so much as by treachery and fraud.

Penny-wiseness and misery ruin the cause of the *da'wat*, because they encourage fraud and 'charging extra' (*infāq*) in the *dā'ī's* subordinates, who have to resort to these to counteract their evil effects. Therefore the *dā'ī* should be generous, *sakhī*, and must possess *muruuwa*, i.e. unselfishness and broadmindedness.

The *dā'ī* must know how to keep secrets entrusted to him; if he does not possess the necessary ability of *kitmān*, i.e. preserving confidential matters unrevealed, he may cause grave calamity to his followers, and ruin the cause of the community.

He must possess *ra'y*, i.e. sense of discretion and clear thinking, tact, coupled with *ḥilm* and *ṣabr*, i.e. sympathetic attitude and patience. He has to deal with people of different status, education, intelligence, etc., who come to him with their needs and requests. If he treats them harshly, losing his temper and feeling irritated, he will soon become unpopular, and his mission will suffer. Therefore he must particularly cultivate a friendly manner in dealing with such people, necessary self-control and patience, being *ṭayyibu'l-kalām*, i.e. polite and friendly with everybody and his subordinates, never showing contempt of them, or humiliating them. He must preserve the best relations with the people amongst whom he lives and works, carrying on with them, whatever they may really be. As Imam Ja'far said: 'live (friendly) with people, even if they have bad manners, and do not tell them bluntly that they are pigs'. He must be polite with every one, although preserving his dignity, not talkative. If he speaks, he must touch only on serious

matters, or learned subjects, as otherwise respect to him may be affected.

He must always keep up his spirits and cheer up his followers. In their bereavement, misfortune, sickness, he must show them his compassion and sympathy, visiting them, or sending someone to convey his kind word, offering a prayer for them. Similarly, on an auspicious occasion, or festivity, he must send to the people his congratulations and greetings, acting as a loving brother with his co-religionists.

The door of his house must be open to every member of the community, both to his supporters and to those who may oppose him. He should not keep aloof from his followers, so that an estrangement may not arise between him and them. He must not accustom himself to suspect them in evil things, or distrust them, because distrust and suspicion lead to fraud.

The *dā'ī* must possess a powerful personality (*waqār*), and inspire great respect (*hayba*) in his followers and subordinates. But he must not develop greed for authority and domination of others. He must realize the responsibility which authority implies, and must make himself worthy of it. If he only thinks of self-aggrandizement (being not worthy of his high position), this is nothing but false pretence, or lie,—and lie is the source of all vices, of misery, hatred, and calumny, which ruin piety and righteousness.

The *dā'ī* must not be licentious or loose, sensuous or lustful, because this leads to his spiritual degradation and loss of respect in the eyes of his people.

He must especially avoid greed, *ṭama'*, which leads to the practice of bribes, illegal gratification. This is contrary to the oath of allegiance (*'ahd*) to which he is expected to be faithful. And if he violates it, it means that his religious sincerity (*dīn*) is gone; such a man is lost for the *da'wat*. Even if he repents, and his oath is accepted again, he still remains a great offender, just as a man who has committed murder or rape.

The *dā'ī* must not develop the manner of turning everything into a joke, treating things lightly. This leads to the loss of respect for him, and even hostility and contempt for him on the part of his followers.

5. *Special qualifications of the dā'ī.*—He must be a clever and intelligent man, learned, and a born orator and preacher. He must know the local language of the province in which he works, just as he must know the local religions, and be up to the standard of the local cultured society, so that he may have a common language when addressing them. But above all he must be shrewd psychologist, possessing sufficient insight to recognize at once the real value of the man whom he meets, and anticipate the attitude of the people with whom he deals. He must develop the understanding of human psychology, observe the words and the actions of his associates. He must correctly judge about their intelligence. An experienced *dā'ī* can at once see how far his pupil may be per-

mitted to learn abstract doctrines without the danger of being left in confusion.

He must have the talent of an organizer, which is the chief virtue of a ruler. He must strengthen the organization of his community, both secular and religious (*bi-siyāsa milliyya wa shar'iyya*) before he becomes their real spiritual head, who rules their souls by the authority of learning (*bi-riyāsa 'ilmiyya*), so that the purpose of his mission (*da'wat*) can be attained.

6. *The mission of the dā'ī.*—The *dā'ī* can only be made by *idhn*, i.e. permission, or commission (of the Imam, directly or indirectly, through intermediary authorities).[1] One who has not got such permission (but calls himself a *dā'ī*), is an impostor and traitor, messenger of evil. (The object of his mission, *da'wat*, his learned and personal qualifications, are explained above.)

He brings (new) life into the souls of the initiated by imparting to them his knowledge and wisdom, delivering to them his spiritual knowledge (*al-'ilmu'r-rūḥānī*), revealing to those amongst them who have stood the test of their sincerity, the secret meaning of their religion. He teaches them both the formal side of the religion, *ẓāhir*, and its abstract, or hidden side, the *bāṭin*.

He also accepts, on behalf of the Imam, the oath of allegiance from them (*'ahd*, or *mīthāq*). His mission has three main points: imparting the (true religious) knowledge, raising the spirit of fear of God, and organizing (*siyāsa*) the community.

7. *Management of the community.*—The *dā'ī* must entirely devote himself to the affairs of his mission (*da'wat*), and the community which he manages on behalf of the Imam, from whom he holds his commission. He must always attach the greatest importance to the interests of the mission, encouraging those who are loyal to it. He must never miss a chance for proving the greatness of the religion, and add to its respect in the eyes of his followers, or to denounce its enemies, exposing their weak points.

He must at every opportune moment impart instruction to his followers, teaching them to appreciate religious knowledge and learning, which should bring them many advantages. He must emphasize the spiritual reward which they may gain by this. All this helps the community to keep up their spirit at the time of

[1] In the work of the same author, the *Istitāru'l-Imām*, a special expression is used for the idea of commissioning a *dā'ī*,—*akhadha 'alay-hi*: he (the Imam) accepted from him the oath (*al-'ahd*, which is here implied). As every initiated Ismaili had to swear allegiance to the Imam, and as obviously non-initiated would not be admitted into the secret propaganda service, it is clear that there was a special oath which the *dā'īs* had to take to the Imam in addition to the usual initiation oath. In the *Sīra* of Ja'far al-Ḥājib (*Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts* of the Egyptian University, Vol. IV, p. 112) it is narrated how the Imam (al-Mahdī), being in a dangerous situation, at the mercy of his *dā'ī*, renews the latter's oath (*'ahd*). It may be added that the term *idhn*, mentioned here, perhaps was only used at an earlier period. Anyhow, in the post-Fatimid period the term which is used is *naṣṣ*, which originally was only applied to the Imam's appointment to his position by his father.

difficulties. When he preaches, he is not compelled to answer every question put to him by his followers. He must first make sure whether the question is asked out of sincere desire for the guidance, or out of vain curiosity. It is, however, not advisable to refuse to reply in any case.

After he has finished his admonitions, he must leave the pupils alone to think over and to 'digest' his instruction.

He must keep himself well-informed, and must always look for fresh information (to keep himself up-to-date). He must not shun the discomforts and hardships of travelling for the inspection of his diocese, and acquiring first hand knowledge of the people, and their needs, or for preaching to them.

When a messenger, or a convert escaping from his original co-religionists (*muhājir*) arrives, the *dā'ī* must receive him as he should according to his position and status, giving him encouragement, and strengthening his heart. And if he himself sends a messenger to a town or province, he must select for this purpose a suitable, reliable, conscientious and honest man, because he will be questioned (in addition to the message which he conveys) by the people to whom he is sent. He must know how to answer their questions in a light favourable to the community, and not to harm its interests. He also should be able to tell honestly what he has seen and heard on his tour, when he comes back.

The *dā'ī* must dispense justice to his followers, satisfying their just demands, seeing to it that no one should be wronged. He must settle their disputes, if asked, and must collaborate with the secular authorities on the spot, helping them to maintain law and order, in so far as his collaboration in religious sphere may prove effective. If the dispute arises between different parties of the initiated, *mu'mins*, i.e. members of the sect, the *dā'ī* should persuade them to settle their dispute before him, without referring the case to secular authorities. They should not go before the *sulṭān*, or *qāḍī*, because their own *dā'ī* is their immediate authority. Those who disregard this principle, sin; those who deliberately oppose it, deserve condemnation; and those who (really?) do this, invoke the condemnation of all Saints of God (i.e. Imams). The disputing parties must come to a settlement (normally) only with his consent.

It is generally the duty of the *dā'ī* to preserve peace between his followers, and reconcile their disputes, leading them towards friendly co-operation, affectionate relations, and mutual help. He must dissuade them from envy, hatred, intrigues, enmity, concealment of truth, etc. One must not wish for others what he does not wish for himself.

If anyone starts oppressing his brother *mu'mins*, the *dā'ī* must take steps to put a stop to this, and punish him. If the offender persists, the *dā'ī* must make his offence public, and excommunicate him until he comes to his senses.

In case anything untoward happens in the community, corruption or offence against the spirit of religion, if cases of

treachery occur, or renegacy spreads, or discontent or rebellion are started, the *dā'ī* must have information at once, and take necessary measures for putting things right. If he leaves the things to worsen, by neglect or deliberately, by an error, or out of laziness, or incapability; he becomes responsible for the crime, and must be punished. (The responsibility for the affairs of the community lies with him entirely.) If God asks the Imam to account for the condition of the community, its preservation or obedience, the Imam may lay responsibility for these on the shoulders of the *dā'ī*, who takes it upon himself, volunteering to guarantee the welfare of the congregation, and has to account for this. If he feels himself unfit to carry out his obligations, he must inform the Imam at once, and resign from office, so that another man, fit to fill the post, may be appointed instead of him.

In his instruction to the community the *dā'ī* must always urge his followers to be obedient to the Imam, and to be affectionately devoted to him, carrying out all his orders, and offering their own selves and their property to propitiate him, and to be ready even to sacrifice their lives if required. One pleases God by pleasing the Imam, and obeys God by obeying him. The *dā'ī* must make it clear to his followers that the Imam is not obliged to do anything for any one. And if he grants the wishes of his people, giving them things of this world, or learning, he does this not for necessity, but out of his generosity.

8. *The dā'ī and his assistants and immediate subordinates.*— No *mu'min* deserves the name of *mu'min*, unless he prepares and educates another *mu'min* like himself.[1] It is therefore the duty of the *dā'ī* to train his subordinates in their work by teaching religious subjects, imparting to them general information, disciplining them, and testing their abilities. He must train them to carry out his instructions, and take into consideration the individual abilities of every one amongst them. He must train his *ma'dhūn* how to handle those who are in his charge. Similarly, he must give proper education to other ranks, in religious subjects and in the *technique* of their work, so that they may gradually rise to being eligible for the Imam's commission (*ḥaddu'l-idhn*).[2] Similarly, he must educate the ordinary initiated (*mustajīb*), organizing them, and instructing them in all subjects that they should know, as far as they are capable of understanding them.

He also should not neglect the uninitiated (*ahlu'ẓ-ẓāhir*), making them live in peace, conducting discussions with them on religious subjects. The low and noble, Muslims and non-Muslims, must equally receive his attention and thought, his instruction and his care about their safety, in the spirit of honesty, justice, and tolerance.

[1] These are supposed to be the words of al-Mu'izz bi'l-lāh himself.

[2] Cf. note 3 on p. 28, in which the question of the selection of the candidates to the post of the *dā'ī* is discussed.

The *dā'ī* should not select his assistants (and candidates to priesthood) out of consideration of their material affluence, personal friendship with him, those who are under his protection,[1] or are subservient to him, etc., because such practices lead to the ruin of the community in the eyes of everybody, just as the messengers who cheat and betray their religion by praising those who bribe them, and reviling those who do not satisfy their greed.

The *dā'ī* must look after the *mu'mins* and *ma'dhūns*, and those who are appointed to teach them, making them observe the prescriptions of the *shari'a*, and understand the doctrine of *ta'wīl*, which they should learn consciously, sensibly, and seriously. He must give them necessary explanations (if they ask for these), test their intelligence in various ways, in the sphere of religion or in other matters, thus acquiring a complete idea of what they really are. When he finds them fit and suitable (for his work), he raises them to the position of *dā'īs*. He tests them by giving them charge of the education of *mustajībs*, under his own supervision. If they pass the test, he promotes them further, and appoints them as (deputy) *dā'īs* in some localities, controlling them closely in their work. Thereafter he promotes them further, until they reach the position of being in charge of a district, or even a province. He continues testing and trying them all the time until he knows them thoroughly.

If such candidate to *dā'ī*-ship shows great zeal, making great progress in his training, and the *dā'ī* sees that he will make a good assistant to himself, or will be fit to take over his own duties, he has no excuse for not making him a *dā'ī*, although the man may be only a *mu'min* by his rank.[2]

(But) the *dā'ī* should not trust any man who is not properly tried and tested by him, whose sincerity is not proved, and who does not comply with the regulations of the *da'wat*. He can rely on him only after he has served for some time, proving his ability, and giving a satisfactory account of himself. If some people approve of him, but others object to him, the *dā'ī* should not employ him, because objection overrules the approval.[3] This is

[1] This apparently refers to 'clients', i.e. the people who for various reasons were associated with a tribe or family, although they did not belong to it originally.

[2] This apparently implies the case in which the successful candidate does not possess the rank of the *ma'dhūn*. As already discussed above, it is not clear what really was the distinction between the *ma'dhūn*, *mukāsir*, and *mustajīb* on the one side, and the *mu'min* on the other, in this sense. One may well think that he was a well-educated layman, privately employed by the *dā'ī*, not an official member of the *da'wat* service.

[3] It is not quite clear what this and the following sentences really have in view: does this mean that ordinary members of the community also had the right to be consulted in the appointment of a new *dā'ī*? Or does it mean that those who were consulted, or had the right to dispute the nomination, were other *dā'īs*, of subordinate ranks? Anyhow, it appears that the *dā'ī*, i.e. in this case the *ḥujjat*, or some other kind of a chief *dā'ī*, had no right to appoint any one independently. As mentioned by the author, he had to

because those who trust in him, believe only in what is good and sensible in him that they have seen. But those who oppose had the chance to see in him what was not good. Even if a thousand people testify to his being eligible for the work, and only two oppose, pointing out some defects in his character, and four other men point out some other shortcomings, the *dā'ī* must accept the opinion of those who are against him. (Popular) accusations of *dā'īs*, just as of witnesses, judges, or trustees, usually cannot be treated as seriously as real accusations in some offence, proved by reliable evidence. Many of such charges are based on hearsay, repetition of rumours, stories of 'trusted men'; but even if in case of the candidate to *dā'ī*-ship different allegations are not supported by proper evidence, and do not imply any serious offence (*ḥadd*), it would nevertheless be better to get rid of him, because later his position may become difficult.

But what to do in the event that all agree in trusting the man as good, and he proves to be a deceiver? And what to do with the man who is generally regarded as bad? In any case, if two respectable *mu'mins* swear and prove that so-and-so is unfit to be employed as a *dā'ī*, the *dā'ī* must not employ him in the *da'wat* service. If notwithstanding this the *dā'ī* endangers the life and property of the faithful (by employing such a man?), he commits a crime, and it is treachery not only against the property, but also the existence of the congregation of his province, which may be ruined by dishonesty or lack of administrative talent on the part of the (new) *dā'ī*. This happens from time to time through greed of some *dā'īs*, their impiety, ignorance, etc.

The *dā'ī* must manage his community with determination and energy, keeping himself well informed, especially in the provinces which are under the hand of tyrannical and hostile rulers. Therefore a man should not be appointed as a *dā'ī* (without proper qualifications) simply in the course of ordinary promotion, in fulfilment of a promise, out of favoritism, nepotism, friendly relations, protection, for consideration of some material interests, out of respect, or under a threat, etc. All such reasons are contrary to the spirit of religion, justice, trust, and word of God and His Prophet. A great deal of corruption may be introduced into the community by permitting such irregular practices.

If a *dā'ī*, (satisfactorily) working for some time, does something that angers his superior, and is concerned with purely personal matters, such as not rendering a (personal) favour, etc., the superior *dā'ī* should not dismiss him from his post. He must do this (only) in case of his subordinate's treachery against religion. The *dā'ī* may employ one if he sees that the candidate has sufficient religious qualifications (*dīn*), even if he does not like him personally, or is

prepare the candidate to be eligible for the post. And then the matter was not decided simply by the *dā'ī's* (or the *ḥujjat's*) recommendation to the Imam, but some additional procedure was to be followed,—asking the consent either of the community, or of fellow-*dā'īs*, as it seems.

personally against him. But if the subordinate *dā'ī* strays from the right path, or misappropriates religious funds, etc., he becomes a criminal, a tresspasser of the law, and his oath of allegiance is annulled.

If the *dā'ī* notices that a *mu'min* or *ma'dhūn* commits treachery, or misbehaves himself, he must admonish him to repent. But if the sinner persists, despite his admonition, and if his actions affect the interests of the community, or create dissension in the people, the *dā'ī* must severely reprimand him, and even, if this does not suffice, he must make his offence known to the whole of the community, and dismiss him, sending some one to take over his post. In case, however, his mistakes do not seriously affect the community, and are merely the sins for which he is only responsible before God, then the *dā'ī* should not give the matters wide publicity.[1]

Whenever the behaviour of the subordinate *dā'ī* affects the interests of the community, the superior *dā'ī* must warn his followers against him, so that his example should not be followed, and there would be difference between those who act rightly, and those who act wrongly.

If the *mu'min* or *ma'dhūn* shows his righteousness, trustworthiness, loyalty, high moral standard, and learning, it is necessary, that the superior *dā'ī* should encourage him, showing more confidence in him, raising his position above that of others, so that his enthusiasm may increase. Other subordinate *dā'īs*, seeing his example, may desire to emulate it, bettering their work. If there should be no difference between good and bad, and a bad worker should not suffer disadvantage, then nothing would stop corruption and decay spreading in the community, and there would be no incitement to any one to do good. This would lead to the ruin of the people, increasing their deterioration and disorderliness.

The *dā'ī* must educate his *mu'mins*, improving their manners, so that they may become fit to appear before the Imam, and answer sensibly and politely his questions, without feeling confused; or ask him about necessary things in proper language and manner, at the proper time, what is really needed.

The *dā'īs* must not enrich themselves with the Imam's money, or demand more than is really needed. And if they ask, and their request is not granted, they should not at once bear a grudge against the Imam, or let their devotion to him become undermined.

The *dā'ī* should not criticise or disagree with any act of the Imam ; he must obey all his orders or restrictions, and rules laid by him. He must accustom his followers not to demur to anything coming from him, and to be certain that all the actions of the Imam are based on a higher wisdom, and special reasons (which remain

[1] This again sounds as if implying the *dā'ī's* consulting the community concerning the offence of his subordinate. And again it is dark whether only members of the service, or also laymen are consulted.

unknown to them). If they do not know his motives at present, they perhaps will know them later.

If they recognize the Imam as the wisest man of the time (*ḥakīmu'z-zamān*), they must realize that all that he does is based on his supreme wisdom. If they fail to understand this, this is because they are incapable of understanding the superior substance of the Imam.

The *dā'ī* must properly train and curb his followers; and when he employs them in the *da'wat* service, or sends them on any religious or political mission, he must properly instruct them as to their duty. He must carefully explain everything to them, what they are expected to do, warning them against dishonesty or deliberate attempts at wrecking the work, or neglect, or cowardice on their part. And if his agent commits one of such offences, he (the agent) becomes responsible for these before the religion, his allegiance is broken, and he becomes covered with eternal shame, in this world and in after life, so that he would deplore his behaviour, losing all his reward which was otherwise due to him.

If any of his assistants cheats or swindles him, the *dā'ī* must punish him severely, reduce him in rank, so that his case may serve as an example for others. On the contrary, seeing his devotion and enthusiasm, the *dā'ī* should reward him, and promote him to a higher position.

The *dā'ī* should properly instruct his assistants and followers that in case any one of them notices that some one is betraying the interests of the Imam, in the religious or secular sphere, or tampering with the administration of the community, he must at once interfere, suppressing the offender. And if he cannot do this, he must at once report the matter to the Imam (or his accredited representative), as otherwise great calamity may be caused to the community, leading God knows to what.

9. *The dā'ī and the mustajīb.*—The *dā'ī* must select as his *mustajībs*, i.e. initiated followers, people of good appearance (i.e. physique), and sound faith. These indicate general soundness in a man, and sound health indicates that he is living an orderly life, and has a good disposition. He must be free from bodily defects such as deafness, absence of one of his limbs, mangyness, lameness, etc. Similarly he must be free from blemish in his religious beliefs, e.g. from *ghuluww*, or Shi'ite extremism. The *dā'ī* must carefully study the candidate, detecting all his blemishes, and reject those who are unfit to be admitted. It sometimes happens that through the *dā'ī's* neglect or carelessness unfit persons are permitted to join, and swear the oath of allegiance; but later on decay and corruption creep into the community through this.

The *dā'ī* is responsible for the proper choice of his *mustajībs*. When the man of the right type is selected, the *dā'ī* must make it certain whether he takes the oath of allegiance quite sincerely, and has no hidden motives, such as greed, coveting a position, or whatever it may be.

The *dā'ī* should not accept initiates (*mustajīb*) for the consideration of money, or other interest, but only after ascertaining the candidate's sincere devotion. This can only be done gradually. If the candidate has some ulterior motive in his conversion, he must not be accepted. But if everything is all right with him, the *dā'ī* must dispell all his doubts as to his former religion being wrong, so that no prejudice against his new persuasion may be left in his mind. Then he takes from him the oath of allegiance (on behalf of the Imam); and he begins to teach him only after this the (Ismaili) doctrine, gradually, not revealing much at a time, in order not to make him confounded, as this may cause him much harm. This must be done by special lectures, for which the *dā'ī* should reserve specified hours, when his pupils can ask him different questions. Non-initiated should not be present at such conversations.

10. *The dā'ī and the religious funds.*—(The question of the control of religious funds, trusts, and property has not received much attention in *al-Mūjiza*): the *dā'ī* must not misappropriate the Imam's property (i.e. religious funds) when using these for the purposes sanctioned by his authority. The Imam needs money and property in order to increase the might of his community, and strengthen the foundations of the religion: money guards religion.

If, however, the *dā'ī* conceals for his own use something from the religious funds in his hands, this amounts to a very great sin against the *da'wat*, or religion. And if the *dā'ī* disregards the prescriptions of his religion, he must be punished even more severely than the ordinary man under similar circumstances.

In his routine *da'wat* expenses he must keep within the limits of what is sanctioned; but at the same time he must not bother the Imam with asking for special sanction for every trivial item, or delay payments, making his work suffer.

11. *The dā'ī and the policy towards the world outside the community.*—The *dā'ī* should realize that *mulk*, state, is the guardian of religion and the people who profess it. The empire of the Imams is based on religion (*dīn*). The spread of the religion (*dīn*), and the success of the *da'wat* (Fatimid domination) strengthen the empire, removing obstacles and difficulties in the way of its progress. All the subjects of the Imam may then become his devotees, residing either within the limits of the empire (*fī ḥaḍrati-hi*), or in different *jazīras*, i.e. religious colonies, where they form his *jund*, vanguard, or his auxiliaries, or supporters who should never betray the interests of the Imam, or revolt against him.

But everybody would become dissatisfied, and develop a hostile and disloyal attitude towards the Imam, if mistakes are perpetrated in the religious administration (*dīn*). If his *dā'īs* are inefficient and worthless, incapable of carrying on the administrative work, ignorant and impious, the religious spirit of the masses is bound to deteriorate. (Losing interest and trust in it) they may begin to apostatize, returning to the fold of the religion which they

professed before their conversion (to Ismailism); or many may become atheists (*dahriyya*), or join some heretical sectarian movement. They would resent the miserable state of things in their community (*dīn*), their souls would be affected with grief; discontent, rebellion, factional fights, splits would spread, dishonesty, violence, etc., would become common, and the community would become engaged in self-destruction.

This is the picture of what would happen if mistakes are permitted to accumulate in the religious management of the community. The unrest would necessarily spread to *jazīras*, or religious colonies, and this would be the end of the religion, as the people would be reduced to the state of wild beasts.

There are three principles on which the policy of the *da'wat* should be based, and they sum up everything: enlightenment (*'ilm*), conscientious attitude towards one's duties (*taqwā*), and (sound) organization (*siyāsa*). The duty of the *dā'ī* (with regard to the population which is not yet converted) is to introduce good secular administration, based on strict observance of law (*siyāsa milliyya shar'iyya*). He should dominate them by his enlightened intellectual superiority (*riyāsa 'ilmiyya*), and then he would succeed to dominate their souls, and thus complete the aim of the *da'wat*,—their conversion.

The true guidance of the people (*as-siyāsatu'l-'āmma*) in charge of the *dā'ī* means to educate them in strict respect for law, and social advancement (*ta'dīb millī*). The *dā'ī* should train them in obedience to law, discourage them from infringing its prescriptions, and introduce in them admiration for moral virtues (*faḍā'il*). Those who do not obey him, must receive appropriate punishment.

The *dā'ī* therefore should attach special importance (*himma*) to the correct discharge of his administrative duties, both religious and secular, because only such policy helps the Imams to acquire mastery over the world. The man who is unfit to control himself, his relatives and servants, cannot rule others, and therefore cannot be appointed as a *dā'ī*.

12. *The dā'ī and society.*—Only men of good families should be appointed *dā'īs*, because good birth (*nasab fī qawm*) gives good standing in society. The people would not so willingly associate themselves with the *dā'ī* who is of a low origin, or accept his tuition, treating him with contempt. I myself (says the author of *al-Mūjiza*) saw many people who did not like to join the religion only because the *dā'ī* (who wanted to convert them) was a man of low birth, or because he had been in jail, or suspected of something disreputable. For these reasons only people of good and respectable families should be appointed to commanding positions in the community, because noble origin adds respect in the eyes of one's subordinates.

The *dā'ī* must possess good bearing and manners, must dress properly. He must know how to treat people who come in contact with him. He must be circumspect, kind to everybody, but

must not degrade himself by lengthy chats with the people undeserving this. Nor should he be abrupt and rude with any one. Mistakes in etiquette create ill feelings. In social functions every one should be given the place to which he is entitled, and every one must treat each other with respect and courtesy.

(In his private life) the *dā'ī* should prefer the company of learned people (as mentioned above). He must also treat with respect ascetics and devotees (of other religions). And he must keep away completely from the people of doubtful reputation and bad character.

13. *The dā'ī in his family life.*—Orderliness in family life (*as-siyāsatu'l-ḥāmma*) must be strictly adhered to by the *dā'ī*. He must make all his relatives observe discipline and decency, respect virtue, and avoid committing mischief. If they commit errors, he must punish them. Every man preserves in his family the spirit or tradition which he leaves as a legacy to his progeny. The *dā'ī* must make learning, high morals, and good manners a family tradition, so that his children, being brought up in this spirit, may acquire salvation. He must make a point of compelling every member of his family to be punctual in offering the prescribed prayers, paying *zakāt*, etc. If he is unable to keep his family life running in an orderly way, how can he be entrusted with the guidance of others in religious and general matters ?

The *dā'ī* should not employ as servants young boys, or any one who may give food to suspicions as to his good morals. This would inevitably become the subject of talk everywhere, and the prestige of the *dā'ī* might be ruined. His servants must take special care about their own reputation, as its ruin may ruin that of their master's. The *dā'ī* should not tolerate any drunkard near himself, or a man suspected of something bad, as this endangers his own reputation. His domestic servants (*ḥāshiya*) must be initiated members of the religion (*mu'min*), modest men, devoted to the work of religion and their community. As in the house of the *dā'ī* discussions may often be carried on of different doctrinal and theological matters (which may be secret), such things must not reach the hearing of the uninitiated. Therefore the servants must be trusted and reliable. They must be of good character also because wives and children of the *dā'ī's* followers often enter his house, and they should be safe from anything undesirable. The women whom he employs in his family, must be either relatives whom he cannot marry according to the rules of the *sharī'a*, or his wives, or slave-wives.

In his private life the *dā'ī* must keep, as far as possible, indoors, discussing important questions with decent, respectable and learned people. They also may occupy themselves with recitations of the Coran, offering prayers at the prescribed times, etc. In such conversations with his personal friends the *dā'ī* should see that the people behave themselves decently, do not utter indecent jokes,

or use obscene and rude language, as this may (become known, and) ruin his prestige.

14. *The personal staff of the dā'ī.*—The secretary (*kātib*) of the *dā'ī* must be a modest and unpretentious man. By his profession he has to know his master's and the community's secrets and confidential matters; therefore only a *mu'min*, or initiated member of the sect, may be employed for this work. It is said that the secretary is the trustee (*wakīl*) of his master's knowledge, or his master's reasoning (*manṭiq*). Therefore it is absolutely impossible to tolerate having a man in such a position who may happen to be a bad character (*fāsiq*), dishonest, corrupt, or rapacious. Such man could cause incalculable damage to the *dā'ī's* work.

Similarly, the *dā'ī's* major-domo, or chamberlain, *ḥājib*, also should be an intelligent man, of good manners, polite, of good address, modest and not venal. Being in charge of the management of the house, he is in this respect the lieutenant of his master. It is known that by one's chamberlain one may judge what his master is, and what are his habits, just as by one's servant the people judge about his respectability. Nothing can ruin the prestige of a master so much as corruption shown by his servant.

The *dā'ī* must keep a reliable porter, *bawwāb*, a trusted man, belonging to his community. He should be polite and considerate to the people who call on his master. If they come at reception time he must admit them in a courteous manner. And if someone calls at an unusual time, the porter should politely ask him to wait, report to his master his arrival, and ask whether the guest should be admitted. As wives and children of the members of the community have often to call at the *dā'ī's* house, the porter must be selected from amongst reliable men of irreproachable character.

Bombay, the 1st June, 1939.

HARYAB OF IBN BATUTA

By GEORGE M. MORAES

Ibn Batuta, the Moorish traveller, who visited Kanara in 1342, speaks of a certain Haryab, who was the overlord of Jalal-ud-din, the Muslim sea-captain of Honawar.[1]

[1] Defremery-Sanguinetty, *Voyages d'Ibn Batuta*, IV, p. 68.

The Muslim colony of Honawar in North Kanara, which was governed by Jalal-ud-din, seems to have been the progenitor of the enterprising Muhammadan community in Kanara, known as Navaiyats, a name which means newcomers. From the observation of Ibn Batuta that they professed the doctrine of Shafi, it is inferred that they were emigrants from Arabia (*Islamic Culture*, VIII, p. 602)—an inference which agrees with the local tradition recorded in the *Kanara Gazetteer*, Pt. I, p. 400, that the Navaiyats were refugees from Kaifa at the head of the Persian Gulf, whence they had fled to escape the persecution of Hajjaj, the Governor of Iraq, at the close of the seventh century. On their arrival in India, these refugees took to commerce, and before long came to have the whole of the coastal trade in their hands. There were at least four settlements of these Arab colonists on the Kanara coast. The famous charter of the Goa Kadamba King Jayakēśi I speaks of a rich Muhammadan merchant of Taji (in Arabia) origin, named Sadhan, son of Madhumada (the Sanscritized form of Muhammad), who was the Governor of the city of Goa under the Kadambas in the 11th century (Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, pp. 185-186; 399-400). In the 14th century Ibn Batuta noticed these Muhammadans in prosperous circumstances, and in his description of the magnificent mosque (grande mosquée cathédrale) in the Muslim quarter of the city, he likens it to the mosques of Baghdad. The Governor of the colony at the time of Ibn Batuta's visit was one Ḥasan, the father of Jalal-ud-din of Honawar, who doubtless owed allegiance to the Kadamba king of Goa, then ruling from Chandrapur, the present Chandor in the Goa territory. These Muslims seem to have dealt mainly in horses. Barros in his *Decadas*, L, vii, c. 10, mentions that in 1469 the Moors of Baticala (evidently the Navaiyats of Bhatkal, the third settlement of these Muslims on the coast) by selling the horses to the Moors of the Deccan so displeased the Vijayanagara Emperor that he ordered their massacre, in which 10,000 Muhammadans are said to have perished. Their fourth settlement was at Barkur, the capital of the Ālupas. According to Ibn Batuta the infidel king of the place was one Basadao (perhaps a corrupted form of Ālupendra-Deva II, who is known to have been on the Ālupa throne at this time). His warships, about 30 in number, were commanded by a Muslim, called Loula, who was a pirate and a robber of merchants (*Ibid.*, p. 78). An inscription of 1338 refers to the Hoysaḷa King Vīra Ballāḷa Deva III's visit to his army at Barkur and the posting of his general Ankeya-Nāyaka there (*E.C.*, V, Ak. 183). This royal visit of *1338* was, according to Dr. B.A. Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I, p. 292, occasioned by the battles of Sirsi and the Ghauts, fought by the Hoysaḷa king against the great Kadamba general Gangeya Sahani in or about *1300* A.D., i.e. thirty-eight years before. More plausible explanation seems to be that by stationing his army at Barkur Vīra Ballāḷa III very probably wished to check the aggressive activities of the Muslim coastal chiefs, Jalal-ud-din and Loula, and especially the latter, because his growing power was threatening to overthrow the Ālupa King, the brother-in-law and vassal of Vīra Ballāḷa III. Tuḷuva, it may be added, had nothing to do with the

Who was this Haryab? Scholars, since the time of Sewell have invariably indentified him with Harihara I, the founder of the Vijayanagara Empire. Some of the more recent historians have gone even further, and suggested that he was a mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Ballāḷa III. According to Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, who was the first to make this suggestion, Harihara and his brothers were separately employed by Ballāḷa as governors of different provinces of his kingdom: thus, while Harihara ruled over the West Coast and Bukka at Dorasamudra and Penukoṇḍa, Kampa was entrusted with the government of the country between Bijapur and Golconda, and Mārapa and Muddapa administered the north-west and south-east of Mysore respectively.[1]

With due respect to the views of the veteran historian, it may nevertheless be pointed out that there is nothing in the records of the Hoysaḷa period to substantiate this claim. The brothers of Harihara may have ruled in the above capacity in the Satrapies, mentioned above. But this was not in the period of the Hoysaḷa domination. For one thing, there is no reference in their records to any of the brothers as occupying these responsible posts. In fact, while mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvaras, mahāsāmantādhipatis, and mahāpradhānas like Sōmaya, Vallapa, Mādhava, and Māchaya, etc., figure prominently in the documents of the time, the former are conspicuous by their absence. What is more, Harihara himself makes his appearance for the first time in history in the year 1340, and from the evidence before us [2] it would appear that his rule was confined during this period to the Northern Karnatak. He seems to have taken advantage of the absence of Ballāḷa further south,[3] to lead an incursion into the Hoysaḷa dominions—a circumstance, which accounts for his presence in the Bangalore district.[4] It was probably to guard against a possible invasion from the north that before he started, he took care to have a fort built at Badami, which was probably his northern outpost. It is in any case significant that the fortification of his northern frontier should have taken place just seven months before his southern expedition brought him to the very heart of the Hoysaḷa kingdom.[5]

Kadambas in those days, and consequently the battles of Sirsi and the Ghauts could not have led to a crisis there, as Dr. Saletore seems to believe.

[1] S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India and Her Muhammadan invaders*, p. 180; *Historical Inscriptions*, p. 185.

[2] *I.A.*, X, p. 63. This inscription, which is at Badami, Bijapur district, belongs to one Chāmeyanāyaka, who was presumably a military and administrative officer in charge of the northern districts of Harihara's kingdom. Harihara's capital was perhaps somewhere at Ānegundi.

[3] *E.C.*, IX, Br. 31, where Ballāḷa is said to be at Uṇṇāmalai. This record is dated in the month of Kārtika, one month after the record of Harihara.

[4] *E.C.*, IX, Nl 19.

[5] Both the inscriptions (*I.A.*, X, p. 63 and *E.C.*, IX, Nl 19) are dated in the same Cyclic year, viz. Vikrama. But the Śaka Samvats given in them, viz. 1261 and 1263 respectively are wrong, as the Cyclic year corresponded to Ś.S. 1262. The English dates of the inscriptions are 29th Feb., 1340 and

True, we do find a certain Hariyappa daṇṇāyaka, brother-in-law of mahāpradhāna Dēvappa daṇṇāyaka in a *śāsana* at Mudubidre in South Kanara.[1] But obviously this Harihara could not have been the Harihara we are speaking of, for the simple reason that the person, who is styled 'the glorious mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara' in 1340[2] could not have occupied a much inferior position, that of daṇṇāyaka or mere captain, later in 1342. With the singular exception of this record, there is no inscription of this period, which so much as mentions the name Harihara, in the Kanara districts.

The first record of Harihara I in Kanara is dated *Sarvadhāri* A.D. 1348, when his minister Gautarasa was ruling the Mangaḷūra-rājya.[3] But the coastal strip of Kanara—at least that portion of it subject to the Ālupas and known as Tuḷuva, must have come under the Vijayanagara sway two years before in 1346. That year Chikkāyi Tāyi, the widowed queen of Ballāḷa III, and her brother the Ālupa king Pāṇḍya-dēva Ālupendra acknowledged the suzerainty of Harihara. This is evidenced by the supplementary grant issued by the former to the grant made by Harihara and his brothers to the Maṭha at Śringeri.[4]

This *annus mirabilis* in the annals of Vijayanagara history seems to have witnessed the beginning of Vijayanagara dominion in the Haiga (roughly North Kanara) as well. For an inscription of 1347 of Mārapa, who ruled the western portion of the Empire from his capital Chandragutti, referring to his triumphal march to the West Coast, says: 'As he was proceeding on a certain occasion, he encountered the Kadamba King, surrounded like Sakra by an

1st Oct., 1340 respectively, the week days not corresponding. Cf. Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. IV, pp. 282-83.

[1] *S.I.I.*, VII, No. 213. This record is dated Thursday 15th Makara of the Cyclic year Visu, which in the reign of the Hoysaḷa King Ballāḷa III fell on the 10th Jan., 1342. Pillai, *op. cit.*, p. 286. On the supposition that this record was inscribed in the reign of Narasiṁha III, Dr. B. A. Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I, p. 284, makes the year Visu correspond to Thursday 9th Jan., 1281; from which he infers that Ballāḷa, who was still a prince at the time, 'was placed by his father Vīra Narasiṁha Deva as viceroy over Tuḷuva with his headquarters at Mudubidre'. It is, however, to be doubted if any such conclusion is justifiable. For one thing, the formula, which usually implies independent position, viz. when Vīra Ballāḷa was ruling the kingdom of the world, is evidence enough that the record in question refers itself to the reign of Ballāḷa III. Nor can it be maintained that the clause Śrī Vīra Narasiṁhādhīndra Dēvarasara *kumāra* Śrī Vīra Ballāḷa Dēvaruguḷu' etc., means that *prince* Ballāḷa Deva was ruling, etc., but rather that Śrī Narasiṁha Deva's *son* Śrī Vīra Ballāḷa Deva was ruling the kingdom of the world—the use of the father's name here being a mere convention. Then again, as regards the assertion that Vīra Ballāḷa was ruling as Viceroy at Mudubidre, it will be agreed that it is too far fetched. For, what can be gathered from the record is merely that the *śāsana* was issued by such and such officers of the King and others besides, *in the reign of Vīra Ballāḷa*, the last being an insertion, which is customary in such cases. Finally the English date, given by Dr. Saletore, does not correspond to the Cyclic year Visu, but to Vikrama. Cf. Pillai, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

[2] *I.A.*, X, p. 63.

[3] *S.I.I.*, VII, No. 231.

[4] *E.C.*, VI, Sg. 1.

army and having defeated him in battle in order to see Śiva, the lord of Gōkarṇa, the original creator of the world, came to that place of leisure'.[1]

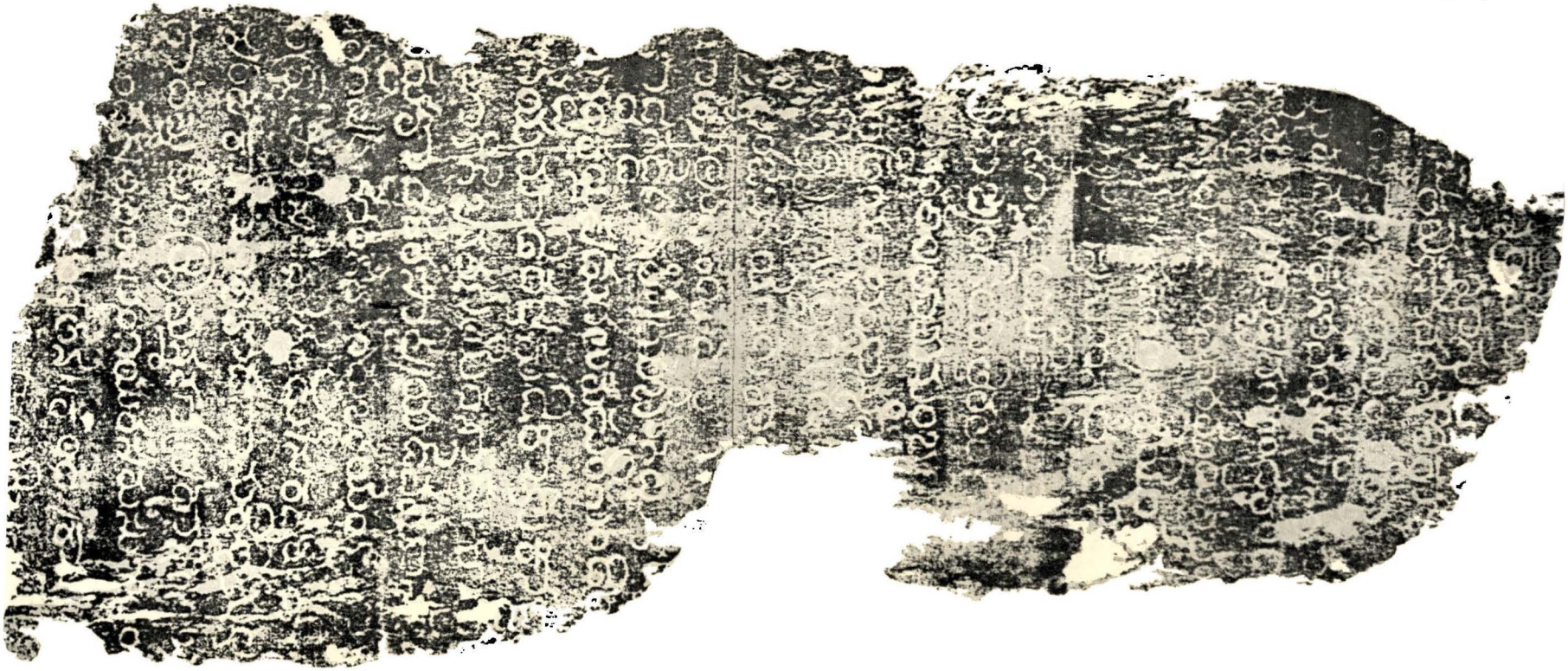
It will be noticed that the route hinted at in this inscription lay across the North Kanara district, thus testifying to the extension of the Vijayanagara hegemony over this tract of coastal territory beyond the Ālupa kingdom.

It thus being plain that Haryab of Ibn Batuta is not to be identified with Harihara I, we have to see if any king of that name is known to have ruled during this period in the neighbourhood of Honawar. For it must be borne in mind that he was merely one of the twelve 'infidel sultans in the Moulaibar land' of whom Ibn Batuta is speaking. And since the countries on either side of Haiga, in which Honawar is situated, are each honoured with a king, viz. Sindabur (Goa) with its Kadamba King, and Tuḷuva under the Ālupa chief at Barkur, the conclusion seems inevitable that Haryab to whom Jalal-ud-din was subject, was the ruler of Haiga.

The existence of a dynasty of local chiefs, who ruled over the Haiga country in the fourteenth century was brought to light a few years ago through the enterprise of the Archæological Department of the Mysore State. During his visit to the historic site of Gersoppa in the summer of 1927, Rev. H. Heras, S.J. noticed some inscriptions lying about the village. He probably expected these inscriptions to throw fresh light on the Bhaira Devis, the famous *Rainhas da Pimenta* (the pepper queens) of the Portuguese chroniclers, and wrote to the Archæological Department of the Mysore State to have them published.[2] It was thus that a hitherto unknown dynasty of local chiefs was revealed, a dynasty which seems to have come into prominence in the troublous times that followed the southern incursions of the Delhi Muhammadans.

It is well-known that the interval between 1313 when Vīra Ballāḷa III's son, who had been taken to Delhi as a hostage, was released, and the third invasion of the Deccan under the Delhi Sultan Muhammad Tughlak, was employed by Vīra Ballāḷa in the prosecution of the traditional warfare with the neighbouring Hindu kingdoms. In 1318 Dēvagiri was destroyed by the Muhammadans and Haripāla, its last Yādava king, was flayed alive. Deprived of the help of their allies and thrown back on their own resources, the Kadambas were hard put to it to stem the tide of the Hoysaḷa aggression. They nevertheless succeeded in preserving intact their territory south of Banavasi; but were powerless to maintain their hold on that part of the West Coast, viz. Haiga, which belonged to them. For incensed at the determined resistance of the Kadambas above the ghauts, the Hoysaḷas seem to have turned westwards and vented their wrath on the Kadamba governor of Chandavuru

[1] *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.
[2] They were published in *M.A.R.*, 1928, pp. 93-103.



The Gersoppa Inscription of King Honna.
Photo by Mr. S. B. Joseph, Photographer, Secretariat, Bombay.

(Chandavar in North Kanara), Basava-Deva, and destroyed the town. A record dated Jan. 1319 has it that the Tuḷuva [1] army of Basava-Deva was utterly destroyed,[2] from which we may conclude that Haiga ceased to form part of the Kadamba kingdom.

It is highly probable that to this newly conquered district Ballāḷa III appointed his veteran general Honnarāja, the progenitor of the Gersoppa family, as governor.[3] Whether this Honna was the person of the same name mentioned elsewhere it is not possible with precision to say.[4] Be that as it may, thanks to the enormous wealth, the favoured position of his capital on the West Coast brought him, Honna soon forgot his loyalty to his overlord and declared himself independent. This probably occurred in the year 1328, when the Muhammadans of Delhi again invaded the Deccan and

[1] The word Tuḷuva is here used either in a loose sense, or it means an army composed of Tuḷuva free lances.

[2] *E.C.*, VII, Hl. 117. That he was a Kadamba governor is inferred from the Kadamba titles given to him in the records. *M.A.R.*, 1928, No. 108, pp. 96-97; 120 of 1929-30 (Bombay Karnatak).

[3] There is in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, a fragment of a stone inscription in Kannada, brought by Fr. Heras from Gersoppa. It records a grant of land, and mentions among other things Honna Nṛipāla and the Śrīman mahāpradhāna maṇḍaḷēśvara Honniyarasa. The following is the text:—

1. ...na kramaven...
2. ...khagu.....
3. ...takhiḷa nāmavaḷivarā
4. ...Honnanṛpāla ti...
5. ...dadim kuṇivante ho...
6. ...va...dbhvam kaṇṭakam...
7. ...maladhārī mādhavēndu va...
8. .....Jeyoḷa.....
9. ...svasti samastaguṇāḷankṛ...
10. ...gga Heggaḍeya te...se...
11. ...rajyam geyuttiralu...
12. ...svara lalāmanum bha...
13. ...tha trayabharaṇanum...
14. ...śrī Pariśvara.....
15. ...janikeyolu.....
16. ...lu gaḍiya ma.....
17. ...tta gadde ā...ya baga...
18. ...naṭṭ a kallu paḍuvalu kudureguṇḍi...
19. ...neya maḍidaṭṭa kudiroḷu koṭṭa...
20. ...hāḷige Banavaseye...nā....
21. ...rddu kotta Gerasoppeya dēva...
22. ...honge vondu baḷḷayam...
23. ...śrī Parisva dēvarigeṇḍu I śaka varu...
24. ...sanchcha kāṇurgaṇada Bhānukīrtti mala...
25. ...ta dharmamam śrīman mahāpradhāna...
26. ...maṇḍaḷēśvara Honniyarasaru sukha...
27. .....vamentene II kanda II ka...
28. .....ba.....

I am indebted to Prof. K. G. Kundanagar, who has kindly revised my reading of the text.

[4] *E.C.*, V, Ak. 113.

overran the Hoysaḷa kingdom.[1] The cowed condition of the Hoysaḷa Emperor[2] was probably availed of by his satrap on the West Coast, not within easy reach of the Hoysaḷa arms, and safe behind the barriers of the Western Ghauts. He seems to have strengthened his position further by reconciling the local elements still loyal to the old dynasty. Accordingly, he seems to have reinstated the local governor of the Kadambas at Chandavar, obviously on condition of allegiance not to Hāngal, but to Gersoppa.[3]

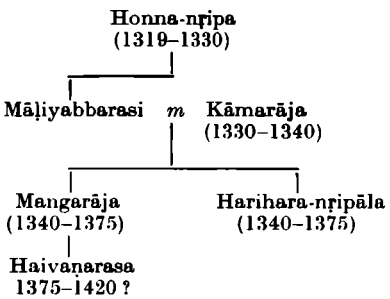
The founder of this new dynasty, Honna-rāja, must have died soon after he asserted his independence of the Hoysaḷa Emperor in c. 1330 having passed the age of fifty, when he was appointed governor. He was succeeded by his son-in-law Kāma, to whom we may assign a rule of about 10 years; for it is not unreasonable to suppose that he was past middle age, when he ascended the throne. The next thirty-five years were occupied by the reigns of his sons Harihara and Manga. We have no means of knowing whether it was a joint rule—a practice not quite uncommon, or whether one brother succeeded the other, as is the more usual course. However that be, we have it on the authority of Ibn Batuta that it was Harihara-nṛipāla that was ruling the Gersoppa kingdom when he visited Honawar in the year 1342, and under whose suzerainty the powerful sea-captain Jalal-ud-din was living at the time.[4]

[1] *E.C.*, V, Ak. 31. A memorial tablet commemorating the death of a Hoysaḷa hero who died fighting the Turukas, i.e. the Delhi Muhammadans.

[2] Concluded from *E.C.*, IX, Db. 38, which confines his rule only to the kingdom of Punnad Seventy.

[3] *M.A.R.*, 1928, No. 108, pp. 96-97; 120 of 1929-30.

[4] The genealogy of these chiefs, according to the inscriptions of Haivaṇarasa, *M.A.R.*, 1928, Nos. 105 and 110, may be stated as follows:—



THE BEGINNINGS OF THE MARĀṬHA REVENUE SYSTEM IN KARNĀṬAKA

By R. N. SALETORE

Little has been written about the beginnings of the Marāṭha Revenue System in Karnāṭaka, portions of which were in the hands of the early Marāṭha sovereigns from the days of Sāhaji.[1] It is necessary to study this aspect of Marāṭha fiscal policy, because it is not wholly correct to think that the early Marāṭha rulers learnt their first lessons in the science of Public Finance only from the Deccani Sultans in the fifteenth century.[2] The chief reason for such an inference is because the early Marāṭhas received as good a training under the ægis of the great Vijayanagara emperors as they did under the Sultans of the Deccan and they eventually became the political successors of the former in the seventeenth century on the extinction of the Vijayanagara empire. This can be proved by the evidence of an inscription found at Allāḷasandra in the same *hobaḷi* in the Bangalore taluka. It says that in A.D. 1544, when the emperor Sadāśiva Rāya was ruling at Vijayanagara, the Marāṭha Viṭhaleśvara Deva *Mahārasu's* agent Rācūr Narasiṁhayya, granted for the god Allāḷanātha of Jakkūr, the Allāḷasandra village in the Śivanasamudra *sīme* of Elahanka *nāḍ* with rights over the lakes and pools, paddyfields and arable ground, hills and hollows, gardens and grazing ground, water rights in forests and water pertaining to that plot of land.[3]

This epigraph shows that under the tutelage of the Vijayanagara emperors, Marāṭha chiefs were granted titles of the great king (*mahārasu*) as they were entrusted with the administration of certain units like the *hobaḷi*; that they had, after the emperor himself, agents to represent them (*kāryakartā*) and to act as their deputies, and that they actually adopted the purely Karnāṭaka system of recovering revenue from the traditional eight sources (*aṣṭabhōga*) and of granting lands to temples with all rights and in actually employing in their administration persons of the locality.

[1] Cf. my forthcoming paper: '*Sambhāji in Karnāṭaka*' in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, 1939.

[2] Cf. B. K. Sarkar, *Creative India*, p. 404; Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal India*, p. 3; Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 152.

[3] *Ep. Carn.* IX, Bn 30, text p. 11, tr. p. 9; Sri Marāṭīya Viṭhaleśvara Deva Mahārasugaḷa Kāryakartarāda Rācūr Narasimayagalu Jekkūra Allāḷanātha Devara amrita paḍi naivedyakke puṇyavāgabēkendu samarpsidevu. ā grāmakke salluva sīme yolagāda kere kuṇṭe gadde beddalu gud(d)e guyalu toṭa kādārambha nīrārambha sakala muntāda aṣṭa bhōga tejaswāmyavanu samarpisidevu yi dharma sādhana.

Note.—In interpreting kuṇṭe, tuḍuka to mean pools and grazing grounds I follow Kittel, *Kan.-Eng. Dictionary*, pp. 437, 728.

With such a tradition and training in fiscal administration, when the Marāṭha sovereigns actually imposed their sway on a part of the Kanarese country, they commenced to impose on the people not the Hindu-Muslim type of fiscal administration which they introduced in the Marāṭha country, but they were wise enough to continue the indigenous and well-tried system of revenue which had been prevailing in Karnāṭaka for more than three centuries of imperial rule. Take for example the system of granting lands and we find the same uniformity prevalent. A record found at Gollu in the Cikka-Balḷāpura tāluka and ascribed to the year A.D. 1646 reveals how, to the son of the *Gauḍa* of Mahapaṭṭaṇa, the Balḷāpura kings granted, to the south of this town for the management (*pārupatya*) of a place, some specified plot of land as a *surugumānya*.[1] This system of bestowing lands as *mānya* was adopted by the Marāṭha chiefs of Balḷāpura and Gooty as well as by the descendants of the great Śivāji. This chieftain of Balḷāpura, *Balḷāpurada Doregaḷu* as he is called, belonged to a family which became the ally of the Ghorpaḍes of Gooty in the eighteenth century. Such land which was given away by the king must have been State property, for there is evidence to show, at least in Karnāṭaka, that, if a grant of a plot of private property was to be made, it was actually purchased even by the royal family before it was given away as a present. Such a conclusion can be proved by an inscription found in the Koṇḍipaḷḷi village in Mulbāgil taluka, dated A.D. 1653, which says that the *Rājadhirāja rājarāja* Sambhāji Rāja Mahārāja's son Kannarāyāji Paṇḍita, *buying* Koṇḍiganahaḷḷi, granted it to a person, whose name is unfortunately effaced, as a *kaṭṭu-Koḍagi*.[2] This usage of granting the lands as a *Kaṭṭu-koḍagi* was for the restoration of disused or ancient tanks as will be explained later. But what deserves to be noticed in this grant is that usually, whenever a tank was built, the land under it was given to the builder as a *kaṭṭu-koḍige*. In A.D. 1756, to take a later example, the Mahisūr *Daḷavāyi* Doḍḍaya's great-grandson Nanjarājaiyya's domestic *gurikāra* Vīraiya, having built a tank, a similar grant was made to him.[3]

Lands were sometimes given away for various purposes. Among these the acquisition of personal merit was one of the chief causes. A record found at Lakkur, Lakkur *hobaḷi* in the Nelamangala taluka, and dated A.D. 1657, reveals how Ajarkhān *Mahārāja Rāja śri* Sāhuji Raja Saheb, in order that merit might accrue to himself granted to Bavanur Ahmad in Lakkur some specified land. For this purpose the necessary permission was

[1] *E.C.*, X, C.B. 54, p. 209, text p. 254: sri mahāpaṭṭaṇnakke gauḍaṇa maga.. ge .. daksinada baḷiya Baḷāpurada doregaḷu koṭṭa baḷi pāra patya .. aṅgake .. ṇṇa nure I ṛu surugu mānyaṅgala khaḷ .. gāraranam aravindá-ko .. dānam .. *Note*: Surugu means a dry leaf portion of a plantain leaf, Kittel, *op. cit.*, p. 1575.

[2] Ibid., Mb. 154, p. 111, text p. 132: dāna dharma ... diganahaḷḷi *kraya koṇḍu* .... vatige koṭṭa kaṭṭu-koḍige. Italics mine.

[3] *E.C.*, IX, Cp. 34, p. 140.

given to Canda Khān who appears to have made the stipulated grant.[1] It may be casually noted in this connection how much of co-operation and intimacy existed between the Marāṭhas and the Muslims despite the great antagonism which raged between these two people, especially in matters of administration.

Another method of granting land was by giving it as *umbaḷi*. As has been shown already in the Vijayanagara empire there were six types of *umbaḷi* grants[2] and its political heirs, the Marāṭhas followed this form of making gifts. According to an epigraph found at Nāgobaḷḷi in the same *hobaḷi*, Cannapaṭna taluka, dated A.D. 1660, the *Rājadhirāja* Khavaṇa Sahebaayya granted to Siddhalinga Gauḍa the Nāgavaḷḷi village of Cannapaṭna-sthaḷa of Kelale *nāḍ* as an *umbaḷi*.[3] The epigraph does not specify at first the nature of the grant but it is evidently a *grāma umbaḷi* as can be made out from the words: *ā sthaḷada Nāgavaḷḷi grāma*— in the inscription itself.

In most of these plots of land that were granted, administrative arrangements were made for the recovery of revenue. The agent for affairs (*Kāryakartā*) already referred to above, not only settled land disputes but looked to the fiscal administration of the district under his jurisdiction. When Sambhāji was ruling, in A.D. 1654 his agent for affairs for the 'border district' of Kolaḷa named Kanayāji Pant and others, on hearing that the Komaṭis of Kolāḷa abandoned that place, 'gave to Candayya Tambarahaḷḷi Dēpa-Gauḍa land under the Muduvāḍi Mallasamudra tank, with a *sāsana*, for constructing it . . and Bālaji-Panditarayya having given permission (*appaṇe koṭṭadu*) they granted land in Mallasamudra and Muduvāḍi—both together, 49 *khaṇḍugas*'.[4] Why exactly the Komaṭis ran away is not clear from the epigraph, although it was obviously owing to some difficulties with their land tenure, but it is worth noticing that no steps were taken by the government to make any inquiry into this matter for such decisions were probably left to the discretion of the local official in charge, who, as in this case, without any reference to higher authorities, and in consultation with another official, who is said to have granted the permission, gave away the plot to another party.

[1] *E.C.*, IX, Nl 69, p. 46; text p. 55: hola gade kaṁ hākisi koḍa hēḷi saraha . . dara Canda Khānanavarige appaṇe koḍalāgi appaṇe prakāra hola Ka I gedeya Kūḍā kha 11/4 vida baṇḍāra bhūmi koṭa . . ā . . koṭa-bhumi '2 yi-prakāra koḷādu.

[2] See Saletore: *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, II, pp. 252–54.

[3] *E.C.*, IX, Cp. 26, p. 139, text: śālivahana saka varuṣa 1583 neya Vikāri samvatsarada Magha su -10 lu śrīmad rājadhirāja śri Khavana sahebaru ayyanavaru Siddhalige gaudar esarigeyu umbaḷiya kottevāgi Keḷale-nāḍ Cennapaṭaṇa sthaḷada yiji . . Nagavaḷḷi grāma. . *Note*: the capital of Keḷale-*nāḍ* from A.D. 1395 to 1534 was Malaur *sthala* (Malalur), see *E.C.*, IX, Cp. 147–152, p. 164. This place was known as Kilali-*nāḍ* in A.D. 1085; ibid., Cp. 180, p. 169.

[4] *E.C.*, X, Kl 193, p. 60, text p. 68.

Such plots of land were granted on stipulated conditions, which can best be seen in the bestowal of the *Kaṭṭu-koḍige*. To illustrate this point two examples of the bounty of a commoner and a king may be cited. In A.D. 1661 *rāja mānya rājaśri* Vilāji (Pilāji?) Paṇḍita Vīrayya granted to one Gaṇapati a *kaṭṭu-koḍige* with the following agreement: 'You having caused the tank of Bangavāḍi belonging to our Dalasanur *sthaḷa* to be built, and a *batya-koḍige* being granted to you,—every year you will grant from the produce' various amounts to the *Desāyi* as specified from the Kārtika and Vaiśāka crops.[1] Although it cannot be ascertained from this epigraph the exact percentage of the produce payable to the government still it is clear that a *batya* (*batta*?) *koḍige* meant that specified amounts from the produce were to be paid to the State every year from both the crops and that productive plots of land were given precisely on this condition.

State dues were sometimes specified. An inscription found at Holūr, Holūr *hobaḷi*, Kolar tāluka, dated A.D. 1663, states that the *Rājadhirāja rājasrī* Sambhāji Rāja Sāheb gave to Alambgiri Tippi Seṭṭi and Vāranāsi Cenne Gauḍa a *koḍige sāsana* as follows: 'You having caused the old tank of Holūr, belonging to Koḷāla to be restored, we grant to you the land (specified), altogether 6 *khanḍugas* of rice land formerly belonging to the *achukaṭṭu* (or irrigated area) of the tank, free of all imposts. Whatever extent of fresh irrigated area there may be, that also we grant to you, free of all imposts, but on obtaining a crop from it—certain quantitites—½ *khanḍuga* to the palace, ½ *khanḍuga* for the *agrahāra*; both together 1 *kha* (*nḍuga*) to dry field measurement'.[2]

From such a grant certain conclusions can be drawn. It is evident that, in this case at least, not only was a specified plot of land pertaining to the area of the tank bestowed as a present for restoring it, free of all taxes, but in addition some fresh land was also granted. Owing to this restoration whatever area of fresh irrigated land existed, that too was exempted from taxation, but on obtaining from it the first crop (*yantu phala saṅda mēle*) half a *khanḍi* of this yield was to be paid to the State and such a due was christened as the share of the palace (*aramane pālinoḷage*) as is

[1] *E.C.*, X, Kl 207, p. 62, *Note*: This man is apparently a common person and a Marāṭha, although he is called by the additional surname of Vīrayya. Such surnames may be compared for instance with the following:

Antrāji Paṇḍita Akaladarasayya	..	Kl 196, p. 644 text.
Bālāji Paṇḍitarayya	..	Ibid., 193, p. 68.
Viṭhala Panditarayya	..	Ibid., 224, p. 64.

[2] Ibid., Kl 219, p. 63, text p. 72: .. ubhayam āru khanḍuga gadde sarvamānya naḍasalluvaru yi mānyakke āva pārapatyagāraru tappidaru ... hosa achukaṭṭuyeshṭu sāgidaru aṣṭu gaddeyu yantu-phala nimage sarvamānyavāgi naḍasi koḷḷuvaru yantu phala sandamele nirṇaya khanḍuṇav eraḍakke kaṭṭu koḍagi gadde kha.

often stated in the recorded inscriptions of the Keḷadi kings,[1] while half a *khanḍi* was to be given to the temple adjoining the tank, according to the dry-field measurement (*hola khanḍugavanna*). Therefore from a total yield of six *khanḍugas* of rice the government demanded as land revenue only one-sixth. It is however difficult to state whether or not such a recovery of land revenue was equitable, or whether it was in conformity with an existing practice in that locality or whether it was only a continuation of a system in that particular area, for lack of sufficient evidence. Most probably, however, the percentage of such a recovery depended on several factors like the productivity of the soil, the situation of the plot, the arrears due to the government, and similar circumstances.

Several other types of gifts were also made in the shape of land. In the time-honoured style of the Guptas, the Marāṭhas too rewarded Brahmans with *agrahāras* in accordance with the custom prevalent in the Daksiṇāpatha as well. A record found at Huttur, Huttur *hobaḷi*, Kolar taluka, dated A.D. 1666, says that in this year 'Jayitā Bāyi Amma, lawful wife of Sambhāji Rāja of the Kauśika *gotra* and Bhośala *nila*, made to Bhāvuji Pant, son of Virupāksa Śankara and grandson of Kapathaḷi Govinda Pant of the Kāśyapa *gotra*, a grant of a land as follows: the Uttur village in the Koḷāla *sīme* belonging to the Kolār *cāvaḍi* have we granted as an *agrahāra*, with permission to bequeath, mortgage or sell, to be enjoyed to your posterity, with all the usual rights'.[1] Such a gift therefore implied that, if an *agrahāra* was so given, it carried with it the rights of mortgage and sale (*krayabhōgya*) and it meant that it was given for posterity and that its owner was entitled to the seven traditional rights of '*nirārambha nidhi niksepa jala pāṣāṇa aksīṇa āgāmi siddha siddhāyagaḷ*' and as such it was styled as a *bhū-dāna* or a sacred gift.

A less formal reward was a grant for military services rendered which may be styled in modern phraseology as a war-pension. We are told in an epigraph found at Annehaḷḷi in the Kolar taluka, how in A.D. 1670 by order of the dowager (*Mātuśri*) queen Jayita Bayi Amma, the Sugaṭūr *hobaḷi Havaladār* Viṭhaḷa Panditarāya and the Brahmans of the *agrahāra* were given 2 field as *nettara-koḍige* for Annenahaḷḷi Sankharāya, to be enjoyed free of all rights.[2] The grant of a *nettara-koḍige*—a blood-gift meant that it had to be given or rather ordered by the ruler, that the local officer and the Brahmans of the locality actually made the gift and that it implied exemption from all imposts only and hence it was called a *sarvamānya*.

[1] *E.C.*, X, Kl 227, p. 65; text p. 74: Kolāra cāvaḍige salluva sīmevaḷage . . Uttūra grāmavannu agrahāravāgi daha ādhi kraya bhogya-kainkaryavāgi sa hiranyodak dhara pūrvakavāgi sa putra pautra pāramparyavāgi catussīme valita vada kāḍārambha nirārambha nidhi niksepa jala pāṣāṇa aksina āgami siddha sādhaya gal emba aṣṭa tejas svāmya . . . In this connection please see my paper: *Keḷadi Revenue System*, in the Journal of Indian History, Madras, Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, 1939, pp. 70–88.

[2] Ibid., Kl 224, pp. 64, text pp. 73-74: net(t) ara koḍige hola śāsana ayidu koḷaga sarvamānyavāgi . . .

Gifts were also made for recognized service. An epigraph attributed to A.D. 1676, found at Hebbaḷa, Bangalore taluka, relates how Rūpa Dēva Rāṇi's son Baḷḷeya Raya Rāṇi (Rāṇa?) granted to *Samudrada-koṭe* Dāsa's son Nammāluvār as a *dāsōha* some specified piece of land under the old tank called Rūpasamudra of Hebbaḷa, belonging to his office of *Nāyaka*. In addition he gave some other plots of land in some other places.[1] This record shows that an officer was appointed over a specified area which is said to have 'belonged to his office' but the right of granting or receiving any stretch of land was vested not in him but in a higher officer, who had the power to make grants. Such superior officers were usually the rulers of the land, whether they were petty chieftains or recognized sovereigns like Sambāji or Sāhaji. *Dāsōha* means self-subjection either to a deity or to a man:[2] a devotional act and as such these grants must have been made to persons whose devotion was considered especially meritorious.

The grant of hereditary estates was discontinued by Śivāji, but exceptions were evidently made in the case of royal princes. This can be proved by an example of a grant in the Cintāmaṇi taluka. An inscription, ascribed to A.D. 1685, says that the *Mahārājadhi rāja rāja parameśvara vīra pratāpa*. . of the Bhosal *vaṁśa* Sambhāji rāja's son Malukoji rāja, granted for the god Tiruvengalanātha, free of all imposts, the Avalambagiri village, belonging to the Kaivāra sthaḷa, in the Koḷāla sīme, one of the seven nāḍs attached to the 'Hosa . . lu *cāvaḍi*', which during his reign Śivāji had given to Malukoji Rāja as a *Mirāsi*.[3] But later Śivāji must have put an end to such practices for Ramacandra Pant who knew his policy well, suggested the following advice to Sambhāji of Kolhapur in A.D. 1716: 'It is a great injustice to give lands to servants or vritti-holders for the purpose of achieving a task'.[4] Sabhasad also had given expression to similar views. He relates how Śivāji decided that '*Mokāsa Mahāls* or villages with absolute rights should on no account be granted to the (men in) army, the militia (*Hasam*) and the fort establishments . . . None but the *Kārkūns* had any authority over the land . . . If *mokāsa* were granted, the *Rāyats* would grow unruly and wax strong; and the collection regulations would no longer be obeyed. If the Rāyats grew powerful, there would be (rebellious) disturbance at various places. Those, who were given *mokāsas*, if united with the *Zamindārs*, would grow unruly. Therefore *mokāsas* should not be granted to anybody'.[5]

[1] *E.C.*, IX, Bn 137, p. 25, text p. 32: kaṭṭida-aneya keḷage '10 antu kha 1 gadde yanu dhāreyanu eradu Koṭṭevāgi . . .

[2] Kittel, *op. cit.*, p. 784.

[3] *Amātya* Ramacandra Pant, *Rājanīti*, p. 36. (Puntambekar), 1929.

[4] *E.C.*, X, Ct 54, p. 253: Sambhāji rājara putrarāda Malukoji rājarāda rājaśri Sivāji mahārājara āḷvikeyalu Hos. . lu cāvaḍige salluva yēḷu nāḍavolagaṇa Koḷāḷa sīmege salluva Kaivārá sthaḷa virājita chetrapati Sivāji mahārājadhirāja śri Malukoji Rājarige mirasiyāgi koṭṭa kaivarada sthaḷakke.

[5] Sabhasad, text, pp. 24-25, Sen, ibid., p. 34.

When in all these details of fiscal administration the Marāṭha rulers in the Karnāṭaka country followed the well-established procedure of their illustrious predecessors the emperors of Vijayanagara, it is not at all strange that they adopted even in the demarcation of villages the Vijayanagara style. According to an inscription discovered at Cennambapura, Honnāḷi taluka, dated 1686, 'Matūr Sahaji of Bhāganagara (modern Hyderabad) ... duru Sahaji, Biraya's Gaṇa Sahaji and others granted a *nirūpa* (order) to the Cennambapura agrahāra, giving certain land marked out by stones stamped with the Vāmana as a *pradhāni śāsana*'.[1] That this was a typical Vijayanagara practice can be verified from several inscriptions of Vijayanagara times. A record, for example from Gundlupet taluka, dated A.D. 1505, issued during the reign of Pratāpa Narasiṁha *Mahārāya*, relates how an *agrahāra* renamed Cikkarāyapura was given away after it was marked with boundary-stones bearing the sign of the Vāmana or the dwarf.[2] The words '*pradhāni śāsana*' probably imply that it was granted as a gift to an official whose name is partially effaced.[3]

[1] *E.C.*, VII, Hl 304, p. 177, text p. 311: pradhāni śāsana māḍi kottu.
[2] Ibid., IV, Gu 67, p. 47, text p. 77.
[3] Cf. *S.I.I*, II, p. 119, wherein occurs the expression '*pradhāni-joḍi*' interpreted to mean the prime-minister's quit-rent.

INDO-ARYAN LAND REVENUE SYSTEM
Between Cir. 600 B.C. and 200 A.D.

By ATINDRA NATH BOSE

The origin of land revenue is as old as the origin of state. Even in the early Vedic period, the Indo-Aryan polity was sufficiently organized to collect regular taxes called *bali* which apparently consisted of contributions from agricultural produce and from the stock of cattle paid by the villagers at certain specific rates.[1] In post-Vedic works we have for the first time classified lists of the sources of king's revenue together with the customary rates of each. They moreover approach the modern European thought in consciously formulating general rules and maxims of taxation as well as the principles of application of special taxes. The fundamental concept of taxation seen in early Dharmasūtras is that the king is entitled to a tax for the service of protection.[2] This theory is based upon a corresponding conception of contract between the ruler and his subjects. The theory of social contract as given in Manu and the Śāntiparva (67. 23ff.) allows the king 1/50 of animals and metals and 1/10 of grain with the fairest maiden, military service and 1/4 of merit. Although the Arthaśāstra considerably raises the amount as is its wont—viz. to 1/6 of grains and 1/10 of merchandise, certain features are common in this theory of the traditional origin of kingship. Firstly, the people submit to a voluntary or self-imposed tax, the rate being fixed by themselves. Secondly, the taxes are given to the chosen king as wages for ensuring protection and prosperity. Thirdly, the king is answerable to subjects for violating the principles of just punishments and taxes.

The law-books do not show any further evolution of public control of raising and appropriation of money. But they provide moral sanctions. The writers on law and polity countenanced no uncertainty in the assessment of king's dues and left no room for arbitrary collection of course in normal times. Even what seems to be most highhanded and oppressive from modern standpoint was sought to be justified by reference to authorities who defined every tax with laborious precision. Every tax-payer knows what he has to pay and no ruler can impose anything beyond only lawful taxes. Over-collection by officers is not connived at. 'Whoever doubles the revenue eats into the vitality of the country' and punishment is enjoined for the traducer (Arthaśāstra, II. 9., Śukranīti, i. 617f.). Kinds and assessment of taxes and appropriation

[1] Ghosal: *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 9f.
[2] Gaut., X. 27; Baudh., I. 10. 18. 1; Vāś., I. 42; Viṣ., III.28.

of money were considered to be fixed for ever by the Divine Law violation of which was anathema and meant grave public discontent.

Thus the early Indian taxation system was not stranger to the canon of certainty. It was equally alive to the other modern canon of taxation, viz. convenience. A set of rules formulated in Manu (VII. 128, 139, 170f.), the Śāntiparva (87, 17f.) and the Arthaśāstra (II. 1) embodies the recognition that state revenues ultimately depend on production of wealth by individuals so that whatever injures the latter is bound to react on the former, that while taxation subserves the essential needs of the state, it involves a diminution of the people's wealth so that the statesman's task is to reconcile the needs of the state with the interests of the subjects. This point is cleared up by the same authorities by means of a host of analogies from nature (Arth., V. 2; Manu., VII. 128f.; Śp. 71, 16ff.; 87, 20ff.; 88. 4ff.). The king should resemble the leech which sucks blood gently without causing pain to the victim; the florist who plucks flowers but leaves more of them in the garden for future supply and not the coal merchant who burns all trees outright; the bee which does not sip all the honey of the flower at a time; the cowherd who does not pierce the udder of the cow with the hope of a capital milk-supply; the mouse which nibbles the heels of a sleeping man with its sharp teeth so gradually that the wound is imperceptible. The essence of the metaphors is that taxation should not sap the productive source but leave a decent producer's surplus, that taxation should be levied or increased by easy instalments and not in a lump or by jumps, and that these should be raised at a time and place convenient for the subjects, —all these as much on economic as on political grounds.

* * * *

The main item of land revenue is the customary share of agricultural income indifferently termed *bhāga* or *bali* levied on ordinary revenue-paying lands. Manu fixes it between 1/6, 1/8 or 1/12 according to the quality of the soil (VII. 130).[1] Śukra's schedule gives 1/6, 1/4, 1/3 and 1/2 according to the nature of the soil, rainfall and irrigation facilities (IV. ii. 227–30). It is noticeable that there is a gradual rise from the moderate traditional rate of 1/10. The Arthaśāstra in its characteristic fashion substitutes 1/6 for the customary 1/10 in the story of the beginning of kingship (I. 13). This rate had a wide currency and a firm hold on legal mind, so much so that the king was addressed with the familiar sobriquet *ṣaḍbhāgin* (Arth., II. 15; Baudh., I. 10, 18. 1; Vāś.,

[1] The scale cannot have been meant for the varying needs of the state for which a different schedule is given elsewhere (X. 118). The scholiast's note on Gautama X. 24 removes all doubt on the point.

I. 42; Viṣ., III. 22; Pāra., II. 14; Nār., XVIII. 48; Śp., 69. 25; 71. 10). But elsewhere the Arthaśāstra significantly recommends upland (sthala) and lowland (kedāra) to be entered separately in the field register of the *gopa* and enjoins a threefold gradation of villages after the manner of Gautama and Manu upon the revenue officer (samahartṛ, II. 35; cf. Śuk., IV. ii. 220f.). This together with a similar reference in Bk. V, Ch. 2 indicates that differential rates for different classes of soils are intended. The Agnipurāṇa again mentions rates between 1/6 and 1/8 for different kinds of paddy crops (223. 26f.). Thus the assessment varied according to the quality of land and nature of the crop: the *ṣaḍbhāga* was only a traditional or average rate, not the fixed or universal rate, in this respect resembling somewhat the tithe in European fiscal terminology.

This fairly high rate of 1/6 or 16·6 p.c. has been adversely compared to the present rate which is estimated between 7 to 10 p.c.[1]; and the view that assessment on holdings falls much lighter in British than in ancient India has been upheld not only by Anglophils and modern administrators but also by scholars in oriental studies.[2] But was taxation really fixed at as high an average as 16·6 p.c. in ancient India? It has been scarcely supposed that while in British India the rate of 16·6 p.c. is assessed on gross produce the old average rate of 16·6 p.c. was most probably levied on profit. Kulluka explains Manu, VII. 130 in the sense that the share is to be estimated on the increase upon the capital employed (mūlyādhikyoh mūlyādadhikayoh). Medhātithi and Govindarāja are concurrent and Nandana is even more explicit; 'In every case the share is on profit made after deducting expenses (sarvatra vyayāvyatirikta lābhaviṣayābhāga kalpanā)[3]. In the Śāntiparva it is enjoined that taxes should be fixed not on gross income but after examination of incomes and expenditure (120. 9).

An analysis of Śukra's maxims corroborates the presumption. As the first postulate of good agriculture it is stated that 'that agriculture is successful which yields a profit twice the expenditure (including royal demand,—rājabhāgādivyayatā) after duly considering the variations in actual produce from good, middling or bad lands. Anything less than that inflicts suffering on the people' (IV. ii. 2).

Thus 1/3 of the produce must cover incidental expenses and land tax and hence land tax must be much less than 1/2, 1/3, or 1/4 of gross yield.

As a rider to this may be read the injunction that 'the king should demand no taxes from those people who undertake to dig

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. IV, p. 217.

[2] Washburn Hopkins: *India Old and New*; M. H. Gopal: *Mauryan Public Finance*.

[3] Haradatta however understands Gautama X. 24 as implying the share of gross produce.

canals, tanks, wells, etc. or bring under cultivation new lands until they realize a profit twice the expenditure' (IV. ii. 242–44. Cf. Arth., III. 9).

Thus the tax must be fixed on profit and this profit must be at least twice the expenditure in case of lands under new enterprise.

Baden Powell observes a 'primeval simplicity' in ancient land revenue assessment. 'Being a share of the gross produce there was no question of any complicated calculations of the cultivator's profit, or the costs of production, nor about the relative value of land, or the productiveness of the season. Whatever the land produced, little or much, was heaped on the threshing floor and the king's officer superintended its division in kind'.[1]

But this primitive simplicity is not traced in the systems of Manu, the Arthaśāstra and the Śukranīti. They all presuppose a careful gradation of land, survey and measurement, calculation of outturn as well as expenses per unit of land and so forth. On the other hand they never testify to a system of sharing crop at the threshing floor known as *batai*.

The periodical survey and measurement of land of which we have concrete evidences in the Jātakas[2] and Megasthenes (Strabo, XV. i. 50) is a direct challenge to the notion of primitive simplicity of sharing gross produce. The most obvious explanation of this cadastral survey (besides the necessity of keeping a record and settlement of boundary disputes) is this. Cultivators might extend their plots by acquisition of new land. In that case the cost of production per unit of land would be less and profit per unit greater. Accordingly the state would have a higher share. And so the *vice versa*. The state would, after the survey, calculate possible expenses in each plot and after the harvest, collect the share duly deducting for the estimated expenditure on behalf of the cultivator. The stories of the Kurudhamma Jātaka (II. 376ff.) fully satisfy this explanation. The pious hesitation of the surveyor that the king or the farmer will be loser if the stick of the measuring rope is pitched on this or that side of a crab-hole situated just at the boundary of a field reflects that the king's share was guided by the measurement. In other words measurement was followed by a revision of assessment obviously on a calculation of the expenses, —since there seems to have been no graduated tax on property. The *seṭṭhi* who repents plucking a handful of corn from his field when he had still to pay the king's *bhāga*, apparently indicates that the land revenue was realized by the method of appraisement of the standing crops which is now known as *kānkut*. The measurement of the king's share of the crops at the door of the royal granery under the supervision of the *doṇamāpaka* does not conflict with the theory above, since the sharing may have been done after

[1] *Land revenue in Bengal*, p. 35.

[2] King's officers come to a village to take a survey of fields,—*khettappamāṇa gahaṇātthāya*, IV. 169.

leaving aside the measured amount to meet the expenses of the tax-payer.

The simple method of division of produce would preclude all complications about cost of production or relative value of land; whereas we find in the Arthaśāstra and the Smṛtis not only stringent rules about leaving a good producer's surplus but also a classification of soil on the basis of fertility and differential assessment on the same. The fact of the matter is that the king's share did not necessarily mean a fixed share. It was determined by considerations of fertility of the soil and by the needs of the state or of the cultivator. When the state was in difficulty it would go up, when the cultivator was in want, it would come down, the rebate being reduced to complete remission in extreme cases. The system and survey and differentiation of soil according to productivity also indicates that land revenue assessment was not permanent but revised at intervals although a constant revision was not necessary as at present when the land revenue being assessed and paid in fixed cash, the increase or decrease in the yield of a plot is not immediately reflected by a corresponding increase or decrease of the state's revenue.

The complex revenue system of the Smṛtis and the Arthaśāstra has even led a scholar to advance the drastic theory that the state took the land revenue in money and not in crops.[1] The arguments given are: (1) the revenue of an ordinary village is stated to be 1,000 silver *karṣas* in the Śukranīti, (2) measurement and grading of land is not required in division of produce, (3) the system of taking share on net profits is opposed to the division of produce, (4) remission of taxes is also an institution of money economy and not of the division of produce.

As for the first point, it is seen in earlier books than the Śukranīti that an advanced conception of government required the keeping of an elaborate record of the state's estimated income under various heads. This necessitated computation of the consolidated income in terms of cash in each revenue area. In the Jātaka tales villages are often described as *satasahassuṭṭhānaka*, i.e. yielding a revenue of 100,000 a year. But this very literature definitely shows that the king took his share in grains. The second and third contentions are already answered. As regards the fourth, there is no reason why remission of taxes should be inconsistent with division of produce. Only in the case of total failure of crops the question would arise. But we have no such instance of relief in dire famine. Remission in famine meant remission in scarcity or bad harvest (Arth., II. 1; Mbh., XIII. 61. 25) presumably when the producer had a bare surplus over expenditure.

On the other hand there are direct instances in the Jātakas and the Epics of payment in grains. In the Śāntiparva the king

[1] Balkrishna; *Hindu Taxation System, Indian Journal of Economics*, Vol. 8.

is directed to enrich his treasury with swollen corn (koṣṭhāgārañca te nityam sphītairdhānyaih susaṃvṛtam, 119. 17). As will be presently seen, even in the Smṛtis there are categorical references to revenue levied in grains from agricultural lands.

* * * *

The *bhāga* is the main item of land revenue, the regular, customary and legitimate share of the king on agricultural produce in ordinary revenue-paying land. But the king frequently claimed additional imposts in the nature of *ābwābs* indicated in most of our literature by the generic term *bali*. Shamasastri, Vincent Smith [1] and F. W. Thomas [2] understand *bali* to be a religious cess. In the Arthaśāstra it appears as a particular tax in a long list under the head of *rāṣṭra* or 'country part' (II. 15) and is explained by Bhaṭṭaswāmī as a local tax of 1/10 or 1/20 above the regular 1/6. Five of the commentators on Manu, VIII. 307 explain it as the regular 1/6 of grain share and only Nandana, the sixth, regards it as indicating all taxes normal and additional. In this wider sense *bali* appears in the Vedas [3] and sometimes in the Jātakas (II. 17; III. 9; IV. 109, 169). Elsewhere in the Jātakas *bali* is a term for only additional and oppressive cesses (I. 199, 339; V. 98).[4] In the Milindapañho *bali* is referred to as an additional and emergency tax (P.T.S. Ed., p. 146). In the Rummindei Pillar Inscription of Aśoka it is used exclusively in this narrow sense. The text goes,—'Lummini gāme ubalike kate aṭhabhāgiye ca'—'made the village Lummini free of *bali* and paying an eighth share'. The *bali* or additional tax was remitted and the regular 1/6 or 1/4, as it might have been, reduced to 1/8.

Thus under the term *bali* were grouped certain irregular demands of the king on agricultural land. In fact, the evolution of the Indian taxation system is a reflex of the growth of king's powers and functions and of his consequent demands on the people's purse. In the story of the traditional origin of kingship we hear only of a fixed share of grain and animals. This accords with the old Vedic custom. Next comes a grading of land and differential assessment together with the king's claim to certain irregular imposts. Of both of these there is positive evidence in the Maurya period. The materials gleaned from the Śāstras and the Jātakas may be verified by comparison with these and other objective data.

Megasthenes observes a class of country officers (agronomoi) who 'superintend the rivers, measure the land as is done in Egypt and inspect the sluices, by which water is let out from the main channels into their branches' and who 'collect the taxes' (Str., XV. i. 50). The purport of the phrase 'as is done in Egypt' is thus elucidated by Strabo:

[1] Inscriptions of Asoka, Rummindei P.In. [2] J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 467.
[3] Macdonell and Keith: *Vedic Index*, II. 62.
[4] The phrase 'baḷi-pīḷitā' is instructive. There is no reference to oppression in connection with the *bhāga* or grain share.

'This exact and minute subdivision is necessitated by the constant disturbance of boundaries caused by the Nile in its inundations in which it adds (to some) and takes away (from others), alters shapes and destroys the other signs by which the property of one can be distinguished from that of another, so that it (the land) has to be remeasured repeatedly.'

Thus it is most likely that the Maurya officers mentioned above were concerned with the measurement and supervision of alluvial deposits for revenue purposes as the lands bordering the great Bengal rivers have frequently to be surveyed now-a-days for revenue assessment and for the settlement of boundary disputes. If Bühler's identification of the Rājukas [1] of Asoka with the *rajjuka* or *rajjugāhaka amacca* [2] of the Jātaka stories be correct and if both may be aligned with the *agronomoi* of Megasthenes, it would point not only to an organized system of land survey as hinted in the Arthaśāstra but also a realization of the great scheme of the Arthaśāstra to keep a record like the Domesday Book of William the Conqueror.

As for additional cesses besides the fixed share the testimony of the Rummindei Edict is supported by Megasthenes' account. Apropos the cultivators Diodorus says that besides the land tribute they pay 1/4 of the produce to the king (II. 40). Thus there were two taxes, one the regular *bhāga* and another the irregular *bali* which is fixed at 1/4.[3]

[1] Cf. *Rājuka* and *rajju*—the survey-tax of the Arthaśāstra. Hultzsch makes the following illuminating observation on the expansion of the functions of the original surveyor to those of a civil official of the rank of Asoka's Rājuka:

'The Rājuka originally "held the rope" in order to measure the fields of the ryots and to assess the land tax. Thus the word became the designation of a revenue settlement officer, just as in British India the chief administrative officer of a district is still called collector, because his special duty is the collection of revenue.' *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, p. xli.

[2] Much earlier than the time when the Jātaka *gāthā* and commentary were composed, the original surveyor had acquired the position of the 'driver of the chariot of state'. The *rajjugāhaka amacca* is the holder of the reins of government as well as holder of the rope or survey.

[3] M. H. Gopal who takes it as axiomatic that the Arthaśāstra is not only a contemporary work with Megasthenes, but that it details the actual conditions of Maurya administration, makes a hypothetical statement that the extra 1/4 seems to have been the irrigation cess or *udakabhāga* of the Arthaśāstra which varies in that work between 1/3 and 1/5 of produce, 1/4 being presumably the common rate. Thus one presumption is piled upon another. The extra impost of 1/4 may be identified *a fortiori* with the *bali* of the Lummini village, the precise nature of which must remain unknown until further light is available from new materials. *Op. cit.*

By following a different line of argument Ghosal comes to the conclusion that Megasthenes' 1/4 was the only and regular share of the grain produce obtained as land revenue by the king. He follows a revised translation of Diodorus by a German scholar who substitutes the phrase 'in the absence of a special arrangement' for MacCrindle's 'besides the land tribute'. Now what may possibly be implied by paying 1/4 of produce in the absence of special arrangement? Here again the Arthaśāstra is called to assistance. The king's share may rise if he lends cattle and implements. But is there

The next stage of progress in the land revenue system and royal pretension is seen in the Junagadh Rock Inscription of the Śaka Rudradāman belonging to the 2nd century A.D., while the main heads of land revenue were *bhāga* and *bali*, it was exceptional nobility on the part of the *mahākṣatrapa* that he reconstructed the Sudarśana lake out of his own treasury without burdening his subjects with oppressive taxes like *kara*, *viṣṭi*, or *praṇaya*. All these surtaxes find mention in the Arthaśāstra which, in this respect corresponds to Śaka Malwa more closely than to Maurya Pāṭaliputra.

The *kara* and the *piṇḍakara* appear in the Arthaśāstra among the additional cesses in the list of *rāṣṭra* or country revenue. The *kara* seems to be an annual tax on property. The *piṇḍakara* is defined by Bhaṭṭaswāmī as a tax levied on a whole village in lump and collected annually in kind. The *kara* and *pratikara* occur also among certain other charges outside the formal scheme of classification, charges which the Samāhartā raises from the village and is required to enter separately in the 'pipe-roll' (II. 35). Manu also recognizes *kara* as an additional tax (VIII. 307). Of course like the *bali* the *kara* also became a generic term and was applied by many to denote taxes all and sundry.

The *viṣṭi* is impressed labour. Labour tax was of two kinds (Arrian, XII.). There was the labour paid in lieu of grain or cash by poor people (siṃhanika) which the Arthaśāstra thinks that the state may use in its manufactories (II. 15). Manu allows this concession to Śūdras, craftsmen and artisans (X. 120) and Arrian testifies that the two latter classes paid their taxes by labour (XII.). While this tax in the form of labour was a concession to payers, the *viṣṭi* was a coercion, the additional or coerced labour from freemen which amounted to gratuitous performance of public or royal services (Gaut., X. 31; Viṣ., III. 32; Manu, VII. 138; Arth., I. 4, X. 1, VIII. 1; Mbh., XIV. 95. 39). In the Arthaśāstra it appears in the list of special charges along with *kara* and *pratikara* paid by villagers and is expected to be entered by the *gopa* in his register of houses, probably to be assessed on a principle of rating according to houses.

For what specific purpose was the *corvée* employed and how it fell on the subjects? The Arthaśāstra wants labour to be impressed in state workshops in a staff of sweepers, weighers, measurers, slaves, etc. (X. 4). There is also provision for employing it in tillage of royal domains (II. 24). In the Mahābhārata it is wanted to be exacted from artisans only with the payment of food as unto kine and asses (XIV. 95. 39). The Jātakas give graphic pictures of

any provision in the Arthaśāstra of the king lending cattle and implements to *freeholders* as distinguished from royal tenants? The affirmation of the scholar, that the emergent rate of the Smṛtis and of the Arthaśāstra was the normal rate of land revenue under the Mauryas, is an edifice built on shifting ground and no supplementary evidence is available to buttress it. *Op. cit.*, pp. 168–70.

how it actually worked.[1] The people of Kāsi had to serve their king's fiat who was passionately fond of hunting and forced his subjects to beat the deer forest to the neglect of their farms (I. 149f.). In the introductory portion of another story the gloomy prophesy is made when needy kings 'shall set the whole country-folk to work for them;—for king's sake shall the oppressed folk, leaving their own work, sow early and late crops, keep watch, reap, thresh and garner, plant sugar-canes, make and drive sugar mills, boil molasses; lay out gardens and orchards. And as they gather in all the divers kinds of produce to fill the royal garner, they shall not give so much of a glance to their empty barns at home'.

Te evaṃ duggatā sabbe janapade attano vapakamme karessanti upaddutamanussā sake kammante chaḍḍetvā rājūnaṃ ñeva atthāya pubbaṇṇa paraṇṇāni ca vapantā rakkhantā layantā maddantā pavesantā ucchukhettani karontā yantāni vāhentā phāṇitādīni pacantā pupphārāme phalārāme ca karontā tattha tattha nipphannāni pubbaṇṇādini āharitvā rañño koṭṭhāgāram eva pūressanti attano gehesu tucchakoṭṭhakesu olokentāpi na bhavissanti. I. 339.

Thus would the cultivators be impressed to work the farms of impoverished rulers leaving their own lands to decay. Of course this prognostication would materialize in days of moral disorder that would sweep the earth and not in normal times. But that the *viṣṭi* was a potential source of oppression bears no doubt. The Arthaśāstra warns against its tyrannical exaction from agriculture (II. 1). Like the *bali* this objectionable form of exactions gave a tool to misgovernment and forms one of the legacies handed down to our own day (begār) on worse hands than the king's.

The *praṇaya* [2] or benevolences are most probably emergency revenues resorted to for the replenishment of depleted treasury by the enhancement of standard rates. The Arthaśāstra falls back on this remedy in a financial crisis and wants it to be levied on cultivators (karṣaka), dealers and craftsmen (vyavahārin) and animal breeders (yoniposaka), the only exemptees being owners of *brahmadeya* land (V. 2). The benevolence on cultivators is assessed at 1/4 of grains but rises according to the quality of the soil up to 1/3 while in Manu the highest rate of emergency tax on agriculture remains 1/4 (X. 118). The *praṇaya* was beyond doubt another handle given to oppression and avidity.

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Further details on the Indian revenue system at least as it prevailed in the time of the Mauryas is obtained by fragmentary

[1] It is wonderful that Rhys Davids finds no trace of forced labour in Buddhist literature. *Buddhist India*, p. 49.

[2] Kielhorn explains it as a contribution nominally voluntary (given from affection) but which the people feel constrained to make. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, 6.

accounts of Megasthenes which bear comparison with evidences from other literature. The principal source of income after the regular *bhāga* was the output or the revenue from royal demesnes. That the king had large estates of his own is clear from all accounts. In the Arthaśāstra's conception of polity the administration of royal farms is entrusted to a special superintendent (II. 24). These might be collected either by the direct agency of state officers or under their superintendence by tenants. In the first case the superintendent is to work the estates by means of slaves, free labourers and convicts. But obviously the crown lands were large in proportion to labour supply. Hence fields may also be leased out to cultivators on attractive terms. If they have their own animals and implements their share is 1/4 or 1/5 of produce.[1] The collective output of royal farms is called *sītā* and tops the list of land revenue and cognate charges treated under the head of *rāṣṭra*.

We have already noticed the Jātaka testimony to royal domains worked by free labour. Grants of land from king's estates appear in the title-deeds of the Śātavāhanas recorded in the Kārle and Nasik caves. The observation of Strabo on the strength of Megasthenes that the cultivators work the land for hire getting a fourth part of the produce (XV. i. 39) had long been a puzzle to historians and was dismissed as anachronistic with the version of Diodorus on the rate of assessment (II. 40). It has been however recognized of late that while Diodorus speaks of cultivators in ordinary revenue-paying lands Strabo deals with cultivating tenants in royal demesnes who did not *give* but *obtained* 1/4 of produce for hire.[2]

Closely related or analogous to the agricultural produce or share thereto from crown lands was the state's income from: (1) reserve forests, (2) mines and salt-centres, (3) state establishments of livestock, (3) sale or loan of grain.

The *paśu* or tax levied in cattle was a regular tax which fell upon the pastoral wealth as the *bhāga* fell upon agricultural wealth. Megasthenes notes that the nomadic herdsmen paid their taxes in cattle to the Mauryas (Arr. XI). The Jātaka stories notice its oppressive exaction (II. 240). In the Arthaśāstra the contributions required to be entered separately in the 'pipe-roll' are paid in *dhānya, paśu, hiraṇya, kupya, viṣṭi* and so forth. The Smṛtis are familiar with the contribution in cattle and assess it at the low rate of 1/50.[3] This is probably a levy of amount or value upon the agricultural livestock of the cultivators. The commentator to a

[1] Note that while tenant cultivators in crown land obtain 1/4 or 1/5 of produce, their compeers in ordinary private land are entitled to only 1/10. (Arth., III. 13; Yāj., II. 194; Nār., VI. 2. 3).

[2] Ghosal: *op. cit.*, pp. 168ff. Gopal: *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[3] The Agnipurāṇa gives a schedule of contributions from villages very similar to the Smṛtis; but in the case of *paśu* and *hiraṇya* it makes a big jump from 1/50 to 1/5 or 1/6.

Jaina text understands charges on domestic animals to mean taxes on sales thereof payable in kind or in cash; traces of both these customs are seen to have survived in Moslem and British periods.[1]

Presents or royalties form another head of income derived from villages as well as towns.[2] The *utsanga* in the Arthaśāstra is, according to Bhaṭṭaswāmī, what is paid by the inhabitants of the city and country part on the occasion of some festive event such as the birth of a prince. The Jātakas have a story that the people of Kāsi brought a *kahāpaṇa* apiece for a new-born prince's milk-money (Khīramūlaṃ) which the pious king did not want to keep but the people pressed and left back (IV. 323). The Jātakas offer many instances of presents brought to the king (paṇṇakāra, VI. 42, 342) on the occasion of his coronation (chattamaṃgala divase III. 407f.) or even when approaching him with a petition (II. 166). Strabo writes that during the hair-washing ceremony of the king the people vied with one another in making him rich presents (XV. i. 69). The Mahābhārata, besides furnishing similar instances, speaks of voluntary contributions (dakṣinā) made by the people to the king for performing sacrifices for public welfare (XIII. 61. 24). All these offerings literally voluntary were really the tribute paid by fear to power and might or tips for the acquirement of specific favours and could hardly differ from the *bheṭ* or *nazarwānā* exacted from poor tenants by social magnificoes with indirect pressure over large parts of India to-day.

The Arthaśāstra and the Smṛti works present a lot of similar imposts on land or from village parts which with the present state of our resources cannot be verified by positive data and can at best be taken as indicator of the progress of early Indian financial speculation. The list of *rāṣṭra* or revenue from country part, supplemented by references elsewhere in the Arthaśāstra consists of 14 items. Among these *sītā*, *bhāga*, *bali*, *kara*, *piṇḍakara* and *utsanga* are already dealt with in comparison with other evidences. The *senābhakta* is explained by Bhaṭṭaswāmī as 'the king's dues of oil, rice and the like payable at the time of the marching of the army as prevalent in specified countries'. The *aupāyanika* is an unspecified contribution or present. The *pārśva* is a super-tax collected on excess profit, a marginal revenue like the land cess in British India. The *kauṣṭheyaka* is tax on land below tanks, lakes and other sources of water built by the state. The *parihinaka* is compensation for damage done by cattle possibly in crown lands.

The other three fiscal terms have long presented much difficulty to scholars, viz., the *rajju*, *corarajju* and *vivīta*. The *rajju* literally means 'rope' or measuring tape of the land survey. In the technical fiscal sense it apparently refers to a unit of measure applied for

[1] For references see Ghosal: *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[2] The custom of the king getting presents from his subjects comes down from Vedic times. See Zimmer: Altindisches Leben, p. 166.

purpose of cadastral survey; and to cover the cost of operations a revenue was realized from the parties concerned like the cost of settlement in our times. The *corarajju* is rope for binding thieves and *vivīta* is pastures. From an examination of the functions of the *vivītādhyakṣa* and the *corarajjuka*,[1] the jurisdiction of both extending outside village limits, it would appear that these comprised of fees levied from villagers for the tracing of criminals, the escorting of caravans and the protection of cattle. So while *rajju* is the survey or settlement tax, the *corarajju* and *vivīta* are police taxes.

The Arthaśāstra advocates a measure which amounts to the claim of the state to the unearned increment on land. During the sale of land and buildings by public auction the increase over the regular price together with the usual tithe belonged to the state (spardhayā mūlyavarddhane mūlyavṛddhih saśulkā koṣaṃ gacchet III. 9). The same rule applies to other goods (II. 21).

The method of land revenue assessment and collection in the Arthaśāstra throws further light on certain additional incomes to the treasury, which may not be scrupulously legitimate and above reproach. The superintendent of the treasury is to increase king's receipts by underhand means (upasthāna) in the process of collection. The tax-gatherers are to practise certain profitable sleights of hand. Then there is a remarkable difference in the balance and weights used for king's receipts and those in general use (II. 19). Lastly there is a *vyāji* or compensation fee levied above the measured share on certain liquids like oil, etc.

The Smṛti works (Gaut., X. 25, 27; Manu, VII. 130, X. 120; Viṣ. III. 24f.) and the Agnipurāṇa detail certain miscellaneous contributions raised from villages. These constitute roughly the following schedule:—

1. *Paśu* and *hiraṇya*=1/50 (1/5 or 1/6 acc. to the Ap.)
2. Roots, fruits, flowers, medical herbs, honey, meat, grass, fire-wood, scents, flavouring substances, leaves, skins, wicker-work stone-work, clarified butter, etc. =1/60.

The term *hiraṇya* has not yet been settled to satisfaction. In the Arthaśāstra it occurs in the list of different forms of payment (dhānya, paśu, hiraṇya, kupya, āyudhīya, viṣṭi and so forth) which the *samāhartā* is required to enter separately in the 'pipe-roll' (II. 35). The suggestions that it was a tax on the hoard of gold, or on income, levied in gold currency are rejected by Ghosal on the following grounds: (1) From its occurrence in the above-mentioned sources along with cattle and roots, fruits, flowers, etc., it appears to belong to the group of taxes on agricultural and industrial products. (2) In the land grants it is conjoined with

[1] Officers called *cauroddharaṇika* and revenue called *cauroddharaṇa* are seen in later inscriptions. Ep. In., XII. 8, 18; XVII. 17.

bhāgabhogakara and with *dhānya* both of which constitute king's customary grain share. (3) It is improbable for a state as contemplated in the Smṛtis to draw part of its normal revenue from gold. By referring to conditions prevailing in Moslem India before the reforms of Todar Mal, he explains *hiraṇya* as 'a tax in cash levied upon certain special kinds of crops as distinguished from the tax in kind which was charged upon the ordinary crops'.[1] The reason given—that such crops are difficult to divide is not very clear and convincing, and fails to account for the inordinate discrimination in the share demanded by the king for the two classes of crops, viz. 1/50 for one and 1/6 for the rest.[2]

As regards the contribution of 1/60 from roots, fruits, flowers, etc., a host of parallels may be drawn from later and recent conditions.[3] Meat, honey and clarified butter comprehend the pastoral and farming occupations of villagers while earthenware, stoneware and wickerwork comprise the whole range of cottage manufactures. So no branch of the villagers' income, agricultural or industrial, is to escape the rigorous and all-pervasive fiscal system of Gautama, Viṣṇu, and Manu.

The heads of income from land and village wealth may be concluded with the enumeration of devolutions, confiscations, fines (daṇḍa) and bribes (lañcaṃ). Treasure trove and intestate or ownerless land reverted to crown (Jāt., I. 398; III. 299; IV. 485; VI. 348). The assets of the rich people who sometimes took to asceticism with whole families without leaving an heir, formed a lucrative income for the state. Fines and confiscations are dangerous weapons in the hand of poor and unscrupulous kings; although in the Śāntiparva it is strictly reminded that they are intended 'to create terror and not to replenish the treasury' (122. 40), there is no safeguard to control their application. Kings could also sell their judgements and favours and receive illegal gratifications (Jāt. II. 170ff.) as much as their councillors and officials.

A large amount of revenue was lost to the state under the arrangement by which considerable portions of land were allowed to be held free of revenue or the revenue therefrom were transferred to be enjoyed by private persons. Of the assignment of rent-free land from royal domains and of revenues from particular villages, the Kārle and Nasik Cave inscriptions and the Jātaka stories offer plenty of instances. In the Arthaśāstra the *samāhartā* is required to enter such revenue-free lands (pārihārika) into his roll. Elsewhere a distinction is drawn between taxable (karada) and tax-free (akarada) persons as well as villages. These assignments and exemptions might be granted either unconditionally or in return for specific services. To the former category belong mainly the *brahmadeya* lands. In the Arthaśāstra the immunity of such

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

[2] Of course so far as the Agnipurāṇa rate is concerned, there is no such discrimination.

[3] Ghosal: *Loc. cit.*

property is enjoined even when benevolences and irregular taxes may be raised from all property, during emergencies (V. 2). Another class of revenue-free land in the Arthaśāstra is the *ātithya* explained by Bhaṭṭaswāmī as 'lands granted to the judicial officers for the purpose of alms-giving and such other pious acts' (II. 20).[1] The forest produce is also declared to be free from any impost (V. 2). Except for the king's reserve forests, the wild tracts were regarded according to all authorities as no man's land. The immunity is evidently extended to forest dwellers and adjacent villagers whom we find in popular stories gathering fire-wood and forest produce without interference.

Among the land held free of revenue (or the income of which is assigned) in exchange of specific service to the state belongs principally the land assigned to king's officers in lieu of remuneration.[2] Grants without the right of sale or mortgage to the superintendents, accountants, *gopas*, *sthānikas*, vets, physicians, horse-trainers and messengers form part of the revenue administration in the system of the Arthaśāstra (II. 1). According to Manu (VII. 119) and the Śāntiparva (87. 6–8), the lord of ten villages is to be remunerated with one *kula* of land (land cultivable with 12 oxen), of 20 villages with 1 village and of 1,000 villages with a townlet. The point of difference between the two testimonies is that the Arthaśāstra, unlike Manu and the Mahābhārata, contemplates not only rural administrators but other officials, higher and lower, as recepients of such grants and that it explicitly restricts the right of grantees to mere usufructuary possession. In the Arthaśāstra the grants of land to the *adhyakṣas* are made in addition to a cash salary of 1,000 paṇas. Although a distant resemblance is marked between this arrangement and the Moslem Jaigir system, it must be noted that the Arthaśāstra discountenances encouragement of colonization by grant of villages (V. 3) which is the substance of the latter. But the arrangements of the Arthaśāstra foreshadows the Moslem custom through more than one institution. The class of villages which enjoy immunity on condition of military service (āyudhīya) is analogous to that form of Jaigir which involved the assignment of revenue for the maintenance of troops.[3]

Apart from exemption from taxation granted in perpetuity, certain lands and villages enjoyed remission or reduction of revenues

[1] Cf. the *inām* or *mu'-āfi* under Moslem rule.

[2] Cf. Jāt., I. 354; Ep. In., XV. 6f.; XVIII. 22: *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 176; South Indian Inscriptions.

[3] The essential differences of the earlier institution from the Jaigir system are that (1) the right of grantees was restricted to usufructuary enjoyment without hereditary rights and rights of ownership, (2) and that the grants did not carry with them transfer of executive power. Although in Manu and the Śāntiparva, the mere usufructuary possession of the grants is not as pointedly mentioned as in the Arthaśāstra, the same implication is there, since it is wanted that the remuneration village of the *śatādhyakṣa* must be within the jurisdiction of the *sahasrādhyakṣa*, for otherwise, as Nīlakaṇṭha annotates, he may tax oppressively.

for a season or more. Remission of taxes for relief of cultivators during bad harvest is inculcated in the Arthaśāstra (II. 1) and the Mahābhārata (II. 61. 25). The Arthaśāstra (III. 9) and the Śukranīti (IV. ii. 242–44) also enjoin the same measure for improvement and extension of agriculture. Remission or reduction of taxation was conceded as occasional favour to a village, town or district (Jāt., IV. 169; Rummindei P.E.; Khāravela's Hathigumpha In.[1]) inasmuch as a village or a specified area might suffer an increment of revenue by way of punishment or from royal fiat (Jāt. III. 9).

* * * *

The works on law and polity which punctiliously elaborate sound principles of taxation took a dangerous move when they proceeded to lay down special rules for emergency. Now in all ages and in all climes the doctrine of necessity has overlept its bounds and become a convenient euphemism of tyranny and avidity. In ancient India emergency revenues might be raised either by the enhancement of standard rates or by the imposition of wholly irregular demands. The levy of *praṇaya* advised in the Arthaśāstra is the increment of standard rates to 1/4 of grains in the case of cultivators, rising up to 1/3 according to the quality of the soil. In Manu the highest rate of emergency tax on agriculture remains 1/4. The scale of *praṇaya* from animal breeders is fixed by the Arthaśāstra at 1/2 of cocks and pigs, 1/6 of small animals and 1/10 of cows, buffaloes, mules, asses and camels. Besides these a host of forceful and fraudulent practices are enumerated with brazen-faced chicanery which it would be sickening to narrate. The teachings on *rājadharma* in the Śāntiparva gives *carte blanche* to the king. The rule that taxation should be mild is for normal times. In times of distress a Kṣatriya may forcibly take what he can from the rich and commits no sin by oppressing his subjects for filling the treasury (130. 24ff.; Śuk., IV. ii. 2; Somadeva Nītisāra XXI. 14). Necessity knows no law is an accepted maxim of Indian financial speculation which gave a free hand to extortionate and fleecing demands of which descriptive accounts are not rare.

For a state entitled to 1/6 of net produce and a lot of additional taxes why this nightmare of depleted treasury and nervous search for incomes? It was because there was a big crack in the massive fabric of the Indian taxation system through which leaked out a major share of the state's legitimate dues. We have seen that private lands were fast concentrating in the hand of Brāhmaṇas—regular and secular.[2] Now we find that on the reverse of the Machiævellian emergency rules the selfsame books lay down an

[1] ' Rājaseyaṃ saṃdaṃsayaṃto sava-kara-vaṇa anugaha-anekāni satasahasāni visajati pora-jānapadaṃ '.

[2] See my article in the *Journal of the Department of Letters, C.U.*, Vol. XXXI. pp. 21f.

equally unsound financial maxim which exempted Brāhmaṇas as a class from taxation on the strength of their astonishing pretensions. Vāśiṣṭha expressly exempts Brāhmaṇas, particularly learned ones (I. 42f.; XIX. 23) from any exaction on the ground that they render spiritual service to the state and the attendant material welfare. The same statement occurs in Manu (VII. 133). Viṣṇu as well, forbids taxes to be raised on Brāhmaṇas because they pay their tax in virtuous acts (III. 26f.). Āpastamba accords the same privilege to learned Brāhmaṇas (II. 10, 26. 10) and Bṛhaspati follows with the same strain (XVII. 3). According to the Śāntiparva, the Brāhmaṇas are to enjoy immunity even when the doctrine of necessity may encroach upon the fundamental rights of property. Megasthenes himself notes that in Maurya India the Brāhmaṇas and philosophers paid no taxes (Str., XV. i. 39). Aśoka was not the only monarch to distribute unstinted largesses on these classes (R.Es. V, VIII, IX). The Jātakas and the Śātavāhana inscriptions offer further concrete instances how kings in recurring fits of pious generosity made over the revenues of entire villages to Brāhmaṇas, religious and worldly. Even the Arthaśāstra which treats politics as an independent branch of knowledge apart from the canon, cannot free itself from this halter of uneconomic piety. Besides the reference to *brahmadeya* lands and to the exemption from *praṇaya*, etc., it accords the priests of royal entourage the highest grades of salary along with the Crown Prince, the Queen Mother and the Queen Consort (V. 3). Not only is the Brāhmaṇa to be exempt from taxation but a king has no claim to the former's property even on the failure of heirs (Gaut., XXVIII. 41f.; Baudh., I. 5. 11. 15f.; Vāś., XVII. 84–87; Viṣ., XVII. 13f.; Manu, IX. 188ff.; Arth., III. 5). The same authorities lay down the general rule that the Brāhmaṇa who finds a treasure trove keeps the whole of it while the other persons who come to the same luck must make it over to the king; and why? Because the Brāhmaṇa is the lord of everything (Manu, VIII. 37; Yāj., II. 34). The effect of these rules on royal exchequer and consequently on the fiscal system may well be imagined when it is observed how sedulously gift of land to Brāhmaṇas was encouraged (Āpast., II. 10. 26. 1; Viṣ., III. 81–84; Arth., II. 1f.; Agni-p., 223. 14; Mbh., XII. 343. 18, XIII. 62) and how kings vied with one another in this pious feat and vaingloriously recorded their unstatesmanlike bounties (Aśoka Edicts, Kārle and Nasik Cave Ins., Khāravela's Hathigumpha In.).

The argument may be put forth that the foregoing privileges accrued not to all Brāhmaṇas but only to *śrotriyas* or those who performed the sacrifice and studied the Vedas thereby proving useful to society. The Śāntiparva indeed carefully demarcates pious Brāhmaṇas who are to be exempted, from secular Brāhmaṇas who are to be fleeced with taxes and forced labour (76. 5–11; 77. 2f.). But is there any universally recognized hallmark of piety? The Pāli literature, especially the Jātakas, show that the recepients of *brahmadeya* gifts of land were not always devoted spiritualists

(cf. Suttanipāta, II. 7). Even if it be accepted that wealth and privileges poured upon *bona fide* religious persons and orders, history has abundant proof that such a constant outflow corrupts even the purest recepient and works his ruin. At any rate, the state became the poorer and had to lay its fingers in the pockets of the toiler.

* * * *

It remains to be observed how this elaborate revenue system actually worked and how the people fared under it. As the system was not built upon rigid and inflexible regulations, it had a fair measure of elasticity which might be construed both for good and bad purposes. Hence under certain rules it rose to the lofty Smṛti ideal that the king gets the revenue only for the service of protection and spends every penny beyond his own wages for public good; while in the other extreme bankrupt profligates like Louis XV blackmailed their subjects sometimes undermining the economic foundation of the state.

Did the Maurya taxation system fall very lightly on the people? There is one reading of Diodorus' familiar passage which would fix the king's grain share at the high rate of 1/4. Leaving aside this controversial piece of evidence and the still more unsound logic that the Arthaśāstra,—supposed to be the work of Candragupta's iron chancellor,—is at its wit's end in search of revenues, it appears that extensive public and building works, wars and missionary propaganda had to be met from the peoples' pocket barring a large class of Brāhmaṇas. And in the tyranny of imperial officers which drove province after province into revolt under the later Mauryas, undue exactions must have had a conspicuous share.[1]

The Śātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī claims to have never levied nor employed taxes but in conformity to justice (N.C.I., 2. i). The Śaka Rudradāman is similarly proud of the distinction that he did not oppress his subjects with *kara, viṣṭi* or *praṇaya* and remained content with *bhāga, bali* and *śulka*. In the background of these vaunts we faintly discern pictures of oppressive and unlawful demands by less considerate rulers. And such pictures are presented in the Jātakas.

The tax-collectors (niggāhaka) were an overzealous lot and became a byword for importunate demand (IV. 362). In the Śāntiparva it is admitted that they sometimes collect tax unfairly or actuated by lust and avarice from persons piteously wailing for mercy—thereby destroying the king (yadā yuktyā nayed arthān kāmād arthavaśena vā: kṛpaṇaṃ yācamānānāṃ tadrājño vaiśusaṃ mahat, 91. 25). The Arthaśāstra (II. 9) and the Śukranīti (i. 617f.) lay severe strictures on over-collection. But these people took their cue from their masters whom the same authors give

[1] See Raychaudhuri: Political History of Ancient India, 3rd ed., pp. 248ff.

ample latitude. In the Bhuridatta Jātaka it is stated in a verse that tax-gatherers ordered by the king plunder the wealth of cultivators like robbers without fear:

akāsiyā rājūhi vanusiṭṭhā
tad assa ādāya dhanaṃ haranti
te tādisā corasamā asantā... VI. 212.

A king is said to have drained his country of its gold by his exactions (IV. 224; cf. III. 319). Another by raising fines, *ābwābs*, cattle-tax and cash levies crushes his subjects like sugar-canes in a mill (daṇḍa-bali-jaṃgha[1] kahāpaṇādi gahaṇena ucchuyante ucchuṃ viya janam pīḷesi, II. 240). A gloomy picture of relentless extortion is drawn up as part of the great moral disorder that would prelude the Nemesis:

'Kings shall be amassing wealth by crushing their subjects like sugar-canes in a mill and by taxing them to the utmost. Unable to pay the taxes the people shall flee from village, town and the like and take refuge in the borders of the realm.'

ucchuyante ucchuganṭhikā viya manusse pīḷentā nānappakārehi baliṃ uppādetvā dhanaṃ ganhissanti manusse balipīḷitā kiñcidātuṃ asakkontā gāmanigamādayo chaḍḍetvā paccantaṃ gantvā vāsaṃ kappessanti. I. 339.

The kingdom of Kampilla was deserted by the people for oppressive taxation. Men betook to the forest with their families. Others remained indoors at night but on day-break fled to forests fencing their houses with thorn branches. 'By day they were plundered by king's men, by night by robbers.'

Balipīḷitā raṭṭhavāsino puttadāre ādāya araññe migāviya cariṃsu gāmatthāne gāmo nāma nāhosi manussā rājapurisabhayena divā gehe vasitum na sakkonti gehāni kaṇṭakasākhāhi parikkhipitvā aruṇe uggacchante yeva araññaṃ pavissanti divā rājapurisā vilumpanti rattiṃ corā. V. 98f.

In the Śāntiparva there is the warning that the king is to see that the agriculturists of the kingdom do not leave it through oppressive taxation. The rules of the Arthaśāstra presuppose the same contingency. Thus there were cases when the insatiable greed of kings ruined the whole country-folk and rendered the prosperous countryside into depopulated deserts.

Truly, the king is *visāmattā*—the devourer of subjects!

* * * *

[1] Rouse fails to make out its meaning and after much hesitation falls upon 'mutilations' (of legs?). This is out of place in a list of revenues and discords with '*gahaṇena*'. On the other hand the use of *jaṃgha* for animal (like the English 'head' for man) is not unknown. In the Arthaśāstra, II. 35, there is an instruction on spies to ascertain the number of men and beasts (jaṃghāgra) in each family as well as their income and expenditure with a view to fix taxes. The commentary on *jaṃghāgra* runs thus: jaṃghāśabdena pādacāriṇo lakṣante kulasambandhināṃ pādacāriṇāṃ dvipada catuṣpadānāmagram iyattaṃ.

These instances of oppressive taxation lead to another question —whether ancient states used to accumulate large surpluses or they presented a balanced budget. Opinion inclines to the former view.[1] Indeed, the systematic realization of 1/6 of produce and the additional imposts would automatically keep huge surpluses. But it has been seen that there are reasons to suppose that the 1/6 was raised probably not on produce but on profit. Again why is so much preoccupation with the depleted treasury and provision for almost unlimited emergent taxes if there were no deficits? The numerous cases of oppressive exaction show further that these measures had to be taken recourse to whenever war, sacrifice or megalomaniac bounties shook the poise. The Mahābhārata narrates a story that the *ṛsi* Agastya went to wealthy kings in quest of money but finding income and expenditure evenly adjusted, even that redoubtable anchorite had to return empty-handed from all quarters (III. 98). The possibility of huge surpluses was also counteracted by the big volume of transferred revenue and revenue-free lands and by the manifold heads of expenditure over departments to which the state extended its activities.

Regarding the sphere of action of the state, it has been remarked, 'A policy of non-interference was recognized as the ideal policy of the state, the functions of which were ordinarily restricted to 'the irreducible minimum', viz., the protection of life and property and realization of revenue for the proper execution of that duty'.[2] Not only is the policy adumbrated in the Arthaśāstra a clear contradiction of this position: the complicated system of taxation developed by the Indo-Aryans is in itself an antithesis of the *laissez-faire* doctrine and a strong evidence of the multifarious duties of the state. The Indo-Aryan state was not a mere police state guarding person and property although that was the original term of the social contract. As in the case of the heads of income, the study of the heads of expenditure reveals the state in both its opposite aspects,—in solicitous care for the people whose welfare it holds in trust and reckless squanderings in vainglorious exploits and pseudo-religious practices in the name of public good. We are concerned here only with those heads which unfold the position of the state touching rural economy.

Public works of divers sort formed the main channel of expenditure and engaged the chief attention of a benevolent state. Erection of almshouses (dānaśālā) at important centres of towns is a regular feature of the Jātaka stories and from here food was daily distributed to the indigent throughout the kingdom (I. 262, II. 367, III. 129, 470, IV. 355, 402, VI. 484). Some kings took interest in the construction of rest-houses for travellers (āvasathāgāra) in villages or in trunk roads at intervals.[3] Free dispensaries for men

[1] Ghosal: *op. cit.*; Gopal: *op. cit.*
[2] R. K. Mookerjee: *Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 3.
[3] See Ep. In., VIII. 8–10. iv, 12. v.

and for beasts were opened by Aśoka all over his empire (R.E., II; P.E., VII). Canals, tanks and wells for drinking and irrigation purposes and other irrigation constructions were frequently undertaken. Works of building and repair for artistic, commemorative and propagandist purposes were an acknowledged sphere demanding the state's resources in which Aśoka, the Sungas and the Kusans took special interest. Colonization, road-making, town-planning and reclamation of virgin lands were other spheres of absorbing interest subsidized or undertaken by the state (Arth., II. i; Jāt., V. 35, 511).

An organized system of poor relief was demanded by the paternal conception of government (Gaut., X. 9ff.; Arth., II. 1). In the Mahābhārata it is repeatedly extolled as a feature of good government. It seems that in several states the decrepit and the imbecile, the stranded widow and the orphan were maintained at their expense (V. 30. 40f.; cf. Arth. II. 23) or provided with home, clothes and food (XII. 42. 11, 59. 54, 71. 18, 86. 24). Āpastamba enjoins the same activities upon the king on behalf of outraged women (II. 10, 26. 22f.).

Collateral with the working of the poor law were the provision for famine relief and subsidization of agriculture. The Arthaśāstra wants the king to advance cash, corn and cattle to the cultivator (V. 2f.). Usavadāta claims to have distributed stems of cocoanut trees in villages for cultivation, 1,000 in one and 32,000 in another.[1] During famine an enlightened government had an arduous time. Provision booths were thrown open, test works started under the care of capable officers, loans and gratuitous relief were distributed in doles.[2] Similar relief measures were launched by benevolent governments against fire, serpents, tigers, epidemic diseases, etc.[3]

Another item of expenditure pressed home by the law-givers, would if given effect to, prove a heavy drain on the treasury. From the king's duty of protection against theft, restitution of stolen property follows as a matter of course. Compensation to the loser from the royal treasury in case of non-recovery of stolen goods is accordingly inculcated by jurists (Gaut., X. 47; Viṣ., II. 66f.; Manu, VIII. 40; Yāj., II. 36; Śp. 75. 10). Āpastamba wants to make officers pay for the loss (II. 10, 26. 8; Yāj., I. 272). Akbar followed the regulation when he made the *kotwāl* responsible for the loss and liable to compensation (Āini., II. p. 42). No concrete evidence of such practice during our period is however available. Generally speaking, there was probably no constitutional obligation although deserving cases might receive the king's consideration and move his heart.

There were other and less pleasing features of revenue appropriation. Sacrifices often highly expensive are prescribed

[1] Ep. In., VIII. 8–10. iv,—12. v.
[2] See my article in *Modern Review*, September 1937.
[3] C. V. Vaidya: Epic India, p. 221.

for the birth of an heir to the crown, for rainfall, for victory in war and for all and sundry purposes going in the name of the welfare of the state. Revenues which might well be invested in nation-building activities were thrown into the Sacred Fire or devoted to the propitiation of a large class of professional priesthood who had little part in the productive forces of the land. The words of Buddha as preserved in the Pāli canon frequently castigate them as a class of parasites who encourage sacrificial rites and animal-killing only with a view to fill their stomach and their pocket. Land, cattle and coins flowed in uninterrupted stream to them on the plea of sacrificial fee. The figures of the Epics even on a modest estimation staggers modern conceptions of public finance. The king of Kampilla who in the Jātaka story is seen to drive his folk to the forest by oppressive taxation, propitiates a tree-god by offering annually 1,000 pieces (cf. V. 217). Sacrifices and worships were not the only channels for throwing out public money on unproductive purposes. The king often indulged in megalomaniac bounties not only upon monks and Brāhmaṇas but whosoever might take his fancy.

So it is time to revise the pet patriotic theory that the king was bound hand and foot by the Śāstras within a narrow compass of financial rights and the people had their chests and barns amply safeguarded against royal robbery. Equally shifting are the grounds of the apologists for British administration who try to establish that the king—'devourer of the folk'—had, besides the normal rate of 16·6% of harvest unlimited powers of taxation over his 'eminent domain'. As far as theory goes, the Indian revenue system stands unbeaten in the history of ancient races for its soundness, impartiality within a large sphere, elasticity of rates, safeguard against misuse of public money and elaborate techniques to meet complex needs and exigencies. But theories may be regarded more in breach than in observance, and the best theories are liable to the worst constructions. The king is the semblance of Indra who sucks water from the earth and returns it in beneficent rains which preserve life and growth. A king might well imitate the former characteristic and lose sight of the latter; and it makes a difference of heaven and hell if public good which is the *sine qua non* of taxation, is ignored. Hence in India, as in every country we have side by side Augustus and Nero, Hammurabi and Sardanapalus, Henry IV and Louis XV, only with this difference that Satan quotes the gospel as vigorously as the Saint and constructs out of it a plausible brief to put up his monstrous case. And a section of Brāhmaṇ-hood who struck the Mephistophelean bargain with the state which gave them exemption from revenue in exchange of paying a share of their piety, was always at hand to give their blessing to any measure that conciliates priestly pretensions with omnipotent sovereignty.

BUDDHA'S FIRST DISCOURSE

By Dr. B. C. Law

The *Dhammacakka-pavattana Sutta* is traditionally known as the *Paṭhama Dhamma-desanā*—the First Preaching of the Doctrine, the First Sermon, the First Discourse.[1] The main text of this Discourse shows a complete agreement in all its various recensions.[2] Its main subject-matter is the Middle Path (*Majjhimā Paṭipadā*) which is just another name for the Noble Eightfold Path consisting of Right faith, Right aspiration, Right speech, Right action, Right livelihood, Right effort, Right mindfulness, and Right concentration. It is called Middle Path because it seeks to avoid these two extremes (*dve antā*): (1) the habitual pursuit of the pleasures of senses which is a low and vulgar way of seeking satisfaction, unworthy, unprofitable, and fit only for the worldly-minded; and (2) the [accredited] practice of self-mortification which is painful, unworthy, and unprofitable. It formulates and expounds the Four Noble Truths that are usually enumerated thus: (1) the noble truth concerning suffering, (2) that concerning the origin of suffering, (3) that concerning the cessation of suffering, and (4) that concerning the way which leads to the cessation of suffering.[3]

It is well observed by the late lamented Professor Rhys Davids: 'It would be difficult to estimate too highly the historical value of this Sutta. There can be no reasonable doubt that the very ancient tradition accepted by all Buddhists as to the substance of the discourse is correct, and that we really have in it a summary of the words in which the great Indian thinker and reformer for the first time successfully promulgated his new ideas. And it presents to us in a few short and pithy sentences the very essence of that remarkable system which has had so profound an influence on the religious history of so large a portion of the human race.'[4]

It is claimed in the *Peṭakopadesa* that all that the Buddha had taught or promulgated for the attainment of Buddhahood till his demise were all epitomized in the *Dhammacakka-pavattana Sutta*, and nothing fell outside its scope.[5]

[1] *Milinda-paṅho*, p. 350.
[2] Léon Feer, *Textes tirés du Kandjour*.
[3] *Saṃyutta N.*, Pt. V, pp. 420ff.; *Vinaya, Mahāv.*, pp. 10ff.
[4] *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 140.
[5] *Peṭakopadesa*, Ariyasaccappakāsana-paṭhamabhūmi.
'*Yaṅ ca rattiṃ Bhagavā abhisambuddho yaṅ ca rattiṃ anupādāya parinibbuto etthantare yaṃ kiñci Bhagavatā bhāsitaṃ suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇaṃ gāthā udānaṃ itivuttakaṃ jātakaṃ abbhutadhammaṃ vedallaṃ sabbaṃ taṃ dhammacakkaṃ pavattitaṃ. Na kiñci buddhānaṃ bhagavantānaṃ dhammadesanāya dhammacakkato bahiddhā; tassa sabbaṃ suttaṃ ariyadhammesu pariyesitabbaṃ.*'

According to Vasumitra, such was precisely the view of the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism.[1] The *Peṭakopadesa* really wants us to understand that the Four Noble Truths constitute the main subject-matter of the so-called First Discourse instead of the Middle Path considered *per se*. The topic of the Four Aryan Truths seems to have been introduced rather irrelevantly. After speaking of the two Extreme Paths of worldly life and ascetic life, the discourse has got to bring in the topic of Middle Path. After this, the question naturally arises—what is the Middle Path ? The Sutta has consistently sought to answer this question. As for the Four Aryan Truths, there was no justification whatsoever for introducing them as a separate topic save and except to show how the Middle Path formed just an item in the agenda of Four Truths. The fact, however, remains, that the discourse, as we now have it in its various versions, is mainly concerned with the formulation of the Noble Middle Path whatever it is, which a person seeking to attain Nirvāṇa might profitably follow.

The presentation of the Path Formula without any reference to the formula of Four Noble Truths was quite possible, and it would have been more consistent and welcome in the First Discourse if the Middle Path were its main subject-matter. In that case the Path would have been rather tenfold than eightfold in order to contain an independent and complete process of thought. Fortunately, there are texts [2] in the Pāli Canon itself enlightening us on the subject of the Tenfold Path enumerated as: *Sammā-diṭṭhi, Sammā-saṃkappo, Sammā-vācā, Sammā-kammanto, Sammā-ājivo, Sammā-vāyāmo, Sammā-sati, Sammā-samādhi, Sammā-ñāṇaṃ, Sammā-vimutti*: Right faith, Right resolution, Right speech, Right action, Right livelihood, Right effort, Right mindfulness, Right concentration, Right intuition, and Right deliverance.

In going to reduce the Tenfold Path to the Eightfold, one has to read a twofold meaning of Faith and Intuition in the first term and to shift the last term to figure as the third item, *dukkha-nirodha*, in the agenda of Four Truths,—which is obviously a complicated and misleading procedure of later systematization.

The traditional First Discourse, as we now have it, would seem to be a later got-up thing with some romantic appendages. We get it in that form in which it might be treated, and, as a matter of fact, was used in the Buddhist community as a *Paritta* or *Samāgama*, i.e. as a sacred text fit to be chanted in the presence of a concourse of the gods invoked for the well-being of the audience. The very title of the Discourse, *Dharmacakrapravartana*, variously rendered in English—'Turning of the Wheel of the Law', 'Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness', resulted from a poetical imagery which the early Buddhist so often borrowed from the previous poets of Vedic literature.[3]

[1] *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, Vol. I, p. 6.
[2] *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. III, p. 271; B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, p. 36.
[3] *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 141.

M. Senart drew his readers' attention to a fact which might well indicate how the earlier word *Dhammatakka* or *Dharmatarka* was transformed into *Dhammacakka* or *Dharmacakra* to make the idea fit in with the poetical imagery representing Buddhism as a well-equipped and spacious vehicle to carry men and women, ascetics and householders, to Nirvāṇa.[1]

The First Discourse in which the Buddha was to have fully stated his position as a thinker and teacher ought to have borne the title of *Dhammatakka* rather than that of *Dhammacakka*. In this discourse he was expected to dwell directly upon the two topics of Nirvāṇa and Causal Genesis before introducing to his audience—the first band of Five Disciples—the topic of the path, tenfold or eightfold.

As proved by other Buddhist canonical texts, the two extremes (*dve antā*) mentioned in the traditional First Discourse, were not the only pair of extremes that were to be avoided by the Buddha's disciples. The Buddha spoke of three other pairs of extremes that were to be met by the golden mean (*majjha, madhya*) supplied in the well-known formula of Causal Genesis, while the Noble Tenfold or Eightfold Path supplied the golden mean to bridge up the gulf between the pair of extremes introduced in the accepted First Discourse.[2]

Had the Sutta been known in its present form to the early Saṅgītikārakas and considered so important as the very First Discourse of the Buddha, it is not easily accountable why it had not found its place in the Dīgha and the Majjhima Nikāyas, specially in the latter. Dr. B. M. Barua points out that the Sutta which was considered most important by the rehearsers of the Majjhima Nikāya was the *Mūlapariyāya* and not the *Dhammacakka-pavattana*.

The *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* in the Majjhima Nikāya, while giving an account of the Buddha's marvellous performance at the Deer Park of Ṛṣipatana, does not introduce the famous discourse on the topic of the Middle Path and Four Noble Truths. It has nothing to say about the two extremes. According to this Sutta, the Buddha had expounded his doctrine to the five Bhikkhus in the following words: 'Fivefold are the pleasures of sense, almsmen, namely, visible shapes apparent to the eye, sounds apparent to the ear, odours apparent to the nostrils, tastes apparent to the tongue, touch apparent to the body;—all of them pleasant, agreeable, and delightful, all of them bound up with passion and lusts. All recluses or brahmins who partake of these pleasures with greed and blind appetite, without seeing the perils which dog them, and without realizing that they afford no refuge,—all such people are to be conceived of as having fallen into misery and into calamity,

[1] *Sutta-nipāta*, p. 214, verse 1107; Senart, Le manuscrit Kharoṣṭhī du Dhammapada in J.A., 1897, English Translation in the *Prākrit Dhammapada* by Barua and Mitra, p. 19.

[2] *Saṃyutta*, II, p. 77; III, p. 15; *Aṅguttara*, I, p. 173; III, p. 440; Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, p. 48.

and as being at the mercy of the Evil One . . . . But all those other recluses or brahmins who partake of the fivefold pleasures of sense without greed and blind appetite, but with discernment of the perils which dog them and with a realization that these things afford no refuge,—all these are to be conceived of as not having fallen into misery or into calamity and as not being at the mercy of the Evil One.[1]

The Buddha concluded his discourse by giving an account of the nine successive trances (*samāpattis*) by means of which the highest state of consciousness experiencing the peace of Nirvāṇa might be realized.[2]

The above account of the Buddha's discourse at the Deer Park of Ṛṣipatana would seem one-sided and incomplete as it has nothing to say about Causal Genesis, which was accepted by the Buddhists of all schools and sects as a universal creed. If we are to believe a very early Buddhist tradition in the Vinaya, Mahāvagga, the Venerable Aśvajit, who was one of the first five disciples, when asked to point out the central thought in the Buddha's doctrine, held out nothing but Causal Genesis.'

The *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* definitely mentions, however, that the noble quest on the part of the Bodhisattva led ultimately to the discovery of Causal Genesis and the blissful experience of Nirvāṇa.[3] Other accounts, whether earlier or later, purport to be the same. If so, the Buddha in the first statement of his position as a thinker and teacher was expected to have introduced and dealt with these two topics: the Causal Genesis and the attainment of Nirvāṇa, along with the idea of the path leading to the goal.

The question still arises—had the Buddha presented his doctrine in the form of the Four Noble Truths or differently? I have so far maintained that the very opening statement in the traditional First Discourse would warrant us to reject the first alternative. In his first address, the Buddha was required not only to state his own doctrine but to contrast it with those of others that held the field. As contrasted with the positions held by other teachers of the age, his was that of a golden mean (*majjha, madhya*). As regards the thought, the mean was represented by *Pratītyasamutpāda* or Formula of Causal Genesis. As regards the path, the mean was represented by the Noble Tenfold Path.

[1] *Majjhima*, Vol. I, pp. 174-5.
[2] *Vinaya, Mahāvagga*, p. 40.
[3] *Majjhima*, Vol. I, pp. 167-8.

REVIEWS

The Wild Rue. A Study of Muhammadan Magic and Folklore in Iran. By (Mrs.) Bess Allen Donaldson. London, 1938 (Luzac and Co.), pp. xii+216. Crown 8vo. 10/6.

Mrs. Donaldson, an American missionary lady, who has been residing in Persia for more than twenty years, has done the work which by its nature should be especially a woman's task,—the study of popular superstition in the country. Superstition in every Muhammadan country like Persia usually is of three different kinds. The first is the international pseudo-science of Magic, white and black. It possesses a large literature, and is exceedingly interesting for the student of the 'archæology of life'. In the form of magic beliefs and theories it often preserves the ideas and tenets of the religions and cultures of immense antiquity. Their elements are distorted, fragmentary and hardly recognizable. But systematic research may one day join these 'sherds' together, revealing much of the nature of the mentality that has produced them.

The second group of superstitious beliefs is that which has been to a great extent amalgamated with the religious beliefs of Islam, and received the sanction of religion. This is also more or less international, being not only the product of different Muslim nations, but also often borrowed from non-Islamic peoples.

And the last,—and the most interesting,—form of superstition is the real national one, living and practised chiefly in the midst of family life, cultivated and preserved almost exclusively by women, and therefore accessible for observation only to women also, such as doctors or missionaries, who in the nature of their work come into a close touch with womenfolk in family circle. Men in Persia till lately were extremely keen on the study of the superstition sanctioned by religion; but they always were, or pretended to be, ashamed to believe in, or attach importance to the 'old women's silly beliefs'. They would rarely show, at least in public, their knowledge of these. This attitude of condemnation is still more emphatic at present, and only very few Persians, educated in Europe, like the young and talented novelist Sadiq Hidayat, take interest in these matters, recording them for the science.

These 'women's superstitions', as many other relics of early patriarchal times in Persia, are disappearing with incredible rapidity; and, as they are not recorded anywhere, folklore of one of the most ancient and influential civilizations in the world,—of Persia,—will be completely lost within a short period of time. It is a sad fact that we know incomparably more in this respect about the remotest and wildest African and South American tribes than about our closest neighbours—Persians. Therefore every student of folklore

may offer his heartiest congratulations to Mrs. Donaldson for her initiative in compiling this interesting book, which may be recommended to every lady who takes up the study of Persian life and country to introduce to her the sphere in which her energy may bring the most valuable results.

In her work Mrs. Donaldson does not pay special attention to which of the three classes, mentioned above, this or that belief or practice belongs. She simply describes the superstitions as she finds them in life. It is true that all three classes overlap each other's boundaries. Very often religious ideas of non-national origin become quite part and parcel of the mentality of masses. This especially applies to the corner of Persia in which Mrs. Donaldson resides—Mashhad, hitherto the greatest religious centre of the country, a huge caravan-serai for pilgrims who came there from every part of the Shi'ite world. The district of Mashhad was devastated and depopulated on many occasions, for the last time even not so long ago, during the Turkoman raids. It is at present a large ethnological museum: practically every village is inhabited by settlers from a different province. It is for this reason, and for the continuous influence of the religious circles, that one finds in the folklore of this province, as reflected in this book, such predominance of the religious element. In more remote and undisturbed corners of the country, such as the Caspian Provinces, or the remote South, the student would find more of the indigenous beliefs and practices coming from great antiquity.

The work systematically describes the ideas connected with all the usual subjects of superstition: the evil eye, demonology, practices accompanying childbirth, talismans, charms, beliefs in dreams, superstitions concerning stones, plants, animals, nails, hair, teeth, etc., etc.,—in addition to the numerous items of religious folklore. Much may be added almost on every page,—not only variations from different localities, but also whole categories of superstition. There are subjects which are sadly missing, especially such an interesting and important matter as religious prostitution in the form of temporary marriages which was so tremendously widespread in Persia, and for which Mashhad would be by far the best field for observation. Similar subjects, of course, may not be very suitable for a missionary lady; but let us hope that the student will overpower the missionary in her, and that she will make a study of the question and publish the results in some learned and technical periodical.

W. IVANOW.

Oriental Mysticism. A treatise of the Sufistic Theosophy of the Persians. Compiled from native sources by E. H. Palmer. Second edition, with introduction by A. J. Arberry. London, 1938 (Luzac and Co.), pp. xiv+84. Demy 8vo. 5.

Prof. Palmer's summary of the *Maqṣadi aqṣâ*, a treatise on Sufism by 'Azîz b. Muḥammad Nasafî (who died probably in 661/

1263), is familiar to many English-speaking beginners in Sufic studies. In India, where very few read in any European language except English, and where knowledge of Persian is rapidly disappearing, this little work is quite widely used, especially by numerous authors of different works on mysticism in general, speculations on parallelism between theosophic ideas of different nations, etc. It is therefore good that a new edition is issued, especially with the addition of a valuable introduction by Dr. A. J. Arberry, who himself is a serious student of Sufism, and has to his credit several valuable works dealing with the subject.

W. IVANOW.

Der Vedische Mensch, von Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D., Carl Winter's Universitatsbuchhandlung, Heidelberg, 1938.

This is a laudable and successful attempt to put together the Vedic material, particularly as found in the Ṛg and the Atharva Vedas, regarding the constitution of Man, both physical and mental. The book is divided into four chapters. In the first, the author tries to ascertain the Vedic ideas about the constitution of a human body and also about the physiological side of human nature. In the latter case, he has examined the ideas that are expressed by words like Rasa, Indriya, Prāṇa, Jīva and Asu, and their mutual difference. All these, according to him, represent the various features of the outer side of a living human organism. On the other hand, Tanū signifies its inner or spiritual side and may be equated with the later Sūkṣma Śarīra, as is shown by the author in ch. II. Here it is pointed out how Rūpa is different from Tanū and so also the Nāma. This latter is a peculiar power possessed by a deity and all such Nāmas put together constitute his Tanū. In this connection, the author's attempt to determine the sense of Tanū, by associating it with the post-Ṛgvedic Tanu 'fine' does not appear to be satisfactory. The Ṛgvedic word is to be derived from the root $\sqrt{tan}$ and is no doubt to be connected with Tanaya. Tanū is that something which extends from the father to the son, or the spiritual qualities which are peculiar to a man and which are inherited by his son, from him. Similarly, we think, the word Nāma must be derived from the root $\sqrt{nam}$. In the case of a deity, Nāma is that peculiar quality or deed, which, when mentioned, pleases and attracts the deity towards the worshipper.

In the IIIrd chapter, psychical and spiritual side of a man is shown to have been known to the Vedic Indian through his use of the words like Manas, and the meanings attached to them, by him. Manas is that something which belongs to the inner side of human nature and which distinguishes him from the purely physically developed beings of the lower creation. It represents feelings and passions peculiar to Man and possession of which even by Indra is proudly asserted at RV. II. 12. 1. The other words expressive of a

man's spiritual powers like Hṛd, Dakṣa, Kratu, Dhī, Cetas, Citta and Ātman and the meaning which is expressed by them in Ṛg and Atharva Vedas are discussed in the next, i.e. the IVth chapter.

H. D. VELANKAR.

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore, M. S. Basavalingayya, M.A., B.L. and Vidvan T. T. Srinivasagopalachar; vol. I—Vedas. Printed by the Asst. Supdt., Govt. Branch Press, Mysore, 1937. Pp. xvii+784, Rs. 3-12-0.

This first volume of the Descriptive Catalogue contains a brief but lucid and very useful description in Sanskrit of 686 MSS. of Vedic works. To this Sanskrit description, a formal description of the exterior of these MSS. in English and sometimes also a brief outline in English of important points discussed in the Sanskrit description are added under each MS. Though the division of labour is not made clear in the introduction, it is obvious that the Sanskrit portions were composed by the Vidvan Srinivasagopalachar, and the English ones by the other author.

In his English Introduction to the Catalogue, Mr. Basavalingayya explains the plan of the Description and draws the reader's attention to a few strikingly important MSS. He also discusses the date and identity of some authors like Mādhavācārya, the commentator of the Ṛgveda, who preceded Sāyaṇācārya. The number of Upaniṣads which the Library contains is large and deserves careful attention and investigation. The Indexes of works and authors and a table of contents of the Sanskrit descriptions given under the different works have no doubt added to the utility of the Catalogue.

H. D. VELANKAR.

Concepts of Rīti and Guṇa in Sanskrit Poetics, by P. C. Lahiri, M.A., Ph.D., Kāvyatīrtha; published by the University of Dacca, Ramna, Dacca, 1937. Pp. 7+310.

The author of this small book is to be congratulated on his excellent treatment and exposition of the subject-matter under investigation. He has here examined the origin and gradual development of the two among the several concepts pertaining to Sanskrit Poetics, namely, the concepts of Rīti and Guṇa. For this purpose, he has laid under contribution all important works of the Sanskrit Rhetoricians from Bharata down to Jagannātha, whether printed or existing only in manuscripts. He has shown how the earlier writers who lived before the general acceptance of the Dhvani theory have assigned a rather important place to these two qualities in the estimation of the poetic excellence of a literary composition; whereas, the post-dhvani rhetoricians have rightly understood their proper, i.e. subordinate place by the side of the

other essentials of good poetry, like Rasa. The book represents in substance the thesis which the author had submitted for his Doctor's degree of the Dacca University. The bibliography and the indexes given at the end are very useful.

H. D. VELANKAR.

The Mahābhārata $\frac{\text{Fascicule 9}}{\text{Udyogaparvan—I}}$ for the first time critically edited by VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR with the co-operation of other scholars and published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1937, pp. 400. Price Rs.10/4.

This fasciculus contains the first 100 adhyāyas of the Udyogaparvan out of a total of 197 adhyāyas. The general principles of text-reconstruction already laid down so ably in the Prolegomena of the Ādiparvan by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar and generally approved by various scholars have been observed by Dr. S. K. De in editing this Parvan. The work has been so conscientiously done that it merits the highest praise. One may indeed justifiably feel proud to notice that a uniformally high standard of workmanship and an equally high level of critical scholarship have been maintained in all the successive volumes of the Mahābhārata issued by the B.O.R. Institute. The editor of this volume, Dr. S. K. De has very clearly and succinctly stated in his editorial note the textual problems that arose in the course of the critical reconstruction of the text. For the purpose of the Udyogaparvan the editor finds the MSS. known as K (Kāśmīrī Devanāgarī version) of the Northern recension to possess a probative value, especially K (Poona, Bombay Govt. collection No. 60). The other MS equally useful is the only available Śāradā Codex (Ś) which belongs to the India Office Library and is mostly incomplete and fragmentary. This MS. was received after the critical apparatus was practically written out with the result that its variants are not duly entered in their proper places, and will therefore be given in a separate Appendix at the end of the last Fasciculus. Of the Southern recension the Malayālam version representing the Southern tradition in a less affected form has also been used with advantage. Among the commentaries on the Udyogaparvan, those of Devabodha, Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa and Arjuna-Miśra have been chiefly collated; especially the most valuable among them has been the earliest known commentary of Devabodha representing probably the Kāśmīrī version. It is, however, doubtful whether the commentators themselves have followed uniformly a particular version, and even if they did the text they have used is not before the collator. The editor has correctly pointed out that the collateral testimony offered by the Javanese version is not by itself of great probative value regarding the character of the original Mahābhārata inasmuch as it retains at best the character of an abridged adaptation of the original and only here and there gives quotations from

the Sanskrit text which alone are useful for the purpose of comparison. It is noteworthy that in the textual reconstruction of the Sanatsujāta sub-Parvan (Adhyo 42–45) the editor did not rely on the commentary of Śaṁkarācārya even though it may be the oldest one, because it was based more or less on the Telugu-Grantha version which does not present a consistent text-tradition and therefore is not of much use for our purpose. He, therefore, had mainly to depend upon the text presented by the commentaries of Devabodha, Arjunamiśra and Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa as this text was supported by the independent agreement of the Northern Śāradā-Kāśmīrī and Bengali versions with the Southern Malayālam. Fortunately the editor finds the Udyogaparvan on the whole comparatively free from lengthy insertions inspite of ample scope afforded for such additions by sub-parvans like the Prajāgara and episodes relating to Indravijaya and Dambhodbhava. The small but suggestive editorial note makes us feel sure that in the introduction which will be published in the last Fasciculus, Dr. S. K. De will treat exhaustively all the relevant points with his characteristic critical acumen.

V. A. GADGIL.

Prāchya-Vargīkaraṇa-Paddhati: being a system of Book-Classification developed on Oriental lines. By SATISA CHANDRA GUHA, Lecturer and Hon. Librarian, Bihar Vidyapitha. Grantha-Goshthi, Gaibi, Benares. Pp. 169. 1932.

This is a modest guide to the principles of modern book-classification for libraries in the East. The author briefly indicates the important classification schemes in the West and their modifications in Eastern countries. The modifications are due to the fact that in any country its representative libraries naturally possess a very much larger number of books dealing with the special literature of that country than foreign libraries. Suitable sub-divisions of such literature of the Eastern countries are not included in the well-known classifications of the West; Eastern libraries have, therefore, to amplify the divisions for themselves. Mr. Guha, whose scheme is modelled on the Decimal System, gives Hindi or Sanskrit equivalents for terms used in the scheme, and has paid special attention to Indian religious and philosophical literature in his guide. The scheme will be helpful to those dealing with such subjects especially in Hindi or Sanskrit.

Descriptive Catalog of the Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library. By P. K. HITTI, N. A. FARIS, BUṬRUS 'ABD AL-MALIK. Pp. xii, 668, xxiii, ٥٦. Princeton University Press, 1938. *s.*67/6*d.*

The Garrett collection of Arabic MSS. consisting of over 4,500 titles, belonging to the Princeton University, has in this

volume been catalogued by three well-known American scholars headed by Prof. P. K. Hitti. The Introduction gives the history of acquisition of the 5 component units of the collection and details regarding its value and contents.

Among the important MSS. worthy of mention are: Translation of Galen's works by Ḥunain b. Isḥāq (No. 1075); the medical encyclopædia *al-kitāb al-Malikī* of 'Alī b. al-'Abbās al-Majūsī, dated 585 A.H.; a botanical work based on Dioscorides, No. 1064; an astronomical work by al-Farghānī, No. 967 ; and several valuable books on Philosophy and History. Specimens of calligraphy have also been taken and it is proposed to publish them as a supplementary volume, *Specimens of Arabic Calligraphy and Illustration drawn from the Garrett Collection.*

The work is carefully done and the authors deserve to be congratulated on it. The names of the authors and titles are given both in Arabic and roman character; and we wonder if that was necessary. Similarly, the information under each MS. is not very systematically arranged, sometimes details regarding the MS. are mixed up with the contents. A little revision would have improved this aspect greatly.

Students of Islamic literature will be glad to have in their hands one more systematic catalogue of a notable collection.

A. A. A. F.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Annual Report of the Baroda Archaeological Department, 1936-37. Baroda, 1938. Pp. vi+46.

Where Theosophy and Science Meet. By D. D. Kanga. Parts I–III (Adyar Library Association, Adyar, Madras), 1938-39. Rs.6.

Al-Hidayatul-Amiriya. Edited by A. A. A. Fyzee, M.A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law (Oxford University Press), 1938. Pp. xxii+39. Rs.2.

Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. By Dr. M. Husain (Luzac & Co.). Pp. xvi+274 and 6 plates. Rs.15.

Ragas of Karnatak Music. By N. S. Ramachandran (Madras University), 1938. Pp. 230. Rs.3.

All India Modern History Congress. Proceedings of the first session, Poona, 1935. (D. V. Potdar, Poona.) Rs.3.

Mysticism of Time in Rig-Veda. Dr. Mohan Singh. (Author, Punjab University), 1938. Pp. 64. Rs.5.

Foundations of Living Faiths. By H. Bhattacharyya. Vol. I (Calcutta University), 1938. Pp. xiv+526.

Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum. By W. A. de Silva (Ceylon Govt. Press), 1938. Pp. xxxiv+412 and 6 plates.

Kṛṣṇa-Karṇāmṛta of Līlāśuka with three commentaries of Bengal Vaiṣṇava School. Edited by Sushil Kumar De (University of Dacca), 1938. Pp. 87+385. Rs.6.

Literacy in India. By R. V. Parulekar, M.A., M.Ed. (Macmillan & Co.), 1939. Pp. 181.

Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy. By J. S. Furnivall (Cambridge University Press), 1939. Pp. 23+503. 25/.

Audichya Brahmanoka Itihas. By Radheshyam Dvivedi (Audichya Bandhu Office, Mathura), 1938. Pp. 130. Re.1.

Marwad ka Itihas. By Pandit Vishveshwarnath Reu. Pt. I. (Govt. Press, Jodhpur), 1938. Pp. 400.

Studies in Indo-Muslim History: A critical commentary on Elliot and Dowson's History of India. By S. H. Hodivala, 1939. Pp. 725.

Printed by P. Knight, Baptist Mission Press, 41A, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta, and published by the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ . . . . . *a*	औ . . . . . *au*	ठ . . . . . *ṭh*	भ . . . . . *bh*
आ . . . . . *ā*	क . . . . . *k*	ड . . . . . *ḍ*	म . . . . . *m*
इ . . . . . *i*	ख . . . . . *kh*	ढ . . . . . *ḍh*	य . . . . . *y*
ई . . . . . *ī*	ग . . . . . *g*	ण . . . . . *ṇ*	र . . . . . *r*
उ . . . . . *u*	घ . . . . . *gh*	त . . . . . *t*	ल . . . . . *l*
ऊ . . . . . *ū*	ङ . . . . . *ṅ*	थ . . . . . *th*	व . . . . . *v*
ऋ . . . . . *ṛ*	च . . . . . *c*	द . . . . . *d*	श . . . . . *ś*
ॠ . . . . . *ṝ*	छ . . . . . *ch*	ध . . . . . *dh*	ष . . . . . *ṣ*
ऌ . . . . . *ḷ*	ज . . . . . *j*	न . . . . . *n*	स . . . . . *s*
ए . . . . . *e*	झ . . . . . *jh*	प . . . . . *p*	ह . . . . . *h*
ऐ . . . . . *ai*	ञ . . . . . *ñ*	फ . . . . . *ph*	ळ . . . . . *ḷ*
ओ . . . . . *o*	ट . . . . . *ṭ*	ब . . . . . *b*	

◌ं (*Anusvāra*)	*ṁ*	×ं (*Jihvāmūlīya*)	*ḫ*
◌ँ (*Anunāsika*)	*m̐*	×ः (*Upadhmānīya*)	*ḫ*
ः (*Visarga*)	*ḥ*	ऽ (*Avagraha*)	'

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

Arabic

ا	a	ز	z	ق	q	ـِ	i
ب	b	س	s	ك	k	ـُ	u
ت	t	ش	sh	ل	l	ـَا	ā
ث	th	ص	ṣ	م	m	ـِي	ī
ج	j	ض	ḍ	ن	n	ـُو	ū
ح	ḥ	ط	ṭ	و	w	ـَي	ai, ay
خ	kh	ظ	ẓ	ه	h	ـَو	au, aw
د	d	ع	ʿ	ي	y	silent t	ḥ
ذ	dh	غ	gh	ء	ʾ		
ر	r	ف	f	ـَ	a		

Persian

پ	p	چ	ch	ژ	zh	گ	g